



Third Annual

Bronislaw Geremek Lecture

Delivered by

H.E. Aleksander Kwaśniewski

Former President of Poland

and

General James L. Jones, Jr., USMC (Ret.)

Chairman, Brent Scowcroft Center on International Security

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Polish Ambassador Ryszard Schnepf; former National Security Advisor General James L. Jones, Jr., USMC (Ret.); former Polish President Aleksander Kwaśniewski; Atlantic Council President and CEO Frederick Kempe; and Ukrainian Ambassador Olexander Motsyk.



Outgoing US Ambassador to Poland Lee Feinstein and Atlantic Council Adrienne Arsht Latin America Center Founder Adrienne Arsht.



Atlantic Council Honorary Director Lieutenant General Edward L. Rowley, President Reagan's chief negotiator on Strategic Nuclear Arms (START).



Former National Security Advisor General James L. Jones, Jr., USMC (Ret.); former Polish President Aleksander Kwaśniewski; and Atlantic Council President and CEO Frederick Kempe.

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Former Polish President Aleksander Kwaśniewski delivers the first of two Geremek Lectures on February 28, 2013.

About the Geremek Lecture Series

One of the Council's flagship events, the annual Bronislaw Geremek Lecture Series was launched in 2009 in partnership with the Government of Poland to honor one of the great heroes of the Solidarity movement in Poland and as a reminder of the transatlantic community's continued commitment to democratic change and completing Professor Geremek's dream of "Europe whole and free."

The lecture series reminds us that half of Europe would not be free and democratic today without the courageous individuals who rose up in the Gdansk shipyard with their historic strikes, which began a movement that shook an entire continent.

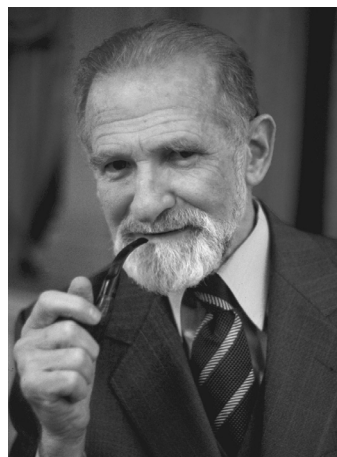
The lecture features distinguished policy makers and top intellectuals from both sides of the Atlantic to discuss the most pressing concerns of the transatlantic community. Previous speakers include Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Radosław Sikorski, former US Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, and US Senator John McCain.

The Annual Bronislaw Geremek Lecture Series is generously supported by the Government of Poland.

For more information or to become a supporter, please contact Ania Voloshin, Atlantic Council Director of Outreach and Public Programs, at 202.778.4950 or at avoloshin@acus.org.

Biography of Bronislaw Geremek

Professor Bronislaw Geremek was born in 1932 in Warsaw. He received his MA in history from Warsaw University and spent most of his early life working for the Polish Academy of Sciences. From 1960 to 1965 he lectured at the Sorbonne in Paris. He received honorary doctorates from universities in Bologna, Utrecht, Paris, New York, Cracow, and many more. He was also a member of the Academia Europea, Pen Club, Société Européenne de Culture, as well as several other international organizations.



An expert on medieval culture and society, he published ten books translated into ten languages. Together with numerous articles and lectures, they brought him wide recognition in the academic field along with international fame.

Professor Geremek was a statesman in the true meaning of the word, by standing unequivocally for the principles of freedom, tolerance, and democracy that are the foundation of a modern Europe. He was one of the leading intellectuals of the Polish opposition movement since the early 1970s and later in “Solidarity.” He made a substantial contribution to the collapse of Communism in Poland and Central and Eastern Europe, while playing a significant role in the roundtable discussions in 1989 that eventually brought about the first “Solidarity” government even before the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Until his untimely death in 2008, Professor Geremek was a member of the European Parliament from 2004 and a member of the Polish Parliament from 1989. He held the position of minister of foreign affairs from 1997 to 2000. During that time, he had the privilege of being a signatory to the accession documents that brought Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic into the NATO Alliance.

Professor Geremek was the recipient of many awards, including the Great Cross with Star of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Pour le Mérite. In 2002 he received the Order of the White Eagle, Poland's highest award.

Biography of Aleksander Kwaśniewski

President Aleksander Kwaśniewski's leadership shaped much of Poland's and Europe's recent history. Mr. Kwaśniewski played an active role in the negotiation of the landmark Polish Round Table Agreement and later coauthored and signed into law the Polish Constitution in 1997. His efforts to integrate Poland into the international community helped secure Poland's membership in both NATO and the European Union.



President Kwaśniewski now serves as the chairman of the European Council on Tolerance and Reconciliation and as president of the Foundation Amicus Europae, an organization that promotes inter-European and transatlantic cooperation. Mr. Kwaśniewski is also the co-chair (along with former European Parliament President Pat Cox) of the European Union's effort to monitor the legal proceedings against former Ukrainian Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko.

Mr. Kwaśniewski taught in the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University as a distinguished scholar in practical global leadership from 2006 to 2010.

Biography of James L. Jones, Jr.

General James L. Jones, Jr., USMC (Ret.) has held a range of offices in the highest levels of military command and government. For forty years, he served the United States Marine Corps in military operations around the world, held commanding posts in the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and served a tour of duty as supreme allied commander Europe and as commander of US European Command.



After retiring from the military in 2007, General Jones was named special envoy for Middle East security by Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. President Barack Obama appointed General Jones as his first national security advisor, an office he held through 2010. General Jones now serves as chairman of the Atlantic Council's Brent Scowcroft Center on International Security and is a past chairman of the Atlantic Council's Board of Directors.

General Jones' awards include the Defense Distinguished Service Medal (four awards), the Silver Star Medal, the Legion of Merit (five awards), the Bronze Star Medal with Combat "V," and the Combat Action Ribbon. Following his assignment to NATO, he was awarded several international decorations from member nations of the Alliance and the NATO Meritorious Service Medal.

Welcome by Frederick Kempe

Welcome to you all. Welcome, President Kwaśniewski, General Jones, Ambassador Schnepf, members of the diplomatic corps, members of the Atlantic Council Board. We have quite a few this evening—members of the Atlantic Council, ladies and gentlemen—and by saying that, I don't mean the other people I listed weren't ladies and gentlemen.

I'm Fred Kempe, president of the Atlantic Council. And it's my great pleasure to welcome you to one of my favorite things that we do in the entire year, the Third Annual Bronislaw Geremek Lecture. It's not only my favorite event because of the subject matter—democracy and freedom—but because I was quite close to Professor Geremek, and he was, in many ways, a mentor to me when I was a young journalist at the *Wall Street Journal* trying to understand what was going on in Poland and Central and Eastern Europe during the time of Solidarity.

This is a very good evening to talk about the issues Professor Geremek cared about most. As he put it to me often, the job of freedom is never done. Yesterday marked the 80th anniversary of the German Reichstag fire, February 27, 1933, an arson blaze that ignited one of history's ugliest stories of democracy gone bad, and the global consequences. Adolf Hitler exploited the fire, which Nazis claimed was set by a blind, handicapped Dutch Communist bricklayer, to transform Germany into a militarized dictatorship. That set in the motion the Third Reich, World War II, the Holocaust, and 60 million deaths (2.5 percent of the world population at that time). And of course, the Cold War followed, which kept millions of Europeans and all of Poland under Soviet oppression.

History doesn't repeat itself, as Mark Twain has famously said, but it does rhyme. As Carl Gershman, head of the National Endowment for Democracy, told me this week, perhaps the most powerful parallel between 1933 and 2013 is political and economic weakness in the West and our self-absorption and tendency toward isolationism while dangers grow around the world.

Now, as then, democracy's most prominent representatives in the United States and Europe are in political disarray and economic distress. At such times, Western elites tend to turn inward, disengaging from global responsibility and underestimating the potential ripples from democratic setbacks in faraway places.

Freedom House, in its annual report on political rights and civil liberties, said 2012 marked the seventh consecutive year in which countries with declines in civil rights and political liberties outnumbered those with improvements. Events in the Middle East have dramatized two competing trends: demands for change pushed forward by popular democratic movements and authoritarian response that combines intransigence and strategic adaptability. These are the battle lines of the present.

In 2009, we launched this lecture series in partnership with the Government of Poland and the Embassy of Poland to honor an extraordinary man and his life of commitment to freedom of democracy and to monitor the current state of freedom and democracy in Europe, the United States, and the world. We also see this as intricately connected with our Freedom Awards each year at the Wroclaw Global Forum, which we organize in cooperation with Polish partners, including the foreign ministry and the Polish Institute for International Affairs. This year, it will take place June 13 and 14, and we've always worked together with the US Embassy in Poland. I'm very happy to see the outgoing ambassador, Lee Feinstein, here. We'll be working with your successor, Ambassador Steve Mull. He and Ambassador Schnepf will be the honorary co-chairs of the awards just as you were honorary co-chair in previous years, Lee. Thank you so much, Lee, for everything you did for the Wroclaw Global Forum and for Poland and US relations.

As many of you know, Bronislaw Geremek was a great leader of the Solidarity movement, a former Polish minister of foreign affairs, and an architect and founding father of a modern and democratic Poland and Europe. He was also a friend and mentor to some of us in this room. I'll tell you just one brief story about him.

I had many conversations with him in his attic in Old Town during the Solidarity period, during martial law when he wasn't in prison, and also Warsaw, Vilnius, Brussels, elsewhere. I remember meeting him in Vilnius in 2000, May 2000, when Vilnius 10 was being created, and he was trying to expand this group into Vilnius 11. He wanted Ukraine to be part of it. He was visionary then, as he was throughout his life. He knew the historic moment needed to be seized. He was ahead of his time. Sadly, it didn't happen then.

I told him that his Old Town apartment, where he lived during the Solidarity days, should have a historic plaque for all that was achieved there. He was touched, and he immediately called his wife and handed me the phone. I had to tell her what I had just said. Only after the call did he explain that he still lived in that small apartment, and he was deploying me to resist his wife's pressure to move to more comfortable quarters. That captures his modesty, his humor, and his sense of strategic movement.

We're very honored to work with the Polish Embassy on this project. Ambassador Ryszard Schnepf is a great supporter of this initiative, a great friend of democracy in Poland. He's played his own role in these historic events. We're delighted to have him with us tonight. I'd also like to thank our friends at the Polish Embassy, and particularly Monika Lipert-Sowa who we've been working with very, very closely throughout this whole process to make this event a memorable one. Thank you very much for all that.

The Geremek Lecture has been delivered by distinguished figures who share Professor Geremek's principles: Madeleine Albright, Radek Sikorski, John McCain. We've really established this at a good level, and we're holding it there tonight.

I'm delighted that President Aleksander Kwaśniewski, having just flown from Kiev, landed at 2 p.m. earlier today. And he was in Astana before that. I was about to give him a can of Red Bull!

Thank you so much for braving delays in air flights and missed flights in Frankfurt to be with us this evening, along with General Jim Jones. Both are great friends of the Atlantic Council.

Whether through his years of service to Solidarity and to Lech Walesa as a crucial adviser, or by the signing of the agreement in 1999 that brought Poland into NATO, or by working toward Poland's EU membership, Professor Geremek used every stage of his life to first fight for and then develop a free and democratic Poland, and then a freer and more democratic full Europe, whole and free.

Europe is no longer at war, but flames are burning as the struggle for freedom continues in other parts of the world—in the streets of Damascus, the mountains of Afghanistan, the deserts of Mali, and under the shadow of a North Korean dictator. In each of those places, we are constantly reminded that democracy and freedom are both sacred and fragile, and there are fewer, more important bilateral relationships than the US-Polish relationship in this struggle. It's for that reason we established this lecture series and our Freedom Awards.

So ladies and gentlemen, with that, it's my pleasure to invite to the stage Ambassador Schnepf, who serves his country with such great distinction. It's a testament to how Poland sees the US relationship that it has sent someone of such great experience, incredible qualifications, and such a creative, creative diplomat. He's been ambassador to Spain, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Costa Rica. He served six other countries from Costa Rica. Ambassador Schnepf.

Welcome by Ambassador Ryszard Schnepf

Mr. President, General, distinguished guests and friends, dear friends, as you could notice, Fred and I are wearing the same colors tonight without previous consultation. But this is a pure sign of excellent cooperation between the Atlantic Council and the Polish Embassy and their personal friendship. And thank you very much, Fred, for your kind and very special words that I don't deserve.

Thank you to all of you for joining us this evening for an extraordinary event as we pay tribute to one of my personal heroes, Professor Bronislaw Geremek. I remember Professor Geremek very well. I reflect on the time I spent at the Institute of History in Warsaw as a young scholar. He was strolling down the corridors, usually absent-minded, with his pipe and beard. At the time, it was easy to assume that he was contemplating medieval France, probably. Not one of us imagined that he was drawing plans for the future of Poland and the future of a democratic Europe. He dedicated his life to establishing and fighting for a democratic Poland, a democratic Europe, and a democratic world. His legacy will remain incomplete and unfulfilled as long as these goals and aspirations are not achieved.

It is fitting, therefore, that the Atlantic Council provides yet another opportunity to address democracy promotion, an issue that was so close to Professor Geremek's heart. So allow me to say thanks to you, Atlantic Council. I thank you, Fred, for all your work you've done that guided us here.

As we look across the world, democracy remains as valid and relevant as it was over twenty years ago during Poland's and Eastern Europe's struggles to get rid of the Communist yoke. Now it is the people of North Africa, the Middle East, as well as Eastern Europe who remind us every day that a struggle for democracy is not yet complete, nor guaranteed.

The struggle to obtain freedom demands our attention and full support. Where better to address this problem than here in the United States, where the full, modern democracy was born? It is here, after all, that President Lincoln underlined that democracy is the government of the people, by the people, for the people.

So I am especially pleased that joining us today are two champions of democracy who have committed themselves to helping those who continue to yearn for it: President Kwaśniewski, who joined fellow Ukrainians during the Independence Square celebration in Kiev in January 2005, marking the end of the Orange Revolution, and General James Jones, who, alongside President Obama, forged this concept of democracy across the globe.

Therefore it is my great honor to address all of you this evening, not only as a Polish ambassador, but, more importantly, as a person who witnessed the historic change in our part of the world and wishes the best to those who still are awaiting better times to come. The future of Ukraine, Poland's neighboring country, is attracting our attention for obvious reasons. We have encouraged our Ukrainian friends to show their commitment to building a deep and sustainable democracy. I'm hopeful that over the next month, Ukrainian authorities will do everything they can to secure Ukraine's place in Europe and they will use this historic opportunity to make a leap in EU-Ukraine relations.

Let me conclude by stating that Central and Eastern Europe should remain a key element of an ambitious political EU-US partnership. Bringing to an end the economic and political transformation of Ukraine should remain high on this agenda. The EU is a natural leader, but the United States has an important role to play as well and should not neglect this responsibility. Its leadership and engagement in this part of the world is always welcomed and needed.

Thank you very much for your attention.

Introduction by Frederick Kempe

Thank you, Ambassador, and thank you so much for your friendship and partnership in this and other initiatives.

Let me use this opportunity also, Mr. Ambassador, given your Latin American background, to announce here—and this is the first time we’ve done this publicly—that we looked at a map, and we noticed that the Atlantic also washes up on Latin America’s shores. So we have decided to expand the Atlantic Council to Latin America.

I want to use this opportunity to acknowledge the presence of Adrienne Arsht, member of the Atlantic Council board, philanthropist, banker, businesswoman extraordinaire, who is the founder of this newest initiative, the Adrienne Arsht Latin America Center. We worked a lot on how we were going to do it. The Adrienne Arsht Latin America Center. I hope you’ll stand and let us all thank you for your vision and generosity.

It’s fitting that we talk about that tonight, because the Center is going to focus on building a strong partnership based on values among Latin America, the United States, and Europe as equal partners working together on issues of common concern. So thank you for your leadership, your friendship. When Adrienne starts a project, before you know it, the entire city and half of the planet is involved in it, so it’s really been a great experience.

It’s now my great pleasure to introduce our speakers tonight, President Kwaśniewski and General Jones, and we’re delighted people of such stature have agreed to deliver tonight’s lecture. President Kwaśniewski is a founding member of the International Advisory Board of the Atlantic Council, which was created in 2007. General Jones, who previously served as the Council’s chairman before he joined President Obama’s team as national security advisor, returned to the Council as the chairman of our Brent Scowcroft Center for International Security.

We like having practitioners at the Atlantic Council in senior positions. These are practitioners. Thank you, gentlemen, for your leadership and everything you do for the Council.

President Kwaśniewski is one of the most prominent political figures in Poland and, I would say, in the last years of European history. He played an active role in the negotiation of the landmark Polish Round Table Agreement and coauthored and signed into law the Polish constitution in 1997. While at the *Wall Street Journal*, I did an interview, actually one of the first interviews with President Kwaśniewski after he was elected president, and I said, “Well, what do you want to achieve while you’re in office?” And he said, “Oh, I think I’ll bring Poland into NATO and into the European Union.” And as I was scribbling that down, I remember thinking in my head, “Yeah, sure.”

But like so much of what President Kwaśniewski puts his mind to, he did it and thus wrote important pages of European history. He now serves as chairman of the European Council on Tolerance and Reconciliation and president of the Foundation Amicus Europae, an organization that promotes inter-European as well as transatlantic cooperation. He’s also the co-chair, along with former European Parliament President Pat Cox, of the European Union’s effort to monitor the legal proceedings against former Ukrainian Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko.

Welcome, Mr. President, and thank you for coming from the other side of the ocean. Before you take the stage, let me introduce General Jones so you can go one right after the other.

General Jones has held a range of offices at the highest levels of military command in the US government. For forty years, he served the United States Marine Corps in military operations around the world, along with commanding posts in the Joint Chiefs of Staff and a tour of duty as Supreme Allied Commander Europe and US European Command.

After retiring from the military in 2007, General Jones finally got a really important job. He became chairman of the Atlantic Council Board and was named special envoy for Middle East security by then-Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. President Obama appointed him as his first national security advisor, an office he held through 2010.

General Jones now serves as chairman of the Atlantic Council's Brent Scowcroft Center on International Security, and he's one of our nation's most important advocates on the need for an effective and coordinated energy policy, and he'll talk about some of that tonight.

So it's our pleasure to welcome General Jones back to the Atlantic Council. We look forward to hearing his thoughts on the opportunities and challenges Europe faces as it seeks to meet its goals of energy security, competitiveness, and sustainable development.

President Kwaśniewski and General Jones will first deliver brief remarks, and then the question-and-answer portion will follow. Mr. President, the floor is yours.

Bronislaw Geremek Lecture Delivered by Aleksander Kwaśniewski

Thank you. Ladies and gentlemen, excellencies, it's a pleasure to be in Washington again. I see a lot of my good friends here in this room, and I'm very grateful that you are with me. It's an honor for me, also, to be invited for this traditional Atlantic Council Bronislaw Geremek Lecture.

Bronislaw Geremek was one of the most important people in the history of our country in the last decades. I met him personally for the first time during the roundtable talks in '89. I remember very well the extraordinary role he played, being one of the two most important advisers of Lech Walesa of Solidarity in the roundtable talks; the second one was Tadeusz Mazowiecki. And discussion with Bronislaw Geremek was, from the very beginning, not only interesting, not only very exciting, it was like an intellectual adventure. It was full of information, of knowledge, but also a sense of humor and very special responsibility, political responsibility.

And when I remember Geremek, he was, from the very beginning, from our first meeting in Warsaw, not only a very strong Polish patriot, he was really maybe the strongest European patriot. He was a man who believes very much in European values, in European ideas, in ideas of European integration. And today, when we discuss the future of Europe, of our political project of integration, it's necessary to understand Bronislaw Geremek and his efforts and his contribution to these successes, which we achieved as a European community.

Geremek was a very special person in Poland. And I fully agree with Madeleine Albright, who described once that Geremek, I quote, was "a Polish national treasure." Really, he was a national treasure, and his heritage is still so important for all Polish democrats -- the people with European thinking, with European ambitions, and the people who believe that the best future for all of us is connected with European integration.

Dear friends, this introduction should be very brief. The first request of Fred was, let's say something about Europe, Ukraine, Russia. And finally, I know everything should be very brief. But I'm prepared for such a situation because as a politician, I participated in many such debates, in interviews. Especially during the campaign, it was quite typical—a debate after one hour is close to the end. And finally, the journalist, the moderator of this discussion asks, "Well, Mr. Kwaśniewski, now you have twenty seconds, tell us something about our relationship with Russia." I think that is a really good idea to speak in twenty seconds about our relations with Russia.

First—I have some important news for you. After everything what happened in the last months and weeks and days in the European Union, I have a message from Europe. Dear friends, the European Union will survive. And this is very important because it shows that the United States, you have a strong partner in Europe, and I'm sure that after this crisis, which is quite complicated and painful, the European Union not only will exist but will be even in some elements stronger, more integrated, and more deeply integrated.

Of course, this opinion can be a little bit strange if you have seen the result of the Italian elections. But I'm sure that even in Italy, in this very difficult landscape after the election, it's possible to find a solution that will support this better future for the European Union and not complicate the situation inside our community.

In my opinion, two elements are after the crisis—because the crisis is still the problem number one, but I think the methods that we are using in the European Union are correct, and we made visible progress. Of course, we are still afraid about the future of our economy, of slowdown of the economy in many European countries. But in the longer term, when we speak not about crisis now, but we want to see the vision of our situation after the crisis, I see two elements as the most important, and they look better and better.

The chance for the EU is connected very much with deeper integration. It means stronger European institutions, more common policies, not less. And generally speaking, that sounds good, is a good slogan: We need more Europe and not less Europe; we need more integration, not less. And I think everything that happened last month to some extent as a result of the crisis, they are right steps and the right way: the fiscal pact, more integration in the banking system, a lot of open doors for new members of the Eurozone, including such countries as Poland, for example, and strengthening of some European institutions.

And also what is good for us, the second element, is to open doors for new partners in our continent. Maybe for sure, you know the last statement from Chancellor Merkel concerning Turkey. I think that is a very important signal that Germany is ready to change its politics towards Turkey and to open some chances, first of all, to speed up the negotiations with Turkey. They have a long history, but secondly, to find some concept of deeper and closer integration of Turkey with the European Union.

And as part of this second important element of open doors for our partners is the last Ukrainian and European summit, which took place in Brussels, on the 25th of February. I think the joint statement, which was signed by the president of Ukraine and Barroso and Van Rompuy, is evidence that Europe is extremely interested to see Ukraine as an associated country with the EU by the end of this year. And this is despite all the troubles, despite all the problems that I will speak of a little bit later. So generally speaking, Europe is prepared for an active Eastern partnership policy to accept Ukraine as an associated member and, of course, to discuss all the problems that are necessary with our partners to achieve these goals.

The element that we have to see as a very important factor of the situation in the region is the policy of Russia. And of course, if we discuss the policy of President Putin, it's easy to say that the main goal of Russian politics today is to establish a Euro-Asian union and to have in this Eurasian union, which will be organized on the basis of a custom union existing now—a custom union of

three countries: Kazakhstan, Belarus, and Russia. Everything that is going on now is really very strong pressure from the Russian side and Ukraine, especially in economy. There is still the problem of the highest prices for gas in Europe. This is a problem for Ukrainian exports to Russia last month. That is a lot of elements of so-called soft methods, but also hard methods. We have in Ukraine today very strong and well-paid propaganda, well-financed propaganda in favor of a custom union, which is organized by some organizations very much connected with Russia.

But it's something worth thinking about, the future of our region is necessary to know. For the Russian Federation, Ukraine is an extremely valuable partner and goal of the future, and without Ukraine, a Eurasian union will look different, it will not be so strong, not so influential. If the main goal of today's authority of Russia is reconstruction and re-establishment of superpower, for such politics, Ukraine is absolutely needed, and it's not a tactical question, it's an absolutely strategic issue.

And then the third element of my introduction, Ukraine. Of course, you know, Fred mentioned that since May I am co-chairman, or we are two with former president of European Parliament, Mr. Cox from Ireland—we are special envoys to Ukraine. We visited this country thirteen or fourteen times. We met twelve times with the president, with the prime minister. We met Yulia Tymoshenko in her prison in the hospital, because she is in the hospital in Kharkiv. Ten times, we met representatives of the government, of the opposition. And of course, we have picture of the country and the situation, and of course, I will not tell you in details what is going on in this country.

But I'm afraid sometimes of discussing the problem of Ukraine. Of course, my knowledge is much deeper than my partners in Europe or in the United States, but sometimes I have the impression that in our part of the world, we are still thinking about Ukraine with a lot of stereotypes, too many stereotypes. And it's necessary to understand what is good, what is bad, what we have negative there, and what we have positive, because it's important to say such things.

The first, Ukraine after twenty years of independence is really a sovereign independent country, a great success of this nation. Many people in the world never believed that Ukraine can be such a sovereign country with its own developed identity. And that is something that is really the strong argument in the hands of Ukrainians speaking about their own ambitions and own perspectives.

Second, of course is this association agreement, which is a very complicated document, with a lot of chapters with a lot of articles, etcetera. It means that in the last years, this so-called homework, we candidates to the European Union hated this description very much, because when we were—as Poland—we were fighting for the European Union, this description “homework,” you have to do your homework, I heard so many times that I feel like a child. I hate this word, but it’s necessary to do this homework. And Ukraine did it. Ukraine did it because the association agreement was initialed in March last year and is prepared to be signed in Vilnius, 2013. We have the evidence of progress in many elements of reforms that are so important in the economy, in trade, in the legal system, etcetera. We have nice evidence of the potential of Ukraine. The European championship in soccer was organized by Poland and Ukraine in June last year. It was really a success, and showed Ukraine as a quite well-organized and friendly country.

Saying all these positive things, which are necessary to see and necessary to respect, I have to say that we see a lot of negative elements and problems that are necessary to overcome if we want to sign this association agreement in November this year. The first, of course, is still very low quality of the legal structure in the country, especially the judiciary. Of course, all reforms that happened in the last years, they changed this system, but still—I can be quite honest in this room—still, if we speak about Ukrainian courts, Ukrainian prosecutors, Ukrainian quality of law, this system is much closer to the Soviet style, not to the European style. And I know that this opinion sounds quite tough, but it’s true, and especially we both, with Cox, after many hours we spent in courts and speaking with prosecutors, absolutely, we are sure that this may be the most difficult but the most needed reform in Ukraine.

The next weakness, terrible weakness of this country is corruption. This corruption is really the problem for business, for entrepreneurs, for the image of the country, and needs a strong fight from all sides of the political landscape.

The next weakness is of course the fight between main political groups in this country, which started in the middle of the second term of Kuchma, in 2002, and this continued for ten years. So such, let's say, civil war, frozen civil war, is quite dramatic, and it doesn't give the chance to find a bipartisan approach, bipartisan politics, especially to reach the main goals of Ukraine, like the European Union.

The most spectacular and difficult are the cases of so-called selective justice. It means the leaders of the opposition, like Madame Tymoshenko, a former prime minister, or former Minister of Interior Mr. Lutsenko, were sentenced, and of course, it's absolutely impossible to say that we watched only pure judiciary and with full evidence. This political intention is quite obvious in these two cases.

And today to find a solution for this case is not easy, because we have three levels of the problem. One is a legal one, because it's necessary to find some legal solution to the people that are sentenced and they are in prison. The second is a political one, because we are speaking about relations between governing forces and opposition. And third one is psychology, which is, especially in the relations between Madam Tymoshenko and President Yanukovych and vice versa, quite a difficult element.

I will not speak more about these cases because I understand that you will have questions, and then I will have a chance to say something more, but we tried to find the solution. And in my opinion, the summit said very clearly to our Ukrainian partners that May this year is a time to do something, because in May, before November's meeting in Vilnius, we will have some kind of review of the problems of Ukraine. And until this date, we should find some solution in these two difficult and judicial questions, in cases of Tymoshenko and Lutsenko.

So Ukraine, from one side, really achieved progress, changes, and in my opinion, is really an extremely interesting partner for the European Union for the future. And still, we have a lot of troubles and obstacles, which are necessary to resolve as soon as possible.

And last point, of course, concerns the United States and the Ukraine. I think that would be good if here in Washington you will understand that it is really time for a strategic decision. It is not time to wait to see if something will happen or not. And that is a real struggle, and that is a struggle about the future of Ukraine, where Ukraine will be, part of the Western zone, Euro-Atlantic zone, or part of a Euro-Asian union or some kind of structure. This time we have no more possibilities to postpone or to wait for some development of the situation. Now is the time for decisions.

What is great, that still the majority of Ukrainians are absolutely in favor of this pro-European politics, pro-European choice. The last results of public opinion polls are speaking about 55, 56 percent in favor of Western orientation; 30-something to the East. That is the real capital that we have, and I think because of our visa politics about our scholarships, we should speak more and not only as a typical element of our politics, but as a special instrument that will encourage Ukrainians to be much more active in this European direction.

I know that General Jones will speak much more about energy and economy, etcetera. Just one short thing. Today in this economical situation of Ukraine, the mission of the IMF and IMF decisions are extremely important. And this is much more serious than a natural question of IMF contacts with some countries, because today the alternative for Ukrainians is very dramatic. The first one is some support from the IMF, an agreement with the IMF, and then the possibility to develop its own economy. Or if not, there is a question of a custom union, and to go to a custom union, especially because the prices of gas and the real possibility to decrease the gas prices. And we speak about billions of dollars. We don't speak about a small amount of money; we speak about really the future and some kind of "to be or not to be" for Ukraine in the next month.

So I think today, from both sides, the European Union and America, we should have some positive, good messages for Ukrainians, if they will go forward or overcome some problems, which I mentioned very briefly earlier. The European Union should say, well, we are prepared to sign an association agreement in November this year and now it's time for this homework. And the IMF, with support from the United States, should say, we are ready to go back to Kiev to discuss all details of a new agreement, giving some financial support for you if you will fulfill necessary conditions and you will take necessary reforms.

Finally, dear friends, I'm sure that if Bronislaw Geremek were here in Washington together with us, his position and his thinking about the future of Ukraine would be absolutely the same. I had the chance to meet him very often, and I'm absolutely sure that in his understanding of Europe, of the future of Europe, Ukraine is one of the strategic partners and especially because we have a strong will and wish for Ukrainians, especially young Ukrainians, the young generation of this nation to be with us, to participate in our community. That is a task for all of us, to support Ukrainians and Ukrainian ambitions, of course expecting that the homework will be done.

Thank you.

Bronislaw Geremek Lecture Delivered by James L. Jones, Jr.

Mr. President, thank you very much for your remarks. I have no doubt that the 55 percent of Ukrainians who want to lean towards the West are inspired by the Polish examples and the example of a vibrant Poland that we all admire today that first took its steps in that direction under your leadership. And Ambassador Schnepf, thank you very much for your leadership as well and your participation. Fred, thank you for having me and asking me to make a few remarks.

Although raised in Europe, and being a forty-year Marine, a lot of my time was spent in Asia. This is what the Marine Corps does to a general who speaks fluent French. You send him to Asia to practice his French.

But fortunately, in 2003, I was fortunate enough, and shocked, to be able to return to Europe and serve in NATO for four years and get to appreciate all that Poland has become and all that it will become, to work very closely with the Polish army and to appreciate their steadfastness and sacrifice alongside the United States in combat areas.

So, dear friends, fellow Atlanticists, I'm really honored to be here as we gather this evening in the spirit of Bronislaw Geremek, who was a courageous dissenter, a visionary leader and an enduring inspiration to lovers of freedom, human dignity and justice worldwide.

And of course we honor him tonight for his tireless advocacy for another idea we care deeply about, the idea of Europe whole, democratic, and free.

His vision of a peaceful and prosperous Europe bound by shared ideals and common identity inspires the Atlantic Council's work each day and every day. And these are the goals that must guide our steps in these challenging times, when Eastern Europe is building on the hard-won gains of freedom, and the European strives to regain his financial and economic footing.

Meeting these challenges is future-defining work. If Europe and the United States are not economically strong and politically cohesive, the transatlantic alliance simply can't perform its essential role in a world where our solidarity, our leadership, and our unmatched capability to build peace and prosperity is needed more than ever.

Last spring, the leaders of the North Atlantic Alliance met in Chicago to reaffirm their commitment to the transatlantic partnership and to create and devise new strategies to achieve our collective security in these dangerous, but nonetheless opportunity-filled, times.

So today I would like to touch on what I believe are three core elements of such a strategy. They may surprise you a little. I'm not going to talk about NATO transformation. I'm not going to talk about the interoperability of our militaries or defense budgets. As important as these issues are, we can save those discussions for another day.

Rather, in the spirit of the man we honor tonight, Bronislaw Geremek, I think it's important we address ourselves to more fundamental and strategic requirements: US and European economic revival, transatlantic energy security, and modernizing allied global engagement to meet the demands of a very new and very complex era.

Let me start with economic revival. There's a growing awareness among NATO partners that we simply can't meet the spectrum of security challenges confronting us today without strong and resurgent economies. We welcome it, because prosperity and security are indivisible.

What's clear is if we are to defeat radicalism, terrorism, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, and the roll call of dangers to our way of life, we must join forces to turn the tables on a set of more fundamental common threats: joblessness, uncompetitiveness, unsustainable entitlement spending, and the ticking time bomb of oversized sovereign debt.

Overcoming these foes must be the central objectives of a renewed, more holistic US-European alliance if we are to remain relevant and respond to the needs of the 21st century. In the same way that NATO's members must cooperate militarily to counter shared security threats, our economies must be more cohesive to seize shared opportunities. Only by doing this can the transatlantic community sustain its influence in a rapidly changing global environment.

The lesson we learned in war, hot and cold, applied to building peace: we are much stronger together than we are apart. We hear a lot about austerity and belt-tightening—necessary tools, to be sure. But none of the impediments just cited can be vanquished without unleashing the most powerful weapon in our arsenal, and that's economic growth, expansion that must be driven by our vibrant private sectors and fueled by wise public policy.

We can be encouraged that policymakers on both sides of the Atlantic are waking up to the reality that generating faster, stronger economic growth is the mainspring of collective prosperity and security. What really counts, though, is action. So as we design a grand security strategy, I believe that its cornerstone must be making growth the overriding objective of transatlantic policy, not just in words, but in actual deeds.

Last fall I had the pleasure of coauthoring an editorial with Mr. Tom Donohue, president of the US Chamber of Commerce, pushing for a sweeping transatlantic economic and trade pact towards that end. The US-European economic relationship is already the largest in the world. US firms have invested more than \$2 trillion in Europe since NATO was established, while European firms have put \$1.6 trillion into the US economy. We represent nearly half of the global GDP, and we conduct some 40 percent of the global trade.

So we can build on this powerful foundation and scale to loftier heights, with even greater economic integration and collaboration. We can significantly enhance the global competitiveness of our companies large and small by

reducing costs through the elimination of tariffs and regulatory barriers, by freeing services trade, by minimizing unnecessary regulatory differences, by facilitating investments, and by broadening procurement opportunities.

On the heels of President Obama's endorsement of such an initiative in the State of the Union address, now is a time to think big, and now is a time to do much more. We don't need another amorphous concept with overambitious labels that can mean anything to everyone, nor do we need to embark on another tedious years-long trek of study reports, summits, and negotiations about the negotiations.

Business and government leaders across the Atlantic already know what's in their interest and what is not. We already know which issues will be easy and which ones will be hard. So let's get to it.

We also know that we can't afford to delay. Let's not let the perfect be the enemy of the good, and let's get it done, because the stakes could not be higher. If the transatlantic alliance is not at the fore, then who in the world will lead the fostering global trade for mutual prosperity? Who will lead the way in helping to lift millions out of poverty not by the caliber of our arms but by the power of free and efficient markets and healthy economic competition?

With regard to energy security—and if not the United States and Europe, who will lead on what could well be the catalyst for economic transformation? I'm talking about energy security. As I survey the economic and security landscape, I'm not sure we face an issue with greater influence on international security today than energy. Indeed, throughout history, war and peace, poverty and prosperity, have been inextricably connected to energy, the enormous power it confers on those who have it, and the vulnerability it spells for those who do not.

If you haven't seen it yet, I would urge you to take a look at *Global Trends 2030*, produced by the National Intelligence Council and the Atlantic Council. The

report identifies the main drivers of global security over the next seventeen years. It is as much a report on energy, natural resources, and economics as it is on bad actors and their weapons and their tactics. Quite simply, energy will remain the flywheel of the international economic system and will continue to define the global security landscape.

Just a few years ago, the energy debate in Washington and in capitals throughout Europe centered on dire predictions of peak oil, continued import dependence, and resource scarcity. Thanks to very recent innovations, we're now able to unlock vast reservoirs of shale energy not only in the United States but in Europe to help power our economies and enable new levels of energy and security. Nothing, save improving quality of our human capital, could do more to promote US and European global competitiveness, create jobs, and generate tax revenue than harnessing our energy abundance.

And when I say abundance, I don't just mean shale oil and gas, but also renewable energy, coal and conservation and, no doubt, coming soon, some astounding new energy solutions spawned by our entrepreneurs, for whom nothing seems impossible.

Plainly and simply, the transatlantic community must have the energy it needs to grow and prosper. Energy dependence, vulnerability, and scarcity must become the language of the past, not of the future. Together, we can show the world how to harness energy abundance, responsibility, and sustainability to power an economic renaissance across the alliance and the world.

With regard to global engagement, all the energy in the world, however, will do us little good in forging a better future unless the transatlantic community modernizes the way we engage with the rest of the world, and particularly with developing countries.

Today we seem to be struggling with the fact that national security and the definition of national security is a far deeper and broader concept than it was

during the last half of the 20th century. In a bipolar world in which most of us grew up, security was measured by military might. But by the power of our faith, our sacrifice, and our determination, we prevailed in the Cold War. We proved the concept of freedom and democracy, and the world hasn't stopped changing since.

Anachronistically, many of today's challenges and events are measured against the backdrop of the last century. Too often our policy approaches remain mired in the past as well. Global stability is no longer defined solely by the ability of nations to deploy and defeat, but rather by our capacity to engage and endow, to meet human needs, to sustain economic growth, and turn promise and opportunity into jobs and higher quality of life.

Yes, our armed forces will remain a central pillar of our national security portfolio. But they must become part of a more sophisticated tool kit. More than ever, our government, our firms, and our NGOs must work together in harmony. Modernity demands a contemporary whole-of-government, whole-of-society and, indeed, whole-of-alliance global engagement strategy, one that synchronizes economic development, security and rule of law, the three pillars of peace and prosperity, to nurture the developing societies and build markets. In other words, through the proactive work of preventing instability rather than having to respond to it reactively, thereby costing more lives and far more of our national treasures.

In the long run, this is the weapon that will cause the lasting defeat of radical fundamentalism. But it must be employed in a proactive and energetic campaign, using new tools relevant to modern circumstances. A big part of the approach must involve commercial diplomacy, in which the private sector, businesses, and NGOs lead the way. The fact is the private sector is better poised today than many governments to make significant contributions to our national presence abroad.

So here's the good news for the future, despite the so-called rise of pure competitors, only the transatlantic community has the capability to accomplish

this new type of global engagement. We have the strongest governments, we have the best companies, and we have the most capable NGOs. The integration of our capabilities towards common proactive goals, where the transatlantic community leads by deed and example, will keep our relevance unchallenged for many, many years to come.

Seems to me that in this exciting new era of human development, entrepreneurs, investors, and innovators are as fundamental to geopolitical stability as our politicians, generals, and diplomats. Trade agreements are as instrumental to world order as defense pacts, and public and private sector collaboration is the key to solving social ills that nurture insurgencies and instability.

My friends and fellow Atlanticists, in the last century, the transatlantic community saved mankind by working and sacrificing together. And it's now time to write a new chapter. Doing so requires a new vision bolstered by the reality that security and prosperity in a borderless, trade-based global economy are inseparably linked. It requires military and economic cohesion through a stronger NATO and an economic partnership for prosperity. It requires commitment to growth by unleashing private enterprise on both sides of the Atlantic through policies that promote trade, investment, innovation, and job creation. And it requires energy security.

And it also requires a revolution in our approach to modern global engagement, one that is far greater than assuring our military ability to defeat adversaries, but is about improving lives and winning hearts, minds, and nurturing markets.

We have to lead. We have to grow. We have to work together. And we've done it before, and we can do it again. With a new commitment to transatlantic solidarity, I have abiding faith that our collective security and prosperity will be won for a new generation.

So again, thank you for being here and for all you do to achieve that victory and to help build the kind of future envisioned by Bronislaw Geremek. Thank you.

Question & Answer Session Moderated by Frederick Kempe

MR. KEMPE: Thank you very much for those two very important opening statements. And General Jones, your words have really become the battle cry for the Atlantic Council, and now is the time to write a new chapter, putting together prosperity and security. Thank you so much for that important lecture.

I'm going to start with just one or two questions here, and then I want to go right to the audience. Let me start on Russia. Freedom House is wringing its hands about how things have turned in Russia since Vladimir Putin returned. I'd like to maybe go first to President Kwaśniewski, and then General Jones. There's been a reset policy. You were part of that, General Jones, as national security advisor. There's now a Magnitsky law. Russia has come into the WTO. We need Russia for the distribution network to Afghanistan, for Iran, etcetera, etcetera. How do you manage this complex relationship, both from the standpoint of Poland, President Kwaśniewski, and from Europe, but also from the standpoint of how Europe and the US together manage this relationship so we head things in the right direction with Russia?

MR. KWAŚNIEWSKI: Well, the first—this opinion of General Jones, how successful was this reset policy?

MR. KEMPE: That's my second question.

MR. KWAŚNIEWSKI: Yeah, from my point of view, this reset was not very successful, because the offer was gorgeous. The offer—well, let's start a new chapter—and it happened in the beginning of President Obama's term. It was at the Munich Conference and Vice President Biden's statement. But after that, I think we didn't see many good examples of close cooperation between Russia and the United States, especially in such difficult places of the world, like North Africa or Iran or Syria. But this is much more a question to Americans.

From our Polish point of view, I think the future of Russia is really interesting and important. We are very much in favor to have the best contacts between the European Union and Russia. We need Russia. Russia is our neighbor. Russia is a part of our space. We need Russian gas. We need Russian oil. We have money, Russia needs our money. You know, everything looks good.

You know, it should be business as usual. But it is not. And the problem is, I think, that Russia still tries to define or redefine old roles. And we have two temptations. The one is that Russia, part of the Western community or Euro-Atlantic community, accepts the rules of the game, accepts the same values. The second, which, today, in my opinion, is more active in Russian politics, is to again be a superpower, and even for many or for some people in the highest ranks in Russia, not only a superpower, it should be empire again. And of course, if we speak about Russia as a superpower, this is a different story. And if we speak about such a vision of a Russian empire, that is a totally different story, and of course we have maybe only some historical resentments, but these resentments are existing. This is something that creates our sensitivity and understanding.

Russia today has some questions that they should answer. The first is modernization. Putin speaks very often about modernization, but I understand that modernization, in his mouth, means first of all modernization of the economy. And in my opinion, Russia needs two types of modernization: of course, modernization of the economy, because if they want to be superpower, it is impossible to have an economy based on gas, oil, and raw materials and that's it. They need really very deep modernization of almost everything. But the second element of this modernization is even more important: a modernization of the state, modernization of the society. This is a question of creation of civil society, of rule of law, the change of the legal system.

And in my opinion, Russia and the leadership of Russia is not very much interested about this second or even more important element of modernization. My knowledge from Central and Eastern Europe is very simple: if you want

to modernize our countries, it is necessary to modernize these two spheres, economy, and society, and all the civil elements also. Without modernization and without creation of civil society, we have no chances for deep and real modernization of the economy. What Russia will decide in the next years—this is a good question, and I'm not very much sure that it will really create understanding of this very wide, very deep modernization that this country needs.

MR. KEMPE: Thank you. General Jones, do you agree with President Kwaśniewski that the reset policy hasn't turned out all that well? What is your point of view?

GEN. JONES: Yes, I do. I think that, actually, it was a fascinating study on the one hand, of how countries get along together, but on the other hand, of how leaders of countries get along and how the relationship between two leaders at the top really can affect, in a very dramatic way, the rate of progress that is done throughout all the other relationships and the interactions between sovereign governments.

The relationship between President Obama and President Medvedev, which resulted, actually, in the START treaty, had as its origins a coalescing of views on the threats posed by Iran, in which, at their very first meeting, the two presidents sat opposite each other with their respective delegations in London, and when it came to Iran, President Medvedev made an astounding statement in saying, on Iran, that he thought that perhaps the American view was a little bit more correct than what they had thought. You could hear a pin drop in the room when that statement was made.

But it formed the basis of a very personal relationship that resulted two years later in the START treaty. There's a lot more to it, but I was struck by how time and time again, when we were stuck on a START treaty issue, that the two presidents would pick up a telephone and talk to each other for an hour, from the White House to the Kremlin, and worked to resolve the sticking point.

At the same time, we were treated obviously to some exposure to the prime minister and now the president, President Putin, who has a completely different view of history since 1945 than most of us in this room. And it is obviously what he believes, but when you listen to it, it's shocking. There's no surprise to me that the reset now is a little bit more difficult. And it can be traced, really, to two very different views of the world. But fundamentally, I think the president and I and others here in this room agree that just as the president mentioned that, you know, where is Ukraine going to go, it's very important that Russia be inside the Euro-Atlantic arc in the long run, not outside looking in. But it will be better for Russia, for sure, and it will be better for everybody else as well.

So yes, I think the reset started off, you know, for the first two years resulting in the START treaty very successfully, and now we're into some rockier times. But hopefully, you know, things will smooth out and we'll continue to make progress.

MR. KEMPE: Let's talk about energy just briefly. You didn't talk as much about shale gas as I thought you might, General Jones, and tight oil. And some people are calling this a geopolitical game-changer. The story of energy, particularly oil, has been that not the most enlightened countries in the world seem to have had some pretty deep resources. That could shift a bit with the new technology bringing shale gas oil. People are even talking about the possibility of US LNG deliveries to Europe. So first General Jones but then President Kwaśniewski, do you see the changes in energy right now possibly shifting balances in Europe, also influencing Russia?

GEN. JONES: Oh, absolutely. I think this is a game-changer of enormous proportions. I mean, this is almost historical in terms of the potential. And even though we really haven't firmly grasped it yet, you can already see behaviors changing in the world as a result of the balance of power where energy is concerned. And for Europe and the United States, and our traditional alliance, this is a potentially very, very good news story.

And I think we have to be careful to do it, to take advantage of it strategically. We have to understand, and one term that I do not subscribe to that we use too freely in the United States is “energy independence,” which is a very isolationist term, in my mind, that it basically says we’ve got ours, you’re on your own.

But you know, energy sufficiency, however you want to call it, is reasonable. But countries that have an abundance of energy have a responsibility to countries that do not. And so there’s globally strategic importance attached to how we develop our energy assets, not only at home but also how we discharge our tremendous responsibilities of leadership elsewhere in the world. And I think that in the fight against radical fundamentalism, as I mentioned briefly, helping the developing countries skip the pollution stage in their own energy development through sharing technologies and helping, is fundamentally a tool fighting against radicalism that we should use.

MR. KEMPE: President Kwaśniewski.

MR. KWAŚNIEWSKI: Well, I fully agree with the general, and I’ll tell you that I was born in Poland on the coast of Baltic Sea. And in the ’70s we had an eruption of gas, and many people were sure that Poland will be soon the new Kuwait or the Saudi—even some people in my small city started to borrow money, you know, for this better future. And everything was finished after some months, you know, no gas. So I was very much distanced to the information about this potential huge amount of shale gas in Poland. And I met some Russian specialists, and when discussion was about shale gas, they were very, very nervous. And then I realized that something is serious now. So in my opinion, really that is quite a serious issue. And I fully agree with the general, it can be a historical one that can change the structure of everything dramatically.

For example, Ukraine has shale gas. They signed in Davos at the end of January the agreement with a shale company, and I think in some element—

MR. KEMPE: In Chevron.

MR. KWAŚNIEWSKI: In Chevron, yes. And of course, the next reaction from Moscow was very simple because Gazprom, they asked Ukraine to pay an additional \$7 billion.

Well, but that is the next evidence that is quite a serious question, and I think really is necessary to have good politics. In Europe, I see only one real problem with shale gas, and of course we have to examine how we can overcome this question. It's all these ecological consequences of that, because the sensitivity of Europe in this element is very high, and of course the answer of the shale gas specialist, in my opinion, is not strong enough, is not prepared enough. And of course, that can stop some shale gas projects in Europe for the next years, and it would be, it would be wrong, because today the United States is really mitigating our partners.

MR. KEMPE: So questions, please, and if you can say who you want to pose your question to and identify yourself as well. Please.

MR. STADTLER: I'm Walter Stadler. My background is foreign service, and I'm currently associated with the National Defense University Foundation. As heartened as we are by new developments—and I think the technology for shale gas oil is a good example—there are threats to the situation in both the United States and in Europe as well and to the economy, and that is, particularly, I think the question of cyber threats, which are threats not just to governments but to the private sector as well, and they can be extremely damaging. And one of the problems is that the technology is developing so fast that certainly governments, a number of governments are finding it very difficult to keep up with this. How would you propose to organize both sides of the Atlantic on this? Is there a scope for a greater cooperation between the private sector and governments as well? And I'd like to pose that question to both speakers.

MR. KEMPE: Why don't we give it to General Jones so we can get to as many questions as we can. I see quite a few questions, and particularly since you've been sitting in the White House dealing with the cyber issue as well.

GEN. JONES: This is a common threat that is going to face us all for a long time, and we're still, in my view, at the early stages of trying to figure out how to handle that. What we need is, at least in our country, I think, and then throughout the alliance with friends and allies, is we need to really come to grips with what is our public policy going to be, and then where the private sector responsibility comes to intersect with that public policy.

But we are still at the stage where we're not quite sure how to respond to cyber attacks. And they're going on at a rate that is very concerning. Generally, we can tell where they're coming from, but I still haven't seen the response to those attacks that would cause another nation to cease and desist, if you will.

In 2009 we created a senior directorship inside the National Security Council with some expertise, and they've been working since then to try to help us deal with this new and ever present threat.

MR. KEMPE: Thank you very much. Angela Stent, then General Rowny after that, please.

MS. STENT: Thank you very much. Angela Stent from Georgetown University. My question is for President Kwaśniewski, and it has to do with Polish-Russian relations.

Let me preface it by saying that a group of us met with Mr. Putin last year and he expressed great concern about the environmental impact of hydraulic fracturing on Polish children, you know, your water might get poisoned. Anyway. There was something—

MR. KEMPE: Which must be the best endorsement yet of—

MS. STENT: Exactly. There was something of a Russian-Polish reset a couple of years ago after the tragedy of the plane crash in Smolensk. Could you say a little bit more about what happened to that? Did it achieve anything? Are

Polish-Russian relations any better than they were before then?

MR. KWAŚNIEWSKI: Well, I think we had some short period of change or some reset in Polish-Russian relationships before Smolensk. It was a visit by Putin to Westerplatte in Gdansk for ceremonies marking [the anniversary of] the beginning of World War II. It was his letter published by *Gazeta Wyborcza* with some very nice and interesting gestures towards Poland, and unfortunately, this crash stopped or froze this process. And I think that the problem is from both sides.

First of all, it's necessary to say that after the crash, the reaction of the people was great, and it was a good basis for some political ideas, for some political gestures, an opportunity, in my opinion, both sides didn't use this time because the atmosphere was very special. You know, the tragedy was absolutely unbelievable. As you noted, in the crash, close to Smolensk were ninety-six victims, including the president, his wife, a lot of ministers, generals, etcetera.

And then, of course, from both sides, we observed a lot of mistakes first. On Polish side, we had a real political struggle between two camps, the camps of Mr. Tusk, Prime Minister Tusk, and the camp of the twin brother of President Kaczynski. And, of course, it created some atmosphere in which Kaczynski is very much against Russia because he's sure that it was some kind of conspiracy. It wasn't a normal accident; it was a conspiracy by some group. Of course, he doesn't speak exactly who is responsible for this conspiracy, but everybody understands that two persons, Tusk and Putin, they are responsible for the tragedy. Of course, a sad situation in Poland, Tusk is quite paralyzed to make some gestures to go a little bit forward toward Russia.

On the Russian side, we have something I don't understand, frankly speaking, because you know, this plane, this crashed plane, is in Smolensk now for the last two years. And absolutely, as a normal man, I don't understand why it's necessary to keep pieces of the plane in Smolensk, and it creates a lot of misunderstanding, lack of confidence, etcetera.

How to find a solution in this situation? Frankly speaking, I don't know. But on this political level, it creates a lot of problems. But we have serious differences in our politics concerning different questions. The first is Ukraine.

Of course, Poland is a strong advocate of Ukrainian associations with the European Union and Russia is against that. Russia has a different plan, a different offer for Ukraine. Let's come to a custom union and then to a Eurasian union. It misses the real, very substantial difference of the position between Poland and Russia, and it's a real problem, and it will not give us a good chance to have something special in our relationship.

The second point is shale gas. Everything discussed here, that is a real question because Russians use a lot of methods. For example, today Russia is really the most pro-ecological country in Europe. They are fighting for the best ecology in France, in Germany, in Poland, in Ukraine, in Romania, you know, the first green leadership in the world, you know, but have problems in their own country. So that is the next point.

The third one, I think, is an element which is, of course, the problem for us but needs from our side, the Polish side, a little bit of a different approach. Russia has a very tricky concept in the relationship with Europe because in fact, Russia has no one European policy; Russia has twenty-seven plus one European policies.

What does this mean? They have twenty-seven bilateral policies with all European partners. With some partners, they are privileged relationships—look at Germany—with some of them, they are very unprivileged—Baltic States—and with some are nothing; it's a gray zone—Poland, for example.

Of course, now, Germany is in such privileged relationships, Italy, but not yet. Italy of Berlusconi had very privileged relationships with Russia. And this plus one means the politics towards the European Union, with Brussels, is on the list on the end. It is not the most important for Russians.

For us, of course, that is not good because for Poland, the best concept to develop good relationships with Russia today is through the European Union because if the EU has good contacts with Russia, it would mean that since Poland is one of the most important countries inside the EU, it's in good relations with Russia; for Russia, these EU relationships, they are on the end of the list of priorities. This is a problem.

How we can change it? We should change the situation having stronger common European policy toward Russia. But that is not easy because we have different interests, and we have these privileged and unprivileged relationships. So that is quite a complicated picture. But I think in the long term, it's necessary to understand that, because of these two main controversies, Ukraine and shale gas, we cannot see some problems in bilateral relations for long.

MR. KEMPE: Thank you, President Kwaśniewski. Before I go to General Rowny, seeing General Rowny there, it's always an honor to have you with us, sir. It reminds me of something I was going to say at the end, but I think I'll say it here and maybe come back to it at the end.

I praised these two gentlemen as practitioners—General Rowny is one of the ultimate practitioners—but I'd really like to congratulate this evening the practitioner of the hour at the Atlantic Council, and that's our chairman—our chairman until yesterday—Senator Chuck Hagel. He has been a terrific chairman at the Atlantic Council. He's one of the most remarkable public servants I've known, and the Atlantic Council's loss is America's gain. And so I wonder if we could all applaud and thank him for what he's done for the Atlantic Council and our country.

And we all wish him the best. And General Rowny, I thought about it when I saw you because I know what a great friend you've been to Senator Hagel, and you've been a tremendous help. So thank you very much. General Rowny, your question. Sorry.

GEN. ROWNY: Ed Rowny, former arms controller. I want to first thank you all for continuing this series on Bronislaw Geremek. I first met him on August 10, 1979, when I had the great pleasure of sitting next to him at the Wilson Center for an entire year. And six years later, in 1985, when President Reagan sent me behind the Iron Curtain, I met him, and he said, “Ed, thanks to you and people like Lane Kirkland,” he said ruefully, “I’ve spent two years in house arrest.”

So that was my fifteen minutes of fame.

Anyway, my question has to do with the American Polish Advisory Council. I’m the president of this council, and we try to represent 10 million Polish-Americans to see what we can do to strengthen political, economic, military ties with Poland. One of the planks of my platform is to see how APAC can help Poland develop its enormous resource of shale oil. And we have two vice presidents. Ian Brzezinski, one of the vice presidents, is specifically in charge of trying to do all they can in this regard. And my question is, in addition to trying to get the administration to pay, to give help and research and development and other ways and getting commercial people interested and R&D people to develop these resources, what advice would you have, both President Kwaśniewski and General Jones, to us? What can Polish-Americans do to help develop this enormous potential of shale oil in Poland?

MR. KEMPE: President Kwaśniewski, and then General Jones.

MR. KWAŚNIEWSKI: First of all, we are very grateful to the Polish-Americans for your support, which help us very much, especially on our way into NATO and in many other important situations. We appreciate very much your support, and I think the name Bronislaw Geremek is a good symbol of that, your support for Polish democratic opposition before the changes in the world.

But the question is what to do now. And in my opinion, first of all—I will use this hated description—our Polish homework is necessary to prepare a legal

frame for all these decisions concerning shale gas in Poland. The second, of course, we expect many American companies are active in Poland now, and we expect more such companies.

One thing what is maybe not dedicated to the Polish-Americans, but this is something that America can help us with, is this environmental question, because really, that is something what we should discuss on the very professional level, what exploration of shale gas means for the environment, for the region, for the water, etcetera, etcetera, because I am afraid that lack of such very professional prepared information will have a little bit, to some extent, similar situation like we did with the crash. Three months after the crash, it was obvious, everything all was obvious, what happened. Today we have a lot of absolutely fantastic concepts and ideas. We can have the same with environmental consequences of shale gas in Poland. In this field, I see a lot of weaknesses, and you can help us.

In any case, we are grateful for 10 million Polish-Americans supporting us.

MR. KEMPE: General Jones, are the environmental fears in Europe of shale gas recovery overdone, and may they be missing an opportunity because of that?

GEN. JONES: Well, we could all be victimized by people who profess to know a lot about the technology, but do not. So the wildcatters of shale gas could cause some serious problems politically on both sides of the Atlantic. And so it has to be done by people who know what they're doing. And it's upon governments, I think, to not impede progress here, but also not to allow it to just, you know, be a race that is uncontrolled in some way.

You know, we have a former American ambassador to Poland right here, and I'd like to ask, defer the general's question to him about what the Polish-American community could do, if you wouldn't mind, because I think that's something that you worked on quite a bit.

MR. KEMPE: Ambassador Feinstein?

AMB. FEINSTEIN: Well, thank you, I think. And General Rowny, it's always a great honor to be in your presence, and congratulations for establishing APAC. And it's doing great work.

And President Kwaśniewski and General Jones and Fred, congratulations on a great evening.

I think that, you know, with respect to shale gas, I think the American experience and sharing our experiences with Poland is the key point, because it hasn't been perfect here, and yet it's been transformative and revolutionary. You talked about wildcatters, General Jones, and so some of the early experience with some of the smaller producers in the early days wasn't so good. And so we've learned some things.

President Obama asked John Deutch, our former energy secretary, to do a study—he's done it in two parts—about what could be better. And sort of talking about our lessons learned, I think, as Americans and sharing what's worked and what hasn't, I think, is really critical. Water management, air pollution is an issue, and in general, government accountability and openness.

And I think what we've discovered is most of these problems are addressable, and there are continuing technological improvements. And so we want to share these experiences, as much as we can, with Poland, because I think what the president said is exactly right, because you know, nothing is perfect, and when and if there's some kind of an accident or a mistake, without the proper groundwork laid, it creates an opportunity for people to misunderstand things.

But I think Poland ought to, you know, take some credit. There are still issues. The law needs to be established. But Poland is the most open and pragmatic towards shale in the region. And I think other countries are looking to Poland as a proving ground for what may be possible with respect to shale.

MR. KEMPE: Our energy and environment program has been doing a lot of this in Europe and in Poland and Romania, Bulgaria, elsewhere. Ambassador, did you want to jump in here?

AMB. SCHNEPF: Well, I would like to thank Lee for his words. And as far as the Polish community in the United States, the technical conditions of the shale gas in Poland, they are as they are. So we as politicians, diplomats, we cannot do much about it.

But what we can do is to spread the information among the American business about Poland's business-friendly environment and the successful Polish economy, because these are general conditions that attract American business, American companies to come over to Poland to see that to do business, it's stable, with a stable situation and successful Polish economy during the crisis time in Europe. We are the only country that defended its economy during the very tough years.

And please trust me, I have spent just recently four years in Spain, and I know what the crisis means. And we are really good with dealing with these problems. And it's good if we joined our forces with your organization, General, and other Polish community associations to convince American business to come to Poland in shale gas and to understand the importance of shale gas not only for us, for the world stability, and simply taking from the agenda this very political issue, as is the supply of gas for many countries. Thank you so much.

MR. KEMPE: Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Ambassador.

Let me pass to General Jones. I have a couple of questions. We've got seven or eight minutes left. So let's keep responses and questions short and we can get in as much in as we can. General Jones.

GEN. JONES: I just wanted to point out that in talking about shale gas and tight oil and things like that, we should be careful that we don't become too

dependent on that at the expense of forgetting everything else. The energy spectrum is huge, and the progress going on in the energy spectrum is huge. And it would be irresponsible, I think, for any one of us, any one of our countries to sit back and say, well, we can just do oil and gas, we don't need anything else, because generations down the road, you're going to be faced with the exact same problem. So the potential is enormous. The technologies that are going to come online, things that you're going to see if we adopt a holistic approach, are very important. And that goes way beyond just shale gas.

The second thing I would say is that I think one of the words that our administration probably regrets the most is the words "pivot towards Asia." And I think they really regret that because of the unintended consequences. I mean, words matter. And people hear those words and say, "well, if they're pivoting towards Asia, that means they're pivoting away from something," and that something could be interpreted in Africa, it could be interpreted as Europe, it can be interpreted in our own hemisphere and elsewhere.

I think it's very important the traditional Polish-American relationship, the traditional relationships in the alliance that have military interoperability. So we don't have the World War II bases anymore, but we can be expeditionary, we can be interoperable and we can visit each other's countries and train, and we do a lot of that. But I think it would be a catastrophic mistake, fundamentally bad for the world, really, if the transatlantic alliance was somehow allowed to dissipate in terms of its importance to the rest of the world.

MR. KEMPE: Absolutely. A question there in the back. And thank you for your patience. And then Christoph von Marschall. And we'll probably have to wrap up there, but let's take these two questions one after and then let's do the ambassador of Ukraine. So let's pick up these three questions and do a final round. We'll pick up the questions one after another. Please.

MS. TREGUB: Thank you. I'm Olena Tregub, Global Education Leadership. My question is to Mr. President Kwaśniewski. In your speech, you mentioned

that more or less Ukraine has fulfilled this home assignment for the association agreement, and that the only thing left is selective justice, and that some steps are expected in May this year. I don't quite understand how this issue can be solved, because I understand that some of the smaller politicians can be let out from prison, but Yulia Tymoshenko, it's very unlikely that she will be free. And maybe it's possible for her to go to Germany to undergo treatment, but only on the condition that she will promise to distance herself from any political activity. And I don't see this happening. So what do you exactly mean by solving this issue of selective justice? Thank you.

MR. KEMPE: And hold your thought. We'll come back for all the answers. Christoph von Marschall, please.

MR. VON MARSCHALL: Christoph von Marschall from the German daily Der Tagesspiegel, here in Washington, DC. You mentioned the pivot to Asia, and before you made the case, General Jones, why the Atlantic partnership economically matters, 40 percent of trade, 50 percent of the global economy, even 60 percent of foreign direct investment, 70 percent of research and development. But this doesn't seem to be very well known in the United States. When I listen to the president, he still mentions TPP before he mentions the transatlantic agreement.

So could you give us a little bit of an insight why is this, or do we maybe see at this moment a revival of the importance of the Atlantic partnership? We see people like Chuck Hagel and Mr. Kerry mention it, and they are appointed to the administration. So how do you explain these two different things? Is the Atlantic now a little bit more acknowledged than the Pacific because of the recent years it was "in" and modern to be interested in Asia; it was old-fashioned to be interested in Europe? And don't we have the same problem, Aleksander, in Europe? Also Europe had an economic pivot to Asia over the recent years, and not so much considering still the value of the Atlantic partnership.

MR. KEMPE: All right. Let's take these two first. President Kwaśniewski, Tymoshenko; and then General Jones, if you can deal with don't Americans get it.

MR. KWAŚNIEWSKI: Well, you know, I cannot say a lot of details about some possibilities concerning Yulia Tymoshenko, because we are still continuing our mission. But if I mention May, and if in the statement, the joint statement of the summit, Ukraine, we speak about May, that is, I think, the date we should discipline, make a discipline in these questions. We have to find a solution. What kind of solution? Theoretically, hypothetically, we can discuss a lot of possibilities, but we'll see what will happen next, in next weeks. When we speak about reforms of judiciary, of course we need a decision from the Parliament, we need a new bill, but we should be not naïve. It's necessary for Ukraine, it's necessary absolutely to change the role of the general prosecutor because the position of general prosecutor in the Ukrainian system is from the past. It's absolutely from the Soviet Union time. That is maybe the most influential person in Ukraine, sometimes more influential than the president.

But we have to understand that first of all, the reforms are absolutely needed, but secondly, if we want to have results of the reforms, we should be patient because that will not change the next day. We have to change the system of education of lawyers. We have to change the mentality of people. We have to change a lot of things, which will take time.

But in my opinion, there's this last point, more general, and that is this decision which we have, you Americans, we Europeans, we have to decide now, because what is the real alternative for Ukraine? We Europeans cannot accept you in our community because you are not enough prepared with all these legal elements, rule of law, etcetera, etcetera. And what is the alternative? Ukraine in a custom union. Ukraine in a Eurasian union. Of course it means that no one of our values, no one of our standards will exist in this Eurasian union. So the alternative is that we have to accept today Ukraine with changed, reformed laws, but with time to fulfill this by real substance.

So that is the long-term job. That is not to say that by May or November or next year everything will change. But having you as an associated partner, as an associated member of the European Union, we have a real chance to do it. Without that, we have no chances for anything. And that is what we politicians in Europe and the United States should understand. If we are fighting for values, we have to take you to us. If we are not interested about the values then we can keep Ukraine in some gray zone or closer to the Eurasian union, because good examples of legal, or judiciary, from Belarus or from Russia, from Kazakhstan, are very special, diplomatically-speaking.

MR. KEMPE: General Jones, we've run out of time, but you have a question, and we have the ambassador of Ukraine, so if you can keep the answer short.

GEN. JONES: Very quickly, I mean, it's an excellent question because, you know, a lot of people, when they talk about NATO and the transatlantic partnership, kind of roll their eyes and say, OK, that's the Cold War. And it's up to us now to move forward collectively. The numbers don't lie. I mean, we know what it is, but we have to find a new way to articulate why that relationship is still important to work on.

This is a century that won't be, hopefully, defined by world wars; it will be defined by global competition. And together economically, we can do a heck of a lot more to affect how the developing part of the world, the whole continent of Africa, for example, which I predict is going to be even more important than what's going on in Asia at some point. But the Asian attraction and the pivoting towards Asia is mainly economic. It's not security-related. It doesn't have the same fundamental ties that exist in the transatlantic community. But we do have to change the way we think about it and we do have to work on ways to be proactive through integrating, as I suggested, not only our security elements, which is what's been the dominant piece, but our economic integration and our governance and rule of law abilities to help the developing world to become what it can be.

MR. KEMPE: Ambassador of Ukraine, Mr. Ambassador, thank you so much for being here. You've been talked about so much this evening that I think you have every right to respond.

AMB. MOTSYK: Thank you very much. I'm ambassador of Ukraine to the United States, and before that, I, for four and a half years, had been ambassador of Ukraine to Poland, two countries that I love like I love the United States.

First of all, I would like to thank President Kwaśniewski, General Jones, and Fred Kempe for this great event. Second, I would like to express my deep gratitude to President Kwaśniewski for his—and I'm not afraid of this word — historic role in the history of modern Ukraine. He really did for Ukraine more than any other politician, statesman in the world. And he's the best expert on Ukraine. He feels Ukraine. He understands Ukraine. He knows not only about politics, but has a deep knowledge of the culture, of the history, of the traditions, of the psychology of Ukraine. So Mr. President, thank you once more, and please continue your great job.

MR. KWAŚNIEWSKI: Thank you. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Ambassador. Mr. Ambassador, may I interrupt you for a second, but, one day after very, very many meetings, we visited prisons, hospitals, prosecutors with Pat Cox, and we were in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We met your boss, the new minister, Mr. Kozhara. And we were absolutely exhausted, and we finally were finished. It was 10:00 or 11:00 in the night. And in front of your ministry, you have a nice place, nice square, totally empty. And Cox was so exhausted, so tired, I said, "Pat, look, don't worry; here they have such an empty square that is a nice place for our monuments." Please remember.

AMB. MOTSYK: OK. I'll repeat the idea from this seat to Kiev. Thank you very much once more. And for Ukraine and for Poland, shale gas is very important, maybe even more important for Ukraine. And for us, something like success on this project is as important as Euro 2012. Thank you.

MR. KEMPE: Well, that's a great note to end on. Let me just say one thing. Anybody who's interested in US-Polish economic relations, other relations, contact us about the Wroclaw Global Forum June 13-14. We're adding a very important economic and business element in that this year, including a shale gas element.

I want to thank these two individuals not only for this evening but for everything else you've done, contributing to your countries, the world, and this transatlantic relationship. And while doing that, I also want to give another big congratulations to our chairman, Senator Chuck Hagel, and we're really happy that he's going to be taking on this incredibly difficult job in such a historic moment. So thank you, gentlemen.



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