



# Brzezinski Chair Update

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## THE NATO RIGA SUMMIT: A RENEWED COMMITMENT TO TRANSFORMATION

*A working group composed of twenty-four leading U.S. and European experts on NATO and its relations with the European Union met for a two-day seminar on “The NATO Summit and Beyond” in Riga, Latvia on September 15-17, 2006, organized by the Brzezinski Chair with the CSIS Europe Program and in cooperation with Latvia’s Strategic Analysis Commission. Based on the working group’s discussions, this paper, written by Simon Serfaty and released in early October, features ten key recommendations for the future of the Atlantic Alliance. “The NATO Riga Summit: A Renewed Commitment to Transformation” is excerpted below.*

**T**he 2006 NATO Summit should provide a much-needed opportunity for President George W. Bush to explain to, and discuss with, his NATO counterparts how he intends to address, in the aftermath of the Congressional elections, the daunting agenda of real-time issues he will face during the balance of his administration—especially as regards Iraq, Iran, and the Palestinian issue, but also over the other issues that populate the multipolar environment that has been emerging over the past three years. Equally important, the U.S. president should listen carefully to what his counterparts have to say on how they will approach the same issues. This discussion should conclude with a commitment to developing a new Strategic Concept that will recognize that NATO can have a role to play on these types of issues. The new Strategic Concept ought to be adopted by a date certain—say, the spring of 2009 for the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Washington Treaty, which should also be the date for the next NATO summit...

**I**t should be clear that NATO’s future will not be ensured or defined by what is said at meetings, but by what is done on the ground. As a down payment for the collective commitment to the resolution of current issues, it is especially imperative for the NATO allies to reassert, firmly and specifically, their intention to give NATO whatever forces are needed in Afghanistan...

**N**on-Article 5 crisis response missions should be framed by a new Stabilization and Reconstruction Initiative (SRI) that should be developed and adopted by the time of the next NATO Summit at the latest. The nature of the emerging security normalcy is unmistakable: however necessary the military dimension of any mission may be, it is not sufficient—which is to say that stabilization and reconstruction (S&R) is no less important than military coercion...

**P**ast and likely future enlargement will admittedly reinforce the need for some changes of NATO’s procedures, not only in decision-making, but also in budgetary and other terms. The consensus rule remains desirable, however, and should not be touched, recognizing that “consensus” means a good faith effort to reach agreement and attend to the interest and concerns of others. As a legacy of the debate over Iraq, a new NATO civility should be understood as a shared expectation of deeper consultation as decisions are made by the U.S., balanced by the understanding that NATO members willing and able to participate in new missions would face a loyal opposition in the North Atlantic Council that would make room for constructive abstention but would not extend to disruptive obstruction...

**R**eflective of the urgency they fear and the unity they feel, the 26 Heads of State and Government who will gather in Riga on behalf of NATO should urge a follow-on Summit that would also include all EU Heads of State and Government that are not members of NATO to discuss and adopt a new Euro-Atlantic Partnership Agreement to which would also be associated all NATO allies as well. This Summit could be held in 2007, when the 25 EU members will celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Rome Treaty.

*“The NATO Riga Summit: A Renewed Commitment to Transformation” can be downloaded in full at: <http://www.csis.org/zbc/>*

*The NATO/EU-NATO working group will meet for a second time on December 9-10 in Berlin to review and assess the conclusions of the NATO Riga Summit and examine actionable ideas for closer NATO-EU cooperation in and beyond Europe. These efforts are part of a larger two-year project on the U.S., the EU, and NATO, which receives support from the European Commission.*

## Visions of the Atlantic Alliance: The United States, the European Union, and NATO

Edited by  
Simon Serfaty



“...a rational case for a renewed and balanced transatlantic partnership, based on the complementarity of the European Union and the United States.”

-Charles Grant  
Director, Centre for European Reform

Foreword by John Bruton

Available online at  
<http://csis.zoovy.com/product/0892064765>

### From Reflection to Action: A Road to Euro-Atlantic Finality

*In the Autumn 2006 edition of EuroFuture, Simon Serfaty looks at Europe's period of reflection in the context of thinking ahead about the future of the transatlantic partnership. He writes:*

“Old Europe died in August 1914. The birth of a new Europe took time, much of it tumultuous. When that time finally came, after a false start in 1919 and on the eve of a third global conflict modestly dubbed as “cold,” the driving force was not a shared vision of a common future but a common appreciation of shared failures. Bidding farewell to a failed past was the starting point of a process whose end point could not be imagined, let alone debated, until much later.

As ‘later’ is now fast approaching, Europeans can take a moment to reflect with much satisfaction over the achievements of the past decades. They have come a long way, and their progress is best measured retroactively. But there is still a long way to go, and the will to proceed towards what has been called Europe’s “finality” may not be rekindled without a renewed vision of what Europe is, and a credible understanding of what it does.

Although the process of European integration has never been well understood in the United States, it has been a central feature of the American vision of its role in Europe. Obviously, the “idea of Europe” was a European idea. But to the extent that U.S. policies proved vital, first in launching the process after 1945 and next in keeping it going during the Cold War, the idea of Europe was also an American idea. In helping execute that idea, the U.S. intention was not to impose itself as a model or to gain permanent control of a weak continent. Rather, the intention was to help the Europeans make the commitments needed to master their past and, literally, to change the course of their history.”

This article draws from a longer paper titled “Moment of Reflection, Commitment to Action,” which can be downloaded at <http://www.csis.org/zbc/>

#### Selected Recent Talks of the Brzezinski Chair

- “The Challenges of a Wider Europe,” *American Council on Germany*, November 17, 2006.
- “L’avenir de la relation transatlantique,” *Institut d’études internationales de Montréal*, October 13, 2006.
- “Les USA, puissance impériale?” *Festival International de Géographie*, Saint-Dié des Vosges, France, September 30, 2006.
- “Thinking About America’s Strategic Challenges,” *New America Foundation & Princeton Project on National Security*, September 27, 2006.

About the Zbigniew Brzezinski Chair in Global Security and Geostrategy  
CSIS established the Brzezinski Chair in July 2003 to advance understanding in the fields of geostrategy, international security, European affairs, and global politics. Reflecting Zbigniew Brzezinski’s achievements during a career including public service, teaching, and writing, the chair is awarded to a leading scholar in the fields of geostrategy, international security, and global politics. Simon Serfaty, Brzezinski Chair holder, also remains a Senior Advisor to the Europe Program at CSIS, where he was director from 1994-2004.