



Lennart Meri

Lennart Meri Conference

2021 / Tallinn / Estonia

RKK
ICDS

RAHVUSVAHELINE KAITSEURINGUTE KESKUS
INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR DEFENCE AND SECURITY
EESTI • ESTONIA

Agenda

3-5 September 2021

Twitter: ICDS_Tallinn / Facebook: ICDS.Tallinn

#LennartMeriConference2021

Visit lmc.icds.ee for more detailed information and latest updates



Friday, September 3

15:00

Pre-events (see page 10)

17:00

Welcome

Indrek Kannik, Director, International Centre for Defence and Security

17:05

Opening Session

***Nam Tua res Agitur, Paries
cum Proximus Ardet (Horace)***

My Neighbour's Problem Today – Mine Tomorrow

The title of the conference and opening panel was inspired by a saying of the poet, Horace - Nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet (You too are in danger, when your neighbour's house is on fire). The urge to isolate in a small capsule—be it a nation, country, religion, or ideology—and try to ignore the approaching fires outside is more widespread than was perhaps expected in the more optimistic times when the Berlin Wall fell. COVID-19 has demonstrated that we tend to act instinctively, and not necessarily rationally, when facing a crisis. Can global concerns be avoided by staying at home? What are the lessons of COVID-19 for states and the wider international community in dealing with global problems such as climate change, pandemic, and poverty?

Kaja Kallas, Prime Minister of Estonia

Yascha Mounk, Associate Professor of Practice, Johns Hopkins University, US

Margaritis Schinas, Vice President of the European Commission

Vikas Swarup, Former Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of India

Moderator: Frank Gardner, Security Correspondent, BBC

18:45

Transfer to dinner (Nobel Hall, Noblessner Foundry)

19:00

By invitation only

Dinner hosted by the President of Estonia **Kersti Kaljulaid**

21:30

Transfer back to the conference from dinner

22:00

Night Owl session (Chatham House Rule)

Veritas Vincit

Truth Prevails

Eliot Higgins, the founder and leader of Bellingcat, has called the internet an intelligence agency for the people, providing previously unimaginable possibilities to investigate and search for the truth. Journalist Luke Harding has remarked that the balance between open and secret intelligence is shifting, and that spying is no longer the preserve of nation states. Investigative journalists and the intelligence community both gather and provide information that influences policies, political regimes, international relations, and people's lives, and both need to protect their sources. Is a new rivalry between these groups emerging, or can they find ways to collaborate? Will a rapid evolution in the techniques and means of gathering information produce fundamental shifts in the intelligence community and in investigative journalism? What are the practical implications?

Rob Bertholee, Consultant, Kantoor07

Roman Dobrokhotov, Editor-in-Chief, The Insider

Christo Grozev, Investigating Journalist, Bellingcat

František Vrabel, CEO, Semantic Visions

Moderator: **Kimberly Dozier**, Contributor, TIME Magazine

Saturday, September 4

Parallel breakfast sessions (Chatham House Rule)

08:30

Terra Nullius

The Arctic. Nobody's Land

Pavel K. Baev, Research Professor, Peace Research Institute Oslo

Marc Lanteigne, Associate Professor, University of Tromsø, Norway

Caroline Kennedy-Pipe, Professor, Loughborough University, UK

Mingming Shi, Associate Editor, Over the Circle

Moderator: **Riina Kaljurand**, Ambassador of Estonia to Georgia

Compesce Mentem (Horace)

Control Your Temper – Is a New Arms Race

Dawning?

Michał Baranowski, Warsaw Office Director, German Marshall Fund of the United States

Pekka Haavisto, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Finland

Robert Nurick, Senior Fellow, Atlantic Council

Bruno Tertrais, Deputy Director, Foundation for Strategic Research

Moderator: **François Heisbourg**, Senior Advisor, International Institute for Strategic Studies

Semper ad Meliora?

The EU27 and Global Britain. Always Towards Better Things?

Ian Bond, Director of Foreign Policy, Centre for European Reform

Thomas Gomart, Director, French Institute of International Relations

Jakub Kulhánek, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic

Boris Ruge, Vice Chairman, Munich Security Conference

Moderator: **Theresa Fallon**, Director, Centre for Russia Europe Asia Studies

Novum Modus Operandi

New Method of Operating – Russia's Neighbourhood Policy

Tea Akhvlediani, State Minister of Georgia for Reconciliation and Civic Equality

Jana Kobzová, Foreign Policy Advisor, Office of the President of Slovakia

Matti Maasikas, Ambassador of the EU to Ukraine

Dmitry Suslov, Deputy Director, Center for Comprehensive European and International Studies, National Research University – High School of Economics, Russia

Moderator: **Kurt Volker**, Distinguished Fellow, Center for European Policy Analysis

10:00

Panel discussion

Ubi Concordia, Ibi Victoria (Pubilius Syrus) **Where Is Unity, There Is Victory**

The Hungarian intellectual István Bibó wrote in 1944, that the greatest threat to democracy would come when "the cause of the nation" became separated from "the cause of liberty." But in recent years, religious, ethnic, historical and minority identities have been weaponised, promoting individual liberty over collective liberty, and fragmenting societies into ever smaller, closed, hostile groups. Is this fragmentation inevitable? What values can the free world build a future on, and where should they come from: the nation state, Christian culture, the French Revolution, the Declaration of Independence, international law, or something else? Indeed, are there any common European values, or are they, as Slovenian Prime Minister Janez Janša remarked, "Imaginary European values without respecting local cultures"? Can cohesion be rebuilt from fragmentation?

Kaush Arha, Senior Fellow, Atlantic Council

Clément Beaune, Minister of State for European Affairs of France

Anton Drobovych, Director, Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance

Daniela Schwarzer, Executive Director for Europe and Eurasia, Open Society Foundations

Moderator: **Hans Kundnani**, Senior Research Fellow, Chatham House

11:30

Coffee break

12:00

Panel discussion

Unus pro Omnibus, Omnes pro Uno NATO. One for All, All for One

NATO has difficult choices to make as it prepares a new strategic concept. At their summit in Brussels, NATO heads of state and government were clear that they would continue to respond militarily to the threat to Euro-Atlantic security posed by Russia, but less certain about how they should deal with the challenges from China or the arc of instability to NATO's south. Can the Alliance find a balance between these challenges while preserving cohesion? How should its responsibilities be shared with the EU? What should it learn from the COVID-19 pandemic? What kind of Alliance do we need for the coming decade?

General Rajmund Andrzejczak, Chief of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces

Baiba Braže, Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy, NATO

Philippe Errera, Director General for Political and Security Affairs, Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs of France

JJ Green, National Security Correspondent, WTOP

Moderator: Jana Puglierin, Senior Policy Fellow and Head of the Berlin Office, European Council on Foreign Relations

13:30

Buffet lunch and optional side-events (see page 10)

16:15

Panel discussion

Russia, Quo Vadis?

Russia will hold legislative elections on 19 September 2021. At stake are 450 seats in the State Duma. Do the temperature and mood of the Russian electorate provide any indications of the outcome of these elections? Who are the serious challengers to the sitting power? What does Navalny represent to Russians—a fearless hero or a fearless fool—and how relevant a political player is he? Will the younger generation take an active role or remain disengaged from political life? What does the Russian electorate think of the West? What is the level of mistrust in society, and has it been influenced by COVID? Is Putin taking, as Francis Fukuyama notes, risks that the Soviets would have never taken, and what might this mean?

Sabine Fischer, Senior Fellow, German Institute for International and Security Studies

Alexey Levinson, Head of the Socio-Cultural Research Department, Levada Center, Russia

Dmitry Suslov, Deputy Director, Center for Comprehensive European and International Studies, National Research University – High School of Economics, Russia

Sergey Utkin, Head of Strategic Assessment Section, Primakov Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Russian Academy of Sciences

Moderator: Olga Olikier, Director of Russia and Central Asia Program, International Crisis Group

17:45

Lennart Meri Lecture

18:30

Coffee break

19:00

Panel discussion

Vincere Est Vivere

China. To Conquer Is to Live

The fourth technological revolution has begun. No domain remains untouched. How should we view technological competition with our adversaries from the unfree world, especially China? Are the battles over 5G and artificial intelligence purely technological, or do they imply choices between competitive ideologies in a changing world order? Can we distinguish between technologies that bring risk and those that do not as a basis for deciding on whether to cooperate with China? Can the US and the EU find common approaches to this challenge? What do China's immediate neighbours think? How does China itself define security and how does China's leadership implement this definition? Can we separate technology and geopolitics?

Dean Cheng, Senior Research Fellow, Heritage Foundation

Ulrike Franke, Senior Policy Fellow, European Council on Foreign Relations

François Heisbourg, Senior Advisor, International Institute for Strategic Studies

Samir Saran, President, Observer Research Foundation

Moderator: **Tara Varma**, Head of the Paris Office, European Council on Foreign Relations

20:30

Networking dinner

Parallel Night Owl sessions (Chatham House Rule)

22:00

Dum Spiro, Spero (Cicero)

Middle East. While I Breathe, I Hope

Seyed Ali Alavi, Senior Teaching Fellow at SOAS, University of London, UK

Kimberly Dozier, Contributor, TIME Magazine

Frank Gardner, Security Correspondent, BBC

Abdulaziz Sager, Chairman, Gulf Research Center

Moderator: **Ali Aslan**, International TV Presenter and Journalist

Inter Malleum et Incudem

Russian Civil Society and Media. Between a Rock and a Hard Place

Inna Berezkina, Programme Coordinator, School of Civic Education, Russia

Kadri Liik, Senior Policy Fellow, European Council on Foreign Relations

Andrei Soldatov, Editor, Agentura.ru

Ia Meurmishvili Volker, Senior Editor, Voice of America's Georgian Service

Moderator: **Christian Caryl**, Op-ed Editor/International, The Washington Post

Inimicus ab Intra

Enemy from Within - Domestic Terrorism and Extremism

Patrick Calvar, Founding Partner, C-Conseil

JJ Green, National Security Correspondent, WTOP

Gustaf Göthberg, Project Manager, Jarl Hjalmarson Foundation

Anton Shekhovtsov, Director, Centre for Democratic Integrity

Moderator: **Milena Lazarević**, Programme Director and Co-Founder, European Policy Centre

Dira Necessitas (Horace)

The Dire Necessity - Setting the Rules in Digital World

Kaimar Karu, Strategy Advisor and former Minister of Foreign Trade and IT of Estonia

André Loesekrug-Pietri, Chairman, Joint European Disruptive Initiative

Nicolas Tenzer, Chairman, Centre for Study and Research on Political Decision

František Vrabel, CEO, Semantic Visions

Moderator: **Solvita Denisa-Liepniece**, Assistant Professor, Vidzeme University of Applied Sciences, Latvia

Sunday, September 5

Parallel breakfast sessions (Chatham House Rule)

08:30

Dies Irae

The Day of Wrath in Afghanistan

Frank Gardner, Security Correspondent, BBC

Ben Hodges, Pershing Chair in Strategic Studies, Center for European Policy Analysis

Edgars Rinkēvičs, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Latvia

Vikas Swarup, Former Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of India

Moderator: **Sylvie Kauffmann**, Editorial Director, Le Monde

Cras es Noster?

The Future Is Ours - Who Owns the Future of Belarus?

Nigel Gould-Davies, Senior Fellow, International Institute for Strategic Studies

Linas Linkevičius, Ambassador, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania

Hanna Shelest, Director of Security Programmes, Foreign Policy Council "Ukrainian Prism"

Katsiaryna Shmatsina, Research Fellow, Belarusian Institute for Strategic Studies

Moderator: **Pavel Slunkin**, Visiting Fellow, European Council on Foreign Relations

Mutatis Mutandis

Changing What Needed to Be Changed – Weighing Hydrogen Strategy

John Lough, Associate Fellow, Chatham House

Andrian Prokip, Director of Energy Programme, Ukrainian Institute for the Future

Alan Riley, Senior Fellow, Atlantic Council

Sergey Utkin, Head of Strategic Assessment Section, Primakov Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Russian Academy of Sciences

Moderator: Vivian Loonela, Coordinating Spokesperson for the European Green Deal, European Commission

09:55

Dialogue on the stage

Setting the Tone

Stefano Sannino, Secretary General, European External Action Service

Steven Erlanger, Chief Diplomatic Correspondent, Europe, The New York Times

10:30

Panel discussion

Orta Recens, Quam Pura Nites?

Newly Risen, How Brightly You Shine?

President Joe Biden's entry to White House, somewhat illogically seen as both a new beginning and a return to the good old days, produced a huge sigh of relief in Europe. But reality has rapidly hit home. Domestically, US society remains extremely polarised. In foreign policy, the unilateral decision to withdraw from Afghanistan has revived Europeans' fears about their relevance to the US. Among the European Allies, a recognition of the need to do more is emerging, but their trust in the US has been badly shaken. What does Biden's "foreign policy for the middle class" mean for Europe? What does European sovereignty mean for the US? How will the US midterm elections and the coming elections in Germany and France impact the state of transatlantic relations? Can a new transatlantic balance be created and maintained?

Steve Clemons, Editor at Large, The Hill

Sylvie Kauffmann, Editorial Director, Le Monde

Ulrich Speck, Senior Visiting Fellow, German Marshall Fund of the United States

Rob de Wijk, Founder, The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies

Moderator: James Kirchick, Visiting Fellow, Brookings Institution

12:00

Coffee break

12:30

Panel discussion

Non Ducor, Duco

I am Not Led, I Lead

Creating regional cohesion by financing and implementing projects to build regional infrastructure and connectivity has become the new way to demonstrate to the world

that, "I am not led, I lead." In both physical and digital connectivity, trust is key. But both the Belt and Road Initiative, and the Three Seas Initiative are also political projects, intended to expand regional economic influence. What are the effects of these multiple channels of connectivity and communication between neighbours? How will they impact the global economy? Should we diversify supply chains, transport, and logistics? How can public private partnership help to create stability through connectivity? How can strategic decisions in our region be made compatible with green initiatives and the need for new energy solutions? Can enhanced connectivity create stability?

Jens Henriksson, President and CEO, Swedbank

Sabina Jeschke, Scientific Senior Advisor, Deloitte and CEO, Arctic Brains AB

Kersti Kaljulaid, President of Estonia

Egils Levits, President of Latvia

Moderator: **Linas Linkevičius**, Ambassador, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania

13:45

Closing remarks

14:00

Farewell lunch

Friday, September 3

15:00

In cooperation with the Open Estonia Foundation (in Russian)

Timor et Odium

Fear and Loathing in Russia

Страх и ненависть в России

Roman Dobrokhotov, Editor-in-Chief, The Insider

Christo Grozev, Investigating Journalist, Bellingcat

Andrei Soldatov, Editor, Agentura.ru

Moderator: Artemy Troitsky, Journalist

15:00

In cooperation with the Center for European Policy Analysis

Respice, Adspice, Prospice

Examine the Past, Examine the Present, Examine the Future

General Rajmund Andrzejczak, Chief of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces

Carl Bildt, Co-Chair, European Council on Foreign Relations; former Prime Minister and former Foreign Minister of Sweden

Vice Admiral Keith Blount, Commander, NATO Allied Maritime Command

Charly Salonius-Pasternak, Senior Research Fellow, Finnish Institute of International Affairs

Jonatan Vseviov, Secretary General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Estonia

Moderator: Ben Hodges, Pershing Chair in Strategic Studies, Center for European Policy Analysis

Saturday, September 4

13:40

Lunch discussion in cooperation with the Estonian Foreign Policy Institute at the ICDS

Ex Oriente Lux?

How to Think about the Russia-China Relationship

Kaush Arha, Senior Fellow, Atlantic Council

Pavel K. Baev, Research Professor, Peace Research Institute Oslo

Dean Cheng, Senior Research Fellow, Heritage Foundation

Theresa Fallon, Director, Centre for Russia Europe Asia Studies

Frank Jüris, Research Fellow, Estonian Foreign Policy Institute at the ICDS

Iztok Mirošič, Ambassador, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Slovenia

Moderator: **James Sherr**, Senior Fellow, Estonian Foreign Policy Institute at the ICDS

14:30

Optional tours

Guided tour to Old Town of Tallinn

Guided tour to Long Herman and Riigikogu, Parliament of Estonia

under the lead of **Marko Mihkelson**, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee

Supporters and partners



REPUBLIC OF ESTONIA
MINISTRY OF DEFENCE



REPUBLIC OF ESTONIA
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS



REPUBLIC OF ESTONIA
GOVERNMENT OFFICE

RESEARCH PARTNER

OPEN SOCIETY
FOUNDATIONS

elering



This event is supported by
NATO's Public Diplomacy Division



SAAB



BAE SYSTEMS
INSPIRED WORK



CYBERNETICA

Tallinna
Lennujaam



IRIS JANVIER

lmc.icds.ee

Lennart Meri Conference

is organised by the International
Centre for Defence and Security
(ICDS) and Lennart Meri European
Foundation.