



# Warsaw Transatlantic Dialogues

November 5-6, 2018

Pałac na Wyspie, The Royal Łazienki Museum in Warsaw, 1 Agrykola Street

## Day 1: November 5

15:45-16:15

### Welcome Coffee

16:15-16:20

### Welcome Address

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

16:20-16:40

### Opening Remarks

**Bartosz Cichocki**, Undersecretary of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Poland  
**Andrea Thompson**, Undersecretary for Arms Control and International Security,  
U.S. Department of State

16:40-18:30

### The Vision for the U.S. Engagement in Europe

**Malgorzata Bonikowska**, President, Center for International Relations  
**Slawomir Debski**, Director, Polish Institute of International Affairs  
**Derek Mitchell**, President, National Democratic Institute  
**Daniel Twining**, President, International Republican Institute

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

18:45-20:00

### Dinner: The Future of U.S.-Europe Relations

Keynote speech delivered by:

**Tomasz Szatkowski**, Deputy Minister, Ministry of National Defense, Poland



## Day 2: November 6

09:15-10:45

### U.S. Defense Posture in Europe

**Hans Binnendijk**, Senior Fellow, Centre for Transatlantic Relations, John Hopkins University

**Justyna Gotkowska**, Security Expert, Center for Eastern Studies

**Marek Swierczynski**, Senior Analyst, Polityka Insight

**Alexander Vershbow**, Distinguished Fellow, Atlantic Council

Chairman: **Dov Zakheim**, Senior Adviser, Center for Strategic and International Studies

10:45-11:15

### Coffee Break

11:15-12:45

### Prospects for Transatlantic Energy and Economic Cooperation

**Tod Lindberg**, Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute

**Nicolas Loris**, Herbert and Joyce Morgan Fellow, The Heritage Foundation

**Joanna Mackowiak-Pandera**, President, Forum Energii

**Bartosz Wisniewski**, Head of Research, Polish Institute of International Affairs

Chairman: **Lee Feinstein**, Dean, School of Global and International Studies, Indiana University

12:45-13:00

### Concluding Remarks

**Eric Green**, Deputy Chief of Mission to Poland, U.S. Department of State

**Piotr Wilczek**, Ambassador to the United States, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Poland

13:00

### Closing Lunch

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# List of Participants

**Emma Baines**

Head of Policy  
British Embassy of Poland

**Ireneusz Bil**

Director  
Foundation Amicus Europae

**Malgorzata Bonikowska**

President  
Center for International Relations

**Bartosz Cichocki**

Undersecretary of State  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland

**Slawomir Debski**

Director  
Polish Institute of International Affairs

**Witold Dzielski**

Director, Foreign Office  
Chancellery of the President of Poland

**Lee Feinstein**

Dean for the School of Global and Int.  
Studies, Indiana University

**Eric Green**

Deputy Head of Mission  
U.S. Embassy of Poland

**Stefan Gullgren**

Ambassador  
Swedish Embassy of Poland

**Tony Housh**

Chair, Board of Directors  
American Chamber of Commerce in  
Poland

**Michał Baranowski**

Director, Warsaw Office  
The German Marshall Fund of the U.S.

**Hans Binnendijk**

Senior Fellow, Centre for Transatlantic Relations  
John Hopkins University

**Piotr Buras**

Head, Warsaw Office  
European Council on Foreign Relations

**Marek Cichocki**

Program Director  
European Center Natolin

**Ovidiu Dranga**

Ambassador  
Romanian Embassy of Poland

**Yuriy Fedkiw**

Political Counsellor  
U.S. Embassy of Poland

**Justyna Gotkowska**

Security Expert  
Centre for Eastern Studies

**Tomasz Grzegorz Grosse**

Political Scientist  
Warsaw University

**Adam Halacinski**

Director, Security Policy Department  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland

**Wojciech Jakobik**

Expert  
Jagiellonian Institute



**Marcin Kazmierski**

Director, International Security Policy  
Ministry of National Defense of Poland

**Paweł Kowal**

Institute of Political Studies  
Polish Academy of Science

**Pierre Lévy**

Ambassador  
French Embassy of Poland

**Tod Lindberg**

Senior Fellow  
Hudson Institute

**Nicolas Loris**

Herbert and Joyce Morgan Fellow  
The Heritage Foundation

**Marek Menkiszak**

Head, Russia Department  
Centre for Eastern Studies

**Vita Naujokaitytė**

Second Secretary  
Lithuanian Embassy of Poland

**Janusz Onyszkiewicz**

President of the Management Board  
Euro-Atlantic Association

**Zuzana Papazoski**

Resident Director  
National Democratic Institute

**Anna Perl**

Director, Department of Americas  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland

**Michał Kobosko**

Senior Advisor  
The Atlantic Council

**Tomasz Kowalik**

Director - Department, Military Foreign Affairs  
Ministry of National Defense of Poland

**Zbigniew Lewicki**

Chairman  
Polish Institute of International Affairs

**Wojciech Lorenz**

Senior Analyst, International Security Programme  
Polish Institute of International Affairs

**Joanna Mackowiak-Pandera**

President  
Forum Energii

**Derek Mitchell**

President  
National Democratic Institute

**Rolf Nikel**

Ambassador  
German Embassy of Poland

**Olaf Osica**

Director, International Affairs  
European Economic Congress

**Katarzyna Pelczynska-Nalecz**

Head, Open Europe Program  
Batory Foundation

**Katarzyna Pisarska**

Director  
European Academy of Diplomacy



Ministry  
of Foreign Affairs  
Republic of Poland

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of the United States  
STRENGTHENING TRANSATLANTIC COOPERATION

**Alicja Rakowska**  
Counsellor  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland

**Lukasz Smalec**  
Policy Officer  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland

**Marek Swierczynski**  
Security Analyst  
Polityka Insight

**Marcin Terlikowski**  
Head, International Security Programme  
Polish Institute of International Affairs

**Daniel Twining**  
President  
International Republican Institute

**Jeremy Wallace**  
Political Counsellor  
Canadian Embassy of Poland

**Piotr Wilczek**  
Ambassador  
Polish Embassy to the United States

**Bartosz Wisniewski**  
Head of Research  
Polish Institute of International Affairs

**Ray Wojcik**  
Director, Warsaw  
Center of European Policy Analysis

**Dov Zakheim**  
Senior Adviser  
Center for Strategic and International  
Studies

**Martin Roger**  
Ambassador  
Estonian Embassy of Poland

**Jan Surotchak**  
Senior Director for Transatlantic Strategy  
International Republican Institute

**Tomasz Szatkowski**  
Deputy Minister  
Ministry of National Defense of Poland

**Andrea Thompson**  
Undersecretary, Arms Control and Int. Security,  
U.S. Department of State

**Alexander Vershbow**  
Distinguished Fellow  
The Atlantic Council

**Lukasz Weremiuk**  
First Counsellor  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland

**Boguslaw Winid**  
Adviser  
Presidential Chancellery

**Piotr Wlodarski**  
Director  
National Security Bureau of Poland

**Jason Worlledge**  
Resident Country Director, Poland  
International Republican Institute



## Speakers Biographies



### **Michał Baranowski**

Michał Baranowski is the director of GMF's Warsaw office where he focuses on transatlantic relations, U.S. foreign policy, and the relations between the United States and Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). Prior to helping launch the Warsaw office, he served at GMF's headquarters in Washington, DC, where he developed GMF's programming in Poland and CEE.



### **Hans Binnendijk**

Hans Binnendijk is a senior fellow at the Center for Transatlantic Relations at SAIS and an adjunct political scientist at the RAND Corporation. Until July 4, 2012, he was vice president for research at the National Defense University (NDU). He served twice as director of NDU's Institute for National Strategic Studies and as director of NDU's Center for Technology and National Security Policy.



### **Malgorzata Bonikowska**

Dr. Bonikowska is a Political Scientist and EU expert, media commentator in international affairs, President of the Centre for International and co-founder of the THINKTANK Centre. Since her PhD, dr Bonikowska has been continuing academic career as associate professor, researcher, tutor and manager at public and private universities.



### **Bartosz Cichocki**

Bartosz Cichocki serves as the Undersecretary of State for Security, Eastern Policy, American Policy, and Asian Policy at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland. He is a long-time specialist in Eastern issues. He worked at the KARTA Centre; at the Marek Karp Centre for Eastern Studies, as a Russian regional policy analyst; at the Polish Institute of International Affairs, as a coordinator for the Russia and Eurasia programme; and at the National Security Bureau, as a specialist for Russian foreign and security policy. Between 2015 and 2016, Bartosz Cichocki worked at the Polish Embassy in Moscow where he was charged with bilateral and press relations. Most recently, he was an adviser to the Head of the Foreign Intelligence Agency.





### **Sławomir Dębski**

Sławomir Dębski is Director of the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM), a position he also held from 2007 to 2010. Between 2011 and 2016, he was Director of the Centre for Polish-Russian Dialogue and Understanding and the Editor-in-Chief and part of the Editorial Board of the "Intersection Project". He has been a member of the Polish-Russian Group for Difficult Matters since 2008. He was Editor-in-Chief of the Russian-language quarterly *Evropa* as well as the bi-monthly *Polski Przegląd Dyplomatyczny* (Polish Diplomatic Review).



### **Lee Feinstein**

Mr. Feinstein has served as the U.S. ambassador to the Republic of Poland from 2009 to 2012. Feinstein was national security director to former Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton during her 2008 presidential campaign and then served as a senior foreign policy advisor to President Barack Obama during the general election. He was appointed founding dean of Indiana University's School of Global and International Studies in December 2013.



### **Justyna Gotkowska**

Justyna Gotkowska is coordinator of the Security and Defence in Northern Europe project in the Warsaw-based Centre for Eastern Studies (OSW). In her work she focuses on security and defence issues in Northern and Central Europe, following security and defence policies and armed forces' developments in Germany, in the Nordic and Baltic states.



### **Eric Green**

Eric F. Green arrived in Poland in July 2018 and serves as the Deputy Chief of Mission. He is a career member of the Senior Foreign Service. Prior to coming to Warsaw, he was the Director of the Office of Russian Affairs in the U.S. State Department's Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs. Previously, he was the Director of the Office of Policy, Plans and Coordination in the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement.



### **Tod Lindberg**

Tod Lindberg is a Senior Fellow at Hudson Institute specializing in national security issues and the role of U.S. leadership. He writes widely on U.S. foreign policy and national security, as well as on American politics and philosophical topics. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Advisory Council of the Stanley Foundation, the Advisory Board of the Chicago Council Survey, and the Democracy Fund Voter Study Group. He was an advisor on national security to John McCain's 2008 presidential campaign.



### **Nicolas Loris**

Nicolas Loris, an economist, focuses on energy, environmental, and regulatory issues as the Herbert and Joyce Morgan fellow at The Heritage Foundation. A research fellow in Heritage's Roe Institute for Economic Policy Studies, Loris studies and writes about energy supplies, energy prices, and other economic effects of environmental policies and regulations, including climate change legislation, energy efficiency mandates, and energy subsidies.



### **Joanna Mackowiak-Pandera**

Joanna Maćkowiak-Pandera is head of the "Forum for Energy" in Warsaw. She focuses on European energy and climate regulations, electricity markets, renewable energy sources and energy transition. For three years she was the Senior Associate at Agora Energiewende – German energy transition think tank, where she was in charge for the project of energy cooperation in Eastern Europe.



### **Derek Mitchell**

Derek James Mitchell is an American diplomat with extensive experience in Asia policy. He was appointed by President Barack Obama as the first Special Representative and Policy Coordinator for Burma with Rank of Ambassador, and was sworn in by Secretary of State Hillary Clinton on October 2, 2011. From 2001 to 2009 he was a Senior Fellow, Director for Asia, and Director of the Southeast Asia Initiative, at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).



### **Marek Swierczynski**

Marek Swierczynski heads Polityka Insight's security desk. He has covered defense tenders and international security issues dealt throughout most of his 20-years career in journalism. Between 1997-2005 he worked at the Polish Section BBC World Service in Warsaw and London, and later in several radio and television newsrooms. Between 2010-2015 he was the publisher of "Polska i Świat" magazine on TVN24 and a defense affairs commentator on TVN24BiŚ.



### **Tomasz Szatkowski**

Tomasz Szatkowski is a lawyer who is a Deputy Minister - Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry of National Defense. He has a long and varied experience in national security, especially defense policy and armaments as well as the supervision of special services and public media. This expertise was acquired in his tenure in crucial national positions at the Sejm, the Chancellery of the Prime Minister, and within the defense industry, public media, European Parliament and NGO's sector.





### **Andrea Thompson**

Andrea L. Thompson was confirmed as Under Secretary for Arms Control and International Security on April 26, 2018. Before her arrival at the Department of State, Under Secretary Thompson served as the Deputy Assistant to the President and National Security Advisor to the Vice President. Prior to her tenure at the White House, Under Secretary Thompson served as the Director of the McChrystal Group Leadership Institute.



### **Daniel Twining**

Daniel Twining joined the International Republican Institute as president in September 2017, where he leads the Institute's mission to advance democracy and freedom around the world. He heads IRI's team of nearly 500 global experts to link people and governments, motivate people to engage in the political process, and guide politicians and government officials to be responsive to citizens.



### **Alexander Vershbow**

Ambassador Alexander Vershbow is a distinguished fellow at the Scowcroft Center for Strategy and Security. Ambassador Vershbow was the deputy secretary general of NATO from February 2012 to October 2016. Prior to his post at NATO, Ambassador Vershbow served for three years as the US assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs.



### **Piotr Wilczek**

From October 2016 Piotr Wilczek has served as Ambassador of Poland to the United States and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas. Previously, Ambassador Wilczek served as President of the Kosciuszko Foundation Poland. He is a professor of the University of Warsaw, currently on leave.



### **Bartosz Wisniewski**

PISM research fellow between 2008 and 2013. Previously worked as market analyst with United Oilfield Services and industry specialist responsible for aviation and oil and gas sectors with the International Trade Administration. Author and co-author of numerous reports, policy papers and academic research in area of U.S. foreign and security policy, U.S.-Polish relations, energy in international politics and international relations theory.



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**Dov Zakheim**

Dov Zakheim is Senior Advisor at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and Senior Fellow at the CNA Corporation. Previously he was Senior Vice President of Booz Allen Hamilton where he led the Firm's support of U.S. Combatant Commanders worldwide. From 2001 to April 2004 he was Under Secretary of Defense (Comptroller) and Chief Financial Officer for the Department of Defense.