

D-10 STRATEGY FORUM MEETING REPORT

June 15-16, 2015
Rome, Italy



D-10 STRATEGY FORUM

June 15-16, 2015
Rome

Meeting Report



Copyright © 2015 by Atlantic Council and Centre for International Governance Innovation

The opinions expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the views of the Centre for International Governance Innovation or its Board of Directors.



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution — Non-commercial — No Derivatives License. To view this license, visit (www.creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/). For re-use or distribution, please include this copyright notice.

This conference report does not necessarily represent the views from the different institutions that supported or participated in the conference.

Cover photo: Ponte Sisto, Rome. Flickr/Neil Howard, 2015.



1030 15th Street, NW, 12th Floor
Washington, DC 20005 USA
Tel: 202.463.7226
www.atlanticcouncil.org



67 Erb Street West
Waterloo, Ontario N2L 6C2, Canada
tel +1 519 885 2444 fax +1 519 885 5450
www.cigionline.org

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements iv

Summary1

Construct and Purpose1

Meeting and Outcomes1

Challenges Facing the Liberal Order2

Conclusion4

Meeting Agenda5

Participant List6

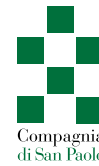
Opening Remarks8

About the Atlantic Council10

About CIGI11

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The D-10 Strategy Forum meeting in Rome was organized by the Atlantic Council and the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI), in cooperation with the Istituto Affari Internazionali (Institute of International Affairs/IAI). The organizers would like to express their appreciation to Riccardo Alcaro, IAI Senior Fellow, as well as Anna Gaone, IAI Program Assistant, and Simon Palamar, CIGI Research Associate, for their efforts in managing and coordinating this meeting. Special thanks to the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, as well as Compagnia di San Paolo, for their support.



MEETING CO-CHAIRS

David Gordon, *Senior Advisor, International Capital Strategies; former US State Department policy planning director*

Ferdinando Nelli Feroci, *President of the Institute of International Affairs; former Italian ambassador to the European Union*

Hugh Segal, *Chairman of the Atlantic Council of Canada; former senator and chief of staff to the Canadian prime minister*

D-10 STRATEGY FORUM CO-DIRECTORS

Fen Osler Hampson, *Director, Global Security & Politics, Centre for International Governance Innovation*

Ash Jain, *Senior Fellow, Brent Scowcroft Center on International Security, Atlantic Council*

SUMMARY

The second meeting of the D-10¹ Strategy Forum took place on June 15-16, 2015, at the Italian foreign ministry in Rome. Coordinated by the Atlantic Council (United States), Centre for International Governance Innovation (Canada) and Istituto Affari Internazionali (Italy), the meeting brought together policy planning directors, defence strategists and think tank experts from leading democracies for a compelling discussion on key global challenges.²

CONSTRUCT AND PURPOSE

The D-10 Strategy Forum is a Track 1.5 framework aimed at advancing strategic coordination among a select group of democracies. The forum convenes senior officials and experts from 10 like-minded states — transatlantic and trans-Pacific — that have been at the forefront of building and maintaining a liberal world order. It provides a venue for collective assessments of the most important challenges facing the international order and an opportunity to develop joint approaches and strategies for addressing them.

Participants in the D-10 have demonstrated a commitment to a shared set of values and interests, and possess the requisite diplomatic, economic and military resources to act on a global scale. The states represented in the D-10 together account for more than 60 percent of global GDP and over three-fourths of the world's military expenditures.

With the world facing a complex set of interrelated crises, a coordinated and strategic approach among like-minded and capable states could prove useful in efforts to advance a rule-based, liberal international order. Norms central to this order include democratic governance and human rights, territorial sovereignty, freedom from foreign interference, universal access to the global commons and the prevention of mass atrocities. The D-10 Strategy Forum seeks to promote collaborative efforts to address global challenges and advance international norms.

MEETING AND OUTCOMES

More than 30 participants — including foreign policy planning directors, defense strategists and think tank experts from the D-10 — convened at Italy's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation for a full day of discussions, which was preceded by an opening dinner that set the context for

strategic challenges facing the international system. Philip Stephens, chief political commentator for the *Financial Times*, set the frame with opening remarks on the growing uncertainty about the future of the international order and increasingly assertive efforts by Russia and China to challenge the status quo.

The discussion focused on three contemporary global challenges: Russia's activities in Ukraine and Eastern Europe; China's strategy in the South and East China Seas and its efforts to build regional institutions; and the threat of extremist groups to stability in North Africa and the Middle East. The meeting was co-chaired by Ferdinando Nelli Feroci, president of the Institute of International Affairs and former Italian permanent representative to the European Union; David Gordon, former director of the US Secretary of State's policy planning staff; and Hugh Segal, chairman of the Atlantic Council of Canada and former Canadian senator.

Participants at the meeting generally converged around the notion that Russia will present a long-term challenge, and that some combination of deterrence and engagement will be necessary to deal with this declining yet unpredictable power. On the other hand, while China is growing in power and influence, it has a lower threshold for economic disruption, which may influence its behaviour. On the Middle East, participants suggested that grappling with the recent refugee crisis will require a sustained, long-term focus on the fundamental causes of the region's problems, and that D-10 states need to be more proactive and engaged to address the rise of extremism.

Building on the initial D-10 Strategy Forum meeting in Ottawa in July 2014, participants reiterated the value of the D-10 framework, particularly in terms of:

- **Promoting collaboration among leading democracies.** By emphasizing the need to work collectively around a common strategic vision, the Forum seeks to leverage the collective strengths of leading democracies that have the most at stake in preserving and advancing a liberal world order.
- **Advancing international norms.** The Forum provides a valuable platform for policy makers to focus on advancing international norms and promoting a rules-based global order, at a time when liberal values are increasingly under siege.
- **Fostering new approaches and strategies.** Beyond analysis and assessment, the Forum focuses on strategy: looking at the broader context and identifying concrete policy approaches that are meaningful, proactive and sustainable over the long term.

1 The "Democracies 10" includes Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, South Korea, the United Kingdom, the United States and the European Union.

2 The meeting was conducted under the Chatham House Rule.

- **Bridging key transatlantic and transpacific powers.** While transatlantic cooperation is firmly rooted, bringing like-minded Asia-Pacific states together with North American and European counterparts in a common framework based on shared values and interests is essential as Asia takes on increasing global importance.
- **Forging a unique network of influential officials, strategists and think tanks.** The Forum provides a platform for sustained engagement and collaboration among an influential group of foreign policy officials, defence strategists and think tank experts.
- **Providing a core group for broader engagement.** In addition to strengthening collaborative efforts among like-minded states, the Forum could serve as a core group for engagement with other influential powers on issues of common concern.

LOOKING AHEAD

Going forward, participants expressed strong support for regularizing the D-10 framework, with semi-annual meetings to focus on strengthening liberal norms and a rule-based order. The next meeting will take place in Brussels in January 2016.

Future meetings will provide opportunities to delve more deeply into policy-relevant challenges and norms and engage on more concrete strategies and approaches. In addition, future efforts will include the following components:

- **Joint strategy papers.** To encourage a sharper focus on the challenges to international order raised in Ottawa, joint strategy papers will be prepared through a collaboration among D-10 think tank partners. The goal of these papers will be to set forth proactive strategies and recommendations for addressing global challenges and advancing specific norms. These papers will be disseminated to participants in advance of future meetings to set the stage for more productive dialogue. Working groups will be established to continue discussion between meetings and coordinate joint strategy memos and papers.
- **Common strategic vision.** D-10 participants will seek to outline a common strategic vision for advancing the liberal international order. This will entail defining specific norms that underpin a rule-based order, identifying the most significant challenges to these norms and setting forth joint strategies and recommendations for advancing them.
- **Scenario planning.** Future D-10 meetings may also provide an opportunity for scenario planning, in which potential scenarios on specific global events will be

discussed. The aim is to elicit varying perspectives on strategic options for international responses to address such crises.

- **Engaging other powers.** Gaining the cooperation of a diverse array of actors will become increasingly important to advancing specific international norms. In addition to meetings of the D-10 Strategy Forum, the group will seek opportunities to organize separate workshops with officials and experts from other influential states to discuss areas of convergence on strengthening international order.

CHALLENGES FACING THE LIBERAL ORDER

The meeting in Rome took place amid continuing uncertainty about the future of the post-World War II liberal order. States such as Russia and China have made assertive efforts to challenge certain aspects of the liberal order, while the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS) and other extremists present growing threats to stability in North Africa and the Middle East. More broadly, the global diffusion of power, the lingering effects of the global financial crisis, and war-weariness have raised questions about the willingness and ability of leading democratic states to manage global challenges.

Picking up on the themes articulated in Ottawa, discussion in Rome centred on three distinct sets of challenges to the international order.

Deterring Russian Aggression

With Russia's continued occupation of the Crimean peninsula and the intensification of conflict in eastern Ukraine, Moscow appears intent on reestablishing a sphere of influence along its borders in ways that contravene well-established principles of national sovereignty. While Russia may be a declining global power, Vladimir Putin has so far demonstrated a willingness to tolerate significant economic risks as he advances his goals in Ukraine. With sanctions against Moscow firmly in place, at least for the time being, many participants suggested a fractious relationship between Russia and the West is likely to be the "new normal" over the years ahead.

Some participants described Putin's Russia as posing a long-term strategic challenge to the liberal order that extends beyond the current crisis in Ukraine. Domestically, Putin promotes a semi-authoritarian political model that he presents as an alternative to liberal democracies. Internationally, he challenges the liberal model endorsed by the D-10 nations and the rule-based international system they support. Moreover, as a declining power, Russia in many ways may be even more unpredictable and difficult to manage.

To address this challenge, some participants suggested that D-10 states should take deliberate steps to shape and constrain Putin's foreign policy choices. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO's) defence and deterrence capabilities will continue to play a crucial role in deterring Russian military aggression against a NATO member state. While sanctions will remain an important tool, a comprehensive deterrence strategy beyond sanctions will be required. Participants recommended using a broad spectrum of tools to influence the Kremlin's behaviour, support Russia's neighbours and counter Moscow's disinformation campaign.

Others argued for strategic patience. The long-term effect of sanctions — coupled with declining oil revenues — could mean serious economic challenges are in Russia's future, giving Putin an incentive to avoid further provoking the West. Ultimately, Putin acquired much of his legitimacy and popularity as the man who stabilized Russia's economy after the country's disastrous 1998 debt default. Should the Russian economy's current weakness persist into the foreseeable future, this could weaken Putin's grip on power and erode his legitimacy.

At the same time, many suggested it is in the interest of D-10 states to remain engaged with Russia and to seek its cooperation on other common challenges. The international community needs to work with Moscow to address a broader set of complicated issues, from the nuclear agreement with Iran, to stemming the bloodshed in Syria and slowing the spread of Islamic extremism, even while they condemn and deter Russian activities in Europe.

Managing China's Rise

As a rising power, China's potential challenge to the liberal order remains uncertain. Deng Xiaoping's ambitious efforts to liberalize China's economy and Beijing's embrace of the Bretton Woods institutions have helped fuel a three decade long economic boom that has drawn hundreds of millions out of poverty. That newfound economic strength has facilitated the expansion of Chinese military capabilities and greater diplomatic influence in Asia and around the world. China's economic success as an authoritarian state, its increasingly assertive policies in the East and South China Seas and its recent efforts at institution building in Asia have raised questions about whether and to what extent China is seeking to challenge aspects of the existing international order.

The discussion in Rome focused in part on China's objectives for the recently announced Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), which followed the creation of the BRICS³ development bank. At nearly the same time, Beijing

announced its "One Belt, One Road" initiative, which will entail building a slew of infrastructure projects across Asia, and which appears designed to further draw Central Asia's economies into dependent economic relationships with China. Several participants suggested that China's leadership in these new institutions stems, in part, from failures by the West to implement reforms that would provide a greater voice to Beijing (and other rising powers) in existing institutions, such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. Going forward, some suggested the United States should join other states that have decided to join the AIIB as a means to prevent it from serving as a tool to narrowly promote Beijing's economic agenda, and to ensure that future development projects funded by these institutions are consistent with liberal norms and principles.

How to address China's increasingly assertive claims of sovereignty over islands and reefs in the East and South China Seas may be a far more complicated question. Beijing's decision to build military outposts on disputed reefs and shoals violates international norms and risks military confrontations between Beijing and its maritime neighbours. Some participants suggested that a sustained and visible US naval presence is necessary to deter China from establishing more military bases in these areas, while others warned that escalatory deterrent actions run the risk of a direct military confrontation with China. Participants also noted that, unlike Russia, Chinese leadership is very sensitive to potential economic disruption, given the government's reliance on sustained and robust economic growth to prevent popular discontent. Beijing's low tolerance for economic pain may ultimately provide D-10 states with leverage to influence Chinese behaviour.

The best way to deal with China's ambitions, according to some participants, is to channel them in ways that accommodate China's interests in the existing international order — such as reforming the Bretton Woods institutions to give China, and other developing countries, a greater voice. Participants suggested that developing some options for a collective strategy for engaging with China could be the focus of a future D-10 meeting, possibly in Asia.

Countering Extremism in the Middle East

The Middle East and North Africa provide a much more diffuse, and in many ways more complex, set of challenges. From Syria to Libya, ethnic, clan and sectarian identities are supplanting national identities, and fuelling armed conflicts across the region. Failing governments and escalating violence have offered ISIS an opening to expand its reach across the Mediterranean region. At the same time, a burgeoning refugee crisis means that the turmoil in the Middle East is now directly affecting Europe.

³ Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa.

The discussion in Rome focused on identifying strategic objectives and policy alternatives. In Libya, participants suggested that D-10 states should support the UN-sponsored peace process aimed at brokering a deal between Libya's warring factions, which will pave the way for a more coherent response to the rise of ISIS. Others suggested there is no discernible model that D-10 states can look to for shaping the outcomes of the difficult crises plaguing the region. Referring to comments made recently by a former US official, one participant noted that in Iraq, Western powers intervened to bring about regime change, with a follow-on military occupation. In Libya, Western powers intervened to prevent a massacre and precipitate regime change, but with no subsequent military occupation. In Syria, Western powers have avoided direct intervention against the ruling regime (engaging only in limited air strikes against ISIS). Despite these varied approaches, all three countries today are racked by internal conflict and violence, with extremist groups undermining prospects for security and stability.

Many participants suggested that effectively addressing the Mediterranean refugee crisis will require sustained focus on root causes, and that D-10 states need to be more proactive to address the rise of extremism in North Africa. Others suggested that D-10 states should aim for modest goals in the region — containing the region's current set of crises, rather than seeking to resolve them. Military intervention may be necessary to weaken and ultimately destroy ISIS, but that must be coupled with more effective strategies to counter the propaganda used to recruit followers, both within and outside the region. At the same time, policies aimed at promoting economic growth and employment opportunities, in particular for the region's youth, may be the most effective long-term strategy to erode support for extremism.

Finally, it was noted that the region's future will be determined in part by the fate of the nuclear negotiations with Iran. On the one hand, achieving a final agreement where Iran agrees to significant limitations on its nuclear program would reduce tensions with Iran and could open new opportunities for political and economic cooperation. On the other hand, an agreement with Iran that results in the lifting of sanctions could provide Iran with significant economic assets that it can deploy to bolster the capabilities of its proxies.

CONCLUSION

The second meeting of the D-10 Strategy Forum reinforced the value of bringing together government officials and experts from leading democratic states to discuss challenges facing the liberal international order. The D-10 ensures that key Asia-Pacific partners are engaged with the transatlantic community on issues central to managing global order, while ensuring that Europe is at the forefront of trans-Pacific discussions related to challenges in Asia.

Participants in Rome reiterated their support for regularizing meetings of the D-10 Strategy Forum, with the European Union and Japan hosting the next two sessions in 2016. Future meetings will aim to identify concrete and practical proposals and strategies for advancing global norms, with joint strategy papers providing a springboard for more focused discussion.

MEETING AGENDA

June 15-16, 2015

Monday, June 15

Hotel Ponte Sisto,
Via dei Pettinari, 64
00186, Rome, Italy

6:15 p.m. – 7:00 p.m.

Reception

7:00 p.m. – 9:00 p.m.

Forum Dinner

Opening Remarks

Discussion: State of the International Order

An assessment of global threats and strategic challenges currently facing the international order. To what extent are the prevailing norms and values of the post-World War II order under siege? How can like-minded states strengthen cooperation to sustain and advance this order?

Tuesday, June 16

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation
Piazzale della Farnesina, 1
00135 Rome, Italy

8:45 a.m. – 9:00 a.m.

Registration

9:00 a.m. – 9:30 a.m.

Call to Order and Introductions

9:30 a.m. – 11:30 a.m.

Session One: Toward a Collective Strategy for Russia

What are Moscow's strategic objectives in Europe and beyond? Is the current policy track having an impact on Russia's calculus and behaviour? What are the elements of a longer-term, strategic approach toward Russia that D-10 states should adopt?

11:30 a.m. – 12:00 p.m.

Coffee Break

12:00 p.m. – 1:30 p.m.

Session Two: China and the Liberal Order

The rise of China could have significant consequences for the liberal international order. What are the implications of Beijing's efforts at building new multilateral institutions? What is the role of other emerging powers in China's foreign policy calculus? How should D-10 states respond to China's growing assertiveness in the Asia-Pacific?

1:30 p.m. – 2:30 p.m.

Lunch

2:30 p.m. – 4:30 p.m.

Session Three: Rising Instability in North Africa and the Middle East

Failing governance and escalating conflict have provided an opening for ISIS to expand its reach into Libya and North Africa. What are the strategic implications for D-10 states? Is a new approach needed to stem the tide of refugees and promote stability along Europe's periphery?

4:30 p.m. – 5:00 p.m.

Closing Comments and Future Plans

PARTICIPANT LIST

Riccardo Alcaro

Senior Fellow
Institute of International Affairs
Italy

Roberto Aliboni

Scientific Advisor
Institute of International Affairs
Italy

Thomas Bagger

Head of the Policy Planning Staff
German Foreign Office
Germany

Armando Barucco

Head, Policy Planning
Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation
Italy

Célia Belin

Analyst, Policy Planning Department
Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Development
France

Antonio Bernardini

Deputy Secretary General
Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation
Italy

Anthony Bubalo

Research Director
Lowy Institute for International Policy
Australia

Hilary Childs-Adams

Ambassador, Foreign Policy Bureau
Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development
Canada

Massimo Carnelos

Member, Policy Planning
Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation
Italy

Tommaso Coniglio

Member, Policy Planning
Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation
Italy

Alfredo Conte

Head of Division, Strategic Planning
European External Action Service
European Union

Silvano Frigerio (Brig. Gen.)

Deputy Head
Plans and Policy Division
Italian Defence General Staff
Italy

Florence Gaub

Senior Analyst
EU Institute for Security Studies
European Union

David Gordon

Senior Advisor
International Capital Strategies
United States

Camille Grand

Director
Foundation for Strategic Research
France

Ettore Greco

Director
Institute of International Affairs
Italy

Fen Osler Hampson

Director, Global Security & Politics
Centre for International Governance Innovation, and
Chancellor's Professor
Carleton University
Canada

Toshiro Iijima

Deputy Director General
Japan Institute of International Affairs
Japan

Masafumi Ishii

Ambassador for Public Diplomacy in Europe and
Representative to NATO
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Japan

Ash Jain

Senior Fellow, Brent Scowcroft Center on International
Security
Atlantic Council
United States

Ricardo López-Aranda

Director, Policy Planning Unit
Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation
*Spain**

David McKean

Director, Secretary's Policy Planning Staff
Department of State
United States

Stefan Meister

Head of Program on Eastern Europe, Russia, and Central Asia, Robert Bosch Center
German Council on Foreign Relations
Germany

Sean Misko

Member, Secretary's Policy Planning Staff
Department of State
United States

Antonio Missiroli

Director
EU Institute for Security Studies
European Union

Ferdinando Nelli Feroci

President
Institute of International Affairs
Italy

Fernando Pallini Oneto di San Lorenzo

Deputy Head, Policy Planning
Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation
Italy

Henning Riecke

Head of Program, Transatlantic Relations
German Council on Foreign Relations
Germany

Hugh Segal

Master, Massey College and Chairman, Atlantic Council of Canada
Canada

Keith Scott

Assistant Secretary, Policy Planning Branch
Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
Australia

Teruyo Shimasaki

Deputy Director, Policy Planning Division, Foreign Policy Bureau
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Japan

Beomchul Shin

Director General, Policy Planning Bureau
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
South Korea

Chang-Hoon Shin

Director and Research Fellow, Center for Global Governance
Asan Institute for Policy Studies
South Korea

Walter Slocombe

Secretary of the Atlantic Council, and Senior Counsel
Caplin & Drysdale
United States

Cornelia Sorabji

Head of Research Analysts
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
United Kingdom

Philip Stephens

Chief Political Commentator
Financial Times, and
Vice Chairman, Ditchley Foundation
United Kingdom

Masatoshi Sugiura

Director, Policy Planning Division, Foreign Policy Bureau
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Japan

Nathalie Tocci

Deputy Director
Institute of International Affairs
Italy

Kurt Volker

Senior Advisor, Atlantic Council and
Executive Director
McCain Institute for International Leadership
United States

Xenia Wickett

Director, US Project and Dean, The Queen Elizabeth II
Academy for Leadership in International Affairs
Chatham House
United Kingdom

James Young

Programme Manager
Defence Strategy and Priorities
Ministry of Defence
United Kingdom

Wojciech Zajączkowski

Director, Foreign Policy Strategy
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
*Poland**

**Poland and Spain were invited as observers for this meeting.*

OPENING REMARKS

Min. Plen. Antonio Bernardini, Deputy Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of Italy

Sala delle Conferenze Internazionali Tuesday, June 16, 2015

It is my pleasure to welcome you all to Farnesina for this second edition of the D-10 Strategy Forum, an exercise that the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation has supported from the onset: we have attended the first meeting in Ottawa last year, and we are happy to be hosting and co-financing the second one here in the beautiful setting of our Sala delle Conferenze Internazionali.

A special welcome to those who have travelled far and wide — from different parts of Europe, North America, Asia and even Australia — to attend this meeting. I am particularly happy to see around the room not just diplomatic colleagues from D10 countries, from the EU [European Union] and from NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization] — the “Policy Planners” — but also defense experts and notable think tankers, who — I am sure of it — will make for a particularly lively and competent “track 1.5” discussion. The addition of our colleagues from Poland and Spain as observers, and of key diplomats from our Ministry, will give extra depth to the debate.

In our view, the power of D-10 lies in its broad, varied and cohesive membership, which goes beyond the traditional transatlantic circle to embrace our Asia-Pacific friends and allies: Japan, Korea and Australia. The idea is that this meeting is not about “the West versus the Rest,” but about a core group of democracies which have a special interest in seeing an effective transition from the liberal world order that emerged from [World War II] and from the Cold War, to an updated one: identical in terms of values and core principles but more inclusive in terms of roles and responsibilities. In other words, a world order that reflects the concerns and aspirations of the “new” international actors, without sacrificing the key characteristics of the system — openness and rule-based nature — and with an eye on defending and advancing global norms such human rights, fundamental freedoms and democratic governance.

There is much debate about the extent to which the liberal order is threatened. Some are quite pessimistic. They see an array of “revisionist powers” who are slowly but steadily “chipping away” at the international system, undermining both its core principles and its geopolitical structure: China’s assertiveness in challenging the *pax americana* in the Pacific; Russia’s preoccupation with blocking further NATO and

EU expansion and re-building what it can of its old empire; Iran’s willingness to draw on the “Shiite crescent” to assert its influence in the Middle East; ISIS’ pretention of redrawing the borders of the Levant and of North Africa, while undermining Western influence wherever it can....To say nothing of the challenges posed by non-state actors, failed states, festering ethnic and sectarian conflicts, terrorism, [weapons of mass destruction], cyber warfare and global threats such as climate change, pandemics and financial contagion. This “global disorder” seems to call into question the effectiveness and indeed the very legitimacy of the current liberal order.

Others more optimistically point out that the international system is still, overall, in relatively good shape. The United States and its allies are unrivalled in terms of GDP and military expenses, and the number of stakeholders in the liberal order is actually expanding, well beyond the West, because of its unmatched capacity of generating economic and social development. Moreover, the so-called “revisionists” — which, by the way, have very little in common amongst them — are themselves beneficiaries of the system and have, so far, been unable to put forward credible alternatives.

Both positions are compelling, and I think they describe different sides of the same coin, namely that the liberal international order is nowhere near extinction, but it is nevertheless facing grave challenges that compel us to act jointly to defend and adapt it to the rapidly evolving global environment. To that end, D-10 is an ideal forum to envision strategies and proposals.

If I may make a suggestion, I believe that the meeting will bear the best fruits if it steers clear from an adversarial logic, which pits “us” against “them.” For obvious reasons, there will be much talk about Russia, China, Iran and the likes. I am, however, certain that, far from degenerating into a “bashing” exercise, the sessions will spawn both creative and realistic ideas on how to best deal with the current challenges with an open and inclusive outlook. This will allow D-10 to evolve into a platform to which we can gradually include other key stakeholders of the international system such as India, Brazil, South Africa, Indonesia and other rising democracies.

Another point I would like to make is that while we all share the same core values and principles, we don’t always

have the same degree of preoccupation with the specific threats and challenges. Italy, for example, is highly sensitive to events in North Africa, with Libya turning into a failed state and into a getaway for mass migration to Europe. We are, moreover, deeply concerned about the possible contagion effect to neighbouring states: a destabilized southern shore of the Mediterranean is, for us, the ultimate nightmare! We understand, however, that for Poland and the Baltic States, the main perceived threat is Russia; and that for Japan, it is an assertive China. So today we have a precious occasion to share our respective assessments and better understand each other's points of view.

I thank you once again for your participation and I look forward to some very insightful discussions!

ABOUT THE ATLANTIC COUNCIL

The Atlantic Council, based in Washington, DC, promotes constructive leadership and engagement in international affairs based on the Atlantic Community's central role in meeting global challenges. The Council provides an essential forum for navigating the dramatic economic and political changes defining the twenty-first century by informing and galvanizing its uniquely influential network of global leaders.

The D-10 Strategy Forum is a key component of a broader Strategy Initiative recently launched by the Council's Brent Scowcroft Center on International Security. The aim of this initiative is to address strategic issues related to US leadership and strengthen the Atlantic Council as the go-to resource for strategic thinking in Washington. In addition to the D-10 Strategy Forum, the main lines of effort include Strategic Foresight, America's Role in the World, the Atlantic Council Strategy Paper series, the Strategy Lab, and the Strategy Consortium. For more information, please visit www.atlanticcouncil.org.

Executive Leadership

Chairman

Jon M. Huntsman, Jr.

President and CEO

Frederick S. Kempe

Executive Vice President, Programs and Strategy

Damon M. Wilson

Executive Vice President, Office of External Relations

Paige Ennis

Executive Vice President, Finance and Operations

John Haederle

Program & Center Leadership

Vice President, Arnold Kanter Chair, and Director, Brent Scowcroft Center on International Security

Barry Pavel

Vice President, European Union and Special Initiatives

Frances G. Burwell

Vice President and Director, Rafik Hariri Center for the Middle East

Francis Ricciardone

Director, Adrienne Arsht Latin America Center

Peter Schechter

Director, Africa Center

J. Peter Pham

Director, Dinu Patriciu Eurasia Center

John E. Herbst

Director, Global Business and Economics Program

Andrea Montanino

Founding Director, Global Energy Center

Richard L. Morningstar

Director, Millennium Leadership Program

Jonathan Silverthorne

Director, South Asia Center

Bharath Gopalswamy

ABOUT CIGI

The Centre for International Governance Innovation is an independent, non-partisan think tank on international governance. Led by experienced practitioners and distinguished academics, CIGI supports research, forms networks, advances policy debate and generates ideas for multilateral governance improvements. Conducting an active agenda of research, events and publications, CIGI's interdisciplinary work includes collaboration with policy, business and academic communities around the world.

CIGI's current research programs focus on three themes: the global economy; global security & politics; and international law.

CIGI was founded in 2001 by Jim Balsillie, then co-CEO of Research In Motion (BlackBerry), and collaborates with and gratefully acknowledges support from a number of strategic partners, in particular the Government of Canada and the Government of Ontario.

Le CIGI a été fondé en 2001 par Jim Balsillie, qui était alors co-chef de la direction de Research In Motion (BlackBerry). Il collabore avec de nombreux partenaires stratégiques et exprime sa reconnaissance du soutien reçu de ceux-ci, notamment de l'appui reçu du gouvernement du Canada et de celui du gouvernement de l'Ontario.

For more information, please visit www.cigionline.org.

CIGI MASTHEAD

Executive

President	Rohinton P. Medhora
Director of the International Law Research Program	Oonagh Fitzgerald
Director of the Global Security & Politics Program	Fen Osler Hampson
Director of Human Resources	Susan Hirst
Director of the Global Economy Program	Domenico Lombardi
Vice President of Finance	Mark Menard
Director of Communications and Digital Media	Joseph Pickerill
Chief of Staff and General Counsel	Aaron Shull

Publications

Managing Editor, Publications	Carol Bonnett
Publications Editor	Jennifer Goyder
Publications Editor	Patricia Holmes
Publications Editor	Nicole Langlois
Publications Editor	Lynn Schellenberg
Graphic Designer	Melodie Wakefield
Graphic Designer	Sara Moore

Communications

Communications Manager	Tammy Bender	tbender@cigionline.org (1 519 885 2444 x 7356)
-------------------------------	--------------	--



1030 15th Street, NW, 12th Floor
Washington, DC 20005 USA
tel 202 463 7226
www.atlanticcouncil.org



67 Erb Street West
Waterloo, Ontario N2L 6C2, Canada
tel +1 519 885 2444 fax +1 519 885 5450
www.cigionline.org