



BELGRADE SECURITY FORUM

THE BALKANS &
GLOBAL SECURITY:

WHAT DO WE HAVE
IN COMMON
WHAT SETS US APART?

The report from the first

BELGRADE
SECURITY
FORUM

The idea of the Belgrade Security Forum

Two decades ago the Balkan region was considered to be, not for the first time in its history, the powder keg of Europe. Today, it is regarded as a success story in the making. However, while the region is no longer conflict ridden, the political and security transition towards liberal democracy and sustainable peace is yet to be consolidated. One of the prerequisites for a successful and irreversible conclusion to this transition is building a genuine security community composed of peoples and states of the region. This can be achieved only through a region-wide debate about the burning issues in the Balkans, carried out by political leaders and members of the international community, civil society, and research community.

This is why three local civil society organizations came together to initiate the Belgrade Security Forum with the ambition of placing Belgrade and the region on the map of world security forums, where strategic topics are discussed.

The purpose of the Belgrade Security Forum is threefold:

- To bring the European and global security debate to the Balkans;
- To discuss Balkan security issues within the European and global security framework; and,
- To present Balkan achievements and dilemmas to the participants in the European and global security debate.

The owners and co-organisers of BSF are:

- Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence (www.bfpe.org),
- European Movement in Serbia (www.emins.org) and
- Belgrade Centre for Security Policy (www.bezbednost.org).



The first BSF

Following the example of similar conventions in Brussels, Munich, and Bratislava, and in an open and critical atmosphere, over 70 foreign guests, discussed a variety of topics including: energy security; the new role of Turkey, NATO and Russia in Europe; consequences of regime changes in the Middle East on Balkan security; recipes for successful regional security cooperation; experiences of women as heads of ministries of defence or international organisations, etc. The main topic of the Forum was: **"The Balkans and global security: What do we have in common and what sets us apart?"**

Organised from 14-16 September 2011, the first annual conference was a fruitful arena for vigorous discussions and different points of view on global, European, and regional security issues among various stakeholders, including 70 discussants, 20 young academics, and over 300 Serbian and foreign senior officials from European countries, representatives of the European Union, NATO, scientific and research institutes, civil society, parliamentarians, and journalists. By offering opportunities to debate various security and foreign policy topics, the Belgrade Security Forum laid the foundation for a new understanding of security in the Balkans and fulfilled its initial ambition for turning this event into a high-level regional hub for policy dialogue.

Already in its first year, the Belgrade Security Forum was successful in bringing together high-level policymakers and those who influence public opinion on security and foreign policy in Europe, North America, Russia, the Balkans, and other parts of the world. Several ministers of foreign affairs and defence, members of parliament, European officials and representatives of international organisations, experts and academics from influential think-tanks and institutes from Brussels, London, Paris, Washington, Moscow, Bratislava, and other centres throughout Europe and the region, as well as leading journalists attended the 2011 conference, including:

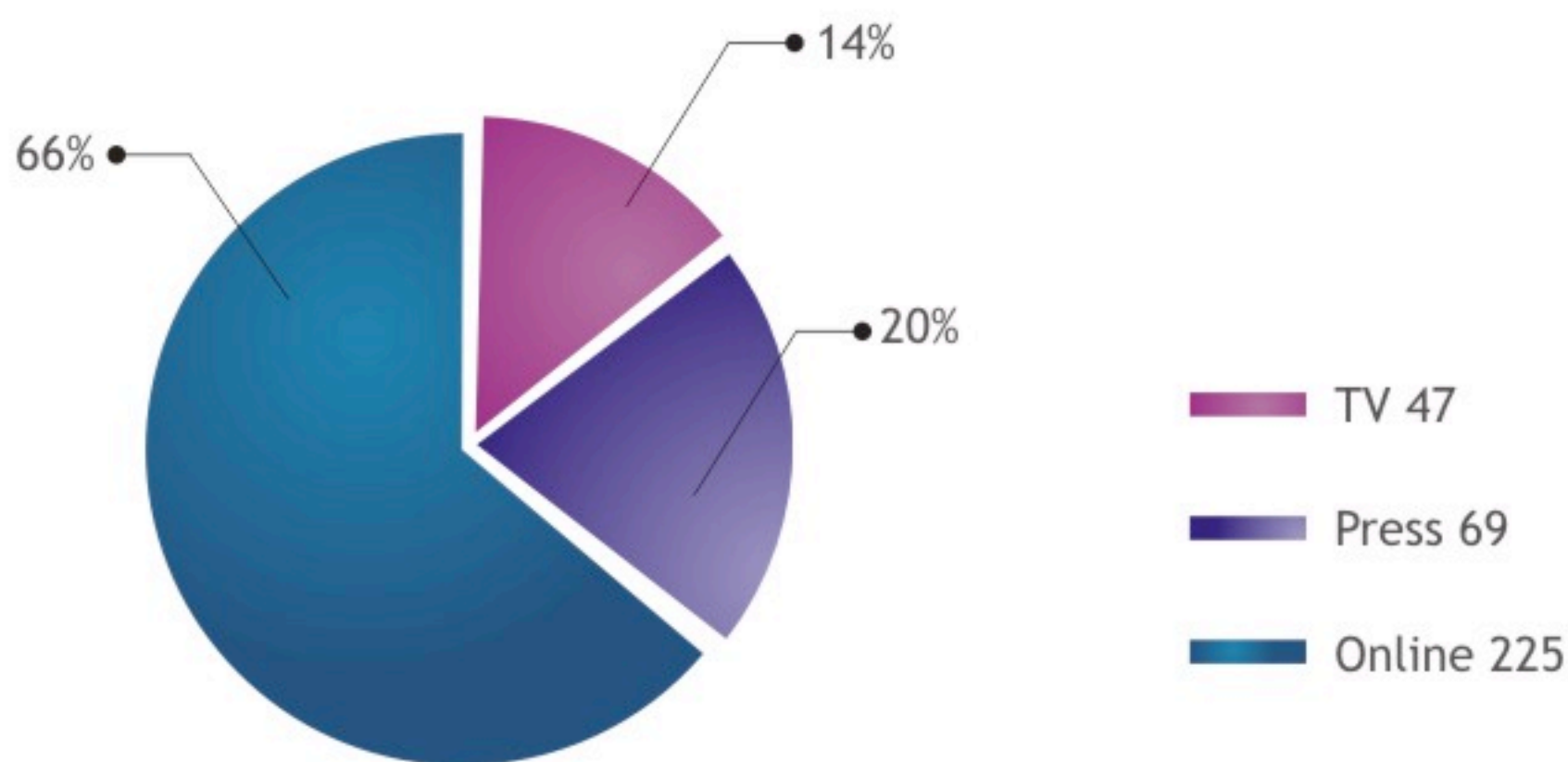
Boris Tadić, President of the Republic of Serbia; **Karel Schwarzenberg**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic; **Janos Martonyi**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Hungary; **Nickolay Mladenov**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Bulgaria; **Ljubica Jelusić**, Minister of Defence of the Republic of Slovenia; **Selmo Cikotić**, Minister of Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina; **Arian Starova**, Vice Minister of Defence of the Republic of Albania; **Stefano Sannino**, Director General of the Directorate General for Enlargement, European Commission; **Gabor Iklody**, Assistant Secretary General for Emerging Security Challenges, NATO Headquarters; **Stefanie Babst**, Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy, NATO Headquarters; **Milan Ježovica**, State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Slovak Republic; **Tanja Mišćević**, State Secretary of the Ministry of Defence, Republic of Serbia; **Karl A. Lamers**, Member of the Parliament of the Federal Republic of Germany; **Charles Grant**, Director, Center for European Reform; **Fransois Heisbourg**, Special Advisor, Fondation pour la Recherche Strategique; **James Sherr**, Senior Fellow, Chatham House; **Ivan Vejvoda**, Vice President for Programmes, German Marshall Fund of the United States; **Ulrike Guerot**, Senior Research Fellow, European Council on Foreign Relations; **Nikolay Petrov**, Scholar-in-Residence, Society and Regions Programme, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Moscow Center; **Anwar Essmat El Sadat**, Chairman, El Sadat Association; **Erika Kvapilova**, Regional Programme Director, UNWOMEN; **Istvan Gyarmati**, President and CEO, International Centre for Democratic Transition; **Pavol Demeš**, Senior Transatlantic Fellow, German Marshall Fund of the United States; **Rastislav Kačer**, President, Slovak Atlantic Commission; **Thanos Dokos**, Director General, ELIAMEP; **Jim Seroka**, Professor, Auburn University; **Sadan Inan Ruma**, Professor, Istanbul Bilgi University; **Žarko Puhovski**, Professor, University of Zagreb; **Tim Judah**, Journalist, The Economist; **Sašo Ordanoski**, Director of Media and Public Affairs, VeVe Group and others.

BSF HIGHLIGHTS



41 national, regional, and local media outlets reported from the BSF and 341 reports were published in Serbian language. In addition, 38 reports were published in English, Slovak, Hungarian, and Russian languages.

Share of reports in Serbian according to media types





Impressions about the first Belgrade Security Forum



H.E. Ljubica Jelusić, Minister of Defence, Republic of Slovenia

"It is very important to have this forum in Belgrade. It is a place where new ideas can emerge. It is the centre of new ideas where important political discussions of the world have been held. This forum follows an important place that Belgrade has in its history. Also, it is important to have different kinds of politicians, professionals, practitioners, and people from civil society at one place, and to push them into the situation to talk to each other and to listen to each other. It was also very important to see that the organisers of this forum are three nongovernmental organisations that in some cases showed more visionary oriented views on the security issues and security future in the Balkans than the politicians and members of political elite did."



H.E. Karel Schwarzenberg, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Czech Republic

"This conference, Belgrade Security Forum, is necessary, first of all for networking. It is important for all government representatives, and I hope that everybody learned something here at this meeting."



Anwar Essmat El Sadat, Chairman, El Saddat Association

"It's a quite interesting gathering. We learned a lot. It was very interesting to hear from respective people here about the situation in Western and Central Europe, but also in the Balkans. We also presented the situation in Northern Africa. So, this was a great chance where we could exchange expertise and background of what can happen in our areas."



Ivan Vejvoda, Vice-President for Programmes, German Marshall Fund of the United States

"I think that you managed to find just the right formula, because in Belgrade and in Serbia this kind of forum and on this level has not been previously organised. It is very important for us to listen to the world what it has to say, but also that the world needs to hear our voice. This was a great opportunity for that dialogue to be enabled. I would very much like to see this forum be organised in the following years, because we need more intensive communication with the rest of the world. Even though we can reach the information through different channels of modern communication, nothing can replace face-to-face dialogue and debate with experts from think tanks and institutes worldwide that has been enabled right here."



Charles Grant, Director, Center for European Reform

"It's a great effort to bring people to Belgrade for which I hope there will be future forums. I liked the small sessions with an intimate atmosphere. Since I am the director of a think tank I like concrete discussion with arguments, not long speeches but just panel discussions and arguments."



Tim Judah, Journalist, The Economist

"I was very pleased to come. For me the most interesting session was the Turkey session because it was quite small and it didn't have ministers on that session. We had more time for lively discussion. Overall it was great with a lot of interesting people. My recommendation for the future organisation of BSF would be to have less ministers and smaller panels within it."

Academic exchanges – BSF special



BELGRADE SECURITY FORUM

With the organization of the BSF academic pre-event, we wanted to assist in overcoming the gap between different generations of scholars. High-level conferences, featuring political and business leaders, are ordinarily not accessible to young academics and professionals in the early stages of their careers. This is why the BSF team developed an academic pre-event to help overcome this obstacle. At the pre-event, younger scholars, that is PhD students or recent graduates, debated innovative and policy oriented ideas on how to better understand and improve Balkan and European security. They presented papers dealing with lessons learned in security community building and security sector reform in Western Balkan states and their relevance to other regions on the road to democracy, such as the Middle East and the Caucasus. The program was split into five thematic panels. The first dealt with Security Challenges in the Western Balkans, and speakers tackled issues of ethnic tensions, critical infrastructures, weak states, and organized crime. Next on the agenda was a panel dealing with peace-building and state-building in the region. Here, participants discussed the main achievements and the challenges still ahead for the consolidation of intrastate and interstate relations in the Western Balkans.

The third session was devoted to Security Sector Reform and civil-military relations from a regional perspective with a number of case studies presented in detail. The fourth panel was devoted to foreign and security policies of the Western Balkan states, as well as of external actors towards the region. Finally, the conference rounded off by placing the region within the wider context of European security. In total, 20 scholars from around the world participated in the event. Selected papers from this conference are published in the special issue of the Journal of Regional Security published by the Belgrade Centre for Security Policy. For more details see: <http://www.bezbednost.org/BCSP/2206/Journal-of-Regional-Security.shtml>



DAY 1: 14 September 2011

After an **official reception** by **Tanja Mišćević**, State Secretary of Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Serbia, at the Great War Hall of the Old Military Headquarters, the Central Military Club opened its premises for the first three simultaneously organized night owl sessions. The sessions were held under the Chatham House Rule allowing for an open and fair discussion.



This conference is necessary, first of all for networking. It is important for all relevant representatives, and I hope that everybody learned something here at this meeting.

H.E. Karel Schwarzenberg
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Czech Republic

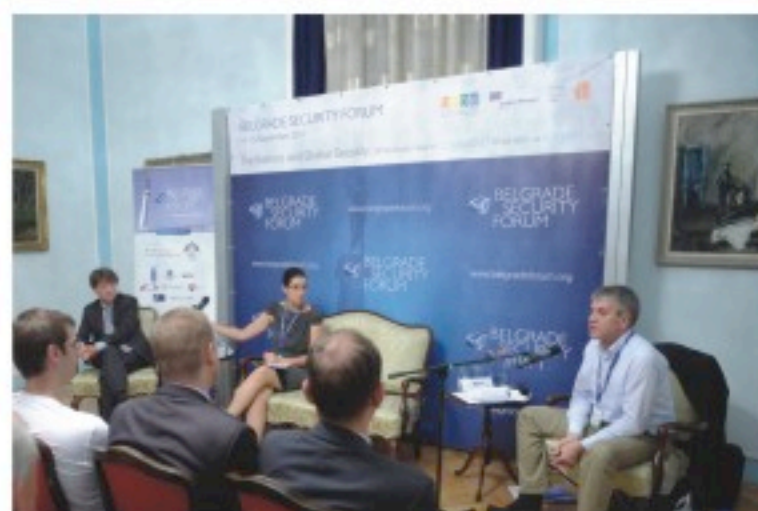
Session 1: Improving Energy Security in Southeast Europe

Moderator: Milan Simurdić, Ambassador of Serbia to Norway

Speakers: Anita Orban, Ambassador for Energy Security, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Hungary
Jacques de Jong, Senior Fellow, Clingendael International Energy Programme

The main topics of the panel were new strategies for providing security to the energy supply in the context of the financial crisis and changed geo-strategic circumstances after the Arab Spring. Speakers agreed on the need to overcome the so called gas fixation in the EU and diversify energy sources by creating a new European energy mix. Although the choice of energy mix – a desired share of coal, nuclear, gas, and/or renewables – remains in principle a matter of national sovereignty, the EU is increasingly involved in defining energy choices by setting targets for renewable energies and greenhouse-gas reduction. In this context, **Anita Orban** praised the adoption of EU's Directive on the Promotion of the use of biofuels and other renewable fuels for transport in 2003, which set a target of securing at least two sources of energy supply for each country of the Union. The Lisbon Treaty reinforced EU's commitment to sustainable development and green economy and introduced the commitment to build solidarity and stronger cooperation regarding energy issues. Speakers highlighted that **solidarity in energy security promoted in the Lisbon Treaty should be understood in terms of Europe as a whole, not just the EU.**

Christof van Agt advocated for building energy efficiency through a greater focus on research, freeing market forces to manage the functioning of the energy system and encouraging governments to provide predictability in the functioning of the system. Regarding the SEE region, especially transit countries, he stressed that gradual and progressive investments are the key to a successful development of the energy sector. This was also supported by the audience, with the claim that rapid exposure of SEE markets to the EU could cause regression in energy security development, mostly because of the market imperfections in the SEE region. Pointing out that energy security lies in integration and cooperation, whereby regional stability is a precondition, the speakers emphasized that more investments are needed in research and capacity building. This would be a firm starting point for eliminating energy poverty and developing a reliable security community.



Session 2: Upheaval in the Arab world and its aftermath

Moderator: Alexis Crow, Research Fellow, Chatham House

Speakers: Mohhamad K. Shiyab, General Manager, East Security Consultations
Anwar Essmat El Sadat, Chairman, El Saddat Association
Srđa Popović, OTPOR-CANVAS

The three panelists agreed that the "Arab Spring" changed the region's image, enforced after 9/11, from 'an incubator of terrorism' into a spring of new wave democratization in Arab countries. **Mr. Shiyab** emphasized the significant role of the "Kafaya" ("Enough") movement, which was similar to the Serbian movement, "Otpor" ("Resistance"). He also said that Arab countries had Central and Eastern European countries as role models during the "Arab Spring", particularly because of their experience in building democracy, civil society, and government. A significant difference between the revolutions in countries such as Romania and revolutions in the Arab world is a fair trial for former dictators, for example the ongoing trial for Hosni Mubarak. Furthermore, **Mr. Popović** said that the key movers of the Arab Spring were young people, emphasizing unity and planning as key facts of these revolutions. The key outcome of the revolutions is that human rights and democracy are again on the top of the agenda in all countries.

Discussing the future of Arab countries, two speakers from the Middle East emphasized that the hardest challenge in the forthcoming period will be reform of the security sector. This is because of the survival of dense networks of secret services, military, and police in these countries and their political support of former leaders. For example, in Tunisia over half a million citizens were active in the secret service.

They also highlighted differences among Arab countries, providing the example of Oman, where an absolutistic monarch enjoys great support of his own people due to the effective provision of public goods, such as safety and welfare. At the end, the speakers called for intensive economic, financial, and other assistance from the European Union and United States of America to help establish a strong civil society and democratise. Some members of the audience doubted if any assistance provided to the Middle East by the EU and NATO will be a strong enough pull factor to further democratisation as there is no perspective of membership, which was a key factor for reform in the CEE countries during their transition.



Session 3: Russia and Europe - partners or competitors?

Moderator: **Dušan Reljić**, Senior Research Associate,
German Institute for International and Security Affairs

Speakers: **Armen Oganessian**, Russian journalist, Editor-in-Chief of International Relations and International Life magazines

Nilokay Petrov, Scholar in Residence, Carnegie Moscow Center

Charles Grant, Director of the Centre for European Reform

Recently, the Russian Federation attempted to improve relations with surrounding countries, due to a heightened awareness of former USSR countries and Russia's customers becoming EU or NATO members. Despite the effort, Russia is not the most dynamic country in that part of the world, because of the presence of the EU, China, Turkey, Iran, and India. Russia cannot compete with these fast-growing economies. Moreover, while Russia can't be regarded as a Euro-Asian power, it still has the capacity of playing the role of a Euro-Pacific force.

The positive trend of cooperation between the U.S. and the Russian Federation is visible in Russia's support of U.S. actions in Iraq and Afghanistan, but, on the other side, it also means a reduction of activity in terms of NATO enlargement to the East. At the same time, Russians want strong evidence that NATO missile shields are not turned towards Russia. The American public has criticized Obama's Administration because of its soft attitude towards the Russian Federation, believing that the relations would be different if the Republican Party was in charge. But in Russia, most think it's easier to work with Republicans, because they are considered more pragmatic than the American Democrats. There is also a belief that the U.S. missed an opportunity to make a historical strategy for improving cooperation with Russia after the terrorist attacks on 9/11/2001, when the Russian government offered help in fighting against terrorism. Russia also has a great interest in finding the final solution to the Afghanistan conflict. A final solution could lead to solving the problem of war on Russia's borders and cutting drug trafficking routes, one of the most serious problems in Russia contributing to countless deaths. Today, the U.S. has enemies that are far more dangerous than its disputes with Russia. But it is obvious that the United States is active in ensuring that Russia stays away from American areas of interest as long as it doesn't appear eager to play for the same team.



The EU is unlikely to have a unique relationship with Russia, because of different individual experiences in a long history of relations between its member states and Russia. What Russia wants is a free market with Europe. Russia needs a "seller – buyer" relationship with the EU. There is an old, but still famous "formula for success" - Russian resources, the German technology. The issue of cooperation between the EU and Russia divided the participants of this session.

Some felt that this cooperation will not happen because EU citizens do not want to cooperate with countries that have authoritarian regimes in power. If Russia wants to ensure such cooperation, it would have to invest in modernizing all areas, economic and political. It is said that while there have never been more Russians in Europe than today, Russian politics have never been further from the EU's. Another opinion is that Russia and Europe are inseparable. Russia has always been a part of Europe and always played an important role on the European continent, often even better than some existing EU states. It is emphasized how much Russia had to sacrifice during history, and how much of it had to be destroyed in order to liberate Europe. Also, a newspaper article was quoted in which a close adviser of former President Sarkozy stated to the French press that if the EU wants to survive and defeat the giants, such as the United States and China, it must unite with Russia. The EU should not drop the chance of building good relations with Russia, which can be a guarantor of stability of the EU economy.

One of the reasons Russia is moving towards the EU and the U.S. may also be its relation with China. China and Russia are now partners, but China has faster economic development. If it continues at this pace, they will not be equal partners in the future. Also, China has increasing influence in Russia's east. All this leads to a dose of mistrust between the two countries.

While participants discussed Serbia's position between the global players, few opposed views were revealed. Some argued that Serbia and the Balkans have never been mentioned in Russia's foreign policy. They pointed out the unrealistic and imaginary "potential" of Serbia playing the mediator role between Russia and the rest of the world - an idea of some political parties in Serbia put forward to collect points. Another opinion was that Serbia and Russia are inextricably linked because of their common origin and religion. This opinion points to the historical links between Serbia and Russia: the sacrifice paid by the Russian Empire during World War I and the revolution later on, the large number of Russian refugees, who found refuge in Serbia after the October Revolution, as well as the large number of Russian volunteers who fought on Serbia's side in all Serbian conflicts. Russia's commitment to address the issue of Kosovo was also highlighted, not only because of the importance of this problem for Serbia, but also because of the evidence of respecting the principles of UN resolutions and the general principles of international law. In the end, both parties agreed that the EU and Russia have mutual interest in a consolidated and stable Serbia.

DAY 2: 15 September 2011

The Official Opening of the Belgrade Security Forum began with the keynote speech by the President of the Republic of Serbia, **H.E. Boris Tadić**. In his speech, **Mr. Tadić** talked about security threats facing the region and the necessity of a peaceful resolution to all potential disputes. He listed organized crime as one of the biggest security challenges, both for the state and for the region, and stated that Serbia will not spare efforts in order to eradicate this threat. Furthermore, **President Tadić** said that the only acceptable solution for Kosovo is one that comes from dialogue within which differences could be overcome. "Events in Kosovo harshly injured the foundation of international relations, and if it proceeds, the international system will be permanently defected," **Mr. Tadić** stated, emphasizing that these circumstances would give legitimacy to a violent secession and violations of borders of a sovereign state. In his opinion, the main principle of international relations should be the support and respect of territorial integrity of states and non-violations of its borders. If this principle is violated, the system of IR would tumble down, he added. Overall, the President of Serbia concluded that the Western Balkans is a success story in the making, relations in the region have never been better, and the process of conciliation will be finished.



"I do not believe any of the issues we face as a region set us fundamentally apart from the world's security agenda. We are all so interconnected that it has become practically impossible to examine any region in isolation anymore," Tadić pointed out.

Every security problem requires a multilateral approach, even though existing multilateral institutions are often not aligned with the actual distribution of power and influence. Serbia today is working very hard to avoid repeating the mistakes made in 1989, when some political actors misjudged the significance of that year's changes, thinking one can ignore fundamental changes in international politics without consequence.

"No one seems to have a clear picture of what the world will look like in the not too distant future. Simply put, nothing seems to be predictable anymore. Under such circumstances, diplomacy is becoming more difficult to practice effectively - especially for smaller actors on the international scene. A country like ours has to make sure it assesses the international circumstances correctly," Tadić explained.

Ministerial Panel: The Benefits of Regional Cooperation

Moderator: Sonja Liht and Maja Bobić

Speakers: H.E. Karel Schwarzenberg, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Czech Republic
H.E. Janos Martonyi, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Hungary
H.E. Nikolay Mladenov, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Bulgaria
H.E. Stefano Sannino, Director General, Directorate General for Enlargement, EC
Milan Ježovica, State Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Slovak Republic

The discussion about regional cooperation began with the question of why regional cooperation really matters. The panelists agreed that the countries of the region have mutual interests, as well as threats, challenges, and a common cultural and historical heritage. All of this contributes to improvement of cooperation in the region, which according to **Mr. Stefano Sannino**, Director General, Directorate General for Enlargement, EC, developed significantly in the past few years. **Mr. Janos Martonyi**, Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, illustrated the importance of regional cooperation with the example of Visegrad group and CEFTA, which contributed to preparing Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic, and Slovakia for joining the European Union and NATO. The intra-regional cooperation in trade and security led also to a decrease in dependence on Moscow. Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, **Nikolay Mladenov**, underlined that the national interest of Bulgaria is to see all of its neighbors in the EU, because Bulgarians have the historic task of making war almost impossible in the Balkans, since consequences of the war would be noticeable not only in the countries fighting the war, but also in the whole region, due to a worsened economic situation and an impaired image of the Balkans in the world. He advocated that, in the Balkans, special attention should be contributed to the development of interregional infrastructure, especially in the energy sector and in the collaboration to fight organized crime.

Panelists reminded the audience of the problems inherited from the past, and the importance of their resolution. **Mr. Stefano Sannino** and **Mr. Karel Schwarzenberg**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Czech Republic, as well as **Mr. Mladenov** agreed that the process of reconciliation in the region is essential and the present level of cooperation needs further development. Some panelists commented on Serbia's prospects for joining the EU. **Mr. Mladenov** said that it is essential to reform not only the administrative and legislative system, but education, healthcare, and social services as well.



Furthermore, he stressed that “becoming a part of the European Union does not mean that you will lose your identity.” **Mr. Sannino** emphasized that Serbia's integration into the European Union is a mutual interest to both Serbia and the EU. He also underlined the importance of credibility for implementing reforms. Adding to the aforementioned, State Secretary of Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs, **Milan Jezovica**, stated the importance of mutual support of the neighbouring countries in this process. Discussants stressed that global security is not possible without regional security. “Security starts in your neighborhood, but it is global,” noted **Mr. Martonyi**.



*The final question was what are the pros and cons for having regional leader(s). The concept of leadership requires making a distinction between competition and rivalry, but more important is understanding that there should be more than one leader in a region. All countries have certain comparative advantages. Therefore division of labour among countries is more useful for the regional progress. Nevertheless **Mr. Mladenov** stressed that, “It is important to focus on the real issues than who leads in what.”*

Main Panel I: Global Security Challenges

Moderator: **Ivan Vejvoda**, Vice President for Programmes,
German Marshall Fund of the United States, (Chair)

Speakers: **Gábor Iklódy**, Assistant Secretary General, Emerging Security Challenges, NATO Headquarters;
James Sherr, Senior Fellow, Chatham House;
Giles Merritt, Director of Security and Defence Agenda (SDA)

Ivan Vejvoda, the moderator, opened the panel by explaining that the world could become a better place for living only if there was more regional cooperation. All the panelists supported the claim that the international security framework has to exist, but only alongside strong coexisting regional cooperation systems. However, each speaker noted different examples and spoke about different frameworks.

Gábor Iklódy stated that the two most important global security challenges are climate change and the Iranian nuclear program. He mentioned that different threat perceptions don't need to collide. He then spoke about new threats, like cyber attacks, which are not being seen as real threats, and thus a “wake-up call” is urgently needed to prevent these “weapons of modern warfare.” After that, he shortly referred to the last two points of his speech: energy security as everyone's problem and the new role of NATO, stating that NATO needs a change in its policy system “from defense to prevention and resilience.”

James Sheer shifted the topic a bit, speaking mostly about the position of the Russian Federation in the world. On a regional scale, Russia is seeing itself, since the dissolution of the USSR in 1991, as the 'main player' in the region of the Former Soviet Union, and thus, as having a strong influence over the entire region. He also quoted Russian foreign minister, Sergey Lavrov, who stated that Russia wants to cooperate with NATO but only through equality. He then finished by saying that the post-cold war system stayed pretty much the same in the past 20 years, and it needs an improvement, which is only possible if NATO solves all its disputes with Russia through common interests.



Gilles Merritt went on to discuss NATO itself and the new world order, saying, "You can't just zap troublesome countries like Afghanistan and Iraq." He further stated that "zapping" these countries only caused more problems than solutions. Mr. Merritt also said that NATO should "re-invent" itself and that the ideal framework for the change is the EU, which is far more transparent than NATO with all sides contributing to the policymaking process. Then he spoke about the new threats, such as global environmental threats and the rise of the global population, which may cause more wars, particularly civil wars for resources in Africa. The only "cure" for these problems is investment, which is always helpful, and strong countries should help. The new security framework was also mentioned, and it should be first applied to North African states, which urgently need a boost in their inter-trade system, a new economical strategy, and a North African security framework. Key issues considering security nowadays are energy and resources. Mr. Merritt spoke of Africa and its history of secessions and mineral wealth. Merritt said that NATO does not fix Europe's defence weaknesses. EU has "incredibly boring structures but good frameworks. Now we need security frameworks and North Africa is the place to start with." Merritt suggested creating an EU economic strategy for North Africa, which has to be balanced with security framework connected to the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions. Then he defined Eurocrats as "the detail guys who hate big pictures," and concluded that "we have to encourage the EU to think more about security," stressing that EU security is no longer a western, but a Balkan and Arab issue!

Main Panel 2: European Security Perspective

Moderator: **Amb. Rastislav Káčer**, President, Slovak Atlantic Commission

Speakers: **François Heisbourg**, Special Advisor, Foundation pour la Recherche Stratégique

Charles Grant, Director, Center for European Reform

Amb. István Gyarmati, President and CEO, International Centre for Democratic Transition

Ulrike Guérot, Senior Research Fellow and Head of the Berlin Office,
European Council on Foreign Relations

A great deal of attention was devoted to the current economic crisis and its impact on the future of the EU, as well as on its security policy. All speakers concurred that the future of CFSP depends significantly on the future of the Eurozone. The panelists agreed that saving Greek economy will mean saving the EU, although all the recent events brought **Mr. Charles Grant** to conclude that the UK might consider leaving the EU. **Ms. Guérot** declared that the economy is the new defence. **Amb. Gyarmati**, however, stressed that it is not only the lack of money that influences a decrease in defense spending, but also the public opinion moving further and further away from violent solutions to problems.

Besides the economic crisis, internal dynamics of EU countries or "two speed Europe" was a highly placed topic on the EU Security Perspective agenda. **Mr. Grant** singled out that there is a strategic rift across the EU. This will probably lead to the UK and France leading a smaller group of countries into more aggressive international role, while a larger group, with Germany and Italy, will represent the opinion that the EU should be acting like a big Switzerland in that regard. **Amb. Gyarmati**, on the other hand, claimed that there was always a "two speed Europe," although some countries still cannot decide where they belong.



Later on the discussion was moved towards EU-NATO relations. **Ms. Ulrike Guérot** emphasized that the EU did not step into a power vacuum created in Eastern Europe after NATO pulled out. Both **Mr. Heisbourg** and **Grant** underlined that the U.S. is not the partner EU can turn to when it comes to all the security problems. The U.S. is turning to Asia and the setting that functioned so far, and NATO is reacting to urgent matters, while the EU, which focuses more on results than on the time aspect of emerging issues, might not function any more.

The Night Owl Sessions

Session 4: NATO and the security challenges facing SEE

Moderator: **Pavol Demeš**, Senior Transatlantic Fellow, German Marshall Fund of the United States

Speakers: **Branislav Milinković**, Ambassador at NATO, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Savo Kentara, President, Euro-Atlantic Club of Montenegro

Karsten Friis, Senior Advisor, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs

The Balkan region needs Serbia as a member of NATO, despite the fact that Belgrade is on the stance that, for now, membership in the Partnership for Peace programme is enough for cooperating with the alliance. Without membership in NATO, Serbia can still contribute to security in the region. This has been shown by restrained reaction after the unilateral declaration of Kosovo's independence, the participants stated. During this session, great attention was dedicated to public support for NATO membership. Although support for membership is around 20 percent in Serbia, during this debate it was stated that if voting for membership was organized in the Serbian National Assembly, like in the case of voting for neutrality, it could result in increased public support for Serbian membership in this organization. This would happen only if the political will became more NATO-oriented. A final remark during the discussion was that Serbia needs to be a NATO member, like other countries in the region, because of the general security.

Also, it was emphasized that NATO is not very popular even in NATO-member countries. **Savo Kentara** spoke about NATO's unpopularity in Montenegro, emphasizing that despite the fact that Montenegro is on a good track to become a member of NATO and the European Union, and despite optimistic forecasts that it can happen in 2014-2015, there is still low support of NATO in the public (only about 35%). But he also said that 3 years are the minimum for each country to achieve public support. All speakers agreed that to become a NATO member the entire country, not just the armed forces, must have the will to join, which is why a referendum might be one of the solutions to making the decision to join NATO.

As previously mentioned, it was argued that NATO remains history's most successful alliance, particularly in terms of its extraordinary ability to address different threats. The speakers highlighted that today states are faced with widespread risks, challenges, and threats, such as internal conflicts, terrorism, and organized crime. Facing these requires common engagement by the entire international community. In a global world, states can no longer be isolated islands. If they want to ensure their existence, they have to cooperate with the rest of the world. Emphasizing that security starts in the neighbourhood, all speakers said that cooperation in a region is of most importance, which is why NATO's main task should be prevention of war in a region. This is the reason why the Balkans remain an unfinished mission for NATO.

In terms of the unpredictable nature of the global environment, NATO should work very hard on widening the dialog with different countries, both member and non-member states. The speakers also underlined the fact that, in today's world, there is no clear cut distinction between members and non-members because they all have to cooperate. Cooperation can be achieved through full membership, as well as through Partnership for Peace. When it comes to Serbia, the Serbian Ambassador at NATO reminded everyone that there is still enough space for cooperation in the frames of Partnership for Peace.



He also emphasized that Serbia needs NATO, and NATO needs Serbia as well, but he said that it will take a lot of time for people to change their opinion of NATO and overcome 1999. At the end, **Savo Kentara** agreed with **Mr. Milinkovic's** view, but he emphasized that being a member of Partnership for Peace was not enough, if you wanted your voice to be heard. He reminded everyone that all decisions in NATO are made by consensus. If a country wants to participate in decision making and decision shaping, it is possible if that country is around the table with the other 28 member countries. Not much progress was expected on this front in the short term, but all speakers remain hopeful that it is just a question of time before the entire region is under the NATO umbrella. At the end, all speakers agreed that in a world in which insecurity remains the main characteristic, cooperation between states is the only chance for surviving.

Session 5: Turkey as regional power: opportunities and challenges

Moderator: **Nenad Radičević**, Deputy Foreign Editor, *Politika Daily*

Speakers: **Sadan Inan Ruma**, Professor, Instambul Bilgi University

Darko Tanasković, Professor, University of Belgrade

Thanos Dokos, Director General, ELIAMEP

Key issues of the discussion were Turkey's position in international relations and whether the country was a regional or global power by definition. Turkey is not in the center of world production, it has no capital to export, and it has low economic growth. Speakers addressed the question of changes in Turkish foreign policy and whether Neo-Ottomanism exists as a Turkish political ideology. Participants also referred to issue of relation between Turkey and the Balkans.

Turkey became an important regional power after the Cold War, but has limited possibilities to become a global power. This country has an interest in being involved in other regions beside the Balkans. For example, Turkey wants to see a change in the Syrian regime, but, at the same time, it doesn't want to be at the center of this intervention. Also, considering itself a leader of the Islamic world, Turkey has the Islamic missionary role in Africa.

The Turkish foreign policy and relation with states of the Balkan region was a far more complex issue to address. A great deal of discussion was devoted to the question of whether or not Neo-Ottomanism is a current Turkish political ideology. While some panelists claimed that there is no strictly defined policy towards the Balkans, neither by the ministry of foreign affairs or by the parliament, other speakers said that Neo-Ottomanism was a fact and it was legitimate. They agreed that there was not definition of the policy by institutions, but pointed out that this policy existed as a fact. Turkey's policy on Balkans is Neo-Ottomanism. "Strategic Depth" is Neo-Ottomanism, and we should find another term because the term is not important. However, the fact is that this policy exists. Turkey's relations with the Balkans are improving as it speaks about the future of Balkan states in the EU, which is better than talking about the past.



Session 6: The role of media in stabilization process of the region

Moderator: Ljubica Gojgić, Journalist, RTV B92

Speakers: Remzi Lani, Director, Albanian Media Institute

Sašo Ordanoski, Director of Media and Public Affairs, VeVe Group

Dragan Štavljanin, Broadcaster, Radio Free Europe

Zoran Sekulić, Director, FoNet News Agency

In the first part of the debate, the speakers agreed that media helped destabilize the region during the nineties, but they are not the only actor in the region that should be blamed. All speakers agreed that politicians and citizens should also take blame for past events. Through the eyes of the speakers, the media failed in many ways to diminish post-conflict tensions, failing to present the real situation in the region, and continuing to spread prejudices and stereotypes. The first reason for this is a lack of national reporting on developments in neighbouring countries. The example was given that Albanians and Serbs knew each other more through Reuters and CNN than through the local media. **Remzi** qualified this shift from active promotion of hatred during the nineties to lack of reporting as "hate speech is replaced with hate silence." The second change is relocation of active inter-ethnic confrontation from mainstream media to the Internet. **Remzi** stressed that many newspapers nowadays have much more readers online and pointed out that today "we have to deal with cyber nationalism."

In the second part of the debate, speakers qualified today's media scene as dominated by yellow press. He quoted Jean Bodriar, "more information – but less meaning," referring to the life we live today. **Dragan** said that the media is trying to be objective, but they lack the big picture and context. He stressed that media is important, but the importance of the media is one thing, while the power of the media is another. Importance does not necessarily mean power. He spoke of politicians and tycoons. He pointed out that media is used for mobilization in populism, and in populism media has a pretty narrow choice – they (the media) just follow politicians (in populism). There is no transparency in political campaigns. **Sašo** thinks we have a huge crisis in the media, as the problem lies in "freedom after the speech." At least in Macedonia, media is just choosing sides (political sides) and not contributing to anything. Politics is still more influential than the media. **Sašo** then said that, according to one public survey, people only read the media that proves their own one-sided views. He thinks this is the problem with out political culture in the Balkans.

Zoran Sekulić argued that bad news has more influence, which is probably because it sells more. Is this also because political elites failed to influence reconciliation? His opinion is that Balkan democracies are weak and unstable. Conflict can even now be easily triggered in Serbia. The media should be more responsible; media mostly follow politicians.

The media FAILED to present the situation in the region, lots of prejudices and stereotypes exist (and the media themselves contributed to that). The problem is also that there ISN'T media culture in the region. Two generations of young journalists are lost, they lived isolated. Youngsters have the impression that the Balkans is constantly treated negatively... (didn't quite catch this). We have to have the shared responsibility for what's going on - a responsibility shared between elites, the international community, and media itself. The regional political framework should become better. **Zoran's** final message to the media is "if you can't help more, at least don't cause more damage."



Session 7: Regional Security Cooperation: V4 Experiences

Moderator: **Robert Vass**, Secretary General of Slovak Atlantic Commission

Speakers: **Jaroslav Nad'**, Director General of the Slovak Republic Ministry of Defence

Ivan Dvorák, Director of the Defence Policy and Strategies Department at Czech Ministry of Defence

Peter Siklósi, Deputy State Secretary for Defence Policy at the Hungarian Ministry of Defence

Waldemar Ratajczak, Director of the International Security Policy Department in the Polish Ministry of National Defence

The following session of the evening, organized in cooperation with Slovak Atlantic Commission, offered valuable insight on long-lasting cooperation between countries of the Visegrad Group. All speakers, including chairperson, agreed that mutual trust and cooperation is the most important result of more than 20 years of Visegrad Group's existence.

In the late nineties, the priority of the Visegrad group was full membership in the European Union. Today, due to changes in decision making procedures, working together is a logical step. The first priority of Visegrad Group members is currently aimed at preparing for the joint EU V4 Battle Group in 2016, stressed **Ivan Dvorák**. The second priority is to help countries currently in the process of security sector reform through trainings and education. Austerity measures will affect withdrawal of some of the capabilities, expressed **Ivan Dvorák**. Speakers pointed out that the financial crisis gave them new *raison d'être* and, consequently, they realized that if they want to keep their capabilities, they have to co-operate. The Pooling and Sharing initiative, aimed at intensifying co-operation through launching new multinational programs, became one of the main chances to reduce costs and develop military capabilities that the European countries need.

Ivan Dvorák made a point that co-operation is the state of mind, and that you need to have same views in order to co-operate in a proper way. On the basis of their experiences in Visegrad Group, panelists emphasized that if Balkan countries want to improve regional relations they have to stick to the 3Cs - **communications, co-operation, and contribution**.



Session 8: Integrating Gender in Security Sector Reform

Moderator: **Kathrin Quesada**, Democratic Control of Armed Forces

Speakers: **Tanja Mišćević**, State Secretary of Ministry of Defence

Dragana Petrović, General Secretary of Gender Equality Council of the Government of Serbia

Biljana Lazarević, Police Officer at the Ministry of Interior

The last session of the second day was dedicated to **integrating gender into security sector reform**. The session was organised by the Geneva Center for Democratic Control of Armed Forces with the support of the Swiss Embassy in Belgrade. The leading idea for this session was to give a female point of view on the subject and to reveal how gender mainstreaming has been working so far within the security sector in Serbia. Most of the session, however, was dedicated to practical, everyday problems women face if they decide to join the security sector, both the military and the police departments.

Many women from the audience had the opportunity to share their unpleasant experiences on this matter. The first problem listed was the Serbian language itself and the fact that it differentiates between genders. Therefore, a noun used to address a woman by her rank differs from a noun used to address a man by the same rank. It is grammatically correct to derive a female gender noun out of male gender noun; however, Serbian native speakers are not used to hearing and pronouncing such words because they are not common in the Serbian language, especially in the security sector where for decades the majority of employees have been men. Every female participant that spoke at the session said that in the beginning it was extremely strange to be addressed as a female. This feeling disappeared as their career proceeded but some of them still find the female gender form of ranks to sound rather offensive. The problem of language may seem unimportant and superficial, but it is, in fact, of greatest importance, because the awareness of the existence of women in a primarily male dominated environment is most effectively achieved through language.

Another problem that women often come across is disrespectful conduct by their male colleagues. It appears that men are reluctant to see women in uniform as their equals. It is a common for male officers to pass by their female colleagues without saluting them. This problem extends to the very structure of the security system, where women are treated as practically invisible. They are not trusted with assignments of the same difficulty as men - most of the women are employed in positions addressing adolescent delinquency, or some kind of administrative work. There are still very few, if any, women in leading positions. The point was made, however, that some part of the guilt for this state of affairs lies within women themselves, for they are the ones who accept this kind of behaviour and put up with it.



DAY 3: 16 September 2011

Main Panel 3: Women Leaders in the Security Sector

Moderator: Sonja Stojanović, Director, Belgrade Centre for Security Policy

Speakers: H.E. Ljubica Jelušić, Minister of Defence, Republic of Slovenia

Stefanie Babst, Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy, NATO Headquarters

Tanja Mišćević, State Secretary, Ministry of Defence, Republic of Serbia

Erika Kvapilova, Regional Programme Director, UNWOMEN



The third day of the first Belgrade Security Forum was dedicated to discussions concerning the challenges of being a woman leader in the security sector, as well as to the important elements for successful mainstreaming of gender in security governance.

Despite the significant changes in the security sector all speakers of the “Women Leaders in Security Sector” panel agreed that it is still challenging to be a women leader. “I feel lonely,” said **Ms. Stefanie Babst**, Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy at NATO Headquarters, explaining that there are only four women in leading positions in NATO. In Slovenia, women make up more than a half of civil servants (58%), but just 10% of them are in senior positions. Nevertheless, the situation in the Slovenian military is promising because there are 10% female officers out of the 15% women in the army. “These facts demonstrate that the uniform system is more open for women career development as it has clearly defined mechanism for promotion,” said **Ms. Ljubica Jelušić**, Minister of Defence of the Republic of Slovenia. According to her, there is a lot of hard working women, but a lack of self-confidence prevents them becoming a leader in the security sector. “The biggest challenge is to prove you are a capable person, regardless of your sex,” **Ms. Tanja Miščević** said. **Ms. Erika Kvapilova**, Regional Programme Director, UNWOMEN, added to the aforementioned that “women can prove their capabilities by working hard, twice as hard as men.” She also pointed out that UNWOMEN now faces the challenge of how to attract more men to apply for positions in the organization, to work in the field, and implement programs, as its work is not only about women, but about achieving true equality.

In addition, the participants discussed the elements of success and challenges of gender mainstreaming in the security sector. They agreed that women have a capacity to become leaders. According to **Ms. Jelušić**, having clear standards of promotion, not only in the military, but in other fields as well, is essential. **Ms. Babst** stressed the importance of implementation National Action Plans for UNSCR 1325 and added that “NATO has to offer a modern package for women that aim at harmonizing private life with a professional career.” It is also important to link gender issues with the operational effectiveness, i.e. to transfer them into day-to-day activities and deployment of troops. “The biggest challenge is to change the mindsets, to not only see women as victims, but also that they can offer a lot to the society, and in this case to the security sector,” stressed **Ms. Kvapilova**.

Besides sharing personal experience of being women leaders in the security sector, participants also discussed the key challenges in security and the justice sector in the Western Balkans. **Ms. Jelušić** stated her view on the issue, saying that it is important to improve the system which provides security. She stated that it is of utmost importance to provide legitimacy to the agencies responsible for providing security, highlighting the importance of inclusion of the civil sector through operational improvement of security institutions, as well as the necessity of improvement of the professionalism of overall human potential and development of professional ethics. **Ms. Miščević** reminded the audience that it is essential to reach a “security threats consensus in the region.” She also added that the cooperation on both the state and intrastate level is the best way to address all security threats and challenges in the region. Speaking from a NATO perspective, **Babst** highlighted that in the new security environment it is important to adjust to all the changes.



On the sidelines of the first Belgrade Security Forum, Memorandum of Understanding between the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Serbia (MOD) and the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UNWOMEN) has been signed. Singing of the agreement has high importance for deepening, strengthening, and further developing the already established cooperation between the two sides. **Ms. Tanja Miščević**, State Secretary of Ministry of

Defence, and **Erika Kvapilova**, Regional Programme Director of UNWOMEN, expect that this will enable better and concrete professional and financial help from the Sub-Regional Office of the UNWOMEN for Central and South-East Europe to the already started process of implementation of the National Action Plan for implementation of the UN Security Council's Resolution 1325 within the Ministry of Defence and Serbian Army.

Main Panel 4: The Balkans: from security problem to security partner

Moderator: **Tim Judah**, Journalist, The Economist

Speakers: **Karl Lamers**, MdB, Deputy Chairman of the Defence Committee, The Parliament of the Federal Republic of Germany
H.E. Selmo Cikotić, Minister of Defence, Bosnia and Herzegovina
Arian Starova, Vice Minister, Ministry of Defence, Republic of Albania
Johann Pucher, Defence Policy Director, Ministry of Defence, Austria
Jim Seroka, Professor, Auburn University
Žarko Puhovski, Professor, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb

The last panel of the BSF argued the lessons learned in the Balkans regarding conflict transformation, state-building, and nurturing the security cooperation. It was noted that EU membership will be a crucial aspect of the reconciliation process, as all sides will be helped by the EU in that process. It is important to note that most of the speakers mentioned the problem of corruption and organized crime as today's main security issues in the transitional countries; such are many in the Balkans.

The Balkans security issues were defined as a way of changing, learning lessons, and recognizing mistakes from the past with support of the European Union and NATO. Through this process, the Balkans were faced with problems that could be lessons to Northern Africa and the post-Soviet space. **Jim Seroka's** highlighted lesson learned was that without a clear mission there is no policy consensus, no rules of engagement, and no chain of command. As a positive example of policy with clear benchmarks, he mentioned negotiations for visa liberalization. He stated that the security system has to improve and all the countries need to address important security issues, such as corruption. He referred to **Mr. Seroka**, who mentioned the problem of corruption, adding that only fighting it is not enough, but suppression of its export abroad is crucial as well. **Johann Pucher** supported this with a claim that priorities should be avoiding military conflicts, and suppressing organized crime and human trafficking. He stated that the priority for all the sides is trust and confidence, in addition to reaching stability, so the countries need to cooperate. He referred to the problem that France and Germany had, saying, "If France and Germany could have done it, why that would be impossible for Serbia and Croatia?" **Žarko Puhovski** argued that the region does not need a leader in regional cooperation, but that all should have equal roles instead. **Mr. Puhovski** made a point that there is no partnership between master and servant, there are leaders.

At the regional level, **Arian Starova** identified three main problems: recognition of Kosovo, institutional functionality of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the dispute between Greece and Macedonia over Macedonia's name. Kosovo as an important part of Balkans security will not be a place for open conflict, **Starova** pointed. Another problem with Kosovo that **Mr. Starova** used is its role in the pre-electoral campaigns in the surrounding countries, and his attitude is that using this problem to gain some political points is very wrong. Integration into the European Union and NATO is still a real perspective, but that process is slowed a bit with the Euro zone crisis, which is EU's main priority at this time.



The process of reconciliation would be a very hard job to do, since people need to change the way of thinking, to make a certain shift, or as he named it: "Hate but don't kill." And Western Balkans as a region doesn't exist anymore, since Croatia left it. **Selmo Cikotić** started the global aspects of security, saying that the world is changing all the time and we can't change the past, but we can change the future. The previous century for the Balkans was a lesson that showed we can learn from our mistakes and war is not an answer.

Closing remarks

In closing remarks, **Ms. Sonja Licht**, President of Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence, and two young scholars, who participated in the pre-event Academic Sessions, **Ms. Jana Baćević** and **Mr. Sigurd Neubauer**, grasped the debates held during the three-day Belgrade Security Forum and tried to give a final evaluation of the conference by answering the fundamental question: “Balkan and Global Security – what do we have in common, what set as apart?”

First, **Ms. Licht** emphasized that the first Forum sent the message to all stakeholders that Western Balkans states are devoted to resolving security issues in a peaceful way. From the perspective of the things that “We have in common,” **Mr. Sigurd Neubauer**, foreign affairs specialist of the SOS International in USA, said that during the Belgrade Security Forum “we all learned a lesson about the great amount of solidarity in finding peaceful resolutions in order to overcome conflicts.” He underlined the importance of interconnectivity on a wide range of issues and distinguished speakers during the Belgrade Security Forum. On the other side, **Ms. Jana Baćević** stated that it is insecurity that was in common during the talks within the Belgrade Security Forum. “Insecurity not as a threat, but as lack of clarity in defining future steps and impression about what the scenario in the field of security would be like” was the main concern expressed by BSF participants, according to **Ms. Baćević**. She concluded that this event was not only a place to discuss and try to give responses on different issues, but also to put them on the security agenda.





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The [Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence](#) is a non-profit and non-partisan organization devoted to capacity building of decision and opinion makers who will steer Serbia towards European and Euro-Atlantic integration. Programme activities aim at institution building, strengthening the human capital of political and public leaders, and regional cooperation. Founded in 2003, the BFPE is a part of the Network of Schools of Political Studies operating under the auspices of the Council of Europe.

The [European Movement in Serbia](#) is an independent and voluntarily organization of the citizens of Serbia. It was founded on November 24, 1992 as a non-governmental, non-party and non-profit organization. EMinS is an independent institution of the democratic public and a citizens' organization that advocates for peaceful, democratic and full European integration and a democratic and modern Serbia as a part of Europe. EMinS is a member of a pan-European network, European Movement International, and has its own network of Local Councils in 14 towns of Serbia as well as 10 organizations as collective members.

The [Belgrade Centre for Security Policy](#) is an independent think-tank which advocates for human, national, regional and international security based on democracy and respect for human rights. The Centre works towards the consolidation of security sector reform (SSR) and security integration of the Western Balkan states into the Euro-Atlantic community by creating an inclusive and knowledge based security policy environment. It achieves these goals through research, public advocacy, education, bringing together relevant stakeholders, and creating networking opportunities. It was founded as the Centre for Civil-Military Relations (CCMR) in 1997 with the mission to advocate democratization of the security sector in Serbia.

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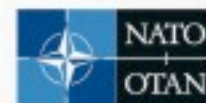
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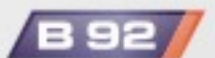
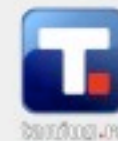


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