

Ambassador Robert Hunter

Thank you. Good morning. I'm glad to welcome you and to see so many people in this room. The topic of the conference is important indeed and not just for Euro-Atlantic countries and for Russia but for a group of system as well. The title of the conference as you see contains two elements. And I'm not affiring to deal or to call to may be to in Euro-Atlantic and Russia but to the idea of euro-Atlantic integration and September 11. The long process on one side of Euro-Atlantic integration and immediate past of September 11 on the other side. As to immediate past this conference was born in September 11 when I was awakened by the sound of an airplane flying just above the roof of my home and crushing immediately after word into the pentagon which is very close to where i live. But when two days ago we read in the airlines of major newspapers around the word "NATO embarrasses Russia" or when I received phonecause from newspaper editors, asking the meaning of Russia as joining NATO. We were talking about things were routs that go back far beyond the immediate past. They are in fact the last of hundreds of such steps that have build the history of Euro-Atlantic integration. It was more then century ago, when the first formative steps of this process were taken. When captain Alfred Mahan was received in England with Benners celebrating Anglo-American union. The formal alliance was born in World War I, and World War II, then just after World War II came the birth of the institutionalize system of integration integrated Atlantic area. We do major steps Eastward of including Germany and Italy. Euro-Atlantic integration is a process we difficult and complicated inhering dynamics. This was what Germany meant when he addressed the first meeting of the assembly of the calling still community as la primera «съезд» de la federacion European – the first gathering of the European federation. And this was what Clearing Strike meant in 1939 when a call for a Union democracies as an open nucleus for a wider integration. The dynamics of the process had to be understood studied discussed. The stability and the security of the Global system the pan in great part further development of institutions of Euro-Atlantic integration. Today these institutions faces in past, but there are also promises to be kept and opportunities. The promise given to other countries of being able to join once the overthrow their dictatorship. They impasse of the widening deepening intention their opportunity of including Russia and the question of transcending appurely geographical interpretation of Euro-Atlantic integration and moving for what toward a more flexible union of democracies as an open nucleus.

All these meters are in far trutied in the federative underopenings of Euro-Atlantic system. There is plenty for us to reflect you and plenty for more to come conference. These meters need to be started to overcome the impasses to keep the promises and to grass the opportunities. I'm glad to make the beginning of the day.

I'm here representing Euro-Atlantic institute part of the association to Unite the democracies. The institute was born in 2001. We started with studies and researchers on the influence that integration in the extandid Atlantic area as on the stability of the Global system and on ways in which the cord Group of democracies can work with international community to faster wider processes of democratization and integration. I opened this conference with help explored discusses. Now I would like to introduce ambassador Robert Hunter and Vladimir Lukin who deliver the taking of addresses. First from United States ambassador Hunter. He is former ambassador to NATO and currently is at RAND corporation.

Ambassador Hunter, please.

Hunter.

Tiziana, thank you very much. I noticed you said the word NATO with the straight face. It has been not so long that one could talk about NATO here in Moscow without people worry in about weather we dealing with the past weather in the future.

I mean I assure you we are not talking about NATO and Russia in regard to the future. Future of your country, future of my country, future of European and Atlantic integration.

First let me thank the Euro-Atlantic institute and the Association to Unite the Democracies and Mr. Wicks for the chance to be here. Let me thank Tiziana Stella who is so ably to acting the conference and for those of you who missed last night and I suspect that is about all for an extraordinary video-teleconference but we are here, Urbino in Italy, and Seattle in the State Washington in my country, bringing together a group of young people from the three societies talk about the future of transatlantic security. And did it in ways that it was difficult to determine who were the Russians, who were the Europeans, and who were the Americans. I want to say thanks to the next generation, a generation, Russians, Europeans and Americans who will I believe achieve a relationship that was done in particular with the European Union in Europe. It is not also to be with ambassador Lukin who was a very able representative of your country to the United States among many other things that he has done. And the leadership, that he has not shown in the building of these new countries. It is great honor too be with you Mr. Ambassador.

I represent not just myself, but also the RAND corporation which is in American based, but international organization very similar to the association to Unite the Democracies with a very clear understanding, that the future of security involving all of our societies most among other things be greengage in the development of democratic traditions, practices and EC cooperation among democracies. The CCD which are represent is the designated agent for all of the American nongovernmental organizations, looking toward the major conference that will be held in South Korea in November of the border community of democracies.

September 11. Tiziana had the airplane crash pass before her house in Pentagon. I worked in the building in meaning this house in Pentagon. Did not get work that day, because I heard the explosion and they closed the roads. But the post seating in the office next to me looked up to me and saw the plane, crushing to the building and every day I saw and watched it from my office as a progress is made to repair that damage. And as we now to repair past and future damage that can come from the threat of terrorism and another threats to are coming humanity. Big change taken place an occasions. How much and others opportunities seas. Let us produce honeever is an interesting question. Certainly in this country president put with the first forcing leader to telephone president Bush. To office support. Intelligence on Afghanistan. Approval for Americans to use necessity bases inspecialy in central Asia. We are seen senstatenate and significant chief in the deviation of Russian Policy towards a much follow engagement in West and It's institutions. And that is approaches that we in the West most honor most respectve and worked towards that day in which the kinds of divisions we leave seen in the past will be arrased. And so this great country will take it's fall anvaude and propriate place in the community not just internationally, but more particularly of the Euro-Atlantic World. Last Friday my president was in this town and signed the treaty with president Putin which helped to end the 20th century . And on Tuesday your president met with the heads of state in government of the NATO Alliance in Rome to sign an agreement about the NATO-Russia council,

which helps to open the perspective on the 21 century. What I understood has happened: 10 years ago or 11 years ago we had the end of the Cold War and the end of the Soviet Union. This is led fundamentally to a recasting, not based on confrontation, not based on military affairs, not based on taking advantage on one another, but based on a recognition that all of European security are in this together and they collectively, we have a chance and a responsibility to redeem the tragedies of the 20th century, the worst century in human history with what we do in the 21.

NATO happened so fast, that many people outside didn't understand. Some of your leaders did. I recall two signer Russian leaders who watched this transformation, who said: "We can accept what NATO is doing, but we have one request. What is that I said – Please change the name. It is hard for us to accept a new NATO and the name. Change it. We changed everything except the name. We did it according to a vision presented by George Bush I, the signer, who argues for a Europe whole and free. Possibilities of creating security from which all countries can gain and potentially none we lose. Position of Bush contains also geostrategic decisions about Russia. In 1919 Germany was dealt with harshly after the First World War. In 1946 he was lifted up and integrated into the West. George Bush and his colleagues decided the best way to deal with Russia was the second way. Not the way that produced the headache but the way that produced democracies, stability and prosperity in today's Germany. With the fundamental goal of writing out what ever bad experience we are collectively had in a Cold War. We tried to build a new experience of common understandings of the future in the best we could. A NATO made his transformation around in basic goals: to keep America engaged as European power to preserve the best to the past including the hole for Germany and including remarkable development in civil societies as much as anything, which was the fact that the European Union countries have abolished War as an instrument of relations with one another. Particularities seeing in a country looking at that which last 27 millions people in the Last War. NATO was reached out to a Central- Europe to stabilize that part of the World to help it to take its place in the West. Recognizing that in Central Europe was the courses or at least large part of consequences of the three great Wars of the 20th century. I switching to Russia with NATO- Russia founding act with NATO-Ukraine Carter with the change of NATO strategy of way from confrontation in towards things like peacekeeping and a new relationship with European Union.

How of this can be permanent joint council at NATO there are used to say 19 or then 16 hours to pose Russia. He did not succeed. It was still too much distrust and were not enough issues in common. You thought we were not consultant you at NATO enough. We felt you are not taking advantage of the opportunities opened to you. And then came along cause of all which costs all. Economic cooperation between in the United States Europe and Russia was unequal in the 1990th. Perhaps the time was wrong, perhaps then we had hoped for institutions to develop. Now we have new leadership in Russia your president Putin has a purely calculated fundamental engagement of Russia with the West. A grain strategic decision of the most fundamental importance which we welcome, which we must support. This means several priorities. First is to continue stabilizing central Europe, realize the relationship between Russia and NATO. Part of it is the relationship between NATO and Russia whether your relationship to European countries is becoming more important. It will be important if you look to your relationship with NATO from the site of looking for areas where we can work together and build together and from the site of looking ways of weakening the NATO. You will find in it the strong Partner and its strength will also be your strength.

It is important to start with only few special efforts: military cooperation, exercises Russian officials at NATO, working at joint deetrins. A whole series of positive steps to build practice and to build trust. NATO is a very strange institution. You will be able to affective within it when you are truly within it, with your people.

Secondly is the adaptation of NATO itself. It is still military alliance, but it does things that are more political: a partnership for peace for example. To help to promote democracy and civil society within all its members. To transform the military.

To agency of positive change throw Europe rather than it agency of containment. And EC took beyond Europe where those I grown, US, Russian bilateral relationship demonstrated most clearly today but what our two countries are committed to do in dealing with terrorism and weapons of mass distraction. In these two areas as others, there as should be the clesest engagement of NATO and Russia from both terrorism and weapons of mass destruction we are also need to be careful. These two areas do not to find all of the relationship and must not be seen as substitute of everything else we must build together. There is today as we said by a joint baders this week, an opportunity again to think of security from Vancouver to Vladivostok or to go even father back to general the goal to create the security from Atlantic to the Earth but beyond the Atlantic and beyond the Europe.

Number three is the all important area of economics. To continue reforms in this country for you have a right to expect what ever is useful to you in engagement from outside. Working towards your full membership in world trade organization. In case of trade investment. And I fully developed relationship within the European Union which I believe will be more important to you and may be for us as well, then NATO itself. This week the European Union declared that you are market economy and not office opportunities. The European Union contains also values that marriage from the federal spirit and this federal spirit as much to say in regard to what is possible in the future.

Number four. And I may actually be taken these issues in the order of increasing importance. The development of societies and cultures within countries and coosporters has indeed been the magic of the success of development in west in the last 50 years and could be the magic of success of relations engaging Russia in the brother world. Obio – what happens here is critical. Just is odiously you will need to develop your democracy, your civil institutions in ways that make sense for Russia, that can borrow from experience else where. Can engage in cooperation with countries else where, but ask to be something that comes out of the Russian spirit to define the Russian future and Russian civil society.

It is critical also the working with institutions just governments, government to government, international institutions but the great wide range of nongovernmental institutions where presented here today by the Console community of democracies the hosts the Higher School of Economics and the Association to Unit the democracies. It is going to important to see your involvement in NATO the European Union, the Council of Europe with the European security, the Word Trade Organization. More acquisem and instiallyes then you will ever worth to have to learn. This is assaimless with an engagement. Appurelistic involvement of hundreds of thousands Russians and hundreds of thousand of people elsewhere. An exchange of millions of people. Then developing of contacts may be on anything that could be orchestrated by any government. It leads un indeed to the question of what is security. It is organic. It is no accent that in the West the Marshal plan which was political and economic with along with NATO which was military that the European Union and NATO have complementary functions and not in fact the most deep security is that

which comes in transformation of societies in a specially there from ruling in a culture of democracy.

My 5th point is so much of what I'm talking about is about tomorrow's generation. My generation was handed and so was ambassador Lukin's generation. We were handed the structure called –the Cold War. We could do little bit here and little bit there. We were charged with preserving Word against the most authentic threat in refaced Today's generation has no such guidelines and thank goodness. This is a plastic word. A word that can still be shaped that is in the shaping. We need to create and adapt institutions within in cross borders. There needs to be a massive commitment to education to joint curriculum, to exchanges. And I don't mean exchanges of a few I mean exchanges of the many. Many coming from Russia West and Word. Many from West coming here, so that the habits of moving about become automatic and not the exaction. What even would be real some would be virtual such as we saw last night in that extraordinary effort. A lot of this will be in the promotion proponent of those things that can help develop democracy in civil society.

This quid's of things done the association to Unite the democracies, the Euro-Atlantic Institute, the Higher School of Economics. Council for Community of democracies. We talk about Europe, the Atlantic and the continent hole and free what we are attempting to do is to start with the innovation of security that is yesterday adapted the borders innovations and create all for the future, not ignoring the problems for if we ignore them we'll see failure, but recognizing while we will continue to have differences. We can create a means for continuing up one another but containing the differences in building what is possible. In Europe Council in this new generation doing what we have to do and what we can do shape that word in which we want to live that is work of in historic demantion and none of us has ever had that chance before. Chairman, thank you very much for the opportunity too de with you. Tiziana. Thank you ambassador Hunter. It was very interesting presentation you gave. I particularly liked the joint responsibility that we have to redeem the tragedy of the 20th century and the core that you made for education and for the need of developing the joint curriculum and more work at this point of view so studied. And now I would like to give the word too ambassador Lukin that now is vice-president of the Duma and that we now in America as ambassador of your country to our country. Ambassador Lukin.