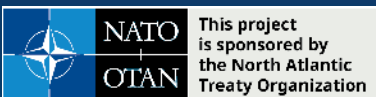


Security Forum for Peace and Defence of Europe

32nd Economic Forum
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Preface

The dynamically changing geopolitical situation has proven how important Poland's presence in NATO is for its security. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation has been effective in deterring potential aggressors. Successive enlargements involving Central and Eastern European countries have been successful. In the context of Russia's aggression against Ukraine, the importance of border states such as Poland has definitely increased. After a long period of peace, it became apparent that there is a need to strengthen the presence of allied troops on the eastern flank.

Countries such as Poland, Lithuania and Slovakia are also crucial for providing military aid to Ukraine. The supply routes of modern equipment pass through these countries, thanks to which Kiev can effectively repel the attack. Therefore, the topic of security is very worthy of attention and discussion at the present time. The debate on this topic can only take place in relation to membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. The aim of the discussions will be to find a solution for improving the level of security and guaranteeing peace in our region for decades to come.

Therefore, the main objective of the project is to foster and strengthen the discussion on crucial security topics today and the role of the NATO in the peacekeeping process in Central and Eastern Europe, especially considering the war in Ukraine. This was possible thanks to the debates organized at this year's Security Forum during the 32nd Economic Forum in Karpacz.

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Peace in Ukraine as a Guarantee for the Security of Us All - How to Help and What Can NATO Do?

Jeanne Meserve, who moderated the discussion, asked the panelists what the West is actually doing and how prepared it is for the future, including the post-war era. How should we still support Ukraine to ensure peace for the rest of the world? There was also the question of Kim Jong Un meeting with Vladimir Putin in Moscow to discuss arms sales to the Russians.

General Rajmund Andrzejczak said that if Korea decided to supply weapons to Russia, it would be bad news for everyone, and in the future also for Russia itself. The general said he would be surprised if Korea decided to participate in the war, but anything is possible.

"I don't believe North Korea is strong enough or so free to make such an offer, so maybe it is testing our determination, attention and political will, but what is even more important is what China says about this than the North Korean leadership."

Andrzejczak also warned that if Ukraine lost the war and Belarus went further into Russia's orbit, Poland would find that limiting defence spending to 5% of its gross domestic product and a standing army of 300,000-strong would not be enough. *"If we lose credibility as NATO, as a civilisation, China is watching, so this is a big game"* he said.



Referring to the repeated Russian threats to use nuclear weapons and the stationing of Russian tactical nuclear weapons in Belarus, Andrzejczak compared them to the threats of a gangster.

‘It looks like we are dealing with the gangsters, crazy bad boys. Everyone has gone to the park smoking cigars, the gangsters are putting guns on the table and we are in panama T-shirts and saying: ‘Well, I have got a gun, but I left mine at home, and my wife does not like the word.’

Mykola Siruk enumerated the needs facing the Ukrainians. Among them were: the need for better solutions in the artillery, mine clearance equipment, and tactical missile systems. These are the most urgent needs. He appealed to the US Administration to be more proactive in these areas.

In the context of possible Western actions, **Pierre Haroche** mentioned two things: to sign an association agreement with Ukraine in the context of the country’s entry into the European Union, which would enable the mobilization of funds for arms production in the EU, and to allow EU member states to send more arms to Ukrainians so that the overall level of purchases in Ukraine increases. This would complement NATO’s operations.

The debate moderator asked the participants whether Ukraine’s accession to NATO would further encourage Putin to continue the war.

Dominik Jankowski of the Office of the Secretary General of NATO said that whether Ukraine joins NATO or not, Putin is sufficiently motivated to pursue military action.

The guests also discussed how the support for Ukraine will be affected by the upcoming elections in the United States, how NATO is protecting its eastern flank and what to prepare for if the United States reduces its presence in Europe in favor of increasing its activity in Asia, as well as the presence of Russian influence in Poland and the disturbing activity of the Wagner Group.





The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation - Strength in Solidarity. NATO Membership as a Guarantor of Peace and Security

The main reason for many decades of peace on the European continent is the existence of the North Atlantic Alliance. Despite the collapse of the USSR and the changing nature of threats, NATO has passed the test in recent years. The war in Ukraine has confirmed that the real security of European countries is guaranteed by a membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. The Alliance is based on the principle of collective defence, in line with its basic premise that an armed attack on one member is considered an attack against all members. This principle makes NATO the most powerful military alliance in human history.

Moderator:

- **Jaroslav Szczepanski**, Associate Professor, Academy of Justice, Poland

Speakers:

- **Greg Simons**, Associate Professor, Turiba University, Sweden
- **Rolf Nikel**, Vice-President, German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP), Germany
- **Gwythian Prins**, Emeritus Research Professor, London School of Economics (LSE), United Kingdom
- **Bartłomiej Radziejewski**, Chairman of the Board, Nowa Konfederacja, Poland





NATO's Eastern Flank and Perspectives for Further Enlargement

After the collapse of the USSR, the obstacle to the expansion of NATO to Central European countries disappeared. In 1999, Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary joined the Alliance, followed by Bulgaria, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia in 2004. Time has shown that the decision to join the North Atlantic Alliance was beneficial for these countries. When conflicts broke out in other parts of the post-Soviet area (e.g. Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia), peace always prevailed in NATO member states. Following the outbreak of war in Ukraine on 24 February 2022, Sweden and Finland decided to join the Alliance. In the new geopolitical situation, Poland proved to be a key country securing the eastern flank.

During the second day of the 32nd Economic Forum in Karpacz (5 - 7 September 2023), the issue of the expansion of the North Atlantic Alliance was discussed by the invited guests of the Security Forum. The discussion was moderated by TVP World journalist **Donald Arleth**. The panel included discussants representing the 'old' NATO countries - German expert from the German Marshall Fund of the United States **Jessica Berlin**, the new members were represented by Finnish security analyst from Security Analysis Ltd, Retired Brigadier General **Juha Pyykönen**, and **Jozef Hrabina**, Chief Analyst at the Council of Slovak Exporters and founder of Analytica Danubiana. The representative of the countries participating in joining the Alliance was represented by the Executive Director of the Ukrainian Centre for Security Studies (CENSS) of the Centre for Security Studies (CENSS), **Viktor Voronina**.

The moderator opened the discussion with a question about the possible admission of Georgia and Armenia to NATO and how Moscow would react to such a move. **Juha Pyykönen** mentioned that already since the war with Georgia in 2008, Russia has been deliberately destabilising the region, doing everything to knock the idea of accepting Caucasus countries into the alliance out of Western politicians' minds. This is a deliberate tactic by Putin, holding back the accession of new countries. Nevertheless, this tactic cracked with the attack on Ukraine. However, he stressed, the question of Ukraine's membership should be resolved first, before inviting Georgia or Armenia later.

Jozef Hrabina stressed that countries such as Ukraine and Georgia have already chosen NATO. In Georgia, more than 70% of the population is in favour of joining the Pact, and any delay in the integration process only strengthens Russia. The accession of these two countries is a security issue and Moscow has no say in the matter. Another candidate for membership is Kazakhstan - and this too should be kept in mind.

Jessica Berlin, speaking about the accession of the Ukraine-Georgia duo, mentioned that the Alliance did nothing when Russia attacked Georgia and only now, during the attack on Ukraine, has NATO started to act. It is important to consider how to strengthen the candidate states. He called the lack of response to the 2008 war a mistake and a very bad tactic by NATO. The most important issue is how to strengthen the states so that they are ready to join.

Viktorija Voronina stressed the importance of synchronous action that NATO countries can take. The alliance's strategic approach to candidates must change. The Ukrainians have a lot of war experience, which they are ready and willing to share, for mutual benefit. What actions should NATO take to maintain its position as a strategic hegemon?

Jessica Berlin stressed the need to spend an agreed percentage of GDP on the military, which most NATO member states do not do. But in addition to increasing defence spending, democratic standards should be strengthened among the candidates - which requires a lot of work. The guest from Slovakia agreed with Berlin on the fulfilment of



compulsory armament expenditures by member states. He stressed that it should be decided what kind of NATO we want in the future - whether open to new members (which he obviously supports) or limited to the US and EU members. **Juha Pyykönen** added that the Alliance should first be consolidated and strengthened internally, with the help of EU mechanisms.

Viktorija Voronina said that the most important issue is what NATO ultimately wants to do with Russia - to contain the aggressor, to destroy it or to limit its influence. She added that Ukraine cooperates well with NATO, if only through the exchange of intelligence, but still does not know what the Pact's plans for Moscow are. Everyone agrees that Russia must be defeated, she added, but how? There is no easy answer here. A guest from Finland said that NATO should focus on defending Europe, which is what it was created to do, only then think about admitting non-European countries into the Alliance. The German analyst disagreed.

Jessica Berlin said that the Pact should also open up to non-European countries with which it already cooperates anyway - such as Korea and Japan. An extension to the Pacific countries is a natural move for NATO. We need to get the situation in Europe under control and at the same time open up to democratic states that meet NATO's conditions for accession. Defeating Russia would, she added, send a clear signal to China, failing to react decisively gives China the green light to annex Taiwan in the near future.

The Slovak representative, in turn, emphasised the mindset of the Russian elite, for whom the collapse of their power will be tantamount to the collapse of Russia - which cannot be allowed. He mentioned the likelihood of an escalation of the Ukrainian conflict into a Russia-NATO nuclear war.

The Ukrainian director concluded that the most important thing to defeat Russia is cooperation - not only with the countries of the Pact, but with all countries in the region. But - so far - there is no consistent strategy and no idea how to defeat Russia. And therein lies - in her opinion - the fundamental problem of the North Atlantic Alliance.





How to Counter the Russian Threat?

The Russian aggression against Ukraine has raised the international community's awareness that any threats by Vladimir Putin must be taken seriously and that it is necessary to be prepared for various scenarios of actions that could endanger global security. What joint actions should be taken to prevent further escalation of possible conflicts and to prepare for Russian blackmail? What can NATO members do in this situation?

Moderator:

- **August Zywczyk**, Vice-President, Defence24, Poland

Paneliści:

- **Maurizio Geri**, Marie Curie Researcher, European Commission, Italy
- **Krzysztof Tuduj**, Deputy, Sejm, Poland
- **Gordan Akrap**, Founder, Hybrid Warfare Research Institute, Croatia
- **Igor Ignashev**, Deputy Commander of the Military Unit, Armed Forces of Ukraine, Ukraine





Cyber Threats - the Future that Has Arrived. How to Ensure Peace in Cyber Space?

During the 32nd Economic Forum in Karpacz, the “Security Forum” path featured a panel discussion entitled “Cyber Threats - the Future that Has Arrived. How to Ensure Peace in Cyber Space?” The panel was moderated by **Szymon Palczewski** - Deputy Editor-in-Chief of CyberDefence24.pl, while the panelists were: **Krzysztof Gawkowski** - President of the Left Parliamentary Club, **Yuliana Shemetovets**, who is a political representative of the Belarusian hacktivist group Cyberpartisans, as well as **Miguel Ángel Cañada Navarro** - Head of the National Coordination Centre at the Spanish National Institute for Cyber Security, **Grzegorz Kurdziel**, Member of the Board of Directors and Chief Operating Officer at PKP



Polskie Linie Kolejowe S.A. and **Matthew Houlihan** - Senior Director of Government Affairs for the UK and Europe at Cisco Poland Sp.z.o.o. The panellists discussed, among other things, whether national security systems are ready to deal with cyber threats, what integrated actions need to be taken to 'ensure peace' in cyberspace and how is NATO performing in this regard?

For a long time, threats in cyberspace have been described as imminent and as having turned existing security systems upside down. Before we were all aware of it, we were already faced with cyber threats lurking at every turn.

Grzegorz Kurdziel said that the Polish State Railways successfully operates the Radiostop system, which, thanks to its simplicity, prevents cyber attacks on the railway and, for example, trains being diverted onto the wrong tracks. Incidents on the railways, according to the PKP representative, affect only one per cent of trains on Polish railways. MP **Krzysztof Gawkowski** was asked whether we should expect incidents in connection with the October elections and what we should do to protect ourselves from them. According to him, there is no possibility of rigging the elections, and critical infrastructure is not just a resource, it is not just trains, computers, etc. - it is people. Humans must be mentally prepared to protect data. The state needs to invest in the role of the human being in cyberspace to protect it. Cyber Partisans representative **Yuliana Shemetovets** talked about the activities of her organisation, which fights regimes through cyber attacks. Cyber Partisans have so far carried out four cyber attacks on the automated systems of Belarusian railways, disrupting the logistics of the Russians marching into Ukraine and paralysing Russian troops for a two-week period. The organisation also conducts disinformation campaigns and uses all methods to repel Russian attacks. According to Houlihan, the biggest threat to companies is data-mining attacks.

Cyberpartisans follow an established code of conduct - similar to the rules of cyberspace - so called red lines, which are not crossed, because Cyberpartisans do not want to endanger people - ordinary citizens, they also do not attack Western countries, China or Arab countries, and at the moment their activity is focused on helping Ukraine. **Matthew Houlihan** from Cisco Poland talked about the company's experience of having to change and adapt to the current situation. He mentioned, also, a report created by his company, which shows that there is a change in trends, with customers increasingly struggling with "phishing attacks". Due to the increasing popularity of remote working, people are exposed to more and more cyber threats. Organisations have new challenges, needing to train employees and help them understand cyber security. According to Houlihan, the biggest threat to companies is data-hijacking attacks.





Deterrence and Defence - NATO's Main Objective

The most important way to ensure peace for NATO member states is to deter potential aggressors. The United States, which has the largest nuclear arsenal in the Alliance, plays a central role in this strategy. NATO extends a "security umbrella" over its territory which effectively restrains the inclinations of hostile states such as Russia. The Roman formula "si vis pacem, para bellum" still holds true in this doctrine.

Moderator:

- **Artur Bartoszewicz**, Assistant Professor, SGH Warsaw School of Economics, Poland

Speakers:

- **Anna Maria Siarkowska**, Deputy, Sejm, Poland
- **Tuija Karanko**, Secretary General, Association of Finnish Defence and Aerospace Industries, Finland
- **Iulian Chifu**, Director, Conflict Prevention and Early Warning Center, Romania
- **Zdenek Petras**, Researcher Fellow, Centre for Security and Military Strategic Studies, University of Defence, Czech Republic





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