

## SEEU REMARKS, NOV 15

--Thank you very much, Amb Reka. Before I begin, let me take this moment to congratulate SouthEast European University - its founders, its faculty, and its students - on their ninth anniversary. Next October will mark the first decade for SEEU - a major milestone for this university and opportunities in higher education for this country, and for the region. Let me also congratulate the new Rector, Zamir Dika, on his new position and applaud his vision for SEEU's future path. And of course, let us pay tribute to the accomplishments and leadership of Rector Emeritus, Alajdin Abazi. The transfer from the founding Rector to the new rector was a model of transparency and professionalism. We thank SEEU for hosting today - and wish this institution continued success.

--I am also very pleased to share the podium today with Andrej Lepavcov and Ali Ahmeti. Mr. Lepavcov is a friend of the United States, and of our Embassy, and we have been honored to work with him in his capacity as a government servant but also as a scholar and Honorary President of the Ohrid Institute, which the International Republican Institute had a major role in establishing. Ali Ahmeti is also indeed a good friend to the United States. In these complex times he has shown good judgment, strong leadership, and a strategic vision.

--Later this week, the eyes of the world will turn to Portugal. In Lisbon, heads of State or Government from NATO Allies will gather together, as will the leaders of all nations contributing to stabilization efforts in Afghanistan. I am proud that soldiers from Macedonia continue to serve side-by-side with us and our mutual allies there, and I am pleased that President Ivanov will participate in this summit of ISAF contributors. President Ivanov himself visited Afghanistan last week, to meet with General Petraeus and other leaders, and well as with the soldiers of the Army of the Republic of Macedonia, of whom you should be very proud.

NATO will also hold a separate summit with Russian President Medvedev. Lisbon will also bring yet a fourth critical Summit, between the United States and the European Union, but I will focus more on Afghanistan, NATO's future, and NATO's relationship with Russia.

--The agenda for Lisbon is ambitious. Beyond Afghanistan, Allies will also agree on a new Strategic Concept for the Alliance, to replace the one adopted at the Washington Summit in 1999, reflecting the enormous changes in global security challenges since then, and the resulting refocus of U.S. and Allied priorities. Related to that, we hope along with Russia as our partner, Allies will agree on the way forward for territorial missile defense.

--First, Afghanistan: Allies will focus beyond the immediate security concerns and look to the future. We are now entering the tenth year since NATO invoked Article 5 of its founding treaty which states that an attack on one Ally is an attack on them all -- for the first and only time in its 61 year history, following the Sept 11 attacks. The planning and training for this attack took place in Afghanistan, and the Alliance remains firmly committed to completing its work and ensuring it is never again the source of an attack against the United States or our Allies.

--To do this, we must ensure that Afghanistan transitions to having the kind of government needed to provide basic services and security to its own people. NATO troops will leave Afghanistan, just as coalition troops left Iraq and ended combat operations there.

--But to do this, NATO – and all its Allies and partners – must provide institutional trainers – for Afghanistan security forces, both military and police. Trainers are the ticket to transition in Afghanistan.

--But beyond determining the numbers and types of trainers, police, and soldiers for this new phase, NATO and Afghanistan are working to forge a new, long-term partnership, even after Allied troops have departed. NATO wants to maintain a relationship with the Afghan government and people, to keep building institutions and to help ensure a safe and secure future for the Afghan people. This next phase will be a major part of the discussion at Lisbon.

--Second, the Strategic Concept: The Strategic Concept is formally defined as “the official document that outlines NATO’s enduring purpose and nature and its fundamental security tasks. It also identifies the central features of the new security environment, specifies the elements of the Alliance’s approach to security and provides guidelines for the further adaptation of its military forces.” In other words, the Strategic Concept is a roadmap, pointing the Allies toward the future as it deals with an ever-changing security and political environment.

--As Allies met in Washington in 1999 to devise a new Strategic Concept at that time, NATO’s attention, and indeed the world’s focus, was on the Balkans. I recall telling the late Macedonian President, Boris Trajkovski, when he was Deputy Foreign Minister in 1999, that the media attention and focus of world leaders was a unique moment for Macedonia, and that the spot light needed to be seized then, for the positive, before other events took over.

Leaders at that time could not have imagined the events of Sept 11, 2001 or many of the other new challenges facing not only the Euro-Atlantic community, but the world. As Secretary Clinton recently put it, “Relying on the strategies of the past simply will not suffice. NATO began as a regional alliance, but the threats we now face are global, and our perspective must therefore be global as well.”

--These threats include, but also go well beyond, the kinds of terrorism we all know too well. States and non-state actors are increasingly capable of carrying out cyber and other non-conventional attacks. Individual Allies, and NATO itself, must build ever more sophisticated and integrated capabilities to protect our systems against bad actors.

--Secretary Clinton also notes that “Today’s security challenges are not just military. Usually they are political, and always they are both. They call for the contributions of a wide range of people, from military strategists and weapons specialists to diplomats and development experts.” NATO recognizes this, and the new Strategic Concept will outline how the Alliance will work in a more integrated way with civilian actors to deal with crises or, preferably, head off crises using diplomacy and development before military force is required.

--Security is not just about what governments do, it is also about what citizens do. A strong civil society is itself a guarantor of security, helping to ensure that rights are protected and as a viable avenue for dissent and agents of change. Without civil society, even the strongest military and security efforts cannot produce stability and security. This is as true in the Balkans as it is in Afghanistan and Iraq.

--As part of the Strategic Concept, Allies will agree on a new command structure that will allow NATO not only to deploy quickly but also globally. Even as we expand our reach, we are moving from a heavy 20<sup>th</sup> century force to a more nimble 21<sup>st</sup> century structure, reducing NATO personnel from 13,000 people to 9,000 and the number of NATO agencies from 14 to three.

--In addition to the new command structure, and to focusing on new capabilities such as civil-military cooperation and cyber-security, the new Strategic Concept will also focus on a third new capability, missile defense. This will also, of course, be a large part of the discussion with President Medvedev at the NATO-Russia Summit.

--Currently, NATO Allies have the capability, using sensor and interceptor technology, to employ theatre missile defense -- that is, to defend against ballistic missile attacks against our soldiers in the field. We know, however, that the far greater threat is ballistic missiles being fired against our territory and civilian populations.

--NATO leaders will decide soon whether to spend about 200 million Euros over the next ten years to develop a system to protect our civilian populations and territory against a ballistic missile attack. And the Alliance wants to invite Russia to join in this effort as well. Moscow acknowledges that it faces a threat from ballistic missiles, and we want to create a territorial missile defense together with Russia.

--So as you can see, the agenda is ambitious. You will note that I did not much discuss the Balkans. I did point out that the last time NATO leaders met to adopt a Strategic Concept, in Washington in 1999, the Balkans were front and center of everyone's concern. Given the enormous changes we have seen since then, you are behind the times if you look at NATO in terms of what it was in 1999. NATO recognizes that if a strategic concept remains based on historic ideas, or on priorities that are of little relevance in 2010, you are quickly left behind.

--That said, the United States and the Alliance recognize that this is still an important region, and one with unfinished business. To illustrate this point, let me note Secretary Clinton's visit to the region one month ago. While the Secretary of State only had time for Sarajevo, Pristina, and Belgrade, her message for the entire region was loud and clear: Now is the time for the nations of the region to do the hard work and make tough decisions in building democratic institutions -- including rule of law and, as I mentioned before, a functioning civil society.

--We need to remember that NATO is not only a military alliance: It is a political alliance based on shared values. Yes, to join the Alliance countries must reform their militaries and be prepared to participate in NATO operations. But the list of *political and economic* criteria is also extensive. These are still the kind of criteria Secretary Clinton was focusing on during her visit to the region, and they remain critical for every country in Europe, whether they are already

NATO Allies or not: settling any international, ethnic or external territorial disputes by peaceful means; demonstrating a commitment to the rule of law and human rights; establishing democratic control of their armed forces; and promoting stability and well-being through economic liberty, social justice and environmental responsibility.

--We urge leaders in Macedonia to continue working toward these goals. Again, this work never stops, whether you are a NATO Ally or not. Europe is moving closer to being a continent whole, free, and at peace. Yet the Euro-Atlantic community – including Macedonia – also faces threats from well beyond its borders. That is the main focus at Lisbon. The NATO Alliance has proven to be resilient and adaptable, and I have every confidence that it will face the new challenges ahead. Thank you very much.