

‘What Future for NATO?’

*A conference organized by Natolin European Centre, Warsaw,
in cooperation with the Polish Ministry of Defence
and under the patronage of the Polish Defence Minister, Radoslaw Sikorski*

Helenów, 22 September 2006

SPEAKERS’ BIOGRAPHIES

MAREK A. CICHOCKI (PHD)

Programme director in Natolin European Centre, senior lecturer at the Institute of Applied Sociology. German philologist, philosopher, political scientists. His area of expertise includes German studies, European integration, and history of political thought. Co-editor of a quarterly „Teologia Polityczna” (Political Theology) and editor-in-chief of „Nowa Europa. Przegląd Natoliński” (New Europe. Natolin Review). Author of „Ciągłość i zmiana” (Continuity and Change), Warsaw 1999; „Porwanie Europy” (Abduction of Europe), Cracow 2004, „Władza i pamięć” (Power and Memory) Cracow 2005.

ARIEL COHEN L.L.B., PH.D.

A well-known Washington-based foreign, economic and security policy expert. His particular expertise lies in the areas of Russia's economic and financial policy; U.S.-Russian relations; Caspian pipeline security; ethnic conflict; and relationships between Russia and the New Independent States (NIS). He also has expertise on Turkey and Israel. Dr. Cohen has conducted policy briefings at the White House and produced numerous analyses, which were published in the leading journals and newspapers in the U.S. and around the world. He has organized and conducted conferences spanning a broad range of subjects, including international financial institutions' aid to Russia; international organized crime; proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and other topics.

Cohen is Research Fellow in Russian and Eurasian Studies at the Davis International Studies Institute at the Heritage Foundation. Cohen manages a successful policy research program on Russia, the New Independent States and Central Europe, working closely with Congressmen and Congressional staff members and cabinet-level Russian, Eurasian and Eastern and Central European decision makers. He has over 18 years experience and increasing responsibility in policy development and research, project design, project implementation and management, project evaluation, as well as legal reform, government relations/political public relations, journalistic writing, and broadcasting.

Dr. Cohen was a Senior Consultant in charge of Legal Reform projects at the International Development practice at Burson-Marsteller, a leading international public information firm. He has consulted for the U.S. Agency for International Development, The World Bank, the United States Government, the U.S. Senate, and Radio Liberty-Radio Free Europe. He lectured at the Central Intelligence Agency and appeared in CIA/Department of State-sponsored conferences. He also advised multinational corporations and law firms in energy, retail, aerospace, and financial sectors in the former Soviet Union and Eastern and Central Europe.

Dr. Cohen frequently testifies before committees of the U.S. Congress, including House Foreign Relations, House Armed Services, House Judiciary Committees and the Helsinki Commission. He regularly appears on CNN, NBC, BBC-TV and other major radio and TV networks. In addition to his work at Heritage, Dr. Cohen serves as a weekly commentator for Voice of America and United Press International, and writes as a guest columnist for the Washington Post, the Washington Times, The Wall Street Journal, the Journal of Commerce, Harvard International Review and other journals and magazines in the U.S. and abroad. He is a member of Editorial Board of Central Asia and the Caucasus (Stockholm). Dr. Cohen has served as an adjunct faculty member at Georgetown University and in a number of West Coast universities, including Loyola Marymount in Los Angeles. His book, *Russian Imperialism: Development and Crisis*, was published by Praeger Publishers/Greenwood in hard cover (1996) and paperback (1998).

PROF.DR. ROB DE WIJK

Director of the Clingendael Security and Conflict Programme (CSCP) which also comprises the Conflict Research Unit (CRU) since January 2005, when the Departments of Training and Research of the Clingendael Institute were integrated in three new thematic Programmes.

In 2003 Dr. Rob de Wijk became the Director of the Clingendael Centre for Strategic Studies. The Centre is a joint venture between the Clingendael Institute of International Relations and the Netherlands Organisation for Applied Scientific Research, (TNO).

He is also professor in the field of International Relations at the Royal Netherlands Military Academy, Breda (1999) and professor Strategic Studies at the University of Leiden (2000). In addition, he is a member of the National Defence Research Council of TNO (1993).

Rob de Wijk started his career in 1977 as a freelance journalist. In 1980 he became editor-in-chief of a publishing company specialising in journals and scientific publications. From 1985 to 1989 he worked at the University of Leiden's political science department. He was a lecturer in international relations, in particular international security.

In October 1989 Rob de Wijk was appointed Head of the Defence Concepts Division of the Defence Staff at the Netherlands Ministry of Defence. He advised the Chief of the Defence Staff in matters relating to strategic plans and policy. In September 1997 he acquired a secondment with the Clingendael Institute for International Relations in The Hague to study the military aspects of international security.

AMBASSADOR ROBERT KUPIECKI, PH.D.

Director, Security Policy Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (since August 2004)

The key responsibilities of the Department include: transatlantic relations, defense policy, NATO, European Security and Defense Policy, conventional arms control, export control, WMD non-proliferation, broad range of „new threats” and „soft” security-related issues.

Government Experience:

Deputy Ambassador of Poland to NATO, Brussels (1999-2004)

Deputy Director, MFA, European Security Policy Department (1998-1999)

Head of NATO and WEU Section, MFA (1994-1998)

Desk Officer, Planning Staff, MFA (1993-1994)

Since 1993 – member, and chairman of Polish delegations to different international organizations and fora.

Previous Experience:

Institute of Contemporary History, Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences (1990-1993)

Education:

Ph.D., University of Warsaw, International Relations

M.A., University of Warsaw, Contemporary History

Post-Graduate Studies: National Academy of Public Administrative (Warsaw)

Geneva Center for Security Policy, Switzerland

Participation in seminars on different aspects of security policy in Poland and abroad.

Publications:

Dr. Kupiecki has published extensively (including books) on international security and contemporary history of Poland. Some of his publications have been translated into English, German and Russian.

Personal:

Married, with 2 kids.

ADMIRAL TOMASZ MATHEA

Deputy Chief's of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces. Born in 1955 in Warsaw. Graduated the Naval Academy in Gdynia. In the 1980s. he served as captain and deputy commander of ORP "Bielik" submarine. 1989 promoted to lieutenant commander, 1992 commander. Since 1996, after promotion to commodore, deputy commander of the 3rd Flotilla in Gdynia, and two years later he was nominated to chief of Navy Training Division in the Navy HQ. June 2000 promoted to commander of the 9th Coast Guard Flotilla in Hel, and 2001 promoted to rear-admiral. He is one of the most experienced commanders of young generation in the Polish navy. In 2002 he studied at the National Defense University in Washington. Back in Poland he was Chief of Strategic Planning Directorate in the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces. 2003 promoted to vice-admiral, and 2004 nominated to Chief of Logistic in the Navy. As of June 1 2006 he was appointed to Deputy Chief's of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces.

He is postgraduate of the Naval Academy of the USSR, Royal Naval Academy of the General Staff in the UK and National Defence University in Poland. He graduated in operational-strategic studies at the National Defense University in Washington.

Married with one son.

DR. ANDREW A. MICHTA

Professor of National Security Studies and Deputy Director of the Senior Executive Seminar at the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies in Germany. He holds a Ph.D. in International Relations from the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, D.C. (1987). He is also the Mertie Willigar Buckman Distinguished Professor of International Studies at Rhodes College (on leave 2005-2008).

Professor Michta has published several books and contributed articles and book chapters on NATO enlargement, European security, civil-military relations, US security policy, and post-communist transition. His most recent book *The Limits of Alliance: The United States, NATO and the EU in North and Central Europe* was published by Rowman & Littlefield in the summer of 2006.

Professor Michta is an associate of the Institute of European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies at the George Washington University, a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, and a Visiting Scholar at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. He is a frequent consultant to the US government. In 2001 he was Public Policy Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Center, and presently serves on the Center's Academic Advisory Committee to its East European Program. He has also served on the Wilson Center Fellows selection panel, the AAASS Program Committee for Political Science/Law, the AAASS Board of Directors, and the Barbara Jelavich Book Prize Selection Committee.

OLAF OSICA

Research fellow, Natolin European Centre in Warsaw, member of the editorial team of a quarterly “Nowa Europa”, PhD-candidate in the Department for Social and Political Sciences at the European University Institute in Florence (Italy). 1998-2002 research fellow, Center for International Relations in Warsaw, coordinator of the project “Transatlantic Partnership and Poland’s Interests”, sponsored by the German Marshall Fund of the US. 1999-2000 member of the editorial team of “Polska Zbrojna”.

His main area of expertise includes Poland’s foreign and security policy, NATO reform and European Security and Defence Policy.

He recently published “Poland: A New European Atlanticist at a crossroads?” (in: Old Europe, New Europe and the Transatlantic Security Agenda, K. Longhurst, M. Zaborowski (eds), Routledge, 2005).

He regularly contributes to “Rzeczpospolita” and “Tygodnik Powszechny”.

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GARY SCHMITT

Gary Schmitt is a resident scholar and director of the American Enterprise Institute's Program on Advanced Strategic Studies. Prior to coming to AEI, he helped found and served as executive director of the Project for the New American Century, a Washington-based foreign and defense policy think tank. In the early 1980s, Dr. Schmitt was a member of the professional staff of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and, from 1982-1984, served as the committee's minority staff director. In 1984, he was appointed by President Reagan to the post of executive director of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, the White House. He served in that position until 1988. Since then, he has held visiting fellowships at the National Interest and the Brookings Institution, served as Coordinator for the Consortium for the Study of Intelligence's Working Group on Intelligence Reform, and worked as a consultant to the Department of Defense. In addition, he has been an adjunct professor at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University.

Dr. Schmitt has written articles in a number of areas, including the American founding, the U.S. presidency, the American political system, intelligence and national security affairs. He is the co-author with Abram N. Shulsky, of *Silent Warfare: Understanding the World of Intelligence* (2002); co-editor of, and contributor to, *U.S. Intelligence at the Crossroads: Agendas for Reform* (1995); co-author of *The Future of U.S. Intelligence* (1996), a monograph prepared for the Working Group on Intelligence Reform; and co-author of *What Does "High Crimes and Misdemeanors" Mean?* (1998), a monograph of the Henry Salvatori Center of Claremont McKenna College.

Dr. Schmitt is a graduate of the University of Dallas (B.A./1974) and the University of Chicago (Ph.D./1980). He is married, has two children, and lives in Arlington, Virginia.

JAMES SHERR

James Sherr is a Fellow of the Conflict Studies Research Centre (CSRC), which is part of the Defence Academy of the United Kingdom.¹ He is also Lecturer in International Relations at Lincoln College, Oxford, and is a consultant to NATO on Ukraine. Between 1998-2000, he was a Specialist Adviser to the House of Commons Defence Committee and, between 1983-85, Director of Studies of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies. He is the author of approximately 100 publications on Russia, Ukraine and European security.

Born in New York in 1951, Mr. Sherr holds British and US citizenship. He graduated from Montclair High School (New Jersey) in 1969 and in 1974 received a BA with Highest Honours from Oberlin College (Ohio). Following several years as a post-graduate student, he became a tutor and supervisor at St. Catherine's College, Oxford. Between 1983-5 he was Director of Studies at the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies, London.

Since 1995, his primary responsibility at CSRC has been to inform the Ministry of Defence, NATO, the EU and other interested parties about Ukraine's development, external relations and security. To this end, he has made over 90 visits to Ukraine. He plays an active part in the UK-Ukraine Ministry of Defence Programme of Cooperation and has an extensive advisory role in NATO-Ukraine relations. He has also participated in a number of EU-led forums on Ukraine. Inside Ukraine, his articles and interviews appear regularly in *Zerkalo Nedeli* [*Mirror of the Week*] and *Den'* [*The Day*]. Outside Ukraine, his work has been published, *inter alia*, by the IISS, Chatham House, Carnegie, IFRI, the *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik*, the Institute of Eastern Studies (Warsaw) and CSRC's own publication series.

Before 1992, Mr Sherr was the author of a number of articles and monographs on Soviet military doctrine and policy, as well as Soviet Power: The Continuing Challenge (RUSI/Macmillan, 1987/1991). More recently, he has advised the MOD, NATO and the House of Commons Foreign Affairs and Defence Committees on the security policy of the Russian Federation. He has delivered presentations at NATO's Winter Academy (Moscow), the first (1997) and second (1998) official NATO-Russian workshops and the 2004 defence reform seminar of the NATO-Russia Council. His articles appear regularly in *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* and have also appeared in *Izvestiya* and *Pro et Contra*.

James Sherr has also been engaged with wider policy discussions associated with NATO and EU enlargement, the Black Sea region and energy security. He lectures frequently at the Harvard JFK School's Black Sea Security Programme and Russia Security Programme. Since its establishment, he has participated in the Krynica Forum and has worked closely with the Institute of Eastern Studies, the Polish-Ukrainian Foundation and the US-Ukraine Quest project. Within the Black Sea region, he has participated in seminars and projects sponsored by the German Marshall Fund of the USA and by the governments of Moldova, Romania and Turkey. He has spoken at the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and the College of Europe. He lectures regularly at the NATO Defence College, the Marshall Centre and the Royal College of Defence Studies (London). He is a regular participant at Wilton Park conferences on Ukraine and NATO/EU enlargement.

¹ CSRC, until 1993 the Soviet Studies Research Centre, conducts independent, unclassified research on the basis of primary (and largely Russian language) sources. Its Papers and Occasional Briefs are distributed to over 400 individuals and institutions in NATO and Partnership countries (and available on its website www.da.mod.uk/CSRC).

RADOSLAW SIKORSKI, Minister of National Defence of Poland

Born in 1963 in Bydgoszcz. He was a chairman of the Student Strike Committee during the Bydgoszcz events in March 1981.

From 1981 to 1989 he was a political refugee in Great Britain and graduated from Oxford University as; a Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts in Philosophy, Politics and Economics (PPE). From 1986 to 1989 he was a freelance reporter during wars in Afghanistan and Angola.

From 1990 he was an advisor to Rupert Murdoch on investments in Poland. In 1992, as Deputy Minister of National Defense, he helped to launch Poland's accession to NATO. From 1998 till 2001 he was undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In this capacity he signed agreements to abolish visas with several countries; He supervised relations with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America; Introduced the 'cheap visa' program for Poland's eastern neighbours, and introduced competitions for candidates for the posts of directors of Polish Cultural Institutes abroad.

From 2002 to 2005 he was a resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington D.C. and Executive Director of the New Atlantic Initiative. He edited a series of analytical publications entitled European Outlook. He organized major international conference Belarus, Ukraine, UN reforms, the future of NATO and the 25th anniversary of Solidarity. As an expert on transatlantic affairs he testified before the Foreign Affairs Committee of US Congress.

His books have been published in several languages: *Prochy Swietych - podróż do Heratu w czas wojny* (Dust of the Saints - A Journey to Herat in Time of War), and *The Polish House - an Intimate History of Poland*. He writes for *Rzeczpospolita*, *The National Review*, *The Spectator*, *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Sunday Telegraph*. He has been a commentator on Polish and transatlantic affairs on TVN 24, CNN, Fox News, BBC World, Voice of America and the BBC World Service. He created the TVP programme *Wywiad Miesiąca* (Interview of the Month), in which he interviewed Margaret Thatcher, Lech Wałęsa, Vaclav Klaus, Otto von Habsburg, Henry Kissinger, Qian Qichen and others. He won the World Press Photo prize in 1988 for a photograph taken in Afghanistan. With his wife, Anne Applebaum, he divided the quiz screened on Polish TV, "Telepeerele'.

Since 31 October 2005 he is Poland's Minister of Defense. On 28 December 2005 he was appointed by the President of Poland to serve on the National Security Council.

In 2005 he was elected to the Senate, running on the Law and Justice party list, in the Bydgoszcz constituency. He is married to the journalist and writer Anne Applebaum - winner of the 2004 Pulitzer prize. They have two sons: Aleksander and Tadeusz.

BRIGADIER GENERAL DR. KLAUS WITTMANN

Director Academic Planning and Policy,
NATO Defense College, Rome

26 October 1946 Born in Lübeck, Germany

Education: After primary school at Leverkusen, attended high school (Cologne, Bonn-Bad Godesberg, Neumünster and Ulm). Passed final exam (Abitur) at Ulm.

1966 Joined the Armed Forces as a reserve officer candidate in a field artillery battalion (Feldartilleriebataillon 210) in Philippsburg.

1968 - 1971 Became a career officer in 1968. From that time until 1971 had assignments and training periods in Philippsburg, Hamburg (Officer's School) and Lüneburg (Feldartilleriebataillon 31).

1971 - 1976 At the request of the Ministry of Defence, while maintaining the status of career officer, studied history, political science and sociology at Hamburg University and obtained a Ph.D. in history. At the same time worked for three years as an assistant in the History Department of Hamburg's Bundeswehr University.

1977 - 1978 Commander of an armoured artillery battery at Wildeshausen (Panzerartilleriebataillon 315).

1978 - 1980 Attended the National General Staff Officer Course at the Führungsakademie der Bundeswehr, Hamburg.

1980 - 1982 Head of Department (logistics) at brigade level in Iserlohn (G4 Panzerbrigade 20).

1982 - 1985 Desk Officer in the politico-military section of MOD Bonn (Fü S III 1). Dealt with German politico-military relations towards France, Spain, the Mediterranean and the African countries.

1985 - 1987 Commander of a rocket artillery battalion at Delmenhorst (Raketenartilleriebataillon 112).

1987 - 1988 Research Associate at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) in London.

1988 - 1992 Planning Officer, then Branch Chief, Strategic Planning Branch, Plans & Policy Division, International Military Staff (IMS), NATO HQ, Brussels; Chairman Military Strategy Working Group

1992 - 1996 Commander Panzerbrigade 14 „Hessischer Löwe“ at Neustadt/ Hessen.

1996 - 2000 Defence Advisor and Head of Politico-military Department at the German Delegation to NATO, Brussels.

2000 - 2005 Director of Faculty, Armed Forces Staff College (Führungsakademie der Bundeswehr), Hamburg

since July 2005 Director Academic Planning and Policy, NATO Defense College, Rome

since 2003 Member of the 10th Synod of the Protestant Church of Germany (EKD) and of the EKD's "Kammer für Öffentliche Verantwortung"

Family Married with Geneviève W. (née About) from Paris, France; two sons, Mario (34) and Daniel (31)

Publications Several books („German-Swedish Economic Relations During the Third Reich“, 1976; „The Defence Situation at NATO's Southern Flank“, 1984; Adelphi Paper No. 239, „Challenges of Conventional Arms Control“, International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1989) and articles in the areas of history, security policy and NATO strategy.

Medals and
Decorations

Cruz de la Orden del Mérito Militar con Distintivo Blanco de la

Primera Clase (Spain)
Ehrenkreuz der Bundeswehr in Gold
Officier de L'Ordre National du Mérite (France)
Cruz de la Orden del Mérito Naval con Distintivo Blanco de la
Primera Clase (Spain)
Par ieguldījumu bruņoto spēku attīstībai (Lettland)

Memberships International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP)
Deutsche Atlantische Gesellschaft
Verband der Historiker Deutschlands
Arbeitskreis Militär und Sozialwissenschaften (AMS)
Clausewitz-Gesellschaft

MARCIN ZABOROWSKI (PHD)

Doctorate in European Politics and MA in International Studies from the University of Birmingham. Lecturer in International Relations and European Politics at Aston University from 2001 to 2005. Coordinator of the Transatlantic Programme at the Centre for International Relations in Warsaw, Poland from 2002 to 2004. Former NATO Research Fellow (1999-2000). Author of books and articles on Polish-German Relations, Polish Foreign Policy and Transatlantic Relations. Currently, Senior Research Fellow at the European Union Institute for Security Studies where he deals with transatlantic relations, US foreign policy, EU enlargement and East Asia.

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PAWEŁ ZALEWSKI

Deputy of the 5th Term of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland
The Law and Justice – PiS (Electoral district no. 11 – Sieradz)
Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee

Born on 25 September 1964 in Warsaw. Married, two children.

EDUCATION: History and Law Studies at the Warsaw University
Graduated from the Faculty of History of the Warsaw University (1990)

PROFESSIONAL AND POLITICAL ACTIVITIES:

80'	Underground independent press publishing activities Member of the Independent Student Association
1989	Participation in the “Round Table Talks” (negotiation team dealing with higher education issues)
1989 – 1991	Adviser to the Minister of National Education
1991 – 1993	Deputy to the 1 st Term of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland
1991 – 1993	Senior assistant at the Warsaw School of Economics
since 1996	Managing Partner at the international human resources company
2002 – 2003	Member of the Board of Mazowieckie Voivodship
since 2002	Member of the Board of the Law and Justice Party
since 2005	Deputy to the 5 st Term of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Founder and member of the Domus Polonorum Society.

PRZEMYSŁAW ŻURAWSKI VEL GRAJEWSKI

(born 1963) MA and PhD in History from the Department of History of International Relations of the University of Łódź. Since 1987 a researcher and academic teacher of the said University first in the Faculty of Philosophy and History and since 1995 in the Institute and then the Faculty of International Studies and Political Science. In 1992 employed with the Office of the Minister of National Defence for Defence Policy Planning of the Ministry of National Defence of the Republic of Poland. In the years 1995-1996 in the Office of the Undersecretary of State, Government Plenipotentiary for European Integration and Foreign Assistance – Council of Ministers. 1996-2001 in the European Institute in Łódź. 2005 – 2006 – Contemporary agent of the EPP-ED an expert in charge of the monitoring of the political situation in Belarus, Moldova, Russia and Ukraine in the European Parliament in Brussels. Editor of *"The Portfolio" – Ukrainian and East European Bulletin* www.epl-ed.pl.