

## **Tiziana Stella welcoming for EAI**

Good morning,

I am glad to welcome you - and to see so many people in this room. The topic of this conference is important indeed, not only for the Euro-Atlantic area and Russia, but for the global system as well.

The title of the conference contains two distinct elements. I am not referring to the old dichotomy between Euro-Atlantic and Russia, but to the idea of Euro-Atlantic integration and September 11: The long process of Euro-Atlantic integration, and the immediate past of September 11.

As to the immediate past, this conference was born out of Sept. 11, when I was awakened by the sound of an airplane flying just above the roof of my home, and crashing immediately afterwards into the Pentagon. (In Washington I live very close to the Pentagon).

But 2 days ago when we read in the headlines of major newspapers around the world: "NATO embraces Russia", or when I receive phone calls from newspaper editors asking the meaning of "Russia has joined NATO", we are talking about things with roots that go back far beyond the immediate past. They are in fact the last of hundreds of such steps that have built the history of Euro-Atlantic integration.

It was more than a century ago when the first formative steps of this process were taken, when Captain Alfred Mahan was received in England with banners celebrating "Anglo-American Reunion". The formal Atlantic Alliance was born in World Wars I and II. Then, just after WWII, came the birth of the institutionalized system of integration in the greater Atlantic area, with the major steps eastward of including Germany and Italy.

Euro-Atlantic integration is a process with difficult and complicated inherent dynamics. This was what Jean Monnet meant when he addressed the first meeting of the Assembly of the Coal and Steel Community as "la premiere assise de la federation Europeenne". This was what Clarence Streit meant in 1939 when he called for a union of democracies as an open nucleus for wider integration.

The dynamics of the process need to be understood, studied, and discussed. The stability and the security of the global system depend in great part on the further development of the institutions of Euro-Atlantic integration. Today these institutions face impasses, but there are also promises to be kept, and opportunity.

- The impasses of the widening-deepening tension;
- the promises given to other countries of being able to join once they overthrew their dictatorships;
- the opportunity of including Russia in this process; and

- the question of transcending a purely geographical interpretation of "Euro-Atlantic" integration and moving toward the more flexible "union of democracies" as an open nucleus:

All these matters are in fact rooted in the federative underpinnings of the Atlantic-led system.

There is plenty for us to reflect on here, plenty for more than one conference. These matters need to be studied, to overcome the impasses, to keep the promises, and to grasp the opportunities. I am glad that we are making a beginning today.

I am here representing the Euro-Atlantic Institute, a part of the Association to Unite the Democracies. The Institute was born in 2001 with the goal of fostering studies and research on the influence that integration in the extended Atlantic area has on the stability of the global system and on ways in which the core group of democracies can work with the international community to foster wider processes of democratization and integration.

I hope that this conference will help explore these issues.

Now I would like to introduce Ambassadors Robert Hunter and Vladimir Lukin, who will deliver the two Keynote addresses.

First, from the United States, Ambassador Hunter. He is former Ambassador to NATO, currently at the RAND corporation.

Thank you very much Ambassador Hunter. It was a really enlightening presentation you gave, and I was particularly interested in what you said. I am sure these things will form the basis for a large part of our discussion at this conference.

And now, to lay the basis for the discussion from a perspective from the other side of the Atlantic, I give the floor to Ambassador Lukin. He is known to all of you here in Moscow as Vice President of the Duma, but for those of us in America, he is also known as the former Ambassador of your country to ours.