

Atlantic – Black Sea Security Forum 2022

What New European Security Architecture after Russia's war on Ukraine? The Black Sea Vortex

2022

Conference Report

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ATLANTIC - BLACK SEA SECURITY FORUM

4th edition

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What New European Security Architecture after Russia's war on Ukraine?

The Black Sea Vortex

July 8, 2022 - BUCHAREST - HYBRID EVENT

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About the Atlantic-Black Sea Security Forum 2022

The **Atlantic – Black Sea Security Forum** is a high-level international event organised by the **Aspen Institute Romania** and the **German Marshall Fund of the US, Bucharest Office**. The forum deals with most ardent topics on the international security agenda. In addition, given the current geo-political context, the 2022 edition also included an ***Aspen Energy Summit Panel session***.

With the atrocious war on Ukraine by the Russian Federation, European and regional security have been shattered. The world as we knew it has dramatically changed, in both its security and economic dimensions. We are still to grasp the full implications of these changes, and yet we need to adapt while we learn. The West has shown great unity and resolve in facing a common threat, but the broader regional, European and global implications of this brutal shock are still to be defined, and new challenges to both the unity and the resolve of the West may still be on the horizon.

In Ukraine, with Russia's occupation of the land corridor connecting Crimea to the Donbass and the de facto blockade of the Sea of Azov and of Ukraine's access to the Black Sea ports, the region has become **the epicentre of a dynamic new balance of power between NATO, the EU and Russia**. This **Black Sea Vortex** of strategic, political, economic and competition of values will define the very character of the **New Trans-Atlantic Security Architecture**.

The **Atlantic – Black Sea Security Forum 2022** also coincided with two defining moments for the Black Sea region and Romania: the intermediate operational capability of the new NATO Battle Group in Romania, with France as the framework nation, and 25 years since the launch of the Strategic Partnership between the United States and Romania in July 1997.

With Finland and Sweden on the way to becoming new members of NATO and a few days after the historic NATO Summit in Madrid, the Forum addressed the implications of the new NATO Strategic Concept, the new deterrence and defence posture on the Eastern flank agreed by Leaders, and the future of the NATO – EU Strategic Partnership.

Energy security, the reconstruction of Ukraine and the European perspectives of Ukraine, Georgia and the Republic of Moldova, food security, freedom of navigation, new technologies, cyber and fighting disinformation figured prominently on the agenda. The Forum continued addressing the topical subject of societal resilience at both national and sub-national levels.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The fourth edition of the **Atlantic-Black Sea Security Forum** took place on the 8th of July 2022 and offered a platform for various actors to discuss the implications of the crisis in Ukraine and the results of a dynamic international context, presenting different approaches and goals. A select group of national and international leaders, policy experts, government officials, business executives and research organizations gathered in Bucharest for an open discussion regarding highly actual issues in security, geopolitics, and economics.

The 4th edition of the Forum gathered over **40 speakers and moderators**, across **six panel sessions and various high-level discussions**, and featured a **cocktail reception to celebrate the 25-year anniversary of the Strategic Partnership between Romania and the United States of America**. The reception benefitted from the presence of high-level officials and representatives of the private sector, who shared their thoughts and experiences, as well as outlooks for the future of the partnership, during the seven opening speeches.

KEY TAKE-AWAYS

- Russia's unprovoked war shattered 75 years of peace and prosperity in Europe and **threatened both Europe's security and the security arrangements** signed to preserve peace.
- Russia expected to find a weak Ukraine and a divided NATO, but **Russia's actions have had the opposite effect** as Ukraine fought with courage and NATO has strengthened its unity and resilience. Russia cannot keep up the intensity of its aggressive actions, however a **prolonged war is most likely a reality**.
- The war in Ukraine has brought the **worst humanitarian crisis in Europe since WW2** which threatens famine, destabilization, and mass migration.
- The international community needs to find a solution to open the port of Odessa to **food exports** and **increase funding for humanitarian organizations** operating in Ukraine.
- NATO's latest **Summit in Madrid** will significantly contribute to the Allies' collective security, with the inclusion of 2 new members, Sweden and Finland, as well as increased cyber-security protections, greater funding, and the **rewriting of the NATO Strategic Concept** which names Russia as a key threat.
- The **Black Sea Region** will be key in establishing whether peace and democracy will prevail, or repression and tyranny become the norm in the trans-Atlantic space. The role of the Black Sea Region is **acknowledged in NATO's new Strategic Concept**.
- **Romania's strategic position should contribute to the security** of the Black Sea and to

detering Russian aggression.

- A **closer relationship and increased support for like-minded, pro-Western states in Eastern Europe**, such as Moldova and Ukraine, is key to deterring Russia and to capitalize on the strategic importance of the Black Sea.
- Russia has instrumentalized **energy as a foreign policy weapon** and is profiting off the oil and gas crisis to fund the war in Ukraine.
- The EU must **invest in renewable and decentralized energy that is integrated in a digital network**, not just to get rid of its dependence on Russian gas but also to reach the ambitious climate targets it had agreed in the Green Deal before the war in Ukraine. By 2030, 45% of the energy mix in the EU will be renewable.
- The **Green Deal is a threat to Russia** as gas is a geopolitical arm for them and reducing sales will lead them into irrelevance. The **REPowerEU** initiative is particularly important as it **removes Russia as the sole gas and oil supplier** whilst sticking to the climate neutral objective by 2050.
- To restore trust in democratic political systems, a **new social-economic contract** must be forged building resilience to foreign-led influence, misinformation and disinformation and reinforcing democracy through shared values and dialogue.
- As **technology dominates the geopolitical agenda**, whoever writes the rules for digital transformation will have the upper hand in geopolitical terms, so **investments in innovation** are a must. **Cooperation between the public and the private sector is key** to the success of Western democracies in this competition.
- Democratic states must build **resilience towards future threats such as digital or security threats**. The development of technology can be described as a double-edged sword as it can both provide solutions that empower but be used for malicious campaigns.
- To build resilience against malicious internet use, the practice of **pre-bunking** must be used to stem false information before it is able to be spread.
- The **EU must make radical and significant cybersecurity improvements** to its critical infrastructure, help partners recover from significant cyber incidents, reinforce international norms to stop attacks on critical infrastructure (such as hospitals) and hold state and non-state actors responsible for disruptive or destructive cyber-security.
- **Blockchain** is an indispensable technology to enterprises who want quantifiable trust in their data sets, providing a key contribution to the security of data.

Introductory Remarks of the Atlantic-Black Sea Security Forum 2022

By **Sergiu Manea** - Acting-President, Aspen Institute Romania

Sergiu Panainte - Interim Director, Bucharest office of the German Marshall Fund of the US

Laurence Auer - French Ambassador to Romania

Sergiu Manea, Acting President, Aspen Institute Romania, welcomed all distinguished guests to the forum and thanked all its organisers. He described it as a flagship event, due to the vast content of discussions, which provides a platform to assess current and potential challenges whilst providing solutions to modern-day political problems. He stated that this year's edition will cover topical subjects ranging from key issues on the international security agenda, the current energy crisis, a future resilience map for Europe, the NATO strategic compass and the future of the European-NATO strategic partnership. He also signified the role of values and hoped that the debates held would include ideas on how to engage all types of individuals in the modern world.

Sergiu Panainte, Interim Director, Bucharest office of the German Marshall Fund of the US, highlighted how Russia's unprovoked war shattered 75 years of peace and prosperity in Europe and threatened both Europe's security and the security arrangements signed to preserve peace. He emphasised how NATO's latest summit in Madrid could help secure a new type of security in Europe with the inclusion of 2 new members and how various humanitarian efforts for Ukraine mirrored the original Marshal plan's objective to create hope to counter terror in Eastern Europe. He hoped that the crisis would foster a new generation of transatlantic leaders who shared democratic values and created mechanisms to prevent future aggressions.

Laurence Auer, French Ambassador to Romania, thanked the organisers of the event and display how proud she was to co-host the forum. She acknowledged that the recent semester had been marked by huge challenges due to the consequences of Russia's brutal aggression of Ukraine and that the European Union has given up on its naivety to security issues as a result. She recognised that Romania has been a strong strategic partner for France and has always provided strategic vision to the European Union and NATO. She stated that the rapidness of sanctions against Russia proved the resilience of the European Union and leads Europe to becoming independent to Russian imports, a series of events which has never been seen before in EU history. She understood the importance of investing in energy especially with the European target to be two-thirds independent from Russian gas imports and the EU's REPower project to reach climate ambitions. Once again, she acknowledged the key humanitarian work that Romania was taking part in by transporting over 22 million tons of grain and stressed the importance of Romania's strategic position to enclose the Black Sea and deter Russian aggression.

Opening Keynotes

By **Victoria Nuland**, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, U.S. Department of State

Simona Cojocaru, Secretary of State, Ministry of National Defence

Oleksii Reznikov, Minister of Defence, Ukraine

Juansher Burchuladze, Minister of National Defence, Georgia

Victoria Nuland, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, U.S. Department of State, stated that a discussion on the commitment to a trans-Atlantic alliance could not have come at a greater time. She enforced that President Putin had shattered the peace in Europe, violating Russia's responsibility as a P5 member to uphold the UN charter. She stated that Russia expected to find a weak Ukraine and a divided NATO, but Russia's actions have had the opposite effect as Ukraine fought with courage and NATO has strengthened its unity and power through cyber-security protections, greater funding, and the rewriting of its strategic concept which names Russia as a key threat. Romania and Bulgaria can count on receiving greater NATO forces to act as a deterrent to future Russian advances. She signified that Russia's aggression has severed shipping access to the Black Sea thus escalating the global food crisis. She commended Romania and Turkey for their efforts in facilitating Ukrainian food exports and alternative shipping corridors. She **stated that the Black Sea Region will be determinant in proving whether peace and democracy prevail, or repression and tyranny become the norm in the trans-Atlantic space.**

Simona Cojocaru, Secretary of State, Ministry of National Defence, acknowledged that **Russia's war was a strategic shock for Europeans and regional security.** She stated that the situation is a reality check in which we must provide unwavering support to Ukrainian sovereignty and condemn Russia. She argued that Moscow wishes to return to a Cold War paradigm on security matters and stop NATO and EU enlargement and strategic strength. She continued in stating that Russia is seeking to create a land corridor between the Donbass and the mouth of the Danube whilst taking most pro-Russian regions of Ukraine. She argued that Russia cannot keep up the intensity of its aggressive actions which has been evidenced by the retreat from Snake Island however a prolonged war is most likely a reality. She acknowledged the need for shared interests and values along with the importance to act collectively to provide determination for regional defence. She stated NATO has made many important decisions recently such as admitting that Russia is a threat, the new challenge of China, the continued war against terrorism and illegal migration. However, she stressed the importance of a greater relationship and increased support for Eastern European, like-minded nations, such as Moldova and Ukraine to outline the strategic importance of the Black Sea.

Juansher Burchuladze, Minister of National Defence, Georgia, congratulated Romania's strategic partners Ukraine and Moldova for their candidacy status in the EU and remained hopeful for Georgia. He stressed that it is important that we stand united to achieve the bright future that we are fighting for. He highlighted the need for unity to safeguard our common values and to support aspirant and partner nations. Furthermore, he welcomed that NATO's new strategic concept that the Black Sea Region is of great strategic importance. He argued that the Black Sea must be a sea of peace and has great trade and transit potential and transit roads have a considerable potential to decrease the energy dependence on Russia for Europe. Furthermore, he stressed the contributions of Georgia in NATO lead missions wherein Georgians have sacrificed with blood and sweat to gain common security, leading to the death of 32 soldiers and 300 wounded, a price which is never too small. He asserted that Georgia would remain a reliable security provider for Europe and will stand by Ukraine by aiding in financial and humanitarian assistance whilst aiding with the rehabilitation of wounded and families. He hoped to see substantial steps taken in the future to advance Georgia's EU and NATO membership process.

Oleksii Reznikov, Minister of Defence of Ukraine, thanked the organisers of the forum for the opportunity to present Ukraine's view on the current regional security situation and thanked the Romanian people for their aid to Ukraine. He argued that since the invasion of Crimea, Ukraine has been telling the world that Russia only understands violence with the de facto occupation of the Sea of Asov closing huge sea areas that ought to be free for navigation, brutally violating laws of free sailing. He argued that the current crisis did not come unannounced as the Kremlin saw it could act with impunity and thus continues the practices that worked before. He stated that Russia is using energy as a weapon and in order to stop them, the international community must be ready to use force. Reznikov felt that Russia's retreats from Kiev and Snake Island were spun as gestures of goodwill and demonstrates that Russian aggression will last until it meets a retaliatory aggression. He argued that Russia is performing acts of terror on Ukraine with missiles killing women and children in Odessa, uncontrolled use of sea mines and shelling civilian vessels. He believed that these acts of terror could not be stopped by diplomatic means alone and thus steps to enhance a NATO presence in Romania and the Black Sea must be taken immediately to guarantee regional security. Reznikov also argued that for Russia to retreat we must also demonstrate absolute unity. Sanctions are the best example as Russia is stealing grain and using gaps in the Montreux convention to supply logistics and armaments to forces in Ukraine, Syria and Egypt. He felt that Ukraine needs the help of partners to create defence capabilities and change regional practices to deter Russia.

Aspen Energy Summit Panel session: European energy security – decoupling from Russia while ensuring the Green Transition

Russia has instrumentalized energy as a potent foreign policy weapon, profiting from the dependence of key European economies on Russian natural gas. The war in Ukraine coupled with insufficient supply from other sources have led to a severe price hike affecting European consumers. Already before the war, a key priority of the European Union was the Green Transition, aiming to become carbon neutral by 2050. The current crisis has provided the impetus for accelerating this transition and the use of renewable energy (including nuclear) that has the additional benefit of being decoupled from geopolitical tensions. In particular, the EU has launched REPowerEU, a plan to rapidly reduce dependence on Russian fossil fuels and fast forward the green transition. Thus, the conditions are there for transitioning to a sustainable economic model while getting rid of an important geopolitical weakness of Europe. The panel will discuss how this transition can take place, while also analysing possible short-term measures addressing the current energy crisis. The role of natural gas as a transition fuel and the exploitation of Black Sea resources will also be addressed.

Manuel Rivas Rabago, Team Leader of the Market Analysis Team, Chief Economist Unit, Directorate-General for Energy, European Commission

Cristian Buşoi, Chair, Committee on Industry, Research and Energy, European Parliament

Sylvia Beyer, Senior Energy Policy Analyst, International Energy Agency

Alessio Menegazzo, Head of Sustainability and Institutional Affairs, Enel Romania

Moderator: Cristian Păun, Professor, Faculty of International Economic Relations, Academy of Economic Studies of Bucharest

The panel focused on how Russia has instrumentalised energy as a foreign policy weapon and profiting off the oil and gas crisis to fund the war in Ukraine. Before the war, the Green Transition was a key aim of the European Union, however due to the spike in fuel prices and call to cut dependency from Russia, the crisis has led to an impetus to cut oil and gas purchases from Russia and find alternate means of producing energy. **Moderator Christian Paun, Professor at the Faculty of International Relations, Academy of Economic Studies of Bucharest**, argued that today's energy problem is a simple economic one but a sophisticated political one, in which the EU is highly dependent on a monopolistic supplier who uses its monopoly status to wage war and follow aggressive action.

Manuel Rivas Rabago, Team Leader of the Market Analysis Team, Chief Economist Unit, Directorate-General for Energy, European Commission, agreed with Professor Paun in that the EU faces a problem that links energy security and the Green Transition. However, he argued that the energy crisis didn't start because of the war in Ukraine but during the economic recovery post-Covid. Since then, energy demand kept growing and supply was unable to meet demand thus when gas prices increased, intrinsically electricity too. However, post-invasion the geopolitical element dominated the brutal increase of prices, with up to 90% for gas and 50% for electricity. Rabago argued that measures have been put in place to stem economic collapse however they could not be kept indefinitely due to fear of distorting the market. Rabago continued by praising the REPowerEU initiative as it removes Russia as the sole gas and oil supplier whilst sticking to the climate neutral objective by 2050.

Sylvia Beyer, Senior Energy Policy Analyst, International Energy Agency, talked about the importance of the International Energy Agency in dealing with the crippling high energy prices.

She stated that their role was to ensure that global oil and gas markets are in balance. The IEA was called out last Autumn to assess the impact of upcoming Russian aggression and worked with the EU Commission to identify 2 10-point plans for concrete technical systems in energy transition. Ms Beyer highlighted that the global crisis impacts highly on the EU whilst emerging economies now face poverty and energy security issues. In reaction to this, the IEA called on the Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries to boost production with 180 million barrels coming into the market to help alleviate prices and constraints. Furthermore, Ms Beyer stated that the G7 leaders were committed to reducing demand, scaling up energy efficiency, lifting global energy and transportation bottlenecks.

Alessio Mengazzo, Head of Sustainability and Institutional Affairs, Enel Romania, followed up on the role of the EU's Green Deal. He argued that this deal is a threat to the Russian stance as gas is a geopolitical arm for them and reducing sales will lead them into irrelevance. Mr Menegazzo argued that the Green Deal promotes a new revolution, wherein **the consumer not only has the duty to pay the bill but becomes the interactive energy protagonist**, a fact that autocratic states dislike as they prefer to use commodities as a leverage against the consumer. Mr Mengazzo argued that in the future the EU should avoid previous mistakes of dealing with autocratic states and viewing energy as a means of controlling citizens and economies. Mr Menegazzo agreed with Mr Rabago in that gas increases the price of energy but argued that electric power is cheaper than gas. As a result, we should invest in renewable and decentralised energy that is integrated in a digital network thus reducing the Russian gas dependency. Mr Mengazzo felt that gas brought the crisis by creating economic, military, and existential threats and thus the gas network will become a strained asset in 20 years.

Cristian Buşoi, Chair, Committee on Industry, Research and Energy, European Parliament, mentioned the possibility of an energy cut from Russia. He insisted that the EU must be prepared for the worse and countermeasures must be put in place. In terms of Romania, 80% of gas storages must be filled by November whilst the REPowerEU project will allow for a common platform to buy gas and diversify suppliers by 2030. He mentioned the US as a key Liquified Natural Gas supplier and which in turn enforces European security. Mr Busoi felt that by concentrating on boosting renewables, 45% of the energy mix by 2030 will be renewable. Mr Busoi also commented on the solar initiatives on all new residential buildings in Romania after 2026 as an ambitious plan and that Romania should look through EU funds to reach energy independence and climate goals.

What will peace look like?

It is yet unclear how and if the war in Ukraine will be settled in the near future. Despite Russia's initial failure in capturing Kyiv and toppling the Ukrainian government, the Russian army has managed to secure a land corridor between occupied Crimea, Donbas and southern Russia, albeit with very high military, political and economic costs. This panel will discuss all possible options for the future, such as a negotiated settlement, a frozen conflict and the annexation of conquered territory to the Russian Federation or a further escalation of the conflict. Panellists will also look at the future of relations between Russia and the West and implications for transatlantic security.

Keynote Address: Jan Lipavský, Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Czech Republic

David Beasley, Executive Director, World Food Programme

Olha Stefanishyna, Deputy Prime Minister for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration, Ukraine

Oleg Serebrian, Deputy Prime Minister for Reintegration, Republic of Moldova

Olivier Cadic, Vice-president of the Committee of Foreign affairs, National defense and Armed Forces, French Senate

Moderator: Ana-Maria Roman, Journalist, Antena 3 & Host of News Hour with CNN

The panel investigated the current political, economic and social implications of the war and discussed multiple avenues for peace in the future and how Russia should be treated after a hopeful defeat in Ukraine. **Ana-Maria Roman, Journalist, Antena 3 & Host of News Hour with CNN** set the scene by stating that 2000 villages and towns are under Russian control wherein local populations suffer. She posed the question of possible peace scenarios for Ukraine amidst the pressure of a long-lasting war and a further escalation of the conflict.

Olha Stefanishyna, Deputy Prime Minister for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration, Ukraine, stated that the world institutions such as NATO or the UN have failed to uphold the “peace in Europe” by allowing the Russian invasion and not doing enough to stop the crisis when the first signs arose. Ms Stefanishyna felt that **“the words of my grandparents have become a reality”** due to the filtration camps, mass murder and genocide committed by Russia, reminiscent of the Soviet state. She argued that Russia has violated international law and that they believe that no rules or conventions apply to them. She stated that multiple crises’ have come about due to the war and that NATO, or the EU must act against Russia rather than making statements, because Russia will sit at the negotiation table for food security one day and bomb large grain silos the next. Ms Stefanishyna argued that we must prepare ourselves in understanding what place we can offer Russia in a coalition of peaceful countries and that we must stand with Ukraine in terms of economic and military goals to achieve an unconventional victory. She stressed that **a peaceful democratic Europe is in our hands**, but the international community must hold Russia accountable and not be subject to Russian manipulation.

Oleg Serebrian, Deputy Prime Minister for Reintegration, Republic of Moldova, talked about the implications of the war on Moldova. He stated that the Black Sea region has become a highly popular geopolitical discussion and that Moldova has been most affected by the war. Economically, Moldova has lost connections with Ukraine, and they are no longer viable commercial partners. In terms of security, Moldova is fragile and vulnerable as the frozen conflict in the Transnistrian region is a security risk as Russia could aid in reactivating it. Mr Serebrian also stated that Moldova

has enthusiastically welcomed refugees and up to 500 000 have transited the country, which has also been an economic burden due to Moldova's already small population size. In terms of Ukraine, he stated that over 15 million refugees have escaped Ukraine thus posing a problem for the defence and rebuilding of Ukraine, and it signals a trend that could grow.

Olivier Cadic, Vice-president of the Committee of Foreign affairs, National defence and Armed Forces, French Senate, argued that the geopolitical situation today resembled that of 1938. Like Stalin and Hitler, Putin and Xi Jinping are trampling over international law in their lust for power and determination. Hitler saw Austria as an integral part of the Reich and Putin feels that Ukraine belongs to Russia, however Ukraine has fought back, refusing forced integration. Today, our responsibility is to make sure history doesn't repeat itself by openly preparing for war. Mr Cadic argued that **the globalisation born on the fall of the Berlin Wall has come to an end.**

Jan Lipavský, Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Czech Republic, stated that **Czechia** has been active in supporting Ukraine. However, he argued that we must ask what peace we want, we cannot accept Russia's peace as Putin's ambitions will not change. The international community must continue to aid Ukraine its fight defending democracy and **NATO's value will be measured by the hard security it is able to provide.**

The question of the global consequences of a long-lasting war emerged and **Olha Stefanishyna** argued that the future is based on rules, order and the wellbeing of people and that it is the one we must build ourselves, thus we must isolate the Russian Federation economically to avoid reacting to tyrannies. **Ms Stefanishyna** also stated that capitulation will not happen, and that Ukraine will not cede territory to Russia. **Oleg Serebrian** argued that it is up to the Ukrainians to decide on how and when they will stop the war and that we must not legitimise Russia's aggression for fear of future ones. **Olivier Cadic** argued that if we believe we can make a pact with Putin, it will be the end of democracy, thus we must continue fighting for our values and freedoms.

David Beasley, Executive Director, World Food Programme, harrowingly talked about the worst humanitarian crisis since WW2 which threatens famine, destabilisation, and mass migration. The latest analysis shows that a record 345 million people are on the brink of starvation which has been a huge increase in 5 years. He urgently called upon the international community to find a solution to Open the Odessa food ports and increase funding for humanitarian organisations whose costs have soared due to the fuel crisis. He also stressed that Governments must restrict protectionism by keeping trade flowing and that we must invest in resilience programs so that poorest communities can persist amongst food shortages. He urged that we act now as we are fast running out of time.

Fireside Chat on NATO's multinational Battle Group Forward Presence in Romania

Colonel Flavien Garrigou-Grandchamp, Senior national representative in Romania, Ministry of the Armed Forces, France

Radu Tudor, Political and Defense Analyst

This discussion focused on the capabilities and role of the multinational battle group forward presence in Romania and how they would act to defend the Eastern Flank.

Radu Tudor, Political and Defence Analyst, acknowledged the historic importance of the NATO alliance in Romania and praised the leadership of France in the battlegroup.

Colonel Flavien Garrigou-Grandchamp, Senior national representative in Romania, Ministry of the Armed Forces, France, stressed that the Black Sea and Romania have always been key aspects of the French defensive strategic overview. Since 2014, the French navy has been one of the most present in the Black Sea with a strong French air presence. Colonel Grandchamp stressed the presence of French ground forces, numbering 750 soldiers in Romania. He explained that President Macron announced France's readiness to be a framework nation for the battle-group presence in Romania and after the February invasion of Ukraine France manned the NATO readiness battalion to defend the Eastern Flank. He also mentioned the role of the emergency battalion in Constanta, mixed with Belgian and Dutch troops to be a long-term presence in Romania. On the coast, he explained that the ground-based air defence system on the Black Sea coast surveys the area and will provide air defence if needed.

Radu Tudor, praised the exceptional decisions of NATO in providing a reaction force in Romania and stressed the thousands of NATO troops staying in Romania. He asked how long they would be staying.

Colonel Grandchamp stressed the long-term commitment of French troops as the military situation in Ukraine will command their deployment. He mentioned the 4 battle groups stationed in Poland and the Baltics since 2016 are evidence that the deployments will last indefinitely, depending on future evolutions in the region.

Democratic Resilience and a New Economic and Social Contract

The panel will discuss ways to advance the development of a comprehensive and dynamic yet operational approach to resilience, including with a view to implementing forward resilience – projecting resilience forward and supplementing traditional notions of territorial security with actions to address flow security – protecting critical links that bind societies to one another. It will also seek to incentivize discussions on optimal ways of pursuing an enhanced Euro-Atlantic resilience agenda, including by exploring necessary synergies between relevant institutions and societal stakeholders. How can our societies operationalize the mutually reinforcing instruments of democratic, societal and collective resilience and how can we agree on a new social contract protecting our values? The panel will further address will address online disinformation and fake news and the pressure these tactics place on institutions and on individuals. Undertaken sometimes as part of fully-fledged influence campaigns, these tools aim at eroding trust in institutions such as NATO, the EU, and the governments of their member states and partner countries. What are the best strategies to counter this?

Yasmin Green, Director, Research and Development, Jigsaw, Alphabet Inc.

Jean-Christophe Bas, Founder and CEO, Connecters for Peace; Executive Board Member, Aspen France

János Bertók, Deputy Director, OECD Public Governance Directorate

Jakub Kalenský, Senior Analyst, European Centre of Excellence for Countering Hybrid Threats, Finland

Moderator: Clara Volintiru, Director, Aspen New Economy & Society Program

This panel focused on implementing and developing resilience in the context of the war in Ukraine. **Clara Volintiru, Director, Aspen New Economy & Society Program**, commenced this discussion by stating that resilience is a topic dear to the Aspen institute. She stated that in the context of the overlapping crises we face, our shared values are more important than ever to build public trust and create forward resilience. Ms Volintiru argued that our resilience must build towards future threats such as digital or security threats and the development of technology that can be described as a double-edged sword that can both empower solutions but be used for malicious campaigns.

Yasmin Green, Director, Research and Development, Jigsaw, Alphabet Inc, discussed the negative effects of the internet and how views on its development drastically changed. She mentioned that in the early 2000s malicious influence campaigns were used to gain recruits for violent extremist groups, but national security advisors downplayed the role of the internet in aiding radical Islamic groups. However, by 2015 the rhetoric had changed massively in that it was the fault of the Internet that Isis exists. It is because of core internet philosophies that groups like this emerged, as latency was seen as evil, and that greater speech was the antidote to bad speech. As a result, individuals had a voice and audience which had never been seen before and thus connection and community was used for ill. Ms Green argued that to build resilience against malicious internet use, the practice of **pre-bunking** must be used to stem false information before it's able to be spread. Ms Green also stressed that by building civic resilience, individuals would be equipped to spot attempts to manipulate them, and thus foreign disinformation campaigns would be less effective. In response, **Clara Volintiru** argued that public and private stakeholders and citizens must engage in these new online forums to serve various activities and be more open minded.

Jean-Christophe Bas, Founder and CEO, Connecters for Peace; Executive Board Member, Aspen France, stressed that the West must embrace greater democracy and multiculturalism to promote

peace and development. He argued that the West had won the Cold-War but it is losing the next phase in building the new world order due to its ignorance and denial of the perspectives and views of the Eastern and Asian worlds. Mr Bas highlighted that it is the last chance for the West to engage in a global conversation to define the terms of balance and avoid a great divide. He argued that the West must change mindsets by recognising that we don't have the absolute truth and that our reality is not shared with a growing part of the world. Now is the chance for a new social contract and to create a new model society that requires the mobilisation of all. In response, **Clara Volintiru** agreed that public institutions must deliver more to harness the examples of our democratic government model.

János Bertók, Deputy Director, OECD Public Governance Directorate, stated that Russia's invasion illustrated how multi-dimensional and global security threats threaten democracies and revealed our structural weaknesses. Mr Bertók was not surprised that citizen's trust in democracy is diminishing as governments fail in their ability to address the challenges of today and tomorrow. He argued that to restore trust a new social-economic contract must be forged in which we build resilience to foreign-led influence, misinformation and disinformation and reinforce democracy through shared values, mobilising leaders through the OECD, supporting dialogue with new members and promoting exchange through sharing good practices. **Clara Volintiru** agreed with this as she felt that we face greater social polarisation and problematic fights in our societies.

Jakub Kalenský, Senior Analyst, European Centre of Excellence for Countering Hybrid Threats, Finland, felt that a focus on disinformation and countermeasures against them has been growing. However, Mr Kalensky argued that measures must be taken to mitigate the threat through documenting the threat (discovering how many misinformation messages are being spread), raising awareness of the threats (spreading awareness similar to pre-bunking and by using various means of media), repairing societal weaknesses (such as the racial question in the US to polarise society) and limiting/punishing information aggressors (naming and shaming or sanctions against organisations that fund or partake in misinformation). **Clara Volintiru** mentioned Aspen's initiative to differentiate between the input of fake information using a process similar to pre-bunking and de-bunking to train resilience against disinformation.

The question of the key ingredient to safeguard our democratic values emerged and **Yasmin Green** argued that we must be resilient against dehumanisation. **Jean-Christophe Bas** argued that we must change our mindsets to be open minded and not look at the Western model as perfect to avoid confrontation and promote conversation. **János Bertók** argued that public governments must embrace global responsibilities to mainstream high level priorities whilst **Jakub Kalenský** argued that we must have determination and greater numbers to defend ourselves.

Digital solutions and cyber resilience – adapting to the new reality

Already before the invasion of Ukraine, constant cyber-attacks, often carried out on behalf of state actors and directing at damaging and disrupting the information systems of liberal democracies, had led to a paradigm shift in the security and defense field. NATO Allies have endorsed a Cyber Defence Pledge and are further boosting their national cyber defences based on the commitments made. Thus, strengthening cyber resilience is increasingly becoming a priority across the transatlantic space. The panel will debate possible strategies for this as well as cooperation in the cyberspace, looking at perspectives for NATO, transatlantic Relations and Romania. Furthermore, the panel will discuss the key role of solutions coming from the private sector in promoting stability and reducing risks in the cyberspace.

Anne Neuberger, Deputy Assistant to the President & Deputy National Security Advisor for Cyber and Emerging Technologies, White House's National Security Council

Dragoș Tudorache, Chair, Special Committee on Artificial Intelligence in a Digital Age, European Parliament

Dan Cîmpean, Director, Romanian National Cyber Security Directorate

Mihai Ivașcu, Chief Executive Officer, Modex

Moderator: Radu Puchiu, Director, Aspen Technology & Society Program

The panel discussed the range of cyber-attacks carried out by state actors and how our societies can be resilient against cyber-attacks on infrastructure and produce solutions. **Radu Puchiu, Director, Aspen Technology & Society Program**, commented that a few years ago the cyber-fight was waged underground and alone, however recently cybersecurity is the frontline of war and has damaged critical infrastructure.

Anne Neuberger, Deputy Assistant to the President & Deputy National Security Advisor for Cyber and Emerging Technologies, White House's National Security Council, stated that cybersecurity has been a priority for the Biden administration since the beginning. Ms Neuberger highlighted that the war in Ukraine has sharpened the focus on the issue and the US have come to partnership conclusions for cybersecurity. Ms Neuberger argued that the EU must make radical and significant cybersecurity improvements in our critical infrastructure, help partners recover from significant cyber incident, reinforce international norms to stop attacks on critical infrastructure (such as hospitals) and hold state and non-state actors responsible for disruptive or destructive cyber-security. She stressed that NATO is working to build virtual cyber-capabilities to respond to significant attacks on allies.

Dragoș Tudorache, Chair, Special Committee on Artificial Intelligence in a Digital Age, European Parliament, stated that technological advancement used to be linked closely to warfare however our data-driven economy and tech transformation is no longer prompted by defence needs but has grown entirely in the private sector due to more innovation and expertise. Mr Tudorache argued that this focus in the private sector has several implications: whoever writes the rules for digital transformation will have the upper hand in geopolitical terms (as technology dominates the geopolitical agenda), it requires a level of co-operation between the private and public sectors (natural in terms of US defense but needs improvement in the EU) and it means more investment must be funnelled in to technology to bring it closer to defense interests to encourage innovation.

However, Mr Tudorache stressed that we must find a balance between addressing genuine concerns of technological growth without stopping the positive effects it has on our economies and societies.

Dan Cîmpean, Director, Romanian National Cyber Security Directorate, highlighted that the government cannot ignore cybersecurity at this stage as now “suits and uniforms” are included. He argued that there has been a change in the sophistication and complexity of the attacks as they now indiscriminately target governments, media organisations, football clubs and political parties. Furthermore, he argued that the capabilities to help defend and be more resilient are in private hands, thus there must be a mega-strong partnership between public and private capabilities. He stressed the importance of the education system in tackling the deficit of cyber-security experts (numbered at 700 000 in the EU) and a future where every EU state may face major cyber-attacks. Mr Cîmpean insisted that in the unstable geopolitical state today the number and frequency of attacks will increase.

Mihai Ivaşcu, Chief Executive Officer, Modex, stressed the fact that 90% of the world’s data was produced in the last 24 months and thus cyberwarfare and technology which protects our most important assets are highly important. **He stated that whoever controls the data controls the truth.** He went onto explaining how blockchain is indispensable to enterprises who want quantifiable trust in their data sets as inaccurate data is a problem as modern warfare is deception and changing various data to ensure that foreign leaders are misled. He stressed the importance of young people who live in the digital age where they can challenge the validity of their games and software through verifiable sources.

The panel were asked what the key ingredient would be to create greater cyberspace resilience. **Anne Neuberger** suggested that we build more secure technologies that meet certain criteria and standards so that our alliance collectively buy security. **Dragoş Tudorache** proposed education as the expertise gap needs to be plugged by 2030 for the EU cyber-space to be secure. **Dan Cîmpean** argued that a greater bilateral and multilateral relationship would be key to increase security whilst **Mihai Ivaşcu** suggested that we must be dedicated to our mission and invest more.

The Transformation of Trans-Atlantic Security following the NATO Strategic Concept and the Strategic Compass of the EU

Russia's invasion of Ukraine has strengthened transatlantic cooperation and led to the unanimous conclusion that the security of NATO member states needs to be boosted. To counter new challenges and adapt to the new geopolitical realities, NATO is releasing at the Madrid Summit its Strategic Concept for the next decade, aiming to reflect and respond to current developments and integrate the lessons that the Alliance has learned over the past months. How does the concept reflect the region, its vulnerabilities and needs and how does it reflect the increased political role NATO has assumed to play? At the same time, as a powerful economic actor and a driver of democratization, the EU may and should have a more prominent stature in its neighbourhood, and is seeking a more prominent role in addressing its security needs. The Union has launched its Strategic Compass, aiming to assess its strategic environment, the threats and challenges it is facing and their implications. How will this and other new tools help the EU bring greater coherence in the security and defense fields and develop a common European answer to the threats on its borders?

General Daniel Petrescu, Chief of Defense Staff of Romania

Elinor Hammar skjöld, Director General for Political Affairs, Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Sweden

Daniel Hamilton, President, Transatlantic Leadership Network, Senior Fellow, Johns Hopkins University SAIS

Yordan Bozhilov, Deputy Minister of Defense, Bulgaria

Bashkim Hasani, Deputy Minister of Defence, Republic of North Macedonia

Moderator: **Cristina Cileacu**, Journalist, DIGI24

This panel focused on the unity of NATO and the trans-Atlantic alliance in security for Europe. It also delved into the greater role of the EU to bring greater coherence in the security and defence fields.

General Daniel Petrescu, Chief of Defence Staff of Romania, stated that the Madrid summit was a totally historic one for NATO considering the results, implications, and role of the new strategic concept. General Petrescu argued that NATO has been working on stronger security on the eastern-flank since the wake-up moment of the 2014 annexation of Crimea. He stated that the alliance pays 360-degree attention thus ensuring security for the whole of Europe whilst maintaining postures in the Black Sea and North-Eastern hotspots. Regarding the EU's Strategic Concept, General Petrescu stated that it clearly emphasis the role of NATO in providing security to Europe and being the cornerstone of our common defence with enhanced air policy and land deployments from member states.

Elinor Hammar skjöld, Director General for Political Affairs, Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Sweden, stressed that Sweden is very grateful for the strong support they received from allies in response to their request to join NATO which came about due to the unprovoked and unjustified aggression against Ukraine which was also an attack against the EU security order. It led to a strong discussion between the government and all parties leading to unanimous analysis of the seriousness of the invasion. Ms Hammar skjöld stated that Sweden will strengthen NATO and will support the 360-degree security initiative.

Daniel Hamilton, President, Transatlantic Leadership Network, Senior Fellow, Johns Hopkins

University SAIS, believed that Sweden and Finland were a celebration of NATO's open-door policy and clearly adds to NATO's strength whilst adding to the security of a Europe that is whole and free. However, Professor Hamilton felt that NATO were over-congratulating themselves at their surprising unity and should instead work the words of the Madrid summit into deeds and actions. He believed that NATO did not have a strategy for the Black Sea or a strategic sense of direction. He insisted that NATO must have a regional strategy for the Black Sea (like the one for the Baltic Sea) and a secure neighbourhood initiative. He suggested that NATO and the EU must provide countries like Ukraine, Georgia, and Moldova with everything they need to defend themselves alongside resilience effort packages. Professor Hamilton felt that the stronger NATO countries must project resilience forward to partner countries that are weaker and more vulnerable to disruption or else it will affect the US. Mr Hamilton suggested that we have a steely determination about our efforts and not just past ourselves on the back.

Yordan Bozhilov, Deputy Minister of Defense, Bulgaria, felt that NATO's and the EU's open-door policies are just what Bulgaria and North-Macedonia needed to make their regions more resilient to cooperate with their common challenges. Minister Bozhilov argued that the Russian war is a threat to Euro-Atlantic security and not just a regional issue as it has far-reaching destabilisation implications on a global level and thus, we must concentrate on the Black Sea to find the best solution. He believed that we desperately need cohesion between NATO and the EU as the transatlantic link is key for the region as we need stronger US involvement in the region. Minister Bozhilov also suggested the need for a new military Marshall Plan for the region to build defence capabilities to defend Ukraine for as long as possible. He also argued that we must see a stronger commitment from the EU to react to hybrid warfare, disinformation, weaponization of security supplies and cyber attacks to cope with the challenging situation.

Bashkim Hasani, Deputy Minister of Defence, Republic of North Macedonia, argued that history is repeating itself again and that the EU is vulnerable to new global and interconnected threats. He stressed that both NATO and the EU must work in synergy to protect human rights, freedoms, international laws and values by transforming on time to develop appropriated measures and tools to address raising challenges and security threats. Minister Hasani argued that NATO must work with partners across the globe to secure international peace and security and enhance cooperation of common interests.

In response to the question of a Black Sea strategy, **General Petrescu** argued that NATO has a 360-degree military strategy that gives the necessary means to overview areas, such as the Black Sea, and security challenges. General Petrescu highlighted that NATO has a clear command and control architecture with assigned forces for different tasks and regions and thus can adequately defend all regions. However, he suggested that not all challenges can be solved militarily but through a mixture of force and diplomacy.

In response to **Professor Hamilton** and the question that Finland and Sweden might support the Baltics thus defavouring other regions, **Elinor Hammar skjöld** stated that Sweden is prepared to take on the tasks of a future member NATO and that NATO must move forward in terms of transatlantic unity, which is a clear strategic strength in response to Putin's aim to destabilise the alliance.

The question of China as a new security threat and the creativity of NATO to find solutions to both China and Russia emerged. **Professor Hamilton** believed that to solve these issues, the EU and NATO must increase their work together to get beyond the political pettiness that exists. Furthermore, Professor Hamilton argued that to stem the threat of China, Eastern European countries must reduce their cooperation with China to aid the alliance.

On the topic of Putin's aim to divide NATO, **Minister Bozhilov** argued that we need a comprehensive approach to security as we need to strengthen our flank militarily and focus on the development of civil society by fighting corruption and misinformation. **Minister Hasani** added that he feels the great pressure from Russia, but NATO and the alliance must stay united against the aggression.

A new Marshall Plan for Eastern Europe?

As the war has severely crippled the Ukrainian economy, it is becoming increasingly clear that the reconstruction will require a massive financial effort. Western political and financial institutions must be involved in the process of aiding the reconstruction with both financial assistance and know-how, in order to create provide the framework for stability and prosperity. Where will this money come from? What is the role of Romania and countries in the region in the reconstruction of Ukraine?

Florin Spătaru, Minister of Economy, Government of Romania

Professor Emmanuel Dupuy, President, Institute for European Perspective and Security Studies (IPSE)

Vasile Iuga, Founder and Partner, Valorem Business Advisors; Treasurer, Aspen Institute Romania

Moderator: Clara Volintiru, Director, Aspen New Economy & Society Program

This panel discussed the economic impact of the war on Ukraine and by what means it could return to normality now and in the future. **Clara Volintiru, Director, Aspen New Economy & Society Program**, introduced the discussion by saying that the Ukrainian economy has been severely crippled by the current war and wanted to focus on what Romania could give to this project.

Florin Spătaru, Minister of Economy, Government of Romania stated that Romania has not experienced a crisis of such magnitude close to their border for a long-time. As a result, Romania has been given the responsibility to reconstruct Ukraine and rebuild what has been destroyed. Minister Spataru believed that the reconstruction has already started with thousands of refugees settling in Romania and re-integrating. Education and jobs were offered to these refugees, whomst Minister Spataru felt to be the starting steps of the reconstruction of Ukraine. He also stated that certain companies and business had been able to move to Romanian offices and industries (such as engineers) thus keeping the skillsets fresh. Galatz railway also continues to ship Ukrainian grain thus allowing for Ukraine to continue having an income which helps the people, business continuity and the strategic position of Ukraine and Romania.

Professor Emmanuel Dupuy, President, Institute for European Perspective and Security Studies (IPSE) argued that a “new” Marshall Plan is not only about big money but also about transforming Europe to create a new mindset which helps reshape and rebuild common endeavours. However, Professor Dupuy thought that the idea of a new Marshall Plan is worrying as it suggests that Europe is not unified and collaborating. What we require is a bigger, stronger European plan in order to rebuild and reshift what is needed in the outskirts of Europe. Professor Dupuy believed that a new Marshall Plan must also address the gaps in the European agenda such as the western Balkans or the southern flank security by recreating something new. Professor Dupuy believed that we need to build something new for cooperation for a mutual perspective on eastern Europe.

Vasile Iuga, Founder and Partner, Valorem Business Advisors; Treasurer, Aspen Institute Romania, felt that having a new Marshall Plan after 75 years from the original is highly symbolic. Like the original, the ambition for Ukraine must be big and not limited to economic reconstruction but also to the integration of Ukraine into the western world. Mr Iuga believed the new plan must involve many stakeholders and start early. In the long-term, the world faces a bill of around 750 billion for the reconstruction however in the short term it is important for Ukraine to survive the

conflict and make sure the Ukrainian national bank doesn't run out of funds. Furthermore, to reconstruct Ukraine we must have partial relief and established lifelines to provide liquidity and bring back the private sector of banking to Ukraine.

In response to **Clara Volintiru's** question whether Romania has the financial instruments to do more for Ukraine, **Minister Spătaru** commented that money isn't everything and that Romania must develop the ability to come to projects and create an eco-system which includes Ukraine. He also commented on the importance of relocating businesses from the far-east back to Europe and Ukraine to allow firms to create production entities in the region indefinitely. On top of this, Minister Spataru believes Romania must become a regional hub that will aid Ukraine's integration into the EU by being the bridge in transferring knowledge and specialisms to infrastructure.

The question of how credible a unified action plan will be during the current economic crisis emerged, and **Professor Dupuy** commented that not only the EU and like-minded democracies have a right and responsibility to rebuild Ukraine. He believed that the 141 countries which disagreed with Russia's war will have a part in Ukraine's reconstruction. If only the G7 or G20 rebuild Ukraine, African nations will ask why it didn't occur in Libya in 2011 or perhaps elsewhere in the future. Thus, the international community must be active in its reconstruction and if we build a community Ukraine will be seen as a model for the future.

In response to the global perspective and the International Monetary Fund's responsibility in creating a global Marshall Plan, **Vasile Iuga** agreed with the other panellists in that the reconstruction and plan will not only be about the rich countries. He believed it should be about a broader constituency and if China contributed it would be very interesting. He also stressed that it is important for Ukrainians to take part in the reconstruction to let the money irrigate Ukrainian soil and help pay local wages, social security and develop expertise when it is most needed rather than hiring foreign contractors who do not benefit the locals.

The question of the critical ingredient for a successful Marshall Plan emerged, wherein **Minister Spătaru** commented that a transparency of the process and gathering a deep involvement of the Ukrainians would lead to success. **Professor Dupuy** argued that a strong commitment from the international community is key whilst **Vasile Iuga** stated that politicians and citizens must avoid fatigue and forget about the war in Ukraine.

The AGENDA



09.30 – 10.00 EEST Registration & Welcome Coffee

10.00 – 10.20 EEST Introductory remarks

- **Sergiu Manea**, Acting-President, Aspen Institute Romania (**in-person**)
- **Sergiu Panainte**, Interim Director, Bucharest Office of the German Marshall Fund of the US (**in-person**)
- **Laurence Auer**, Ambassador to Romania, France (**in-person**)

10.20 – 11.00 EEST Opening keynote

- **Victoria Nuland**, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, U.S. Department of State (**pre-recorded message**)
- **Simona Cojocaru**, Secretary of State, Ministry of National Defence (**in-person**)
- **Oleksii Reznikov**, Minister of Defence of Ukraine (**virtual**)
- **Juansher Burchuladze**, Minister of National Defence, Georgia (**pre-recorded message**)

11.15 – 12.00 EEST Panel 1 *Aspen Energy Summit Panel session: European energy security - decoupling from Russia while ensuring the Green Transition*

Russia has instrumentalized energy as a potent foreign policy weapon, profiting from the dependence of key European economies on Russian natural gas. The war in Ukraine coupled with insufficient supply from other sources have led to a severe price hike affecting European consumers. Already before the war, a key priority of the European Union was the Green Transition, aiming to become carbon neutral by 2050. The current crisis has provided the impetus for accelerating this transition and the use of renewable energy (including nuclear) that has the additional benefit of being decoupled from geopolitical tensions. In particular, the EU

has launched REPowerEU, a plan to rapidly reduce dependence on Russian fossil fuels and fast forward the green transition. Thus, the conditions are there for transitioning to a sustainable economic model while getting rid of an important geopolitical weakness of Europe. The panel will discuss how this transition can take place, while also analyzing possible short-term measures addressing the current energy crisis. The role of natural gas as a transition fuel and the exploitation of Black Sea resources will also be addressed.

- **Manuel Rivas Rabago**, Team Leader of the Market Analysis Team, Chief Economist Unit, Directorate-General for Energy, European Commission (**virtual**)
- **Cristian Buşoi**, Chair, Committee on Industry, Research and Energy, European Parliament (**virtual**)
- **Sylvia Beyer**, Senior Energy Policy Analyst, International Energy Agency (**virtual**)
- **Alessio Menegazzo**, Head of Sustainability and Institutional Affairs, Enel Romania (**in-person**)

Moderator: **Cristian Păun**, Professor, Faculty of International Economic Relations, Academy of Economic Studies of Bucharest (**in-person**)

12.10 – 12.45 EEST Panel 2 What will peace look like?

It is yet unclear how and if the war in Ukraine will be settled in the near future. Despite Russia's initial failure in capturing Kyiv and toppling the Ukrainian government, the Russian army has managed to secure a land corridor between occupied Crimea, Donbas and southern Russia, albeit with very high military, political and economic costs. This panel will discuss all possible options for the future, such as a negotiated settlement, a frozen conflict and the annexation of conquered territory to the Russian Federation or a further escalation of the conflict. Panellists will also look at the future of relations between Russia and the West and implications for transatlantic security.

Keynote Address: **Jan Lipavský**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Czech Republic (**pre-recorded message**)

- **David Beasley**, Executive Director, World Food Programme (**pre-recorded message**)
- **Olha Stefanishyna**, Deputy Prime Minister for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration, Ukraine (**virtual**)
- **Oleg Serebrian**, Deputy Prime Minister for Reintegration, Republic of Moldova (**in-person**)
- **Olivier Cadic**, Vice-president of the Committee of Foreign affairs, National defense and Armed Forces, French Senate (**in-person**)

Moderator: **Ana-Maria Roman**, Journalist, Antena 3 & Host of News Hour with CNN (**in-person**)

12.50 – 13.10 EEST Fireside Chat on NATO's multinational Battle Group Forward Presence in Romania

- **Colonel Flavien Garrigou-Grandchamp**, Senior national representative in Romania, Ministry of the Armed Forces, France (**in-person**)
- **Radu Tudor**, Political and Defense Analyst (**in-person**)

13.10 – 14.20 EET Lunch Break

14.20 - 15.00 EEST Panel 3 Democratic Resilience and a New Economic and Social Contract – *in partnership with the Aspen Institute France*

The panel will discuss ways to advance the development of a comprehensive and dynamic yet operational approach to resilience, including with a view to implementing forward resilience - projecting resilience forward and supplementing traditional notions of territorial security with actions to address flow security – protecting critical links that bind societies to one another. It will also seek to incentivize discussions on optimal ways of pursuing an enhanced Euro-Atlantic resilience agenda, including by exploring necessary synergies between relevant institutions and societal stakeholders. How can our societies operationalize the mutually reinforcing instruments of democratic, societal and collective resilience and how can we agree on a new social contract protecting our values? The panel will further address will address online disinformation and fake news and the pressure these tactics place on institutions and on individuals. Undertaken sometimes as part of fully-fledged influence campaigns, these tools aim at eroding trust in institutions such as NATO, the EU, and the governments of their member states and partner countries. What are the best strategies to counter this?

- **Yasmin Green**, Director, Research and Development, Jigsaw, Alphabet Inc. **(virtual)**
- **Jean-Christophe Bas**, Founder and CEO, Connecters for Peace; Executive Board Member, Aspen France **(virtual)**
- **János Bertók**, Deputy Director, OECD Public Governance Directorate **(virtual)**
- **Jakub Kalenský**, Senior Analyst, European Centre of Excellence for Countering Hybrid Threats, Finland **(virtual)**

Moderator: **Clara Volintiru**, Director, Aspen New Economy & Society Program **(in-person)**

15.10 – 15.50 EEST Panel 4 Digital solutions and cyber resilience – adapting to the new reality

Already before the invasion of Ukraine, constant cyber-attacks, often carried out on behalf of state actors and directing at damaging and disrupting the information systems of liberal democracies, had led to a paradigm shift in the security and defense field. NATO Allies have endorsed a Cyber Defence Pledge and are further boosting their national cyber defences based on the commitments made. Thus, strengthening cyber resilience is increasingly becoming a priority across the transatlantic space. The panel will debate possible strategies for this as well as cooperation in the cyberspace, looking at perspectives for NATO, transatlantic Relations and Romania. Furthermore, the panel will discuss the key role of solutions coming from the private sector in promoting stability and reducing risks in the cyberspace.

- **Anne Neuberger**, Deputy Assistant to the President & Deputy National Security Advisor for Cyber and Emerging Technologies, White House's National Security Council **(virtual)**
- **Dragoș Tudorache**, Chair, Special Committee on Artificial Intelligence in a Digital Age, European Parliament **(virtual)**
- **Dan Cîmpean**, Director, Romanian National Cyber Security Directorate **(virtual)**
- **Mihai Ivașcu**, Chief Executive Officer, Modex **(in-person)**

Moderator: **Radu Puchiu**, Director, Aspen Technology & Society Program (**in-person**)

16.00 – 16.50 EEST Panel 5 The Transformation of Trans-Atlantic Security following the NATO Strategic Concept and the Strategic Compass of the EU

Russia's invasion of Ukraine has strengthened transatlantic cooperation and led to the unanimous conclusion that the security of NATO member states needs to be boosted. To counter new challenges and adapt to the new geopolitical realities, NATO is releasing at the Madrid Summit its Strategic Concept for the next decade, aiming to reflect and respond to current developments and integrate the lessons that the Alliance has learned over the past months. How does the concept reflect the region, its vulnerabilities and needs and how does it reflect the increased political role NATO has assumed to play? At the same time, as a powerful economic actor and a driver of democratization, the EU may and should have a more prominent stature in its neighbourhood, and is seeking a more prominent role in addressing its security needs. The Union has launched its Strategic Compass, aiming to assess its strategic environment, the threats and challenges it is facing and their implications. How will this and other new tools help the EU bring greater coherence in the security and defense fields and develop a common European answer to the threats on its borders?

- **General Daniel Petrescu**, Chief of Defense Staff of Romania (**in-person**)
- **Elinor Hammarskjöld**, Director General for Political Affairs, Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Sweden (**virtual**)
- **Daniel Hamilton**, President, Transatlantic Leadership Network, Senior Fellow, Johns Hopkins University SAIS (**virtual**)
- **Yordan Bozhilov**, Deputy Minister of Defense, Bulgaria (**virtual**)
- **Bashkim Hasani**, Deputy Minister of Defence, Republic of North Macedonia (**virtual**)

Moderator: **Cristina Cileacu**, Journalist, DIGI24 (**in-person**)

17.00 – 17.40 EEST Panel 6 A new Marshall Plan for Eastern Europe?

As the war has severely crippled the Ukrainian economy, it is becoming increasingly clear that the reconstruction will require a massive financial effort. Western political and financial institutions must be involved in the process of aiding the reconstruction with both financial assistance and know-how, in order to create provide the framework for stability and prosperity. Where will this money come from? What is the role of Romania and countries in the region in the reconstruction of Ukraine?

- **Florin Spătaru**, Minister of Economy, Government of Romania (**in-person**)
- **Professor Emmanuel Dupuy**, President, Institute for European Perspective and Security Studies (IPSE) (**in-person**)
- **Vasile Iuga**, Founder and Partner, Valorem Business Advisors; Treasurer, Aspen Institute Romania (**in-person**)

Moderator: **Clara Volintiru**, Director, Aspen New Economy & Society Program (**in-person**)

17.40 – 17.50 EEST – Closing Remarks

18.30 – Cocktail Reception dedicated to the 25th Anniversary of the Strategic Partnership between the United States and Romania

- **Mircea Geoană**, Deputy Secretary General, NATO
- **Shane Dixon**, Deputy Chief of Mission, U.S. Embassy in Romania
- **Official Message from Marcel Ciolacu**, President of the Chamber of Deputies and of the PRO-America Group, Romanian Parliament, **delivered by Ana-Maria Cătăuță**, Vice-President, PRO-America Group, Romanian Parliament
- **Florin Spătaru**, Minister of Economy, Government of Romania
- **Josephine Payne**, President, Ford Romania
- **John Florescu**, Founder and Chairman, Friends of Romania Foundation
- **Ionuț Simion**, President, AmCham



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