



High-Level Conference organised by the **NATO Defense College Foundation**in cooperation with the **Fondazione Compagnia di San Paolo** and the **NATO Defense College**





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High-Level Conference organised by the **NATO Defense College Foundation** in cooperation with the **Fondazione Compagnia di San Paolo** and the **NATO Defense College**

Rome | Thursday, the 23rd of June 2022

Venue: Parco dei Principi Grand Hotel, Via Gerolamo Frescobaldi 5, 00198 Roma

14,00 – 14,30 CEST Participants Registration

14,30 – 14,40 WELCOME REMARKS

- Alessandro Minuto-Rizzo, President, NATO Defense College Foundation, Rome
- Olivier Rittimann, Commandant, NATO Defense College, Rome

14,40 – 14,50 OPENING REMARKS

• Piero Fassino, President, Foreign Affairs Committee, Chamber of Deputies, Rome

14,50 - 16,00

FIRST PANEL RELEVANCE AND EVOLUTION

Recent major crises have highlighted more than ever the need for a robust political guidance and decision-making of the Alliance. The new Strategic Concept is an important tool to clarify overall direction and priorities. At the same time, the concrete interests of major Allies could necessitate new formats within the established institutional framework. How can North American and European Allies' visions and priorities be better harmonised? What are the best yardsticks to measure contributions to the common effort? Especially, how to preserve indivisibility of security with a general division of labour?

Chair: Frediano Finucci, Journalist, La7 Television, Rome

- Eric Terzuolo, Professorial Lecturer, School of International Service, American University, Washington DC
- Benoît d'Aboville, Associate Fellow, Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique, Paris
- Matthias Dembinski, Senior Researcher, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, Frankfurt
- Vincenzo Camporini, Former Italian Defence Chief of Staff, Rome

16,00 – 16,30 *Coffee Break*

16,30 - 17,20

SECOND PANEL BALANCING THREATS AND OPPORTUNITIES

The Covid-19 pandemic crisis in Shanghai has put again China at the centre of the strategic stage due to all ramifications that this country has in the globalisation process. At the same time the Southern Region of NATO continues to have its stability jeopardised by a combination of encroaching powers, aggressive non-state actors and multifaceted internal fragilities. How can cooperative security be extended to global partners, including Asia? What is the next effective approach to avoid the spiralling of the security situation in North Africa and the Deep Maghreb?

Chair: Giulia Pompili, Journalist, Il Foglio Quotidiano, Rome

- Richard D. Hooker, Senior Fellow, Atlantic Council, Washington DC
- Rajendra Abhyankar, Former Secretary, Indian Ministry of External Affairs; Former Ambassador of India to the European Union, Mumbai
- Christian Koch, Director, Research Division, Gulf Research Center, Jeddah

O&A Session

17,20 – 17,35 *Coffee Break*

17,35 – 17,45 SPECIAL INTERVENTION

 Benedetto Della Vedova, Undersecretary of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Rome

17,45 - 18,45

THIRD PANEL FOOD SECURITY. GEOPOLITICS AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR

Food security is an integral part of the emerging challenges that have been considered by the Alliance. What are the scenarios and the contributions for a public-private partnership in managing important aspects of those challenges? What are the lessons learned and what kind of innovative approaches can be proposed? How can the international community best harness this potential?

Chair: Andrew Spannaus, Journalist and Political Commentator, Milan

- Naser M. Y. Al Belooshi, Ambassador of the Kingdom of Bahrain to Italy, Rome
- **Ivotsna Puri,** Associate Vice-President, Strategy and Knowledge Department, IFAD, Rome
- Alfredo Antro, Commander, Investigation Department, Carabinieri for Public Health Protection (NAS), Rome

- Paolo Di Stefano, Head of International Affairs, Coldiretti, Brussels
- Piergiorgio Marini, Manager, Illicit Trade Prevention, External Affairs, Philip Morris, Rome

Q&A Session

END OF THE WORKING DAY

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Speakers' Biographies

WELCOME REMARKS

Alessandro Minuto-Rizzo

President, NATO Defense College Foundation, Rome

After having served at the Italian Embassy in Washington DC and as Commercial Counselor at the Embassy of Italy in Prague, Ambassador Minuto-Rizzo worked as Head of the External Relations Office of the EEC from 1981 to 1986. In the next years, his career focused on Europe and Space Policy. In 1997 he was appointed Diplomatic Counselor of the Minister of Defence Beniamino Andreatta, then of his successors Carlo Scognamiglio and Sergio Mattarella. In 2000, Minuto-Rizzo held the position of Italian Ambassador to the Western European Union and to the Political and Security Committee of the EU, of which he was among the founding members. He was Deputy Secretary General of the Atlantic Alliance between 2001 and 2007. His mandate was mostly carried out in the strategic-political industrial area and in the relations with sensitive countries such as those in the Gulf and the Southern Mediterranean. He is the author of the books: "The road to Kabul" (Il Mulino-Arel, 2009); "A political journey without maps. Diversity and future in the Greater Middle East" (Rubbettino, 2013); and "NATO and the Middle East: The Making of a Partnership" (New Academia Publishing, 2018).

Olivier Rittimann

Commandant, NATO Defense College, Rome

Since July 2020, Lieutenant-General Rittimann is the Commandant of the NATO Defense College in Rome. After graduating from the Military Academy of Saint Cyr and the Army Engineer School, he chose to serve with the Foreign Legion and he took part to operations in Chad, Mayotte, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Iraq. After an operational tour at the NATO-led Stabilization Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina (SFOR) in 1997, he was assigned to the Allied Forces North Headquarters in Brunssum in 1998. Then, he was posted to the Joint Staff in Paris, as Chief of the NATO branch. Promoted Brigadier General in 2010, he was deployed in the International Security and Assistance Force (ISAF) from January 2011 to January 2012 as Chief of Operations and assigned as French Deputy Military Representative (MILREP) to NATO Headquarters. After that, Rittimann became the French National Military Representative to NATO's Allied Command Operations in Mons (Belgium).

OPENING REMARKS

Piero Fassino

President, Foreign Affairs Committee, Chamber of Deputies, Rome

Honourable Piero Fassino is the President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Italian Chamber of Deputies. Elected for the first time in 1994, he was re-elected in all the following legislatures until 2011-when he became mayor of Turin (2011-2016) - and then elected again to Parliament in 2018. He is currently also a Member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe; Vice President of the Political Commission; and President of the Italy-France friendship section of the Inter Parliamentary Union. Honourable Fassino served as Undersecretary of State for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs during the Prodi government (1996-1998) and, in the same period, as Undersecretary for European Union Policies to the Prime Minister. He then was Minister of Foreign Trade for the D'Alema government (1998-2000), and Minister of Justice for the Amato government (2000-2001). From 1991 to 1996, he held the post of International Secretary of the Democratic Party of the Left. From 2016 to March 2020, he was President of the Socialist Group and spokesman for the Mediterranean at the Congress of Local Authorities of the Council of Europe.

FIRST PANEL RELEVANCE AND EVOLUTION

Frediano Finucci

Journalist, La7 Television, Rome

Frediano Finucci is a senior TV journalist, chief editor of the Economic-Foreign Affairs desk at La7 broadcaster where he also hosts the TV Programme "Omnibus". Previously, for the same TV channel, he was the Chief Editor of the Economics section, the manager for the nightly news outlet and the Chief Editor of the Foreign Affairs section. From 2003 to 2006, Mr Finucci was correspondent in Brussels and Special News and Economic correspondent in Italy and abroad (United States and Asia). In 2009 was also appointed Chief Editor of "Otto e Mezzo", the popular prime time news-program anchored by Lilli Gruber. Since 1992 he has worked for different media as a judicial reporter on the "Mani Pulite" enquiry.

Eric Terzuolo

Professorial Lecturer, School of International Service, American University, Washington DC

Eric R. Terzuolo is a Professorial Lecturer in the School of International Service at American University in Washington DC. As a Foreign Service officer from 1982 to 2003, his overseas postings included Beirut, Rome, Prague, Paris and The Hague. From 2001 to 2003, professor Terzuolo was the Senior US Resident Representative to the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, following assignment as Minister Counselor for Political Affairs at the US Embassy in Rome. Since retiring from the State Department in 2003, he has taught at multiple public and private institutions, including the University of Amsterdam, University of Roma Tre, George Washington University and American University. For many years, Professor Terzuolo has been on contract to the Foreign Service Institute, the Department of State's training unit, with responsibility for West European area studies.

Benoît d'Aboville

Associate fellow, Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique, Paris

Benoît d'Aboville is a diplomat and former Ambassador, currently serving as Associate fellow at the Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique and Associate Professor at Sciences Po/PSIA in Paris. During his diplomatic career, Ambassador d'Aboville was assigned to Washington DC, Moscow, Geneva and New York. He was also Ambassador in Prague, Warsaw and Brussels, and served as French Permanent Representative to NATO from 2000 to 2005. He is a contributor to the French Air Force research team as a reservist officer. From 2011 to 2013 he was a member of the Advisory Council of the French Foreign and European Ministry. He is a specialist in political-military affairs and former Vice President and member of the International Institute of Humanitarian Law in Sanremo and Geneva.

Matthias Dembinski

Senior Researcher, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, Frankfurt

Matthias Dembinski is a Senior Researcher at the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt. His research interests include regional security organisations, European security and the politics of intervention. His work has been published in, among others, the European Journal of International Relations, Global Governance, International Interaction and Security Studies. Dr Dembinski is a co-editor of the 2021 Friedrich Ebert Foundation Study on "Three Visions for NATO", mapping national debates on the future of the Atlantic Alliance.

Vincenzo Camporini

Former Italian Defence Chief of Staff, Rome

General Vincenzo Camporini is a Scientific Advisor for the International Affairs Institute (IAI) in Rome. Enlisted in the Air Force Academy in 1965, he rose through the ranks to eventually take up the highest office of Chief of Staff of the Italian Air Force (2006-08) and Chief of Defence Staff (2008-11). General Camporini has dealt with the most topical issues of international politics as a scholar and academic, focusing on the political-military dimension of the European Union and the development of its ability to use the military instrument in the framework of its external relations. Among other things, he was President of the Centre for High Defence Studies in Rome (2004-06) and Vice President of the IAI (2011-19). General Camporini graduated in Aeronautical Sciences at the University of Naples Federico II and in International and Diplomatic Sciences at the University of Trieste.

SECOND PANEL BALANCING THREATS AND OPPORTUNITIES

Giulia Pompili

Journalist, Il Foglio Quotidiano, Rome

Giulia Pompili is staff writer at Il Foglio Quotidiano since 2010. Her experience includes writing about Indo-Pacific issues, Japan, Koreas, Taiwan and China. Her investigative work on the Chinese influences on Italy and the European Union resulted in a public debate on the nature of the Western relationship with Beijing. She wrote a book, "Sotto lo stesso cielo" (Mondadori, 2021), about East Asian democracies threatened by autocracies. Ms Pompili is also the author of a weekly newsletter compiling news from the Indo-Pacific and providing analyses on the region, the first of this kind in Italian.

Richard D. Hooker

Senior Fellow, Atlantic Council, Washington DC

Dr Richard D. Hooker is a Non-Resident Senior Fellow with the Atlantic Council, following service as The Theodore Roosevelt Chair in National Security Affairs and Director of the Institute for National Strategic Studies at the National Defense University in Washington DC. A former Dean of the NATO Defense College, he is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a Senior Research Associate with the Changing Character of War Program at the University of Oxford, and a Distinguished Senior Fellow at the Jamestown Foundation. Dr Hooker also served on the National Security Council during the Clinton and Bush administrations, and as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Europe and Russia with the NSC from April 2017 to July 2018. A career Army officer, he served in combat in Grenada, Somalia, Iraq and Afghanistan, including command of a parachute brigade in Baghdad from 2005 to 2006.

Rajendra Abhyankar

Former Secretary, Indian Ministry of External Affairs; Former Ambassador of India to the European Union, Mumbai

Ambassador Rajendra Abhyankar is presently Visiting Professor at the College of Liberal Arts of Purdue University in Lafayette. He was in the Indian Foreign Service from 1968 to 2005, and was appointed Secretary at the Ministry of External Affairs from 2001 to 2004. Until 2009, Ambassador Abhyankar was Professor and Director of the Centre for West Asian Studies of the Jamia Millia Islamia University in New Delhi. He has been involved in a range of works for non-profit, corporate organisations and academics. Besides, from 2012 to 2019, he was Professor of Practice of Diplomacy and Public Affairs at the O'Neill School of Public and Environmental Affairs of Indiana University in Bloomington, USA. He is the author seven books on Indian diplomacy and related issues, his latest publication being Syria. The tragedy of a pivotal state, published in 2020 by Palgrave Macmillan.

Christian Koch

Director, Research Division, Gulf Research Center, Jeddah

Dr Christian Koch is the Director of Research for the Gulf Research Center. He also leads the Tafahum Project on a Security Roadmap for West Asia and the Arabian Peninsula sponsored by the German Federal Foreign Office. Dr Koch served as Director of the Gulf Research Center Foundation, Research

Program Leader on Gulf-Europe Relations at the Gulf Research Center in Dubai and as Head of Strategic Studies at the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research in Abu Dhabi. From 2018 to 2020, he was a Senior Advisor and Director of Research at the Bussola Institute in Brussels. From 2018 to 2021, Dr Koch was also a member of the Bertelsmann Foundation Strategy Group on "The EU and Russia, Turkey, Iran, Saudi Arabia: Strategies for the EU Neighbourhood".

SPECIAL INTERVENTION

Benedetto Della Vedova

Undersecretary of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Rome

Benedetto Della Vedova has been a Member of the Radical Party for 30 years. From January 2019 to March 2021, he was Secretary of +Europa, the movement he helped to build together with Emma Bonino. Dr Della Vedova was President of the Italian Radicals (2001-2003) and leader of the Liberal Reformers movement (2005-2009). Previously, he was Member of the European Parliament from 1999 to 2004; Member of the Italian Parliament from 2006 to 2013; Senator from 2013 to 2018, and Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Renzi and Gentiloni governments. From the 1st of March 2021, he is Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation in the Draghi government.

THIRD PANEL FOOD SECURITY. GEOPOLITICS AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR

Andrew Spannaus

Journalist and Political Commentator, Milan

Andrew Spannaus is an American journalist and political commentator based in Italy, known in particular for his analysis on the populist revolt in the United States and Europe. His commentary on the US and international politics appears on Rainews24, Swiss Italian Radio, Aspenia, and various other media outlets. He is the founder of the Transatlantico.info newsletter, which provides news and analysis of geopolitics and economics to institutions and businesses. Mr Spannaus is a Lecturer at the ASERI Graduate School of the Catholic University in Milan, where he teaches a seminar on US economic history. He served as the Chairman of the Milan Foreign Press Association from 2017 to 2020.

Naser M. Y. Al Belooshi

Ambassador of the Kingdom of Bahrain to Italy, Rome

H.E. Naser M. Y. Al Belooshi is the Ambassador of the Kingdom of Bahrain to the Italian Republic. Ambassador Al Belooshi served at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as the Advisor to H.E. the Minister Shaikh Khalid bin Ahmed bin Mohammed Al Khalifa for Political and Economic Affairs. From 1992 to 2003 he was also the former Executive Director of Management Services at the Central Bank of Bahrain. From 1995 to 2001, Ambassador Al Belooshi also served as a non-resident Executive Director of the Arab Monetary Fund, Abu Dhabi, and UAE. In August 2005, Ambassador Al Belooshi was appointed Ambassador of the Kingdom of Bahrain to the United States, and a non-resident Ambassador to the

Republic of Argentina and to Canada. Moreover, in 2008, he was appointed Ambassador of the Kingdom of Bahrain to France, and a non-resident Ambassador to the Holy See, Switzerland and Spain.

Jyotsna Puri

Associate Vice-President, Strategy and Knowledge Department, IFAD, Rome

Dr Jyotsna Puri is the Associate Vice-President of the Strategy and Knowledge Department at the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD). Dr Puri leads the Organisation's strategy work in IFAD's key areas targeting agriculture, climate, gender, nutrition, youth and social inclusion. Also, she is an Adjunct Associate Professor at Columbia University in New York, where she was also a research scientist. Previously, Dr Puri has worked for several organisations like the Green Climate Fund, 3ie, UNEP, the World Bank and UNDP. In 2019, she was selected one of 16 women who have shown leadership in restoring the earth through their efforts by the Global Landscape Forum.

Alfredo Antro

Commander, Investigation Department, Carabinieri for Public Health Protection (NAS), Rome

Since September 2019, Colonel Alfredo Antro is the Investigation Department Commander of the Carabinieri for Public Health Protection Command (NAS). In the Carabinieri Corps since 1996, Colonel Antro has served as Operative Unit and territorial Company Commander in Sicily and Tuscany and, once become Major, was sent to the Carabinieri General HQ where he was Section Chief at the Public Information Office and the Warrant Officers' Office. Later on, after being promoted Lieutenant Colonel, he was also appointed as Logistic Support Department Commander. From May 2008 to February 2009, when he was Captain, Colonel Antro served in Kosovo as well, taking part in the European Union Rule of Law Mission (EULEX) as acting Chief of Staff of the Special Police Department.

Paolo Di Stefano

Head of International Affairs, Coldiretti, Brussels

Mr Paolo Di Stefano is Head of International Affairs at Coldiretti (the main Italian and European farmers' organisation) in the Brussels' office. His career in Brussels started in 2002 as a consultant in the Agricultural, Environmental, Energy and Research legislation field. Mr Di Stefano also worked as a legal officer in the European Commission, contributing to the legal evaluation of the compliance of Member States' state aid applications in the agricultural sector with European rules. Mr Di Stefano represents Coldiretti at EU and international level, working closely with European institutions on agri-food dossiers. He is also Member of the Policy Coordination committee in Copa-Cogeca, of the steering committee of Farm Europe and Facilitator of the working group on value chain at the World Farmers organization.

Piergiorgio Marini

Manager, Illicit Trade Prevention, External Affairs, Philip Morris, Rome

Mr Piergiorgio Marini is the Head of the unit in charge of fighting and preventing the illicit traffic of tobacco products for Philip Morris Italia. Mr Marini has extensive experience in different corporate functions both in Italy and abroad. He is the initiator and board member of Maciste, the Italian observatory on the illicit trafficking in the tobacco and e-cigarette sector, which has been developed through Fondazione Agromafie and funded by Philip Morris Italia. He is member of the board of Indicam, the Italian association for the protection of the intellectual property.



Background Policy Paper

NATO is the most successful political-military alliance in history, and yet it is time to focus once again on the purpose of the transatlantic relationship. The Alliance was born as part of a rather coherent environment of international norms influenced by democracy, free market and international cooperation, based on a relatively rule-based order. Today, rules are often considered less cogent by a number of democracies and authoritarian states, in some cases they are brutally broken despite ratified treaties. Therefore, trust and political consensus among Allies is a crucial necessity.

A critical element of consensus is evidently the Strategic Concept of the Alliance, one of its most important documents, that will be presented at this year's NATO Summit in Madrid (29th and 30th of June). The need to rebuild a consensus was clearly identified in the reflection exercise *NATO 2030*, started in December 2019 and concluded on the 25th of November 2020. The process continued with a food for thought paper of the Secretary General, published on the 11th of February 2021.

The recent tragic events have proven that the Alliance has to reassess in-depth its *raison d'être* in terms of transatlantic relationship and the strategic consequences of specific political choices because it must remain the most important security provider in this fragmented and potentially dangerous environment.

The war has obviously put collective defence in the fore because Putin has clearly broken an already shaky European security architecture, yet crisis management and cooperative security are not abstract alternatives, they are just complementary instruments of a security triad.

Facing such an adversary will need to overcome stale debates and to concentrate instead on concrete capabilities that have to be generated in equal proportions by North American and European Allies alike in the European theatre. Keeping a technological edge in critical sectors like emerging and disruptive technologies, in order to face also cyber and hybrid threats, is of paramount importance, while preserving a robust and adequate industrial and technology base on both sides of the Atlantic.

An important point will be to acknowledge that NATO's security is effectively at 360°, firstly because all-round solidarity produces an indivisible security. This is what made and will make credible Article 5 of the Washington Treaty: indeed, its first invocation in 9/11, against any possible forecast, clearly demonstrated what indivisible security means.

Secondly, because evident infiltrations and encroachments in the Gulf, the Levant, North Africa and the Sahel create security threats or risks that span from the Southern Region, to the Balkans, to Eastern and Northern Europe. Mediterranean Dialogue and Istanbul Cooperation Initiative Partners are clearly affected by these developments, touching also food, energy and maritime security in a serious way.

While Article 5 remains the guarantee for Allies, partnerships need much more investment and focussed political engagement in order to strengthen simultaneously political connections, local capacities and political resilience by carrying out co-operative security according to local priorities and not to some externally imposed paradigm. These Partners too deserve the same amount and quality of discreet help that the Ukrainians got in the past and that helped them remarkably in the present, because we cannot afford to have other Partners risking to be jeopardised.

NATO remains by treaty and concrete experience a defensive regional organisation, but this does not preclude a wise global awareness on security links, ramifications and interdependences. China is considered a relevant global power to engage and the past experience of the Harmel method (dialogue and deterrence) will be particularly useful.

The transatlantic bond has proven on several occasions through seven decades to be a formidable added value to project security and stability and this historic Summit will confirm its important function in different and difficult times, while dispelling fears of obsolescence.

Alessandro Minuto-Rizzo, President, NATO Defense College Foundation

Alessandro Politi, Director, NATO Defense College Foundation



Concept

The upcoming NATO Madrid Summit (29th and 30th of June 2022) will be one of the most important in this decade: taking place at a critical juncture for Euro-Atlantic security, it will approve the new Strategic Concept, the document that shapes the next strategic directions of the Alliance and is second in importance only after the Atlantic Treaty. Besides, for the first time in histoty, it will see the participation of Partner countries from the Asia-Pacific and the MENA region, as well as Sweden and Finland, alongside Allies.

In a fast-evolving international scenario, and a few days ahead of the leaders' meeting, the event will gather 19 international specialists to discuss in-depth, over 3 panel discussions, some of today's most critical issues: what are the strategic directions that will shape the future of international security? How to strengthen cooperative security in the Indo-Pacific and the MENA region? And how to effectively address emerging global challenges, including food security?

The first panel will discuss how to make the Alliance more politically relevant for a more effective role in regional and global scenarios. This implies tackling important themes: the effective political means to reconcile different interests across the Atlantic and, concretely, which yardsticks and division of labour are required within a shared security.

The second panel will then consider the most sensible balance between different opportunities, challenges and threats: qualifying new global partnerships in the Indo-Pacific region and balancing them with those of the Southern Region, with the appropriate blend of deterrence, dialogue and stability projection, will be of paramount importance, especially considering the cooperative security paradigm.

The public-private relationship in geopolitics will be explored by the third and final panel. Food security is integral part of the emerging challenges that have been considered by the Alliance. This entails a complex web of collaboration to meet converging goals: supply chains' resilience, fight against illegal trafficking and counterfeiting, and harm reduction in connected health risks. What are the scenarios and the role of the private sector in managing important aspects these challenges? What lessons learned and innovative approaches can be proposed, building upon the Covid-19 experience? How can the international community best harness this potential?

THE NATO DEFENSE COLLEGE FOUNDATION

The NATO Defense College Foundation, the only existing think-tank bearing the name of the Alliance, was established in Rome in 2011. It grew out from a common intuition of the President Alessandro Minuto-Rizzo and the NATO Defense College top decision makers, who understood the value of a non-profit NGO that could work beyond usual and institutional outreach, training, communication and scientific research activities.

The principles stated in the preamble to the Washington Treaty of 1949 are our heritage.

Our mission is to promote the culture of stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area and in NATO Partner nations.

Our aim is to meet the highest standards in contributing to public debate and future deliberations on strategic, security and geopolitical issues.

Therefore, the NDCF strives at considering relevant issues not just in a descriptive or prescriptive way, but by catching the sense of events and the essential vectors of future developments.

In a claim: Charting ahead.

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