

Bled Strategic Times

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Tackling cyber threats together

The cyber challenges arising from our highly – digitalised society are here to stay. We can tackle them on the EU level, here is how

/ By Sir Julian King, European Commissioner for the Security Union

This year's Bled Strategic Forum is all about "bridging the divide" – focusing on the things we have in common rather than what divides us, something especially important in a world which feels increasingly fraught and divided. And nowhere is this aim more apt than in the field of cybersecurity.

That's because the highly-digitised world we live in not only offers a myriad of opportunities, but also throws up new kinds of threats. Cyber means can be used for financial gain or for political motives, by terrorists, criminals or state actors. They are easy to perpetrate and can be unprecedented in their reach, devastating in their effectiveness and extremely difficult to trace or attribute. They are unlike other security challenges we face; not only because both the threat surface and attack vectors are largely privately owned but also because of the sheer scale of the societal, geo-political and economic consequences if we fail to act.

Faced with this multi-faceted challenge, we need to take action on two fronts: tackling classic cyber threats to systems and data; and closing down the space for broader cyber-enabled threats, like fake news, which seek to manipulate behaviour.

For the first challenge, the Commission last year brought forward a comprehensive package of proposals to reinforce our cybersecurity based around the three pillars of resilience, deterrence and defence.

A need for greater cyber resilience

We urgently need to become more resilient. We need to make ourselves harder to attack, and be quicker to respond through both structural and behavioural measures.

We are in the process of creating a genuine EU Cybersecurity Agency to help set standards and coordinate the response to large scale incidents, building on the base of the existing EU Network and Information Security Agency (ENISA).

The Agency will take on a crisis response function in response to major cyberattacks and based on a pre-agreed 'Blueprint'. It will also be responsible for establishing and running an EU-wide cybersecurity standards and certification framework - the EU Cybersecurity Act - to ensure that products and services meet the highest standards of cybersecurity.

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It is Time to Bridge the Divide

"We should use the overwhelming global consensus on the importance of fair and sustainable development for all in order to enhance global cooperation, mutual support and wide-ranging trust"

/ By Karl Erjavec, Host of the Bled Strategic Forum, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia

Globalisation, travel and the digital and communication revolution are bringing us closer together. They provide us with tools and opportunities to see something different, to meet the unknown, to understand the unusual.

Yet, every day, the divide between citizens, societies and nations seems to be growing wider and deeper. In a world, which should be like an open book to all of us, we still prefer to cling to our own perceptions, prejudices and fears. Too easily, we forget about the values, principles and aspirations that we all share, and which are the backbone of our common peaceful, prosperous and sustainable future.

Bled Strategic Forum 2018 will thus attempt to shed light on some of the topics that seem to divide us. We will talk about the challenges, and present different perspectives and concerns, and then proceed to think about how to find constructive and consensual ways forward.

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Europe faces a "cyber security skills gap" currently estimated to reach 350,000 people by 2022.

It will oversee the full implementation of the Directive on Security of Network and Information Systems, the NIS Directive, by Member States including extending it beyond the existing critical sectors, starting with public administrations and making sure that national Computer Security Incident Response Teams (CSIRTs) have the resources they need.

In addition, it is critical to promote "security by design", or we will inadvertently create a potentially calamitous situation where connected devices have little or no security protection built into them.

The objective of our proposal is to develop an approach to certification at the European level, responding to different security needs. It should notably ensure that a certificate issued in one country will, under specific conditions, automatically be recognised in others.

To facilitate consistency with frameworks and standards already in place, we want to build on existing national and transnational work, notably by ensuring that the schemes proposed in the future European framework rely as much as possible on international standards. Industry plays a central role in the standardisation process, and under our proposal, it would have the opportunity to engage in the preparation of these schemes.

In parallel, there is room for industry-led initiatives to ensure security best practice is comprehensively and widely adopted. This work is already underway and I welcome the industry's engagement in defining basic cyber hygiene principles.

Making ourselves more resilient also means having the right skills and technological capacities.

Europe faces a "cyber security skills gap" currently estimated to reach 350,000 people

by 2022. Having this skills base is central to effective resilience. So cyber must be mainstreamed and prioritised in education and training curricula.

We also need to invest in research to stay ahead of those looking to attack us.

We already have a cybersecurity public-private partnership in place with EU research funds which will trigger 1.8 billion euros in investment by 2020.

This is a good start but we need to complement and continue that work. We need to make sure the EU retains and develops essential capabilities to secure its digital econ-

We urgently need to become more resilient. We need to make ourselves harder to attack, and be quicker to respond through both structural and behavioural measures.

omy, infrastructures, society and democracy. To achieve that, we are proposing to create a pan-European cybersecurity competence network to reinforce capabilities so that European players are not too reliant on critical technologies from outside the EU.

Creating credible disincentives for cyber attacks

Deterrence means creating real and credible disincentives for those who might contemplate attacks. We need to dramatically increase the chances of getting caught and attach severe penalties to committing hostile cyber acts.

Law enforcement need help to trace and identify perpetrators, a notoriously difficult task – according to Europol, 90% of cyber-crime investigators regularly run up against this kind of attribution problem. That's why we are looking at ways of better identifying

websites and IP addresses including encouraging the uptake of the new protocol (IPv6) as it allows the allocation of a single user per IP address, bringing clear benefits including to cybersecurity investigations.

We also need to step up cooperation and the sharing of expertise and reinforce the cyber forensics and detection capabilities of Europol's EC3 to boost forensic capabilities.

And we have taken steps to increase law enforcement access to electronic evidence, including when it is hosted in a different country. In April, we set out proposals to provide law enforcement and judicial authorities with new tools to obtain cross-border e-evidence – such as emails, texts or WhatsApp messages – for the investigation and prosecution of crimes, including terrorism and cybercrime.

The measures include the ability for Member States to directly compel service providers in another jurisdiction to provide data through the creation of a European Production Order.

Tackling the growing threat of disinformation

But beyond these more traditional kinds of cyber attack, we are now facing a much broader set of cyber threats. We are seeing the increased use of cyber means to spread propaganda and disinformation, and to incite terrorism.

To combat this, the Commission brought forward a range of measures in April against disinformation and fake news online. In doing so we sent a very clear and strong message to internet platforms – Facebook, Twitter and others – who have such a prominent role in our society – and who equally have a responsibility to take action.

We are not asking them to judge what is true or not. But we do want more transparency, traceability and accountability online, and platforms need to help deliver this.

Our newsfeeds should tell us clearly when content has been paid for and by whom, when it has been distributed via bots rather than by other users and why we are being shown certain content.

In addition, we will strengthen the work done by 'fact checkers', we will support quality journalism and we will promote media literacy and critical thinking.

We have asked stakeholders to draw up and agree on a Code of practice, to be adopted by internet platforms, requiring them to improve how adverts are placed, to restrict targeting options for political advertising, and to reduce the revenues made by those

behind disinformation. It will also promote greater transparency around sponsored content – marking it clearly as such, and stating who has paid for it.

To successfully tackle disinformation, we need to call it out – for example, we set up the East Strategic Communication Task Force in the European External Action Service to strengthen quality media in the region and to improve our capacity to respond to Russian disinformation.

Since its establishment in 2015, East Stratcom has catalogued over 4,000 examples of disinformation, including for exam-

ple 31 disinformation narratives around the chemical attack in Salisbury and 57 around the downing of flight MH17.

We also need to consider the issue of disinformation in the context of upcoming elections such as the European elections next May.

Across the EU, there are many initiatives at national level focused in particular on possible interference in upcoming elections. There is also strong transatlantic cooperation on this issue, which is discussed in the EU/US security and cyber dialogues and in the context of Transatlantic Commission on Election Integrity.

We now need to ramp up this work and ensure that public authorities as well as other actors – both public and private – are as prepared as possible. In the EU, that means establishing plans at national level to guard against cyberattacks and election interference.

To this end, we need every Member State to comprehensively assess the threat to their democratic processes and institutions, whether from more traditional cyberattacks or from the manipulation of information. They should have a national action plan and a task force bringing together representatives from all relevant authorities – cybersecurity, intelligence, law enforcement, electoral commissions and the private sector – with the task of countering these cyber threats.

Above all, they should treat elections as a central component of their critical infrastructure protection and resilience planning.

Looking further ahead, the Commission will convene a high-level meeting next month, bringing together national players in order to take stock of progress on the various fronts and to identify and share best practices for election security. This will build on the work done by the NIS Cooperation Group on a Compendium on Cyber Security of Election Technology to define the key resilience measures to combat cyber threats to elections at national level, including the need for a response-protocol in case of incidents, training and exercises on possible scenarios at all levels, and a robust and trusted network across the relevant authorities at national level to deal with incidents.

Our work in all areas of cybersecurity, then, is crucial to ensuring Europeans can enjoy the full benefits of a digitised world in the years to come. This is not a challenge which will go away, however, and in order for our efforts to bear fruit, we do indeed need to "bridge the divide" – because it is only by working together, at all levels, that we can successfully counter those who would use cyber means to harm us and the societies we live in. ●



Security begins with trust

“The OSCE has the flexibility, the tools and the expertise to be an effective force for stability and peace in the Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian space”

/ By Thomas Greminger, Secretary-General, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)

Europe today is contending with deeply unsettling challenges that are calling into question time-honored relationships and longstanding approaches to the security of our continent. Fundamental principles that have underpinned the international order for decades have been violated. Developments that just a few years ago seemed inconceivable are shaking up politics in unforeseen ways. We see a deepening discord in East-West relations, not only over political and military matters, but also over values. Relations among key stakeholders, and even among longstanding allies, are being reassessed and are showing signs of repositioning. Trust has broken down, deterrence is on the rise, and the space for dialogue is shrinking.

At the same time, Europe is facing a multiplicity of complex and often intertwined security challenges unlike any we have seen before: an upsurge in terrorism and violent extremism; growth in transnational threats like organized crime and trafficking in drugs, arms and people; global challenges from climate change, mass movements of people, and increasing economic disparities within and between countries and regions. In reaction to some of these challenges, we see a worrying growth in populism, nationalism and even xenophobia. Fear and prejudice are creating divisions within our societies, and between states and regions.

We also see new forms of conflict emerging, beyond the traditional military battlefield. A broad array of conventional and unconventional measures in the political, economic and information spheres are being used to destabilize societies. The lines between traditional foreign policy and active measures aimed at gaining influence over political processes in specific states are blurring. Destabilizing measures are generally employed at a level below the threshold

of what would usually trigger a war. They nevertheless have potential to cause considerable disruption and even panic, both in peaceful societies and those already vulnerable from recent conflict. Customary responses to security threats are largely proving inadequate to counteract the malicious use of new technologies, including cyber-attacks and disinformation campaigns. There are few technical measures in place to attribute responsibility when states use cyber capabilities to target public infrastructure or election systems.

The pendulum has swung towards unilateralism and a focus on narrow parochial interests at the expense of common concerns. The space for multilateralism has contracted just when we need it most.

The result of all these challenges is a more unpredictable, unstable and polarized security landscape. One in which we face a growing risk of conflict.

Cooperation instead of confrontation

While there are disagreements about how we got into this dangerous situation, we share a common interest in finding a way out. Yet the pendulum has swung towards unilateralism and a focus on narrow parochial interests at the expense of common concerns. The space for multilateralism has contracted just when we need it most.

I am convinced that cooperation is the best way forward. History bears this out. The lessons of the Helsinki process show that even in times of extraordinary tension, it is possible to work together across divides to rebuild trust and to find areas for cooperation. Our Cold War predecessors showed political courage and determined leadership and embarked on a cooperative path. Their actions built on a fundamental understanding that our security is common.

Only trust building and predictable interaction based on shared principles can counter growing skepticism about the viability of our cooperative security order. So we should look for convergences of interests and areas for constructive engagement within the framework of our fundamental principles.

Cyber security is one such area of convergence. It is in every state's interest to cooperate to prevent potential escalation in response to threats stemming from the use of cyber or information and communication technologies. The OSCE is in the vanguard among multilateral organizations, with 16 pioneering “cyber-CBMs” designed to lower the risk of misperception and miscalculation connected to the use of ICTs by states. These measures, which were agreed by all 57 OSCE participating States, have the potential to enhance transparency and predictability. Now the focus must be on implementation.

Need for security dialogue

The volatility and unpredictability of the European security environment makes dialogue on key security concerns in the military realm particularly urgent.

Greater investments in defence, growing pressure for militarized responses and increasingly hostile rhetoric have all contributed to heighten the risk of conflict. Military incidents, especially those in the air and on the high seas, continue to jeopardize security and stability, in particular in the Baltic and Black Sea areas. More frequent, and at times unannounced, military exercises have helped shape divergent threat perceptions, with many states concerned about the intent

of such exercises. Taking concrete steps to reduce risks and help de-escalate tensions is crucial to preventing accidental conflict triggered by misperceptions or misunderstandings.

Yet formal dialogue mechanisms where such issues can be freely discussed by the Russian Federation and the West are now few and far between. There is less military-to-military dialogue today than during the Cold War. Interaction between the diplomatic and military communities is also lacking.

How can confidence be built if there is no contact? Without meaningful engagement, the current breakdown in trust cannot be overcome.


So we must seize upon informal opportunities for dialogue.

The OSCE participating States have responded to this need by creating the Structured Dialogue, an informal, inter-governmental platform for discussions on politico-military matters. The constructive tone of this state-driven and state-owned process has already yielded useful exchanges on threat perceptions, force postures and military doctrines. The active participation of senior policymakers from Ministries of Defense is a key factor in its success.

The Structured Dialogue process has produced a mapping of force postures and exercises, and is now exploring potential measures on incident prevention and management, especially in the air and at sea, and voluntary notification of major exercises, including snap exercises.

The hope is to enhance opportunities for military-to-military contact through the development of complementary regional confidence- and security-building measures under the existing Vienna Document framework.

Without meaningful engagement, the current breakdown in trust cannot be overcome.

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An emotionally intelligent society

The true nature of human progress: are we naturally bound to cycles of violence or do we have the power to bridge the divide and change the course of history?

/ By Katja Geršak, Editor-in-Chief, Bled Strategic Times

We pride ourselves on being progressive and there is no doubt that we are. We brought our human race out of caves to the 162nd floor and from the dark ages to the age of tweets and likes.

The pace of human technological development over the past century is impressive to say the least. If we plot it on the graph and put it in a historical perspective it would closely resemble a vertical line.

Furthermore, I believe, we are only now entering an era of exponential technological leaps in the areas of computing, biotechnology and nanotechnology. Hence we place a lot of emphasis on these topics at this year's Bled Strategic Forum.

AI has huge potential in almost every aspect of our personal and professional lives - from automating customer support and improving targeted marketing to developing self-driving vehicles. There is no stopping the development of AI. As authors of two articles in Bled Strategic Times (*'Cyberspace as the new battleground'* on page 7 and *'Thinking the unthinkable'* on page 22) point out many jobs might become obsolete or be replaced by computers in the coming decades. We could be looking at a massive scale of social displacement or 'digital communism,' as one of the articles terms it.

What we are now learning and able to do in biotechnology is nothing short of miraculous as well. Replicate nature, create life and tailor it. Biotechnological methods promise a variety of important social and environmental benefits, such as cheaper and effective medicines, more efficient farming and pollution abatement. While areas of biotech remain controversial and ethnically questionable the pace of biotech development is not slowing down. Will we be able to double our life span soon? Will we be able to alter detrimental genetic traits before birth? I think the answer to these is probably yes, particularly when we also take a look at the great advancements in the field of nanotechnology. And

where is that taking us? Nanotechnology could hold answers to resource scarcity and environmental deterioration, for instance our ability to simply transform plastic waste into organic matter, which will not harm our environment. Exciting times indeed.

However there is a question begging to be asked. Amid these technological leaps what is the true nature of human progress? Are we more emotionally intelligent now than our race was 100 years ago, how about 1000 years ago?

Despite of immense technological leaps the phrase 'Human history repeats itself' still rings true because we are prone to undergoing bouts of violence and wars followed by

It would take a substantial departure from historic norms not to turn new technology into advantages of power, develop ever more sophisticated means of control and domination.

years or decades of peace...but not centuries.

We have progressed. The concepts of universality of human rights and our great efforts to resolve conflicts in a peaceful way attest to that. We have developed complex institutions, rules of engagement, process of mediation and conflict resolution all in the effort to prevent large scale violence (*we devoted three articles to the importance of ICC on page 10, rule or law on page 12 and mediation on page 15 in this issue*).

I firmly believe that societies, which enable free expression, protect individual human rights and strive towards equality, can claim a higher level of emotional intelligence than societies based on repression and fear. Unfortunately the fact that there are more democratic countries globally than ever before does not in any way ensure that this trend will be sustained. Democracy and the ideas of a democratic society go back more than 2000 years.

Were Greeks at the time of the first democratic republic of Athens in Ancient Greece

in 510BC more or less emotionally intelligent than Germans under Hitler in 1936? This might sound like a completely erroneous argument, but think about it. With all this new technology are we just going to end up killing each other in more sophisticated ways? Are we bound by cycles of violence because of our very nature?

Just take a look at the backlash to the immigration crisis in Europe and see how easy it is to slip back to the natural human reaction - dividing people between us and them, making 'them' into less worthy human beings who are dangerous therefore pose a threat to our society. And up come the walls, loud are the nationalistic leaders and revived are the extremist groups. And yet we call ourselves a tolerant and progressive society.

Note that the advancement of digital technology has not helped, it is only amplifying the existing differences between us in digital space (read 'A disconnect in the age of digital' on page 30).

So if the cycle is upon us again, then ask yourself, do we have the power to break it.

It would take a substantial departure from historic norms not to turn new technology into advantages of power, develop ever more sophisticated means of control and domination. And what of AI and military? Some technologies are so powerful they are nearly irresistible and militaries are coming to the same conclusion with regards to Artificial Intelligence. Building a new breed of military equipment with AI is a question of when and not if. Many of the great tech thinkers and companies have warned of dangers of AI and have signed on to a document swearing not to build autonomous weapons. Among these are Elon Musk, Demis Hassabis (Google's DeepMind project) and Jeff Dean (Chocolate Factory's AI lab).

This is the step in the right direction, but does humanity have the strength, the collective intelligence, to truly progress, emotionally progress and to do so on a systemic level.

Emotional intelligence starts with every

individual - having self-awareness of emotions, self-management of impulsive feelings, empathy towards emotions, needs and concerns of others, as well as ability to build good relationships and manage conflict. Fortunately emotional intelligence (EI) can be learned and schools, which implemented such programs are seeing positive results. This needs to move to a systemic level in our education systems. We need to start in kindergartens and primary schools as well as reach families, communities and businesses. That truly is an investment into a better future.

We are now aware of the fact that EI is a key skill set for leaders, yet we do not place any minimum requirements on our top government leadership. Heads of state should be emotionally intelligent people. Period. Without having this skill, you do not qualify to lead a nation, to make decisions, which will impact on society for decades, to make history.

It is painfully clear that we have not yet graduated to this level, that we set considerably lower standards for ourselves and consequently for our leaders. But if we educate the coming generations they may make better decisions.

Can we become an emotionally intelligent society? I believe we should certainly strive towards it, as the next great leap in human progress. We need to take an introspective view of ourselves, and improve relations on a societal level to lessen conflict and pave the way to a more peaceful and secure future for generations to come.

The concept of an emotional intelligent society is still in its nascent stage and history may well catch up with us again. Given that we are enjoying a relative period of peace in the West then what are we leaving to our children? The signs of trouble are already on the horizon - regression of democracy globally, rising nationalism in Europe and the US.

We have always been known for great leaps. But our greatest leap forward will be steering technological progress away from destruction. ●

Towards inclusive growth – an easy goal to set, a complex path to plot

Despite the economic growth in Europe it has not worked for everyone the same way, hence a level of anxiety that is felt across many countries. How do we achieve inclusive growth and ensure broader prosperity?

/ By Dr. Christian Ketels, Chief Economist, The BCG Bruce Henderson Institute

European economies have climbed their way back out of the deep dislocations from first the global and then the European financial crisis.¹ While these crises have left deep marks, the recent data shows robust growth across European economies. Things have clearly improved, even if there are a range of clouds on the horizon from both the global policy context and the unresolved issues within Europe.

But even now, with the headline figures still looking good, a tangible sense of anxiety remains present across many societies. And it is not so much about what might be ahead – it is already about how the growth of the recent past has played out. The rising tide has lifted many boats – unemployment is down, and getting into the labor force remains the key path towards prosperity – but it has not worked for everyone the same way. Wage growth has remained sluggish, and tilted towards the top end of the income distribution. Many of the new jobs created since the crisis even in economic powerhouses like Germany provide meager incomes. The pockets of unemployment remaining, often predominantly filled by migrants and the low skilled, are hard to tackle. Entire regions seem left behind;² the OECD has reported increasing economic divergence within countries even as convergence across countries has continued.³ And the pressure on public spending following the crisis have raised a sense of exposure among those reliant on public support.

Overall, then, we are increasingly facing a challenge to achieve inclusive growth, not only growth on average. But how can we ensure that prosperity gains are broadly shared?

What economic policy can do

Macroeconomic demand-side approaches to achieving inclusion have little credibility left – while headline growth is up temporarily, it is often not sustainable and doesn't 'trickle down'. Traditional supply-side policies focused on innovation and productivity offer more sustained growth benefits. But their returns seem to be equally unbalanced across society, benefiting disproportionately those with high skills and entrepreneurial drive. And traditional social policies also offer no sustainable answer – they have often driven a culture of dependency in regions and individuals, that even new ideas like basic universal income struggle to overcome. Already now the financial viability of many welfare systems is challenged by demographic and other factors.

A new economic policy approach towards inclusive growth is needed: It needs to measure progress differently, and it needs to think differently about who it engages with, and how.

Let's start with *performance measurement*. Traditionally we have looked at economic growth through the lens of GDP and GDP per capita. While the limitations of GDP have been known to economists for some time, its easy availability across countries and over time has retained its widespread use.

The Boston Consulting Group's Sustainable Economic Development Assessment (SEDA)⁴ is one of the new tools available to provide an alternative view. It captures ten dimensions of well-being from economic outcomes to investments to measures of economic, social, and environmental sus-

tainability. Applied to a wide range of countries, SEDA allows an in-depth diagnostic of where a country stands in terms of its broader development, whether it is able to improve its sustainable economic development, how it translates GDP into this broader measure of progress, and how growth in GDP is related to growth in sustainable development.

You can't manage what you can't measure. Changing how you measure economic development is the first step towards achieving a different kind of economic development.

The second step is to translate broad ambitions for economic development into *specific actions*. This has two dimensions – who you work with, and what you actually do.

Current practices aim to achieve growth along two main axes, often managed by different parts of the public sector:

One set of activities focuses on the 'top of the pyramid' – the firms, regions, and individuals that have the highest potential to succeed. This makes a lot of sense in terms of having an impact and getting a return on public policy. The challenge is that there is no automatic mechanism to translate any success at the top to success across the board.

Another set of activities focuses on 'those that need support' – i.e. those reporting lower levels of performance. Again, reasonable

A new economic policy approach towards inclusive growth is needed: It needs to measure progress differently, and it needs to think differently about who it engages with, and how.

when thinking about where public action is truly adding something that is not happening automatically. The challenge is that the success in getting low performers to improve is much lower than in making high performers even better; too much ends up being a sort of social policy-intervention, not a trigger for sustained growth.

An inclusive growth approach sets development goals engaging all firms, regions, and individuals. Broad-based success requires shifting the entire distribution, not only extending its right-hand tail. It means working also with the 'average' firm, not just the top performers that self-select to participate in advanced innovation and export support programs. It means also focusing on the re-skilling of the 'average' employee, not just the top researcher, coder, or entrepreneur. And it means development strategies for all regions, not only those that either face an immediate crisis or have a shot at becoming a global hotspot.

Such an approach then needs to overcome a false trade-off between supporting excellence and subsidizing those that need help. Shared prosperity growth and inclusion require all parts of the economy to improve their performance, recognizing that what it takes to get there will differ significantly across groups. Supporting the use of new technologies, not only creating them or giving them away. Supporting scale up, not just start up or staying where you are. Supporting middle skills, not just academic excellence. Supporting quality, not just innovation and research. It does not mean a departure from setting high expectations on improvements to be made, even if from a low level.

You can't improve the performance of all if you don't work with all. But you will not succeed if you fail to address the unique



needs each of them has. And you can't improve performance if you compromise on the principle of pushing for all to change, even of those that start at a lower level.

What companies can do

Companies are concerned about the more volatile political context that they are facing in many parts of the world, driven at least in part by the sense of eroding inclusion. One approach is to focus on 'defensive' actions, i.e. raising resilience against policy shocks and lobbying to deflect decisions that might hurt them. Another option is to engage more pro-actively, i.e., engaging in public dialogue, embedding a focus on inclusion in the own business model, and leveraging shared value opportunities.⁵ BCG's work on firms' Total Societal Impact shows that this pro-active approach can drive a mutually reinforcing dynamic of societal benefits and firm success.⁶

Inclusiveness is, as some of our colleagues put it, in 'everyone's best interest'.⁷ Firms have no political mandate and need to be careful about lobbying for specific political objectives. They are, however, an integral part of society that sees and is affected by the implications of the rules and regulations that politics set. They are also a critical part of the solution in how they respond to such incentives and ultimately create the shared prosperity that drives inclusion. Translating these external signals and demands into corporate strategy isn't easy but there is clear pathway for doing so as my colleague Martin Reeves outlined recently.⁸

Firms need to be part of the journey towards more inclusive growth, and contribute the unique insights and capabilities they have as for-profit entities constantly exposed to the existing market dynamics.

Knowing your limits. If the anxiety we experience in our societies would be only an economic problem, it could be solved by an appropriate set of economic policy interventions and company actions. But it is not. The fragmentation we perceive in many places is based on a much more complex mix of factors. Globalization, including migration, and a host of other trends have challenged old patterns of identity and cultural norms. The cohesive power of a range of traditional institutions is waning, and the media landscape is increasingly perceived as exacerbating tensions between different points of view rather than enabling fact-based dialogue.

Economic policies designed to achieve shared prosperity can ease this pressure, but they are on their own not sufficient to address the full set of societal challenges that fuel the existing tensions. It is thus important to embed economic policy actions in a broader strategy to strengthen dialogue within society, and raise individuals' sense of belonging and being-heard in this process.

Achieving inclusive growth when more difficult times are ahead

Policy makers aiming to launch new inclusive growth efforts need to be aware of the changing context in which they will have to operate. The business cycle in many advanced economies is reaching its peak, and the monetary tightening in the US is starting to affect also European economies. The escalating trade policy disputes create real costs for specific industries and locations, and raise the level of uncertainty throughout businesses. In Europe, key choices about the future shape of European integration still have to be made, from the macroeconomic governance of the Euro-zone to achieving political alignment on how to deal with migration and disagreements with some EU member states about fundamental legal principles. There also important decisions to be made about the post-Brexit relationship with the UK, and the multi-year budget for the European Union.

Embedding inclusive growth in the responses to these economic and political challenges is critical. Inclusive growth has the potential to ease the pain of downturns, and ideally even to raise the stability of economies. The more progress is made on these economic dimensions, the easier it will be to find solutions also to the political demands ahead. Inclusive growth is not a luxury to afford oneself in good times, it is of principal importance all the time. ●

Endnotes

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CYBERWEAPON



NATO: resilience, deterrence and defence in cyberspace

NATO's mandate in cyber domain and growing cyber threats; could cyber attacks possibly lead to invocation of Article 5?

/ By Dr. Antonio Missiroli, Assistant Secretary-General for Emerging Security Challenges, NATO

We live in a brave new world where old activities we were all already familiar with – espionage, sabotage, disinformation, disruption and even subversion – have taken new forms. Cyberspace is both a domain in which most of this happens and, arguably, the main conduit for such activities. As a result, these hostile operations do indeed generate less kinetic violence but profit also from lower entry barriers, wider attack surfaces and less visibility. Their range is vast and their frequency an almost daily occurrence – but not all are of equal importance, not all can be deterred, and not all pose significant threats to national or collective security (although some do). Perpetrators themselves may range from state or state-sponsored groups to criminal organizations, from 'hacktivists' to terrorists. And all this occurs in and through a quintessential man-made environment, mostly privately owned (and operated) and only partially governed.

NATO's mandate in the cyber domain is defensive in nature and built upon two main pillars: protecting NATO networks, and enhancing the level of resilience across the 29 (hopefully soon 30) Allies. Since the initial creation of NATO's computer incident response capability in 2002, the Alliance's approach has evolved from addressing cyber defence in primarily technical terms to viewing it as an integral part of NATO's strategic context – in other words, from information assurance to mission assurance. Allies have also acknowledged that cyber attacks can reach a threshold that threatens national and Euro-Atlantic prosperity, security and stability: for NATO, such threshold refers – implicitly or explicitly – to the possible invocation of article 5 of the Washington Treaty. In this vein, cyber defence was recognized at the NATO Summit in Wales in 2014 as part of NATO's core task of collective defence. On the occasion, Allies also affirmed that international law applies in cyberspace – a principle that was reflected also in the 2013 Report of the UN Group of Governmental Experts

(UNGGE) and further articulated in the two iterations (2013 and 2017) of the so-called 'Tallinn Manual' prepared under the aegis of NATO's cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence (CCD COE) in Estonia, an autonomous military organization accredited by the Alliance.

Allies have acknowledged that cyber attacks can reach a threshold that threatens national and Euro-Atlantic prosperity, security and stability: for NATO, such threshold refers to the possible invocation of article 5 of the Washington Treaty.

In an effort to bolster national resilience, Allies adopted a so-called Cyber Defence Pledge at the 2016 NATO summit in Warsaw. Since then, the Pledge has demonstrated its value as a tool to attract strategic-level attention and promote investment (financial, human and political) in cyber defence, raising awareness that the Alliance is only as strong as its weakest link. Allies have recently self-assessed their efforts to implement the Pledge, and a first progress report was presented to the NATO Summit held in Brussels on 11-12 July last. What is already apparent is that virtually every nation has upgraded its cyber defence capabilities over the past couple of years, with a tangible multiplier effect across the Alliance, although additional efforts need to be made in terms of recruitment and retention, training and education, and cyber threat intelligence. It is encouraging to see how much progress Slovenia has made in regard to putting cyber defence on a sound policy footing, for example through ongoing efforts to update the legal framework around cyber security, which will unlock additional resources to improve existing national cyber defence capabilities.

Cyber defence is indeed unconventional in nature, with countries employing different approaches for how they organize themselves to address the issue; yet it is now an integral part of a broader cumulative endeavor to bolster collective resilience against equally unconventional threats, most of which are

situated – at least so far – below the article 5 threshold but can also easily be (come) constitutive elements of more comprehensive and systematic 'hybrid' campaigns.

The Warsaw Summit also brought recognition of cyberspace as a specific domain of military operations where NATO must

be able to defend itself as effectively as it does in the air, at sea and on land. As part of a three-year roadmap to implement this decision, the Alliance is looking into (and developing further) how it thinks, trains,

equips and collaborates in cyberspace. To support this work, NATO Defence Ministers agreed in November 2017 to a set of principles that would guide the integration of the full spectrum of 'effects' generated by national cyber capabilities for mission assurance purposes (mostly through embedded liaison officers), as allied forces and militaries are not immune to cyber risks and increasingly rely on cyberspace to carry out their mandate. This does not and will not change the overall defensive posture of the Alliance, which is also the most effective way to deter potential aggressors.

In cyberspace, just like in the other domains, NATO relies on Allies to provide capabilities for its military operations and missions. Last February, as part of broader efforts to ensure the NATO Command Structure is fit for purpose, Defence Ministers endorsed the creation of a Cyber Operations Centre (CyOC) in Belgium. This centre, which is currently being set up, will help integrate cyber aspects into NATO planning and operations. For its part, the Tallinn-based CCD

COE keeps fostering research and education, capacity-building, cooperation and information-sharing among 17 NATO members and a range of partners.

As an alliance of sovereign states, NATO is not expected to do attribution, which remains a national prerogative and represents an intrinsically complex operation. However, consultation and concertation among Allies – and beyond – in these matters is already a fact, and expressions of collective solidarity to a stricken country a strong possibility. In late May, within the G7 framework, some NATO Allies have also agreed to 'impose consequences' on perpetrators.

NATO does not produce or promote norms either, although it acts in conformity with international law, follows the principles of restraint, proportionality and cooperation, and supports the diplomatic efforts underway in the UN and OSCE. While the prospects for agreeing at multilateral level on new international norms appear challenging in the current international climate, work should continue to implement those norms of responsible state behaviour that have already been agreed in previous UN GGE reports, and to impose consequences on behaviour that is deemed unacceptable.

In fact, cyber defence is a quintessential team sport, and the Alliance recognizes that it cannot go it alone in cyberspace: partnerships are instrumental for strengthening resilience and deterrence. Cyber defence partnerships – including with like-minded countries, international organizations (starting with the European Union, with which a Technical Arrangement was signed in February 2016) as well as industry and academia – constitute an important part of NATO's approach to cooperative security, in full awareness that 21st century frontiers and fortresses are no longer what they used to be. ●

Cyber defence is a quintessential team sport, and the Alliance recognizes that it cannot go it alone in cyberspace: partnerships are instrumental for strengthening resilience and deterrence.



Cyberspace as a new battleground

Next steps towards efficient cyber protection, cybersecurity and a cyber defence system in the Republic of Slovenia

/ By Dobran Božič, Director, Office of the Republic of Slovenia for Protection of Classified Information / Dr. Igor Kotnik, Adviser to the Chief of Defence of the Slovenian Armed Force / Dr. Marko Grobelnik, AI Researcher & Digital Champion of Slovenia at the European Commission / Gregor Lisjak, Slovenian Armed Forces

In recent years, there has been an exponential increase in the use of cyber tools to achieve national security, defence, and even military goals; for this reason, NATO declared cyberspace the fifth domain of operations.¹

The Republic of Slovenia recently adopted the Act on Information Security, which defines a cyber attack as an attack in cyberspace with for purpose of maliciously destroying, exposing, controlling or changing, disabling, collecting, or disrupting any of the parts of cyberspace, including any information that is essential for the state to function without interruptions. Cyberspace is a global information environment created by means of electronic communications networks and information systems.

Due to its characteristics, the cyber domain of operations is the only one that interferes with all other domains and is able to affect the performance of military and defence operations in all other domains. Because it is able to interfere with, and affect, all areas of society, cybernetics is one of the most dangerous tools, and even a weapon for fulfilling national security interests and achieving national goals, both in peace and war. Without using any conventional military resources and without conventional armed forces, such as aircraft, missiles or troops, cybernetics can be used to destroy power, water, and internet supply systems; a transportation collapse can be caused by breaking into transport information systems; floods can be caused by breaking into the control systems of hydro power plant flood gates; financial transactions can be disrupted, blocked, or prevented, and lives can be indirectly threatened by breaking into the information sys-

tems of airports and hospitals. Not even the most cutting-edge conventional weapon systems can help a country fight such an all-encompassing and destructive cyberattack, although this does not mean that a country does not need such conventional weapons.²

With the internet being free and open, with minimum state control, such risks can be reduced, and possible cyberattacks can be prevented only by ensuring the sufficient cyber resilience of all major stakeholders in modern cyberspace – the head of state, the government, (civil) society, and private companies, as well as interactions among these stakeholders. This will allow us to deal with the crux of the issue – how to ensure a synergy among those actors in democratic states that are motivated by differing interests in the field of cybernetics. The leadership is motivated by the wish to stay popular with voters and to stay in power, some even by way of intensively (ab)using cyberspace. The government is motivated by its interest in maintaining national security by intensively controlling cyberspace and developing new offensive/defensive cyber tools. Civil society has an insatiable desire to expand services and maintain freedom in cyberspace. And private companies wish to maximise the profits generated by activities in cyberspace.

Cyber resilience as a social project led by the government

The general public tend to believe that IT companies and IT services are competent to

provide cyberprotection and cybersecurity in cyberspace, and that these companies are responsible for ensuring that information services in a country, in society, public administration, and in companies operate without interruptions. Nowadays, such thinking could not be further from the truth and the needs of national security.

A large percentage of essential activities and structures that could be targets of major cyberattacks on Slovenia is already privately owned, which puts the cyber domain of operation in a unique position compared to other domains. Due to the strategic significance of these activities and structures, even

We want Slovenia to be in the group of leading countries which understand the need for the synergies between military and civilian efforts when managing cyber threats.

those that are state-owned for the national security of the Republic of Slovenia, it is necessary to revise the national security strategy and seek solutions in the spirit of centralised joint cyber defence of all stakeholders, as this is the only way to effectively prevent, restrict, and mitigate the consequences of a possible cyberattack.

The recently adopted Act on Information Security ensures initial solutions in cyber protection and cybersecurity in the Republic of Slovenia, but the very name of the Act shows that it does not contain comprehensive and ambitious solutions in the field of cyber defence.

In 2017, members of a project group working under the auspices of the Government Office for Protection of Classified Information made constant and adamant efforts to seek such solutions, but were unsuccessful in the process of inter-ministerial coordination. Our views and specific proposals relating to the need to include 'cyber defence' in the name of the Act were not heard. This is not just a case of terminology but a more profound, and in our view misguided, perception among key government stakeholders that the use of 'defence' could have a disruptive effect on the public. In our view, military and defence are not synonymous.

We presenting numerous EU documents using this key terminology, such as the Cybersecurity Strategy of the European Union of 2013 which states that defence is a synergy of civil and military efforts (pg 11): "Given that threats are multifaceted, synergies

between civilian and military approaches in protecting critical cyber assets should be enhanced." Furthermore, on page 17, it goes on to say: "To address cybersecurity in a comprehensive fashion, activities should span three key pillars – NIS (Network and Information Security), law enforcement and defence – which also operate within different legal frameworks." Defence at national level encompasses both national defence (in our case, the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Slovenia) as well as other national security authorities (in our case, the Government Office for the Protection of Classified Information, the Ministry of the Interior, etc.).

Considering the great differences between EU Member States, we want Slovenia to be in the group of leading countries which understand the need for the synergies between military and civilian efforts when managing cyber threats.

However it is our opinion that the Act on Information Security still has not fulfilled its main purpose, which is to integrate all coordination tasks in the field of information security and cyber defence within one authority, which is the only rational solution in a country of Slovenia's size. The decentralised nature and complexity of the authorities competent for coordination and operational tasks, as they are currently conceptualised, makes it impossible to operate in a coordinated manner on a daily basis; a great deal of coordination among various authorities located within multiple public authorities and even with the Arnes public institute is required, and this prevents painstaking defence in the case of major cyberattacks.

Considering experience from abroad, namely from Estonia, the results of poor responses are, for example, measured in tens of millions of euros and the country's potentially damaged reputation in the international community. Furthermore, the fragmentation of competent authorities reduces the possibility of achieving sufficient synergies between resources, causes jobs to be duplicated, and increases the need for educated specialist human resources, of which there is already a lack. The restrictions on employment in public administration additionally exacerbate the human resource problem.

One agency means clear lines of authority

In our opinion, it is therefore necessary to establish a single authority in the form of a government office or agency, which would coordinate the field of information security and cyber defence in a centralised manner. The personnel in public administration who already possess the knowledge required to perform the necessary tasks could be reassigned to this single authority, and the tasks and human resources in the field of cyber defence from the Government Office for the Protection of Classified Information and ARNES could also be reassigned there. The government office or agency would, at the same time, be a single point of contact for the entire field of information security and cyber defence for the EU and NATO.

Adopting normative documents to regulate the field would therefore be carried out smoothly with unified thinking and interests. Additional savings could be generated if human resources from various government bodies are concentrated in this single authority. The government office or agency would also be responsible for maintaining constant and close contacts with all of the main stakeholders, including those in the private sector, and it would coordinate with other authorities within the national security system, such as the Ministry of Defence, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Slovenian Intelligence and Security Agency (SOVA), Intelligence and Security Service (OVS), the Ministry of the Interior, etc.

However, most essentially and most importantly, the centralisation and clear lines of

responsibility would exponentially increase responsiveness and the ability to coordinate in the event of an increased cyber threat in Slovenia. The complexity of the lines of responsibility, the large number of competent authorities, and large number of individuals from whom a very quick response is required prevent an immediate, strong, and effective response in the event of increased risk or cyberattack. At the moment of an attack, stress, lack of information, and other factors form "a fog in an emergency situation," i.e. reduced situational awareness, which makes it difficult to make decisions and to respond, and the above-mentioned structural problems then unnecessarily additionally hinder decision-making and responses.

Ensuring cooperation of private sector

Due to the fact that a large proportion of significant infrastructure and companies that are important for defence are privately owned, it is necessary to establish relationships with all stakeholders, which will not be primarily based on laws and coercion, but mainly on trust and cooperation. A single

'Society hacking' has been proven to work even against well established democracies, so small countries and young democracies in particular should seek effective measures and solutions to increase the resilience of our society to such influences.

authority, government office, or agency with all of the necessary authorisations in the field of information security and cyber defence could credibly establish and foster relationships with stakeholders, thus more easily involving them in cooperation. In particular, it should be understood that when ensuring information security and cyber security, the regulatory function of the government is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition – cyber resilience is based on a cybersecurity culture, which cannot be guaranteed by the regulatory function of the government, but can be promoted and positively sanctioned.

In a free society, it is difficult to coerce companies into fruitful cooperation, so we propose a two-tier system of establishing standards in the field of information security and cyber defence. According to the currently valid Act on Information Security, companies that provide essential or digital services must meet minimum security standards, which will be presented soon. In our opinion, all of these companies should be subject to penetration tests once or twice a year, performed by a third, independent authority, which would in practice verify the level of the company's protection. At the same time, higher standards for company protection would be established, which companies could meet voluntarily.

In addition to penetration tests, these companies would also be subject to certification, whereby they would acquire a certificate of excellence in the field of cyber protection. For the sake of comparison, we would just like to state the field of confidential data protection. The companies that currently meet all the conditions for handling confidential data and that are verified by the Government Office for the Protection of Classified Information are seen as more credible and professional by local and foreign partners. A

similar system would also be established in the field of cyber protection. Certified companies would also be given some tax relief, as their high level of protection directly contributes to Slovenia's greater national security. For certified entities that pass penetration tests and meet a higher level of security standards, the government could potentially act as an insurance undertaking or reinsurance undertaking in the event of hacks into their information systems, thus additionally encouraging investments in development and preventive measures by the entities involved.

What happens if the target of a cyberattack is the society as a whole?

Every society is a conglomerate of various social sub-groups, layers, interest groups, and sub-cultures which are connected into a whole by various connective elements, values, tradition, identities, religion, culture, etc. Social stability as a whole is inversely proportional to the number of social sub-groups and proportional to the strength of the connective elements. Because the number of social sub-groups is difficult to change

in the short term, the quickest and most effective way to reduce the social stability of society as a whole is to undermine the strength of its connective elements.

In recent years, the world has wit-

nessed the development of what is known as hybrid warfare, which, in addition to conventional methods, also applies indirect and softer methods of affecting the enemy by weakening his internal structure and willingness to resist and defend, with the goal of his collapse, defeat, and subordination. In this context, cyber tools and social networks have been increasingly used to cause division and polarisation in target societies. At first glance, this is nothing new, but what is new is the difference in the resources used. From the past, we are familiar with the strategy of non-conventional warfare (hybrid warfare), but the effects were more difficult to achieve than now, when, in addition to applying conventional means, cyberspace and social networks can also be used to achieve the same goals. Such methods are no longer used only in wars and in crisis hotspots, but, without being aware of the fact, we are increasingly exposed to them in completely peaceful times as well. Something similar was tested in the period ahead of the American presidential elections in 2016, the objective result of which is the currently deeply politically split and polarised American society.

If we imagine that there is an enemy who wishes to weaken the internal coherence of NATO and/or the EU, then this enemy's targets would probably be one of the smaller, more fragile, or weaker links in this chain. The enemy would attack this link by using fake news and other methods to additionally polarise society on the basis of currently polarising social topics or events or something similar arising from the recent history of the target country/society. A split and polarised society is, historically, much more vulnerable to a physical attack or at least to influences on democratic, economic, and other processes in society. These are very serious methods that have been proven to work, i.e. "society

hacking," even against well established democracies, so small countries and young democracies in particular should seek effective measures and solutions to increase the resilience of our society to such influences.

Why is "society hacking" now possible and can potentially be very dangerous?

Social processes and interactions are now traceable much more than in the past, and at significantly lower cost. The devices that we use or even just carry around (smart phones, computers) leave digital traces of people's living habits and lifestyles. Furthermore, those who collect and aggregate such traces left by individuals also see the digital footprint left by social sub-groups and society as a whole, its internal cohesion and mainly the dynamics that can show or even predict where the society as a whole is headed. If we take into account that society can be affected through the media (traditional or social), there is a full circle (closed loop), which enables people's mentality to be manipulated and the situation in a society to be directed.

In other words – to operate a complex device, such as a car, two types of levers are needed: a steering wheel to change directions and a pedal to accelerate/stop the vehicle. It is similar in society – it can be managed with a relatively small number of levers. By maliciously taking over social levers, it is possible, for example, to exacerbate the polarisation of opinions in a society and encourage the process of the disintegration of social structures.

The development of analytical techniques for collecting and analysing social data experienced a significant upsurge after 2001 (due to major investments in such technologies after 11 September 2001). In part, this development also affected the emergence of the social media industry, which requires the management of (typically) smaller segments of society in order to function. However, the techniques and methodologies to understand and control larger or smaller parts of a society are the same (due to 'scale free' nature of social dynamics). So, what is the current situation? Those who have information on how a society operates (there are quite a few such actors – from industry to intelligence services) and possess the technology necessary to monitor and influence society (which is mostly available for free) can monitor the movement of social flows in an unimposing and quite inconspicuous manner. The tools used to change society, however, also have counter-tools, which must be used; but to do so, there has to be some awareness, knowledge, and access to data. It appears that at present there is a lack of awareness of the fact that such malicious changes to people's mentality pose a major potential threat.

Similarly, due to the fast spread of digitalisation and artificial intelligence in all of the developed industrial countries, discussions should be had on the topic of what is known as digital communism, i.e. a period in which most of our work will be taken over by robots and we will gradually be rendered useless in conventional work processes and roles. How can we prepare for this situation, which will most likely be unavoidable, and how can we maintain a high level of social cohesion and resilience? Certainly, it will be difficult, unpredictable, and risky; however, it will be much easier with an adequate system and a suitable level of cyber protection, cybersecurity, and cyber defence.

Cyber defence is our responsibility

In society at large, there should be an awareness of the fact that information protection and security as well as cyber defence are our common responsibility – of the government and of every individual and, of course, companies that are publicly or privately owned. Leaving information protection and security and cyber defence exclusively to IT experts is wrong and short-sighted, as this approach fails to take into sufficient consideration broader and more complex national security aspects.

Despite positive shifts in information protection and security and cyber defence in the Republic of Slovenia in the past two years, there has been a great dispersal of interests in drafting legislation as well as many inadequacies, due to which our normative regulations currently prevent quick, effective, financially and HR-optimal responses to more intensive threats in cyberspace. By amending the legislation in the field of information security, centralised coordination of the information security and cyber defence system should be established, which would define clear lines of responsibility, establish a clear system of standards, and optimise the functioning of the government and society in this field with regard to operations, human resources, and finances. Furthermore, the resilience of society to hybrid warfare and other forms of cyberspace abuses must be increased, and in the long term, preparations should be made for a gradual, unimposing, and safe transition to a period known as digital communism. ●

Continued from page 1

We do not have to look very far to see the ruptures and cracks. The European Union is currently facing many of them. The most obvious is Brexit, of course. It will influence policies, security, the economy, and the everyday life of so many people. We should all really strive to make it effective, mutually acceptable and with the least possible damage to all that unites the European continent. At the same time, we should keep the process of EU enlargement alive. It is the best mechanism for encouraging reforms, fostering economic growth and helping dialogue prevail over differences and conflicts.

After all, the process of European integration is one of the best examples of bridge building – its history shows us that even the most hopeless destruction, misery and distrust can be overcome by focusing on the future, on practical needs and common economic interests. We should use the overwhelming global consensus on the importance of fair and sustainable development for all in order to enhance global cooperation, mutual support and wide-ranging trust.

But it is not only high-level politics or multibillion deals that can make a difference and bring us closer together. All fields, all steps matter. With this in mind, we will address the pressing issue of gender equality, because it is high time we recognised that treating everybody equally, fairly and with full respect will make all of us stronger; it will enable every individual to develop her or his potential to the fullest.

We will talk about diasporas, their role and power in today's world. These are people with two homes, but one heart, in which the old and the new are closely connected.

Several debates will focus on the digital and cyber world. This is a realm of unprec-

edented technological development. This is where the world becomes small, where all knowledge is a few clicks away, where new ideas are encouraged and not frowned upon. But it can also be a dangerous place; it can alienate us from one another; it can provide a platform for criminal and terrorist activities, and it can be a tool for abuse. These challenges are global and relatively new. We are pleased that there is a cross-sectoral and global consensus that they should be addressed, and we are happy to facilitate these debates.

In the year in which we are marking the 20th anniversary of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, Bled Strategic Forum will again address the challenging field of international criminal justice. Fighting impunity for atrocities and the most heinous crimes is one of the core elements of reconciliation, healing and re-building communities and societies torn by conflict, violence and despair. Providing justice for victims is a priceless investment in the future.

Another cornerstone of our common future is, of course, the young generation. The young deserve to be treated with respect, to be protected and to be given space and opportunities for all their hopes, ideas and ambitions. This year's Young BSF will reflect on the role of youth in conflict prevention, and underline their role in trust-building efforts.

The Forum will also address the important role of sport in today's world. Sport is always a great means of bringing people together, and it is an especially important learning tool for the young – to teach them how to work together, how to respect an opponent and how results can come only from dedicated work.

Building bridges over big or small divides requires tools. One of the Forum's panels will focus on mediation as a basic

conflict-prevention tool. Mediators are at work every day in practically all contemporary international crisis situations. We look forward to hearing experts discuss the potential, challenges and future of mediation.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It has been my honour to host seven Bled Strategic Forums in my capacity as minister of foreign affairs. The Forum has always promoted knowledge, experience and trust, as we believe in the power of dialogue, arguments and listening to different opinions, suggestions and views.

I would like to thank you all for supporting the Forum, which, with your help and active participation, has become one of the most important meeting places in Central and South Eastern Europe for strategic and forward-looking dialogue.

I am convinced that the Forum will continue to grow, and that you will be our guests for many years to come. Let the Bled Strategic Forum be the bridge between us. ●

Endnotes

- 1 The other four are land, sea, air, and space.
- 2 This means that cybertools and cyberweapons will not replace conventional military resources, but will only complement them. For this reason, it would be wrong to abandon the future development of conventional military defence capabilities; in the context of the development of the defence capabilities of the Republic of Slovenia, the relationship between conventional and cyber means of defence is perform complementary.





ICC: too important to falter

The international criminal justice project and its role in building a more secure law-based global order

/ By Fatou Bensouda, Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court

It was perhaps inevitable that the *international criminal justice project*, with the International Criminal Court (“ICC” or the “Court”) as its central pillar, should be a child of war. It was conceived in the wake of centuries of human suffering and conflict where lawless violence and impunity wreaked havoc on the lives of countless victims – and left so many behind, without recourse to justice. For centuries, unchecked atrocities as merely politics by other means remained the norm.

Never Again and a rejection of this status quo was the strong message that the international community sent two decades ago with the adoption of the Rome Statute, the treaty that established the ICC. The discipline has come a long way. Thanks to a collective effort, with input from across the globe, it is here and ever evolving. The region where we gather for the *Bled Strategic Forum* has memories of the torment of war. Its inhabitants know all too well the horror of its lessons and the value of accountability for atrocity crimes.

The vagaries of human behaviour dictate that there will be regional and geographical hotspots of conflict and violence. They shift and change location over time. Ultimately, then, international criminal justice serves

humanity as a whole. Its beneficiaries are not limited to one people, one nation, one region of the world. That is why it is crucial to support its progress notwithstanding the challenges.

Historically, international criminal justice built on the important achievements – however imperfect – of the trials in Nuremberg and Tokyo following World War Two, which in many ways triggered a paradigm shift in thinking. Benefitting from a post-Cold War sense of urgency to establish a permanent institution to ensure a measure of accountability and to deter atrocity crimes, the ICC became a reality at the Rome Conference, in 1998. Representatives of over 120 States from all continents, reflecting different legal backgrounds and cultures, supported by the robust activism of civil society and victims’ groups, adopted the Rome Statute. Thus was born the world’s first permanent, independent court with jurisdiction over genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. As of the 17th of July of this year, the Court may also try the crime

of aggression, an immensely important development in and of itself. This year marks the 20th anniversary of that crucial event in modern history, which changed the world for the better.

The Rome Statute created more than just a Court. It created an interdependent system

Without an international criminal justice system and the ICC as its nucleus, humanity would regress into a more turbulent world where chaos, volatility and violence are the norm.

of international criminal justice, based mainly on two key concepts: complementarity, meaning States retain their primacy of jurisdiction and bear first responsibility to investigate and prosecute Rome Statute crimes; and cooperation, requiring States Parties to comply with the Court’s requests for cooperation. Importantly, in contrast to other international criminal tribunals, the Rome Statute has a potential for global reach and does not predefine specific situations for investigation. For every decision, every determination and every action I undertake as Prosecutor, I ad-

here strictly to the Rome Statute’s legal dictates – the Court’s jurisdictional parameters, the sovereignty of genuine national proceedings, and always with the victims in mind. It is my Office, with authorisation of the Court’s judges where required, that ultimately determines when and where the Court exercises jurisdiction.

These features make the Rome Statute system unique and dynamic; the Court and a myriad of other actors interact at various levels and in both bilateral and multilateral settings. Notably, in the discharge of its mandate

under the Statute, the Office of the Prosecutor interacts with national law enforcement agencies and judiciaries, networks of specialized organizations, specialized courts and tribunals, other rule of law actors, conflict mediators, human rights advocates, academics, and beyond. In this diversity and dynamism where collaboration is key to securing results lie the strength and true value of the system. It is also the recipe to overcome challenges, in particular at a time when the notion and benefits of a multilateralism seem to be devalued or underappreciated.



varying degrees of cooperation - in particular concerning the arrest and surrender of suspects wanted by the Court.

In spite of such hurdles, the Court is slowly changing norms by its very existence. In humanity's evolutionary progress, seldom have major achievements travelled the path of least resistance. The Court's work is necessary to foster a more rules-based global order and to tame the otherwise lawless reality of war and conflict. Human tragedies unfolding daily on the news reinforce the pressing need to continue to fight the good fight against impunity for the world's gravest international crimes, and in the hopes of preventing future atrocities. This is a necessary task - indeed, responsibility - to which I, along with my Office, are firmly committed.

The conviction of Mr Lubanga Dyilo, the ICC's first case, in the DRC situation, relayed a clear warning across the globe that enlisting and conscripting children into armed groups and using them to participate actively in hostilities is a crime and must be stopped.

More recently, the conviction of Mr Al Mahdi in the Mali situation was the first time that the destruction of historic monuments and buildings dedicated to religion was prosecuted as a war crime at the ICC. This too sets an important precedent in a world where cultural heritage is increasingly targeted and destroyed in the context of armed conflict. These are serious crimes that need to be prosecuted and deterred. These are also issues of global concern that require a global response and organised collaboration between the relevant actors. We need to build on this recognition and existing efforts to preserve our common heritage.

In accordance with my prosecutorial duty under the Statute to determine where the Court's intervention may be warranted, my Office is currently also analysing a further nine situations to determine if a reasonable basis exists to investigate. These are Colombia, Gabon, Guinea, Iraq (over alleged conduct of UK forces), Nigeria, Palestine, Ukraine, Venezuela and the Philippines. Ad-

ditionally, last year, my Office requested ICC judges to authorise investigations in Afghanistan, and we have recently approached ICC judges, in a novel step, to clarify a specific question of jurisdiction concerning the situation of the Rohingya.

These activities respond to ever-increasing calls for justice. They also demonstrate our commitment to make full and responsible use of the Rome Statute to contribute where alleged atrocities are committed, by investigating and prosecuting such crimes

The Court's work is necessary to foster a more rules-based global order and to tame the otherwise lawless reality of war and conflict.

where appropriate, without fear or favour.

As the Court thus forges ahead with its mandate, the 20th anniversary of the adoption of the Rome Statute is an opportunity for all involved in the global system of international criminal justice to take joint stock of its achievements and challenges. Events such as the *Bled Strategic Forum* allow us to renew our joint commitment to promoting the rule of law, a fundamental precondition for more peaceful and prosperous societies. In doing so, we must also seek to foster a richer awareness and understanding of the Rome Statute and its important goals. Today, the Court benefits from the membership of 123 States Parties, including Slovenia and 17 other Eastern European states. More states ought to consider joining the ICC family of nations, and lend their support to the international criminal justice project.

The Rome Statute drafters clearly recognised the intrinsic link between peace and justice. A lesson of history is that sustainable

peace and stable societies where all citizens enjoy basic rights and fundamental guarantees are built on more solid foundation when impunity for atrocity crimes has been meaningfully addressed and a culture of accountability has been cultivated. This, in turn, is key to prevention. Without it, we cannot hope to protect future generations from such destabilizing crimes.

We must ensure the continued march and progress of the international criminal justice project in the modern era. It is too important to falter. The ever-evolving international criminal justice system will ultimately thrive in the face of challenges and the current assault on multilateralism and multilateral institutions. It will do so not because of any idealistic

self-deception, but because it stands for a powerful idea, and in the market of ideas and ideologies, it is those that have wide appeal and advance the human experience that ultimately win the day.

Without an international criminal justice system and the ICC as its nucleus, humanity would regress into a more turbulent world where chaos, volatility and violence are the norm. This, humanity must not and cannot allow. The victims embroiled in devastating conflicts, past or present, and the need to protect future generations from the scourge of lawless wars and conflict are the real drivers of the fight against impunity. They deserve our unshakable resolve, in word and in deed. "To Justice Pledged in Our Domain", the 19th century Slovenian poet, *France Prešeren*, eloquently wrote. May our commitment to justice and the values of the Rome Statute guide us as we work collectively with likeminded partners to build a more secure, law-based global order. ●

Paradoxically, we must also be vigilant to prevent this diversity, or interdependence, from becoming an Achilles heel: while the Court is doing its part, as the system's engine, it cannot act alone. Concerted - and genuine - efforts of all actors within the system are essential for success. In particular, the ICC's impact depends on the level of political, diplomatic, operational and financial support it receives for its activities from States Parties. That support is crucial, and as custodians of the Rome Statute and its values, States Parties must, first and foremost, champion the goals of the Statute and its implementation in practice.

Since its operational start in 2003, the Office of the Prosecutor at the ICC has opened investigations in eleven situations: the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Uganda, two in the Central African Republic, Darfur, Libya, Kenya, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Georgia, and, most recently, Burundi.

We have experienced successes and setbacks in the courtroom. Investigating and prosecuting atrocity crimes comes with their challenges. The Court faces complex operating environments, strict legal criteria and thresholds, large scale criminality and insecurity on the ground, changing political climates, dwindling resource capacity and



On the way to the rule of law in the international community

Commemorating two major anniversaries: The establishment of the International Law Commission 70 years ago and the adoption of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court 20 years ago

/ By Dr. Ernest Petrič, Professor of International Law, Member of International Law Commission

The year 2018 saw important anniversaries. Most importantly, we commemorated the centenary of the end of the First World War – the end of battlefield massacre in Europe and elsewhere and the deaths of civilians due to disease, hunger, violence, and other hardships of war. The year 1918 not only marked the end of the War, but also the beginning of the demise of Europe's global domination and the beginning of the end of the era of the Western world's imperialism. Furthermore, it marked the start of the consolidation of new ideas, ideas of international organisation that should ensure world peace, ideas of national self-determination, and of human rights protection – at that time, primarily the protection of national minority rights. However, most of these ideas entered international relations and international law only after 1945.

A hundred years ago, the world witnessed also the emergence of the concept of the rule of law in international relations and the concept of individual criminal responsibility for violations of international law, and soon after 1918, the first international organisation, the League of Nations, was established to ensure collective security, as well as the first permanent international tribunal, the Permanent Court of International Justice, and the first international human rights regime imposing obligations, which sought to ensure respect for, and protection of, national minority rights, although only a few states were included.

Another cataclysm followed; it took another European collapse, in the Second World War, for the seeds of a new global order underpinned by respect for human dignity to grow in the international arena. It was only after the Second World War that the world witnessed the dawning of the recognition that the international order should be based on the rule of law, the peaceful resolution of disputes, respect for human dignity, basic human rights, and individual criminal responsibility under international law.

With regard to the emergence of a new global order founded on the rule of law, the year 2018 commemorates two major anniversaries: the establishment of the International Law Commission 70 years ago and the adoption of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court 20 years ago. I would like to devote a few more words to the two anniversaries – which are vital for limiting the rule of power and for promoting the rule of law in the international community – and to the work of the International Law Commission and the International Criminal Court, particularly after the ceremonies at UN headquarters in New York and Geneva and at the seat of the International Criminal Court in The Hague. This year's Bled Strategic Forum also plans a panel discussion on international criminal responsibility and the International Criminal Court, the promotion of the rule of law in the international community, and the maintenance of international peace, security, respect for human rights and prosperity around the globe, which are all founded on the rule of law.

The founders of the new international order, of the UN system, were aware that coherent international legal rules are needed in order to consolidate the rule of law in international relations. International law was still in its infancy upon the creation of the UN system in 1945. International law was in that time mainly customary international law, i.e. not in written form. This gave rise to issues of clarity, precision, and *lex certa* in international law since the actual content of customary international law rules was not precisely stipulated in writing, and, consequently, the question of how a rule or principle of international law was to be interpreted was in each case very acute. If international law were to become the foundation of the rule of law in the international community, its precise formulation, its clarity, was necessary, also due to the increasing intensity and complexity of international relations. The need for clear international law, stipulated in writing and confirmed, codified by states as international law in order to ensure legally safe communication between states, was made even more pressing by the Cold War. The resulting ideological division of the world, and often fundamentally different values and different interpretation of legal concepts also required clarity of international law, its codification.

The vision and ambition of the founders of the United Nations were for international

Without the International Law Commission's work, the rule of law in the international community would rest on tenuous foundations, and international law – the basis of the international rule of law – would be less developed.

relations to no longer be settled by means of power, but rather by international law, so one of the tasks of this new global organisation that they defined in the Charter was the progressive development and codification of international law. Norms of international law are established by state practice, primarily through agreements on what the law is that regulates relations between states in numerous fields of their international activities and cooperation. A special UN organ was to be established to make recommendations to states about what the already existing customary international law was, as well as recommendations on how to develop new international legal rules to regulate cooperation between states that was not yet regulated by customary international law. This UN organ is the International Law Commission, which this year is celebrating its 70th anniversary.

It would be difficult to imagine the complex legal regulation of today's diverse international cooperation if this Commission had not assisted states in codifying and progressively developing international law. The results of the 70 years' work of the Commission include more than twenty drafts of multilateral international conventions, which became binding internationally. They today regulate fundamental issues of relations among states, including diplomatic and consular activities, multilateral diplomacy, rules regulating international treaties, suc-

cession of states concerning debts, property, and treaties, international legal rules that regulate major issues in maritime relations between states, and many others. Also, the Commission has produced numerous documents, though not formally binding, in the form of conclusions, principles, draft articles, and guiding rules clarifying important international legal issues like responsibility of states, protection of persons in case of natural disasters, fragmentation of international law etc.

The Commission was faced with the problem of responsibility of individuals under international law and before international tribunals at the very beginning of its work, when it adopted the Nuremberg principles of international law. It laid foundations of international criminal law concerning, *inter alia*, individual criminal responsibility under international law, including the responsibility of the highest state officials regardless of the fact whether an official was acting on superior orders. It defined crimes against peace (aggression), war crimes, and crimes against humanity as crimes under international law, i.e. the crimes of which war criminals were convicted after the Second World War at the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials. The Commission was again faced with the issue of individual criminal responsibility under international law when drafting the Rome Statute, which did establish the first permanent international criminal court and also defined its powers and the crimes under its jurisdiction.

Without the Commission's work, the rule of law in the international community would rest on tenuous foundations, and international law – the basis of the international rule of law – would be less developed.

Today, the Commission continues to help states with the development and codification of international law. However on its 70th anniversary the Commission continues to face a series of problems. A major one is that states should make use of the Commission's work and its knowledge more often; the Commission brings together 34 independent leading experts on international law who are

from all around the world and represent all the principal legal systems. The Commission can help states to identify and define existing or future international law also in cases of topical international political and legal issues. An example of this concerns the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination. According to the UN Charter, this principle is one of the fundamental principles of the modern international legal order. But concerning precise establishment in international law of the right of all peoples to self-determination several legal questions about this principle remain unanswered and are left for consideration at the political level, including:

- who is entitled to the right to self-determination,
- what is the legal content of the principle, the modalities of its application, restrictions and limitations to it
- and most importantly, the relationship between the right of peoples to self-determination and the equally fundamental principle of international law on sovereign equality and the territorial integrity of existing states.

Who else, if not the International Law Commission, can offer states some conclusions and recommendations on these and other issues from the perspective of international law?

The world is witnessing increasingly complex international relations and growing international cooperation, which requires the development of international law. Consequently, the Commission's work and intensive cooperation between the Commission and the UN General Assembly, i.e. states, in determining and developing international law as the basis for the rule of law in the international community is of crucial importance. One might hope that the attention given to the International Law Commission at its 70th anniversary is a proof of relevance of its contribution to the rule of law in international community and of the interest of states for its future work.

After lengthy negotiations 20 years ago, the majority of states, greatly supported by many civil society organisations, voted for the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. The first drafts of the Statute were prepared by the International Law Commission. Following its signing and ratification

by the required number of states, the Statute entered into force in 2002, establishing the International Criminal Court with its seat in The Hague. This was a historic step in establishing criminal responsibility for the most horrible crimes under international law, i.e. genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, the crime of aggression, which might be typically committed by heads of state and political and military and other leaders themselves, although states often fail

Court's establishment has fulfilled the aspiration that no one will go unpunished for the crime of genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and the crime of aggression. The first step in this direction was the establishment of ad hoc international tribunals for war criminals from states, which were defeated in the Second World War, such as the Nuremberg and Tokyo tribunals, as well as the tribunals established after the Balkan wars, the Rwandan genocide, and the

jurisdiction which were committed not only in their own countries, but around the globe in the context of international conflicts they were involved in.

The lack of universal jurisdiction impairs the Court's effectiveness and compromises its authority. However, the absence of the 'great' states and their influence on the Court's work is perhaps even welcome in this period, when the Court has only been building its reputation as an independent permanent international criminal tribunal. Perhaps the efforts to achieve universal jurisdiction will eventually prove successful, especially if the Court establishes itself as an effective and independent international criminal tribunal, which ensures that through its jurisdiction, although subsidiary, no perpetrator of the most serious crimes will go unpunished.

The Court's establishment was a historic breakthrough in establishing the rule of law in the international community, as were the incorporation into the UN Charter of respect for, and protection of, human rights and the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination, and the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. If Stefan Zweig were still alive, he could justly regard also the establishment of the International Criminal Court as one of the historic achievements that have taken humankind to the stars.

The Court is still establishing itself as an effective international institution, and it is having to deal with several problems: In addition to the lack of universal jurisdiction, the Court has faced a lack of sufficient support from States Parties to the Rome Statute and the sometimes questionable selection of judges. The latter is a problem that I encountered during my several years as a member of the Advisory Committee on Nominations of Judges to the International Criminal Court, which helps States Parties select judges. Nevertheless, the proposals for nominations of

judges have been improving, owing also to the Committee's work, which also has a preventive effect, and because of civil society's involvement and demands.

In recent years, the Court has been criticised as being one-sided and dealing only with crimes and perpetrators in Africa. This criticism has given rise to ideas of regional international criminal tribunals, which, however, would be a step backwards, not forwards. Regional criminal tribunals would be subject to even greater regional political influence, they would depend on the will of regional powers, and their independence would be under even greater pressure. They would have weaker authority than the International Criminal Court, while also facing greater organisational, financial and other difficulties. The criticism that crimes committed in Europe have not been brought before the Court does not take into account that several hundred cases from Europe which would have fallen within the Court's jurisdiction if it had already been operating then were prosecuted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.

The rule of law in the international community is founded on international law, respect for, and protection of, human rights, and the international jurisdiction to prosecute the most serious crimes under international law. Those responsible for such crimes must be prosecuted either before national or international courts. The rule of law at the national and international levels provides the basis for the security, justice and prosperity of all humankind. The rule of law is especially important to states, which cannot pursue their goals in the international community by means of power, but only by means of international law. Like any law also international law and the rule of law in the international community ensure the protection of rights of all, however in particular it protects the weak. ●

If Stefan Zweig were still alive, he could justly regard also the establishment of the International Criminal Court as one of the historic achievements that have taken humankind to the stars.

or refuse or fail to prosecute them before national courts. As emphasised on the 20th anniversary of the Rome Statute by the President of the Assembly of States Parties, Mr O-Gon Kwon, the International Criminal Court is now an integral part of the international system, and its work contributes to the development of the rule of law, the promotion of human rights, and to a more peaceful and secure world.

crimes in Sierra Leone in the 1990s. The latter were *ad hoc* international criminal tribunals for crimes committed in those wars, among them the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, and were established by the UN Security Council.

The International Criminal Court, on the other hand, is a permanent tribunal forming part of the modern international legal order, which is based on states' sovereignty. Therefore, the Court has jurisdiction only over crimes committed on the territory of States Parties to the Rome Statute and by States Parties' nationals. A great majority of states has acceded to the Rome Statute, thus accepting the Court's jurisdiction, with the exception of some others, among them the three permanent members of the UN Security Council, i.e. China, the United States, and the Russian Federation, as well as India, Pakistan, Israel, and Iran, – the very states whose leaders could be hypothetically held responsible for crimes under the Court's ju-

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Building bridges, making history

Opening doors to the future: Macedonian perspective of the historic agreement with Greece on name change

/ By Nikola Dimitrov, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia

Good faith, openness, trust, self-confidence, as well as mutual respect and understanding, have been the pillars on which Macedonian neighborly policy was built over the course of the past 15 months. We decided to build bridges of trust and cooperation rather than walls and fences. The only markers we have placed are the sharp boundaries between hope and vision on the one hand and uncertainty and fear on the other.

In June last year, the newly formed government of the Republic of Macedonia made a diplomatic push to present the country's new face, to repair its international standing and to improve its neighborly relations. The first breakthrough came with the landmark Friendship agreement with Bulgaria – signed on August 1st 2017. It heralded a historic opportunity, which was grasped, and also paved the way for a similarly open, conciliatory and a proactive approach in the relations with Greece. Following a year marked by confidence building and intensive negotiations, an agreement was also signed on the decades-old name issue in June 2018. Both agreements serve the purpose of enabling our citizens a safe space, economic prosperity and offer them a life of an ordinary European citizen. By achieving these ideals, we are strengthening the pillars of our identity, reaffirming the meaning of who we are and amplifying it with where we want to be.

Lingering around EU and NATO's "waiting room" for years now, the absence of a perspective and the democratic decay, required sturdy action to get things off the ground and overcome the status quo. Our push for dem-

ocratic change has been predetermined with the will to push tough decisions to achieve a breakthrough, especially around our foreign policy. Foreign policy is not a place for the naïve and indecisive. Foreign policy understands decisive stewardship in pursuing one country's vital interests. In consequence, our foreign policy agenda was crafted to be pragmatic, strategic and visionary and allow for

We decided to build bridges of trust and cooperation rather than walls and fences.

the accomplishment of our immediate and long-term priorities bearing in mind the troubled waters of today and the unpredictability of tomorrow. Kicking off the screening process and paving the way to start the accession negotiations with the EU by June next year; as well as obtaining NATO invitation, are both a product of the breakthrough with our neighbors. We are opening the door towards a secure future.

Diplomacy as the art of filigree

I often use filigree jewelry design to describe the complex negotiations on the name issue. This fine handicraft, which requires a lot of patience, surgical precision and vision, is part of a long, rich and a living tradition in Macedonia. The negotiations were guided by similar principles; a strategically patient and a visionary approach, which aims to untangle a neighborly dispute that has been holding the country back for nearly three decades. This is by no means an easy task. Moving for-

ward has meant searching for a fine balance between the concerns of our neighbor and the respect of our identity and dignity, whilst making sure that the future remains open for prosperity and progress.

The Agreement for the settlement on the name issue was signed in June in Prespa. It is a compromise that pacifies the woes burdening both sides. Moreover, it brings down walls of distrust while building bridges of friendship, a future alliance and a strategic partnership. It allows for both sides to reconcile, grow and agree that they cannot change their history and geography, but they can influence their own (and common) future. It offers integration and sets a mature example for good-neighborly relations in the region. It will surely have positive regional implications and contribute to regional dynamics leading towards a region where countries will share a common future and where borders will cease to matter. It will also narrow the gap for geopolitical competition.

Our key message as we try to inform the public on the value of the agreement for our prospects, our neighborly and international relations; but also to emphasize that without an attainable EU and Euro-Atlantic path, the future of the country would become foggy and uncertain, with many doors closed, and many domestic problems intensified in the process. The grasp around this stance must be strong. The greater the unity, the better; one country's cohesion is a prerequisite for an effective foreign policy.

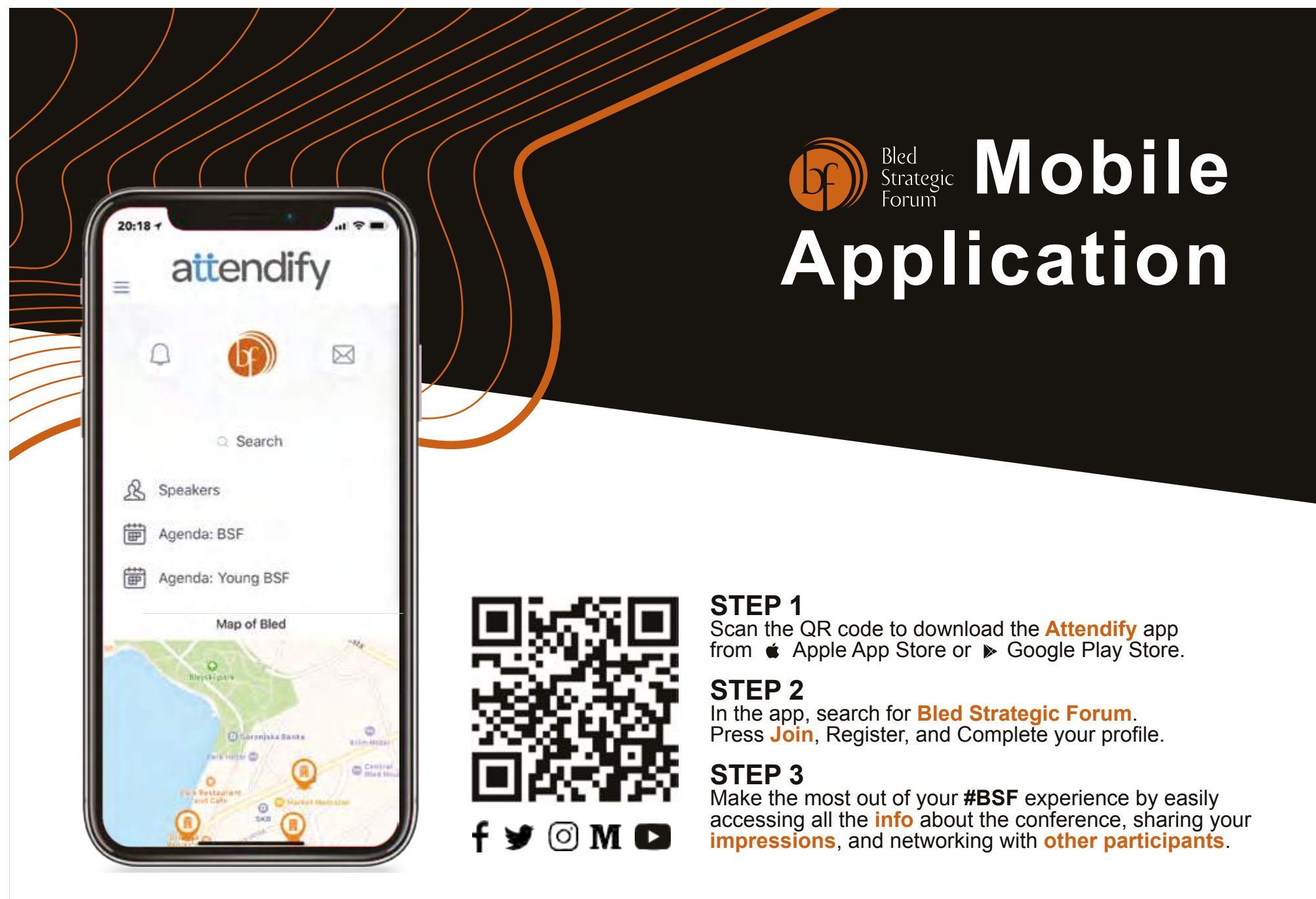
In retrospect, I see the breakthrough in the relations with Greece (and Bulgaria) as a

milestone of our foreign policy. There is no easy way out in complex negotiation settings and circumstances. Yet, the Agreement paves the way for our integration in both clubs (EU and NATO) and will stop the senseless going around in circles that keeps our hands tied in achieving progress. We need to clearly recognize this fact and focus on the way forward. We don't have the luxury to bypass historic opportunities for attaining prosperity for our citizens.

It is our patriotic duty and the responsibility of our generation to make sure that the new generations are taken out of the pockets of insecurity of our region, and are provided the space to dream and live freely according to their own plans and visions. Patriotism means courage, responsibility and decisiveness in the name of higher goals and ideals. It also means sacrifice, and above all vision. It was a French intellectual and Peace Prize Laureate Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, whose words from the introduction to the 1914 Carnegie Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars, still serve as a lighthouse for those involved in statecraft and foreign policy: "...The real culprits are those who sacrifice the general interest to their own personal interest which they so little understand, and who hold up to their country a sterile policy of conflict and reprisals. In reality there is no salvation, no way out either for small states or for great countries except by union and conciliation."¹ ●



Endnotes

¹ See: Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars (Carnegie Endowment For International Peace: Publication No. 4, 1914)






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Diplomacy in a new disguise?

International Peace Mediation: seeking new opportunities for global peace

/ By Dr. Antje Herrberg, Chief Executive Officer, MediatEUr

Conflicts, so teaches us evolutionary theory as well as many philosophical and spiritual traditions, can be a source for growth and development, as much as they can seem devastating and destructive. The challenge for humanity is to capture this possibility and to find ways and methods to transform conflict into an opportunity for transformation and societal improvement. An effective way and method to address this challenge is a practice called mediation. At its core, mediation is a non-violent method of conflict resolutions in which a third party supports conflict parties to arrive to a solution that is acceptable to all. Mediation has been practiced in various forms and by different actors.

The practice of mediation as we know it today began when the legal system in the USA was deemed unsatisfactory in solving people's disputes creating an alternative dispute resolution movement in the 1980's. Following the 2003 invasion of Iraq, we witnessed real limits to diplomacy and associated public scrutiny and criticism. Thousands of peacekeepers and soldiers die as a consequence of conflict and intervention strategies. Billions of taxpayers' money is being spent on military interventions. Yet we fail to solve conflicts and are subjected to its consequences, one of it being migration.

Indeed there are efficient ways to solve conflicts, namely to go beyond positional bargaining and to understand the main motivation and root causes that create actions which in turn create conflict. "Getting to Yes", written by the Harvard Professors William Ury and Roger Fisher to help negotiation parties create win-win, rather than win/lose situation remains a bestseller and a practice that created a professionalization of interest based mediation, which gained solid ground in the field of international relations and diplomacy. With the end of the Cold War and the beginning of an era of local and regional conflicts, many based on ethnic, or national self-determination, ensued, confronting the international community with the continued challenge of non-intervention while at the same time the responsibility to protect.

Dialogue and mediation offer themselves as a meaningful tools and practice. The visible successes of dialogue and mediation from South Africa in the 90's, in the Balkans, to Indonesia/Aceh, Mozambique, and more recently Colombia, or negotiations regarding Iran and Macedonia and many more processes that are actively being mediated by the international community, serve as an inspiration for locally driven, but internationally supported peace negotiations, no longer the exclusive realm of only diplomatic efforts but much in the hands of specialised individuals and organisations.

In time and with advocacy of the international peace movement, international peace mediation has made its powerful in-roads in international Institutions beginning with

the United Nations, but also the European Union, African Union and the OSCE. Some states such as Switzerland and Norway but also Finland and Germany have, for pragmatic, ideological or strategic reasons, made mediation part of their foreign policy doc-

Thousands of peacekeepers and soldiers die as a consequence of conflict. Billions of taxpayers' money is being spent on military interventions. Yet we fail to solve conflicts.

trine. International institutions have institutionalised mediation support as a professional way to enhance the effectiveness of engagement through methods other than peacekeeping, although not exclusively so. It shows a willingness to engage in a new form of diplomacy.

How realistic is this? The persistence of intractable conflicts causes frustration and give rise to cynicism. It is painful to witness the outcome of the Syrian civil war, the persistence of conflict in the Middle East, and the catastrophic situation in other conflict settings such as South Sudan which in itself the result of a mediated process, or Yemen following an UN assisted national dialogue, just to name a few. It is true that the regionalisation of conflict and the non-abidance to international norms and the degeneration of a 'code diplomatique' or international responsibility present a genuine challenge to the maintenance of international peace and also to the transformative work of international peace mediation. And it is true that although today mediation and negotiation might be the most prevalent methods for conflict resolution, the majority of conflicts remain unresolved. As a matter of fact, close to 50% ongoing conflicts since 2005 remain unsolved.

This said, mediation and dialogue, if practiced as a value based professional practice by the international community, remain

the single most important diplomatic practice for solving conflicts today. And yet, it does not pair well with military arms competition by countries with substantial military industrial complexes. We need to be clear that military intervention can only remain a source of action of last resort. Military intervention cannot stop the refugee flows that have seemingly threatened the Western world, dialogue and mediation followed by constructive interventions can - if a commitment of all parties is in place.

Lip service is not enough: if it is to change this state of the world, this practice needs to be mainstreamed in today's diplomatic work at all levels, not only half-heartedly in a crisis management moment, when most often solutions are imposed rather than negotiated. Mediation in fact entails the engagement of an impartial third party, free from national interests besides that of peace. How many of these actors do we really have available? How can mediation actors responsibly manage the realities of a peace process and agreement

Mediation and dialogue remain the single most important diplomatic practice for solving conflicts today.

with local stakeholders, not just negotiate at a table with the elite? Mediative diplomacy entails a mandate, long-term trust building, building of a structured tailored process and supporting parties to follow through the process, rather than imposing the one or other format or outcome. On the institutional level, it requires solid competence and well-trained competent diplomats, not just good will. There must be a genuine subscription to values of mediation and its professional practice. This means resources, be it human or financial to support processes,

best synergised between actors but certainly not to compete against each other, which is often the case.

Information and analysis that we produce and consider thus should focus on effective conflict analysis that concerns itself with addressing root causes rather than lamenting short term political problems, the latter to be considered as symptoms of a bigger problem. It requires the international diplomatic community opening itself and empowering the practice of non-governmental organisations and civic leadership who seek to transform their societies. It requires parties to be accountable to their own process. And, once out of the limelight, there must be follow-up. The peace process begins but does not end with the agreement. A peace process, as we know from the Balkans, lasts at least a generation and sufficient resources need to be available to maintain this dynamic. And here, there must be a collective commitment.

Peace mediation is not just a nice accessory or complement to traditional diplomacy, but it must be embedded in a rich policy framework that includes trade and commercial policy as well as security policy. And let's not forget its limits: Human rights, are indivisible interests and needs and are not up for negotiation. That is a key dilemma, take Syria or the DRC as an example.

The famous words of "Be the Change that you wish to see in the world" of Mahatma Gandhi create a powerful vibration to the practice of conflict resolution. It begins with each of us. No state actor could espouse the practice of mediation unless it has made dialogue and non-violent communication a part of its democratic process. The practice of peaceful conflict resolution, mediation and dialogue is something that is yet to be fully integrated in our societies and educational systems. Only by truly embracing such an approach, humanity has a chance to use conflict as an opportunity for development and growth in global societies. ●



A peace process, as we know from the Balkans, lasts at least a generation and sufficient resources need to be available to maintain this dynamic.

Real danger facing Europe comes from within

Europe's internal divisions are more dangerous than damage done by the US President Donald Trump

/ By Shada Islam, Director of Europe and Geopolitics, Friends of Europe

It's been a difficult year but be prepared for an even tougher 2019. Europe faces a long list of challenges as it prepares for Britain's withdrawal from the EU club, elections to the European Parliament and the installation of a new European Commission.

Add to that an ever-longer shadow cast by the volatile and unpredictable US President Donald Trump and ongoing visible and invisible meddling by Russian President Vladimir Putin and it's clear that the months ahead are going to test the EU in many ways.

However, the real danger facing Europe comes from within. The EU is well-prepared for Brexit and in any case that question is really in British hands. The ever-deeper divide within Europe between those who are still proud to call themselves liberal democrats and the increasing number of governments which make no secret of their illiberal character pose a much more potent threat to Europe's future.

The growing number of political parties and groups which are unashamed about adopting and promoting Far Right, racist and xenophobic – and Eurosceptic – sentiments are similarly destroying Europe's foundations.

Worryingly, a rising number of European citizens are falling prey to the siren song of populists, normalising the unacceptable and forgetting Europe's tragic and bloody past. By turning their back on Europe's core values of democracy, human rights and the rule of law, populists and those who are attracted to their rhetoric are undermining the EU from within – and eroding its role and influence abroad.

To thrive, rather than merely survive in the coming years, the EU must stop this rot, reconnect with citizens, regain their trust and above all get them to vote in the upcoming European Parliament elections.

It won't be easy. European politicians, entangled in their debilitating internal quarrels, have allowed Eurosceptics and populists to seize control of Europe's agenda and shape the debate.

This is most obvious in the way that many EU governments, egged on by populist parties, have reacted to the arrival of migrants and refugees. Austrian Prime Minister Sebastian Kurz, currently chair of the EU, talks of creating an "axis of willing" (EU governments) against immigration". Even as they clamp down on judges, journalists and civil society representatives, his "Visegrad 4" allies from the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Poland are engaged in an embarrassing game of "guess who can be tougher on immigration".

This is a slippery path – and one that Europe has travelled on before. As European Commission First Vice President Frans Timmermans warned last year: "We see the return of the politics of paranoia...the disruptive forces of xenophobia, intolerance, illiberalism and nationalism are on the march. New parties are peddling old, dangerous ideas."

The danger, he warned, was the return of new fault lines in Europe. "Not an iron curtain of machine guns and minefields but a barrier of the mind, between inclusion and exclusion, between open and closed societies".

The risk is not that the EU will unravel. It won't. It will muddle through. But the price of survival could be unacceptably high if in the process, the EU loses its commitment to core values and becomes little more than a transactional trade and aid arrangement.

A shrinking Europe – not just in terms of its size but also as regards its moral influence – would have an immediate impact beyond the border. An inward-looking Europe, oblivious to its international obligations, prestige and influence and to the rules-based multilateral order.

This would of course be exactly to the liking of Europe's enemies – and there are many – and those who can't stand a world which is not based on nationalism and zero-sum games, where countries work together, despite their differences, for the greater public good.

However, enough tears have been shed, egos and emotions shaken and obituaries written about the European Union and its ideals. It's time to move on. The US, under Donald Trump, has embarked on a new journey. The EU should do the same. If there was any lingering doubt about the American president's feelings about the EU, they were laid to rest by his bullying and Europe-bashing at the NATO summit in Brussels. Days later, he referred to Europeans as "foes".

The growing number of political parties and groups which are unashamed about adopting and promoting Far Right, racist and xenophobic – and Eurosceptic – sentiments are similarly destroying Europe's foundations.

Europe faces a simple choice: It can still keep hoping that transatlantic ties will be strong and resilient enough to face constant battering and disruption. Or it can start make serious efforts to shore up European defence, work with partners to stop the collapse of the rules-based global order, end damaging internal divides and work long and hard to reconnect with citizens by freshening up an old and tired European narrative.

The slow but steady progress being made on European defense, both inside and outside the EU framework, is reassuring. The EU has also started working more pro-actively with China, Japan, Canada and others to try and consolidate the world trading order, salvage the Paris climate agreement and the nuclear deal with Iran.

Healing internal divisions will be much tougher, however. Better managed migration policies will go some way to reassure Europeans that their governments are capable of dealing with the issue in a sensible, pragmatic and humane manner.

This requires that Europe's non-populist politicians stop embracing the toxic rhetoric of the Far Right and tell the true story of Europe's economic need for migrants, the economic and societal value of diversity and the EU's international obligations as regards asylum. It also demands, of course, a review and up-dating of the Dublin Convention and work on opening up more legal pathways for entry into Europe.

Crucially, it requires that EU institutions become less reluctant in challenging EU

governments which are in breach of European values by triggering Treaty mechanisms when rule of law provisions are violated but also using budgetary powers to ensure that member states are not tempted to break the law.

Equally importantly, pro-EU politicians and policymakers must use the coming months to craft an inspiring European narrative for a very complex 21st Century. The task of rebuilding Europe cannot be left to just politicians, however.

First, in a world of "fake news", algorithms and "bots" where politicians call journalists "enemies of the people," more efforts are needed by governments and citizens to invest in a free, independent, honest and credible press.

Second, to revive Europe, let's look at the many heroic and extraordinary ways in which the non-political leaders and "ordinary" people are engaging on European issues. Across Europe, peoples' networks are being established as civil society becomes increasingly involved in debates on Europe. New formats for public civil dialogue are cropping up across EU states. Traditional politicians must participate in the conversations, listen carefully to what is being said – and take appropriate actions.

Third, Europe will only thrive and flourish when the European body politic becomes truly inclusive through the active participation of women, youth, migrants and ethnic minorities. Navigating today's complex and rapidly-changing world requires a new defi-

nition of power, new skill sets and fresh approaches.

Fourth, Europe is not just about "member states". The real heroes of the 21st Century are not national politicians but local ones, those working in Europe's provinces, villages, towns and cities and dealing with the day-to-day problems of citizens. In Europe, America and elsewhere, it's mayors and local authorities who are standing up for immigration, fighting climate change and working in myriad ways to improve the lives of "ordinary" citizens. Global networks give added power to such initiatives.

Healing Europe's divisions will require a concerted effort by all who believe in the project. It cannot be achieved by just one man or woman. The time for such an effort is now.

Despite the populist rhetoric, the number of refugees coming to Europe has gone down. And for all their swagger, Europe's populists overall have so far only succeeded in securing 15 percent of the overall vote. Recent polls show that populists are relatively unpopular in Western Europe where traditional parties do much better in the polls. And more Europeans believe that their voice counts in the EU.

These are encouraging findings. The real challenge for Europe's liberal democrats is to stay the course, remain true to their convictions and to go out and persuade more Europeans to come out and vote as if Europe's future depended on it. Because it does. ●

EU: not the only game in town anymore?

Enlargement after Brexit: the growing of non-EU Europe

/ By Tobias Flessenkemper, Senior Fellow, Centre International de Formation Européenne (CIFE), Member of the Balkans in Europe Policy Advisory Group (BiEPAG)



Twenty-five years ago, on November 1st 1993 the Maastricht Treaty created the European Union, which became the key player in shaping and managing the reunification of the European continent in next twenty years. Yet, not only in hindsight, the Maastricht Treaty negotiations also already marked a manifest diversion (*optouts*) of Britain from central parts of the EU integration project such as the Euro and the Schengen area.

Ten years later, the Western Balkans countries received a clear perspective to join on the eve of the *big bang* enlargement of May 1st 2004. The Union grew to 27 European states, representing the majority of European people and states (at both counts including Russia and Turkey in Europe). Five years ago on July 1, 2013 Croatia became the 28th and the first Western Balkans EU member state. The last decade also saw membership negotiations with Turkey and the Eastern Partnership (EaP) responded to the demand for European integration in Eastern Europe and the Caucasus.

Despite the economic crisis after 2007, the institutional difficulties following the failure of the Constitution for Europe in 2005, and a timid response to the developments after the Arab spring and the start of war in Syria in 2011, the European Union looked only five years ago to be the *only game in town*.

The growth of the EU went largely uncontested. Few would have predicted that the EU integration would within a few months from 2014 onwards turn into a major issue of contestation and that its reach would be challenged. Dramatic events inside and outside of the Union gave rise to poignant and important questions: What are the factors fuelling the war in Ukraine? How to manage the pressure of migration from the South and refugees from the war zones in the East? Why has globalisation and European competition diminished the sense of security among middle classes in Western Europe? What can be done to counter raising inequality in Europe? Which are the reasons and background of the conflicts within the British Conservative party over Europe leading to Brexit? Why is the European Union seen by many no longer as an answer to these problems? The strength of the EU seemed to be shrinking at the very moment when many would have expected it to strengthen and play a central role in finding solutions to these challenges. The result of the Brexit referendum on June 23, 2016, while initially a big shock, no longer seems all that surprising.

Today, with a more populist and anti-integrationist political landscape in EU member states, it transpires that the shrinking of the European Union through Brexit is not only territorial, demographic and economic - it has also diminished the reach of the idea of European integration throughout many constituencies in Europe. European Union membership, as Christophe Hillion, put it "is not the only horizon in Europe".

Brexit is the single biggest immediately measurable indicator for a physical growing of non-EU Europe. With almost 66 million inhabitants the UK represents 12.85% of the EU population. The six Western Balkans countries with some 18 million inhabitants cannot replace this loss. The Western Balkans enlargement will also not remedy the effect of a shrinking EU population in particular as the Balkans regions has similar demographic trends as Germany, Italy and most of Central and Eastern Europe: a quickly ageing population. This meets the long-term trend of a reduced European weight globally. Eurostat reports that between 1965 and 2015 the share of population living in the EU contracted from 13 % to 7 %. Yet, the EU and the other European states share this overall trend of a declining share of global population.

The structural economic effects of Brexit and the consequences for the average wealth of EU citizens are more significant. Not only does the EU lose a net contributor with Britain, all of the future potential members are bound to be recipients of EU aid for years to come. After Brexit non-EU Europe will no longer be the group of smaller but rich EFTA states and poorer countries in Eastern Europe. The whole of non-EU Europe will become comparatively richer, the Western European part in particular. If (a big if) Britain manages to agree good terms of cooperation with the EU, such terms might become attractive for others. It is not impossible that enlargement countries could find them attractive. Alternatives to full membership could also become interesting as chances to receive similar amounts of financial assistance as poorer new EU countries did in the past are slim for the Western Balkans.

On the political level, the EU will, from March 2019 onward, have a single permanent seat in the UN Security Council. This permanent membership and the veto power

will be held by France alone. The UN remains a factor for completing the state-building and thereby the enlargement process in the Western Balkans. France and Britain, as well as the EU collectively, will have to invest additional efforts to manage the remaining challenges in the region. Yet, those processes may again become subject of *minilateralism* of the larger member states. Similar to the Berlin process and the London summit of July, governments of the big European states may work together like they did during the 1990s in a new *Contact Group*, rather than acting with and through the EU institutions. While no immediate risks of new divisions regarding substantial questions of Balkans policy are visible, the EU risks becoming less of a central political actor. Many actors hoped for and expected more progress of the EU-led dialogue to solve the dispute between Kosovo and Serbia which did not materialise in the last years. While the conflict in Georgia dating back to 2008, the ongoing war in Ukraine and the illegal annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation on 18 March 2014 have dented, in the eyes of some, the authority of the EU in stabilising and shaping the European continent and non-EU Europe. This includes also the predicament of the EU candidate Turkey.

The demographic, economic and political aspects of the growing of non-EU Europe warrant careful consideration. They

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also need creative solutions and new forms for cooperation which the European Commission should develop and propose. These manageable problems are dwarfed by challenge to the reach of the normative impact of the European Union. The Brexit debate in the UK includes a fundamental rejection of European norms and rule of law. The advent of promoters of *illiberal democracy* outside and inside the EU is a threat to the normative core of European integration. There is a growing number of elite representatives inside old and new member states who question the core values of the EU. Article 2 of the Lisbon Treaty describes the essence of the Union: human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law, respect for human rights and minority rights. While these shared values enjoy overwhelming support, forces working against them have become more assertive. There is a transnational non-EU Europe development both within and outside the Union's borders against European values while at the same time almost all citizens - also of non-member states - continue to aspire exactly to those values and wish to live in states which guarantee those EU norms and standards.

Those norms and values are not solely owned by the European Union. The shared heritage with the Council of Europe and the European Convention on Human Rights is an opportunity that will need to be seized. How much the questions regarding European norms and values has gained momentum could be observed when the European

Commission in December 2017 proposed to EU member states to defend the rule of law in Poland. In this debate the Council of Europe's Commission for Democracy through Law (Venice Commission) provided key analysis for building a common European, not reduced to EU member states, understanding for the issues at stake. In parallel to the discussion about the state of democracy and the rule of law, a long-standing debate resurfaced on the future of the EU: *deepening vs widening*. The French President Emmanuel Macron described a sequence of first successful internal reforms (*deepening*) and followed possibly by the accession of new members (*widening*). President Macron's approach is not unlikely to prevail in the coming years. The situation in Hungary and Poland raised questions in some capitals with regard to the sustainability reforms. Yet, the consolidation of the EU and a larger non-EU Europe does not exclude future enlargement but makes it more challenging for aspirants in all aspects.

As Brexit signals the end of *optouts* as those agreed in 1993, the EU is becoming less differentiated inside: new *optouts* are unlikely to be accepted and the indivisibility of the Common Market and of the *four freedoms* has become central for the EU project. For the Common Market to function the rule of law and transparent, accountable governance are essential. As accession is becoming more difficult, the EU's relations with non-members more differentiated and varied. Such differentiation can already be observed in the framework of the Eastern Partnership, but also with the different approaches to the Western Balkans and Turkey. Brexit will most probably add further variation on how the EU interacts and achieves its aims together with non-members.

With Brexit coming up in 2019, non-EU Europe will indeed grow and enlargement cannot be a substitute for the loss of the UK. The new size of the Union and its environment will require adapted approaches to safeguard its social, economic and environmental objectives and in particular to promote the defense of its norms and values. To this end the EU should strengthen its sister organisation the Council of Europe. Seventy years after its creation, the Council of Europe ought once more to be the place where "the governments of European countries which are like-minded and have a common heritage of political traditions, ideals, freedom and the rule of law" convene in the spirit of cooperation. The EU should strive to keep Britain engaged in the Council in order to jointly shape common European rule of law norms. In Strasbourg, the EU members and non-EU countries share a unique space, not least to encourage those who struggle to establish the rule of law, such as the Western Balkans. Only a stronger cooperation of the EU and the Council of Europe can hope to consolidate European norms and values at a time when the European Union is undergoing one its greatest transformations. Bridging the divide between the EU members and the non-EU Europe after Brexit could mean to combine the horizons of an ever closer EU with greater unity of all states in the Council of Europe. ●

The global race for AI supremacy

The geopolitics of artificial intelligence competition

/ By Reva Goujon, Vice President of Global Analysis, Statfor

For better or worse, the advancement and diffusion of artificial intelligence technology will come to define this century. Whether that statement should fill your soul with terror or delight remains a matter of intense debate. Techno-idealists and doomsdayers will paint their respective utopian and dystopian visions of machine-kind making the leap from what we know now as 'narrow AI' to 'general AI' to surpass human cognition within our lifetime. On the opposite end of the spectrum, yawning skeptics will point to Siri's slow intellect and Captain Sully's human instinct to wave off AI chatter as a heap of hype not worth losing sleep over.

The fact is that the development of AI – a catch-all term that encompasses neural networks, machine learning and deep learning technologies – has the potential to fundamentally transform civilian and military life in the coming decades. Regardless of whether you're a businessman pondering your next investment, an entrepreneur eyeing an emerging opportunity, a policymaker grappling with regulation or simply a citizen operating in an increasingly tech-driven society, this is a global force that demands your attention.

An unstoppable force

Willingly or not, even the deepest skeptics among us are feeding the AI force nearly every minute of every day. Every Google (or Baidu) search, Twitter or (Weibo) post, Facebook (or Tencent) ad, Amazon (or Alibaba) purchase is another click creating mountains of data – some 2.2 billion gigabytes globally every day – that companies are using to train their algorithms to anticipate and mimic human behavior. This creates a virtuous (or vicious, depending on your perspective) cycle: the more users engage with everyday technology platforms, the more data is collected; the more data that's collected, the more the product improves; the more competitive the product, the more users and billions of dollars in investment it will attract; a growing number of users means more data can be collected, and the loop continues.

The geopolitical backdrop to the global AI race

AI is both a driver and a consequence of structural forces reshaping the global order. Aging demographics – an unprecedented and largely irreversible global phenomenon – is a catalyst for AI development. As populations age and shrink, financial burdens on the state mount and labor productivity slows, sapping economic growth over time. Advanced industrial economies already struggling to cope with the ill effects of aging demographics with governments that are politically squeamish toward immigration will relentlessly look to machine-learning technologies to upsurge productivity and economic growth in the face of growing labor constraints.

The global race for AI supremacy will feature prominently in great power competition between the United States and China. China was shocked by Google DeepMind's 2016 AlphaGo victory against the greatest living player of Go, an ancient Chinese strategy game (an event dubbed by Chinese AI state planners as their 'Sputnik moment')

and has been deeply shaken by Trump's trade wars and a growing imperative by the West to keep sensitive technology out of Chinese competitors' hands. Just in the past couple years alone, China's focus on AI development has skyrocketed to ensure its technological drive won't get short-circuited by its competition with the US.

Do or die for Beijing

The United States, for now, has the lead in AI development when it comes to hardware, research and development and a dynamic commercial AI sector. China, by its sheer size, has a much larger data pool, but is critically lagging behind the US in semiconductor development. Beijing, however, is not lacking in motivation to overtake the United States as the premier global AI leader by 2030. And while that timeline may appear aggressive, China's aggressive development in AI in the coming years will be unfettered by the growing ethical, privacy and antitrust concerns occupying the West. China is also throwing hundreds of billions of dollars into fulfilling its AI mission, both in collaboration with its standing tech champions and by encouraging the rise of unicorn start-ups.

By incubating and rewarding more and more start-ups, Beijing is finding a balance between focusing its national champions on the technologies most critical to the state (sometimes by taking an equity stake in the company) without stifling innovation. In the United States, on the other hand, it would be disingenuous to label US-based multinational firms parking most of their corporate profits overseas as true 'national' champions. Instead of the state taking the lead in funding high risk and big impact research in emerging technologies as it has in the past, the roles in the West have been flipped; private tech companies are in the driver's seat while the state is lunging at the steering wheel, trying desperately to keep China in its rear view.

The ideological battleground

The United States may have thought its days of fighting globe-spanning ideological battles ended with the Cold War. Not so. AI development is spawning a new ideological battlefield between the United States and China, pitting the West's notion of liberal democracy against China's emerging brand of digital authoritarianism. As neuroscientist Nicholas Wright highlights, China's 2017 AI Development Plan "describes how the ability to predict and 'grasp group cognition means 'AI brings new opportunities for social construction.'" Central to this strategic initiative

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is China's diffusion of a "social credit system" (due to be fully operational by 2020) that would assign a score based on a citizen's daily activities to determine everything from airfare class and loan eligibility to what schools your kids are allowed to attend. A tech-powered state-driven approach to parse model citizens from the deplorables, so to speak.

The ability to harness AI-powered facial recognition and surveillance data to shape social behavior is an appealing tool, not just



for Beijing, but for other politically paranoid states who are hungry for an alternative path to stability and are underwhelmed with the West's messy track record in democracy promotion. Wright describes how Beijing has exported to Thailand and Vietnam its Great Firewall model to barricade the Internet and has been supplying surveillance technology to the likes of Iran, Russia, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malaysia. Not only does this aid China's goal of providing an alternative to a US-led global order, but it widens China's access to even wider data pools around the globe to hone its own technological prowess.

The European hustle

Not wanting to be left behind in this AI great power race, Europe and Russia are hustling to catch up, but will struggle in the end to keep pace with the United States and China. Russian President Vladimir Putin made headlines last year when he told an audience of Russian youths that whoever rules AI will rule the world. But the reality of Russia's capital constraints means that Russia will have to choose carefully where it puts its rubles. Moscow will apply a heavy focus on AI military applications and will rely on cyber espionage and theft to try and find short cuts to AI development, all while trying to maintain its strategic alignment with China to challenge the United States.

While France harbors ambitious plans to develop an AI ecosystem for Europe and Germany frets over losing its industrial edge to US and Chinese tech competitors, unavoidable and growing fractures within the European Union will hamper Europe's ability to play a leading AI role on the world stage. The EU's cumbersome regulatory environment and fragmented digital market has

been prohibitive for tech start-ups, a fact reflected in the EU's low global share and value of unicorn companies. Meanwhile, the UK, home to Europe's largest pool of tech talent, will be keen on unshackling itself from the bloc's investment-inhibitive regulations as it stumbles out of the bloc.

A battle over talent and standards

But wherever pockets of tech innovation already exist on the continent, those relatively few companies and individuals are already prime targets for US and Chinese tech juggernauts prowling the globe for AI talent. AI experts are a precious global commodity. According to a 2018 study by Element AI, there are roughly 22,000 PhD-educated researchers in the world, only around 3,000 are actually looking for work and around 5,400 are presenting their research at AI conferences all over the world. US and Chinese tech giants are using a variety of means – mergers and acquisitions, aggressive poaching, launchings labs in cities like Paris, Montreal and Taiwan – to gobble up this tiny talent pool.

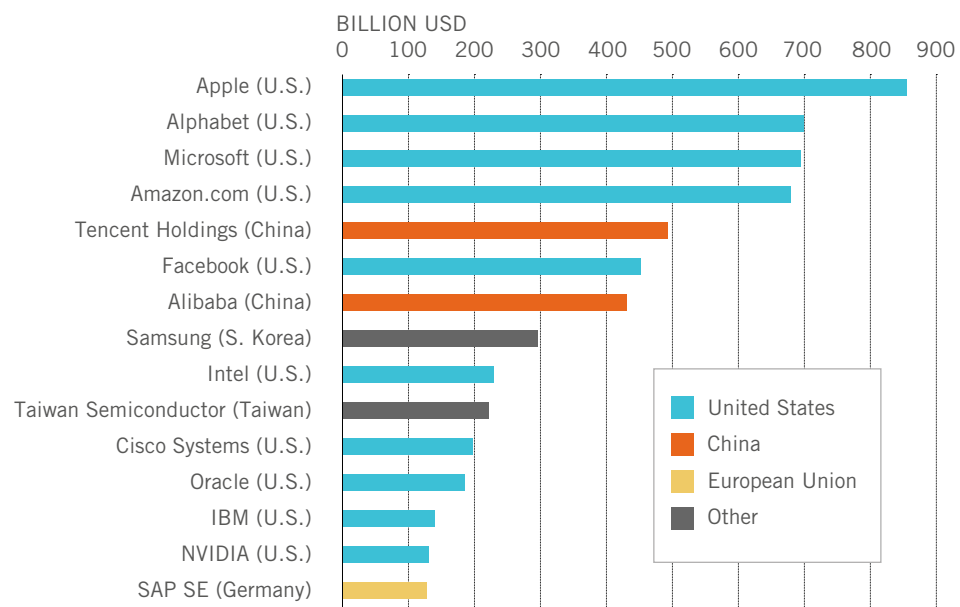
Even as Europe struggles to build up its own tech champions, the bloc can use its market size and conscientious approach to ethics, privacy and competition to push back on encroaching tech giants through hefty fines, data localization and privacy rules, taxation and investment restrictions. The EU's rollout of General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) is designed to give Europeans more control over their personal data by limiting data storage times, deleting data on request and monitoring for data breaches. While big tech firms have the means to adapt and pay fines, the move threatens to cripple smaller firms struggling to comply with the high cost of compliance. It also fundamentally restricts the continental data flows needed to fuel Europe's AI startup culture.

The United States in many ways shares

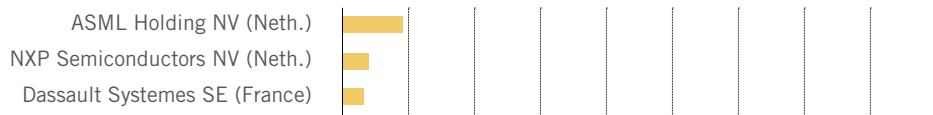


Largest Tech Companies by Market Capitalization

Market capitalization



Other high market capitalization companies



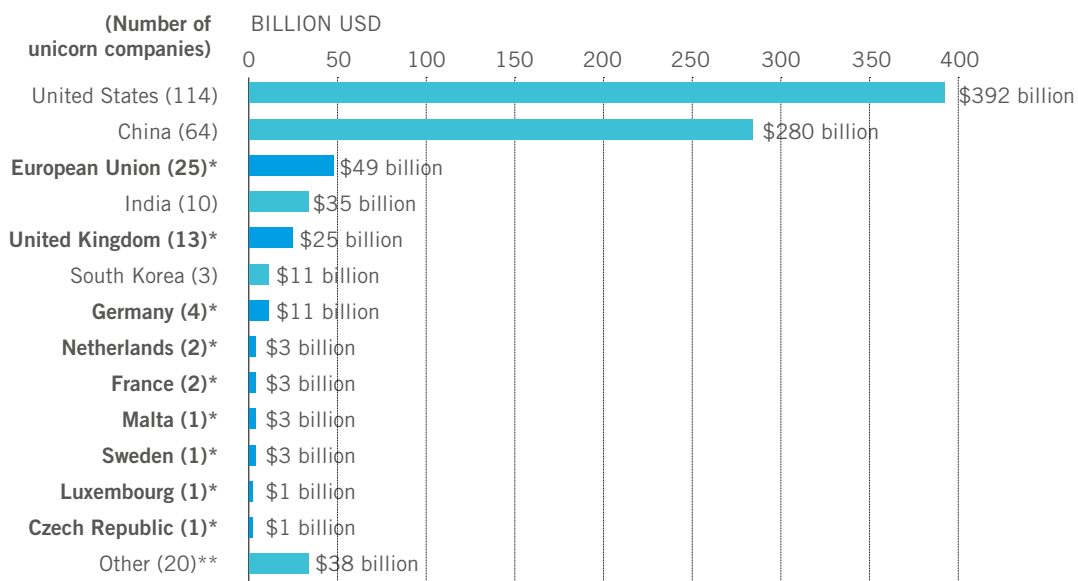
Source: Bloomberg

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The EU Struggle to Create Unicorn Companies

Since 2009, the European Union has struggled to create a large number of unicorn companies - startups that reach a valuation of at least \$1 billion - and the Continent remains far behind China and the United States.

Valuation of unicorn companies



* European Union member

** Others= Australia, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Indonesia, Israel, Japan, Nigeria, Singapore, South Africa, Switzerland, United Arab Emirates

Source: CB Insights

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How the U.S. and China Stack Up in AI Development

Main driver in AI	Proxy measures	China	U.S.
Hardware	International market share of semiconductor products (2015)	4% of world	50% of world
	Financing for FPGA chipmakers (2017)	\$34.4 million (7.6% of world)	\$192.5 million (42.4% of world)
Data	Mobile users (2016)	1.4 billion (20% of world)	416.7 million (5.5% of world)
Research and algorithms	Number of AI experts	39,200 (13.1% of world)	78,700 (26.6% of world)
	Percentage of AAAI Conference Presentations (2015)	20.5% of world	48.4% of world
Commercial AI sector	Proportion of world's AI companies (2017)	23%	42%
	Total investments in AI companies (2012-2016)	\$2.6 billion (6.6% of world)	\$172 billion (43.4% of world)
	Total global equity funding to AI startups (2017)	48% of world	38% of world

Source: Future of Humanity Institute, University of Oxford

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Europe's concerns over issues like data privacy and competition, but it has a fundamentally different approach in how to manage those concerns. The European Union is effectively prioritizing individual privacy rights over free speech, while the United States does the reverse. Brussels will fixate on fairness, even at the cost of the bloc's own economic competitiveness, while Washington will generally avoid getting in the way of its tech champions. For example, while the EU will argue that Google's dominance in multiple technological applications is by itself an abuse of its power that stifles competition, the United States will refrain from raising the antitrust flag unless tech giants are using their dominant position to raise prices for consumers.

US and European government policy overlap instead in their growing scrutiny over foreign investment in sensitive technology sectors, especially when it comes to China's aggressive overseas investment drive and the already deep integration of Chinese hardware and software in key technologies used globally. A highly diversified company like Huawei, a pioneer in cutting-edge technologies like 5G and a mass producer of smartphones and telecommunications equipment, can leverage its global market share to play an influential role in setting international standards.

Washington, meanwhile, is lagging behind Brussels and Beijing in the race to establish international norms for cyber policy. While China and Russia have been persistent in their attempts to use international venues like the United Nations to codify their ver-

sion of state-heavy cyber policy, the European Union has worked to block those efforts while pushing their own standards like GDPR.

This emerging dynamic of tightening restrictions in the West overall against Chinese tech encroachment, Europe's aggressive regulatory push against US tech giants and China's defense and export of digital authoritarianism may altogether lead to a much more balkanized market for global tech companies in the future.

The AI test of the century

There is no shortage of AI reports by big-name consulting firms telegraphing to corporate audiences the massive productivity gains to come from AI in a range of industries, from financial auto, insurance and retail to construction cleaning and security. A 2017 PWC report estimated that AI could

add \$15.7 trillion to the global economy in 2030, of which \$6.6 trillion would come from increased productivity and \$9.1 trillion would come from increased consumption. The potential for double-digit impacts to GDP after years of stalled growth in much of the world is appealing, no doubt.

But lurking behind those massive figures is the question of just

how well, how quickly and how much of a country's workforce will be able to adapt to these fast-moving changes. As Austrian Joseph Schumpeter described in his 1942 book, "Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy" the 'Creative Destruction' that results from so-called industrial mutations "incessantly

AI experts are a precious global commodity. There are roughly 22,000 PhD-educated researches in the world, with only around 3,000 looking for work.

revolutionizes the economic structure from within, incessantly destroying the old one, incessantly creating a new one." In the age of AI, the market will incessantly seek out scientists and creative thinkers. Machines will incessantly render millions of workers irrelevant. And new jobs, from AI empathy trainers to life coaches, will be created. Even as technology translates into productivity and economic gains overall, this will be a wrenching transition if workers are slow to

re-skill and if wage growth remains stagnant for much of the population.

Time will tell which model will be better able to cope with an expected rise in political angst as the world undergoes this AI revolution: China's untested model of digital authoritarianism or the West's time-tested, yet embattled, tradition in liberal democracy.

As one of the few remaining open channels for communication, the Structured Dialogue could, I hope, lead to agreement on military risk reduction measures and a reinvigoration of existing confidence- and security-building measures. Eventually, it might even revive interest in conventional arms control.

The crisis in and around Ukraine

The main obstacle to restoring trust and cooperation in Europe today is the crisis in and around Ukraine. Working toward a sustainable resolution of this crisis is the OSCE's top priority. The Organization works to de-escalate tensions on the ground, and facilitates political efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement.

After more than four years of fighting, the humanitarian situation in eastern Ukraine is dire. The lives of 4.4 million people have been affected by the conflict, with 3.4 million of them in need of humanitarian aid. Civilians face the constant fear of shelling and landmines, and often lack the most basic necessities, including food, water and medicine. Fighting near critical infrastructure endangers access to clean water, electricity and heating for hundreds of thousands of people. Civilians wait for hours and days in treacherous conditions to cross the contact line.

The OSCE Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine (SMM), with more than 700 unarmed monitors, is the first civilian field mission of this scope to work in a conflict zone. In response to changing operational circumstances, the SMM has expanded OSCE practices, for example by using modern technologies to complement the work of monitoring teams on the ground. The use of unmanned aerial vehicles, cameras, satellite imagery and sound sensors enables the SMM to monitor in areas where access is denied, or security risks are too high.

The Minsk Agreements remain the key framework for achieving a political settlement to the conflict in Eastern Ukraine. The prospect of an imminent settlement regrettably seems elusive. The sides should move away from military logic, and – through implementing the Minsk Agreements fully – create some tangible relief for the people on the ground. A new impetus is needed at the highest political levels, including further reengagement of the Normandy Format to move the process forward.

Recent discussions about a possible UN peace operation in eastern Ukraine have spotlighted the OSCE's added value as a regional arrangement under Chapter VIII of the UN Charter, and as a longstanding partner in conflict management, conflict resolution and post-conflict rehabilitation. The OSCE is ready to co-operate with the UN on any concrete proposals that emerge from the Security Council. After more than four years on the ground, we have invaluable experience and knowledge, and we have proven our worth as an impartial observer and an honest broker.

I am convinced that achieving a peaceful settlement in Donbas is possible. I urge all who have influence on the sides to push harder to break the political stalemate and to get the signatories to comply with agreed measures.

Ultimately, achieving sustainable peace in eastern Ukraine hinges on political will. This is also true for other conflicts in the OSCE region, not least in Moldova and the South Caucasus. Recent progress in the Transnistrian settlement process has shown that co-operation is possible, and can lead to practical results – provided international stakeholders pull together, and the sides muster the political will to enable progress.

Security challenges and opportunities in the Western Balkans

Changing European security priorities since 2014 have had significant implications for the Western Balkans. A shift of focus eastwards, and stagnation in the EU integration process, have opened a space for new actors to engage in the region. Some have challenged efforts to fully integrate the Western Balkan states into Euro-Atlantic structures. Concurrently, radicalization and transnational threats pose a growing risk within and between societies in the region. Despite such challenges, we also see some positive steps, for instance agreement between Skopje and Athens to resolve the name issue, which I hope will help create a new dynamic in the region. Reaffirmation of EU support for the

I am convinced that the OSCE has the flexibility, the tools and the expertise to be an effective force for stability and peace in the Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian space.

European perspective of the Western Balkans and assurances to strengthen and intensify their ties to the region are welcome steps.

Ensuring and strengthening stability in the region should be the key priority for all stakeholders. The OSCE remains fully committed to supporting the Western Balkans by continuing to promote a wide range of reforms in the areas of human rights, rule of law, democratization, good governance and media pluralism. Regional cooperation to fight corruption and organized crime are also important priorities for the OSCE.

Looking to the future

One of the OSCE's key strengths is its ability to innovate and to adapt to evolving circumstances. Through its field operations

in the Western Balkans, Eastern Europe and Central Asia, as well as through its Institutions – the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, the High Commissioner on National Minorities, and the Representative on Freedom of the Media – the OSCE helps countries to build stable structures and capacity for the long term. Its efforts are tailored to local needs and grounded in local ownership.

Thanks to its comprehensive security concept and inclusive membership, the OSCE offers a useful platform for enhancing dialogue and cooperation on European security. Due to the general lack of trust, for the time being an incremental approach to cooperation is the most realistic. However, our basic principles cannot be sacrificed for the sake of finding common ground. Instead, our principles should underpin our efforts.

I am convinced that the OSCE has the flexibility, the tools and the expertise to be an effective force for stability and peace in the Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian space.

The Organization has repeatedly proved its ability to respond to crises, but it also needs to be ready to seize opportunities for cooperation, like the new regional dynamic in Central Asia since the changes in Uzbekistan. But it is up to OSCE participating States to use the OSCE's inclusive platform to its full advantage. So I urge them to take inspiration from our history, and to use the OSCE to rebuild trust and revitalize the spirit of cooperation. This would help to increase security for us all. ●

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UNLOCKING POTENTIAL

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From disruptive to enabling

What we need to do to ensure that disruptive technologies - AI, blockchain, IoT – are implemented responsibly for the benefit of all

/ By Iskren Krusteff, High-impact Entrepreneur, Crypto-Economics Expert, Chairman of Global Entrepreneurship Monitor Bulgaria

With cyberspace, reducing time and space and bringing us closer faster, geographic settings matter less. Traditionally, geopolitics focus on political power in a geographic context. Now the cyberspace connectivity becomes a highly influential tool to exert power. In the future, competition over territories would give way to the competition over connectivity and global transactions - not only the free flow of people, goods, services, and capital but most of its data - a critical resource in an information society and Industry 4.0.

Whether connecting or trading through digital platforms, today, billions of people are transacting with each other at every moment. Exponential technological growth helps bringing people together, producing vast amounts of data for each transaction. Data accumulation and its access are what constitutes a power to control the market. Digital platforms already have generated a high degree of market power due to economies of scale. They function seamlessly, and costs are not apparent for consumers. However, they result in costs in parallel markets such as advertising. This gives tech monopolies competitive advantage when it comes to data accumulation enabling digital platforms and increases their influence. Not appar-

ent to the public, those technical decisions become very political and have strategic impact. Technology monopolies, instead of regulators are increasingly guiding and influencing what is credible or fake news, what are individual (data subject) rights, what is acceptable online. Consequently, they modify our rights, values, and social behaviour. Digital platforms exert extraordinary public influence. When they capitalize on the gathered data, they manage to influence healthcare (vaccines), politics, referendum and election outcomes.

Innovation-driven competitive ecosystems are fostering the development of disruptive general-purpose technology, such as AI and blockchain technology, propelled by access to data. AI-powered technologies and systems are already shaping our day-to-day lives and transforming our societies on a massive scale more than any other innovation. Any innovation is as good as its implementation and application. To benefit from innovation, we need to leverage it to create value and enable better value capture while preserving a social focus. Rapid advances in computer processing power and ever-growing volume

of data generated from all IoT devices have resulted in increased data storage capabilities to the degree that big data is no longer just big - it is extreme.

With a rising influx of data, we need an improved but an unconventional system to adapt to the new environment. Blockchain technology and protocols can add to the mix of data and provide more effective and secure transactions and data storage, which present many entrepreneurial opportunities. The AI ecosystem is developing rapidly globally. Funding for AI start-ups tripled between 2016 and 2017 alone, according to CrunchBase. AI adoption around the world is happening at an uneven pace - UAE, China, Canada, USA are more advanced when it comes to developing and implementing AI strategy, than the EU. The development of AI depends heavily on a flexible regulatory framework, especially on data policy as data is an integral part of AI; and on investment in research and development. We see the majority of patent submission, scientific articles, data scientists coming

Let's mash together three radically disruptive technologies - Blockchain, AI, IoT – in transportation. We get a 'Bitcoin-powered Uber Self-driving cars with solar panels.'

from the US and China. It is no coincidence that they also have the largest data storage capabilities, while in the EU only a fraction of the global data is stored. The level of integration of AI in the EU is also amongst the lowest globally, due to lack of investment and availability of qualified workforce.

Machine learning as a subfield of artificial intelligence depends on the right skill sets amongst other factors. Here the education providers must step up to produce more and better data scientists, cryptographers and crypto-economists. Education must be problem-based, life-long learning with an emphasis on character-building. Such reform would help raise responsible and proactive citizens, capable of critically assessing new issues and swiftly responding to them. Technological advancement is so progressive - it is hard to codify it. Software and legal code must match expectations; therefore, we need lawyers who are better educated and informed, to prevent AI algorithms evolving faster than they could be understood. To understand the software code and technology, one needs to understand their business applications.

The potential for enormous value creation is bringing it all together - a combination of understanding the technology, macro-economy, and entrepreneurship as well as regulation. For smart contracts to do what we want them to do, lawyers, cryptographers, entrepreneurs need to talk, to come up with more terms for smart contracts, making non-compliance impossible from the start. Frequently, implementation of innovation for general purpose technology requires testing on a small scale with regular upgrades. The alternative represents a risk - seamless integration of various algorithms in many aspects of business and society, where malicious code takes over. Small communities allow testing with minimal resources, yet they provide us with valuable feedback. We can see how Dubai experiments with free zones and smartly disrupts an old governance system, diversifying economy, boosting growth while bootstrapping innovations and focusing on technology. The responsible leaders of tomorrow are people who can benefit from a singularity with AI, whereby accessing the super-digital intelligence must be available to all layers of society equally.

Let's rethink old models and value chains, how business may look in the future, stretch our minds and take three radically disruptive technologies and mash them together, for example, on the transport vertical. Blockchain, AI, IoT in a shared economy, a 'Bitcoin-powered Uber Self-driving cars with solar panels.' What happens when all three interact and converge is, the Autonomous car. A car that produces its energy and pays its costs by giving people rides. A vehicle that is not run by the enterprise, but is an enterprise - an autonomous financial entity with nonhuman ownership. It becomes a decentralized system, which provides profit-driven services to the society members and at the same time does not depend on a single individual, company or organization to have value - a car run and managed by a set of trusted transactions on a blockchain. Then we have an autonomous system interacting, while blockchain is providing a record of decisions made. The proliferation of technologies such as autonomous cars will have significant social and economic impact.

What these technologies have in common and what makes them attractive is the reduction of costs by automating processes, decisions, functions, services and by integrating them further, lowering costs of networking

and verification. Those systems are hard to control and monitor in the traditional way of centralized governance; here again we see how the decentralized nature of new technology is not in line with the existing regulatory frameworks. At this point, we must ask ourselves to what degree are traditional concepts and tools of statecraft usable in the digital age? Everybody is preparing for the future that is mirroring the past. Governments need competent experts with entrepreneurial mindsets to address future challenges. Could business step in, look beyond the short-term gain and contribute to global rules making? Responsible businesses should aim not to control and manipulate the technology advancement, but to shape the global standards in a way that all AI-based technology creations raise value for society equally. The 'smart generation' is worlds apart from the elderly; urban areas are decades apart from rural ones - social and economic disparities are continually growing. We need to scale AI to serve humanity and to bridge the gaps that have emerged in society.

Blockchain platforms could be a way to connect AI with IoT in a secure way and bring benefits of shared network infrastructure without the market power and central intermediaries. Blockchain can facilitate access to capital that is concentrated geographically but also within specific social segments. People transacting are driven by incentives embedded within protocols; therefore it is essential to design smart contracts in the right way. This will present entrepreneurs with opportunities to easily scale ideas, regardless of where they are from. How do we do that?

1. By encouraging cooperation between regulators, crypto economists, entrepreneurs;
2. By facilitating the free circulation of non-personal data - modelled on establishing the 5th freedom of the EU. Blockchain solutions could be explored when it comes to digital data and privacy, as it can add an element of control - people will know exactly how their data is being used, while at the same time data is not strictly localized and monopolized by governments and limited in use by outdated regulation;
3. By creating global alliances for security and AI regulation;
4. By encouraging access to AI for entrepreneurs.

With these four steps, we can turn disruptive technology into an enabling one with a more significant positive impact for all. ●

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Thinking the Unthinkable

Why leaders must challenge longstanding assumptions on how to lead during the new disruption

/ By Nik Gowing, co-author of *Thinking the Unthinkable* and a Visiting Professor at King's College, London and Nanyang Technological University in Singapore / Chris Langdon, co-author of *Thinking the Unthinkable* and founder and director of Reconciliation Through film

Today, leaders in governments, corporations and institutions face a whole new landscape of disruption and uncertainty. Increasingly, the present and future is a world of new unthinkables and unpalatables. It is a level of uncertainty that few have ever experienced. Therefore they are not prepared for it and are struggling to handle it.

Indeed, the world is now moving much faster and in directions which most leaders are not prepared for. In too many surprise respects it is nothing like what their careers had trained them for. Whether in the corporate, government or institutional sectors, leaders are not willing to embrace this reality. In too many ways they are getting derailed by it. This is because their mindset is largely conformist and conditioned by how they got to the top. As hundreds of them have admitted candidly in 1-1 interviews and conversations

for our fast moving, ongoing *Thinking the Unthinkable* research project on leadership, it is not appropriate to the level of disruption that is going on.

They are certainly not prepared for it. What we're seeing is an unravelling of much of the glue of institutional frameworks and

Most leaders didn't believe the migration crisis would happen. It was an unthinkable. They were not prepared to believe that it would happen on the scale at which it did.

relationships between countries and corporations in ways which no one has ever experienced. A main insight from our project is that this is like a new wartime. It is a destabilising war on assumptions of stability. This is being created by a whole raft of disrupted ideas and principles that no one has predicted or expected.

It is not a war of weapons, and it is not just about cyber warfare. It's about the unravelling of what everyone has expected would be stable since World War II and the Bretton Wood agreements of the late 1940's. The stability, reliability and strength of international agreements and treaties are not only being challenged, they are being actively undermined.

And you can date this unravelling to 2014. You can see it when the Russian President Vladimir Putin decided to essentially invade Eastern Ukraine by proxy and seize Crimea in violation of international treaties. You can see it in the new relationship of the People's Republic of China to other parts of the world, particularly with the islands in the South China Sea. You can see it challenging everything that everyone assumed was guaranteed in terms of stability and the level of predictability.

That is what is unthinkable. But it is also

unpalatable. The evidence of what loomed was usually there. But few wanted to believe it.

Most leaders in governments, corporations or institutions are still not prepared to understand the enormity of the challenge to everything they have long been prepared for and assumed. After four years of study, the main finding of our *Thinking the Unthinkable* project (see www.thinkunthink.org) is that the conformity that gets you to the top in many ways now disqualifies you from understanding and appreciating the enormity of disruption and its implications, and how to handle it.

And we can tell you that no one—absolutely no one even at the highest executive levels—rejects this finding. Indeed they nod their heads and encourage us to keep the research going. They want to know what solutions there might be. They confirm how much they need them!

What we have identified is something which every leader is deeply concerned about. The words they volunteer to us con-

fidentially are 'scared' and 'overwhelmed' by the acute pressures of the 'short term'. And that's what's quite remarkable. They choose those words. Recently they have also volunteered the new imperatives for inclusivity, diversity, different behaviour and getting over the instinct for denial.

Impact of Unthinkables

What evidence do we have of the impact that these unthinkables can have on leadership?

Look at the migration crisis which hit Europe in 2015. That was warned about for at least two years by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and also the International Organisation for Migration. They both alerted European governments that their nations will face a significant migration problem because of the war in Syria and the threatening exodus from north Africa.

But most leaders didn't believe the migration crisis would happen. It was an unthinkable. They were not prepared to believe that it would happen on the scale at which it did.

Why is this important? The migration crisis was not unthinkable: in reality it was *unpalatable*. All those governments should have prepared themselves well in advance instead of panicking in the summer of 2015 when vast numbers of people scrambled on to boats and tried to get in through Southeast Europe and Italy.

I remember chairing the opening debate of the 2015 Bled Strategic Forum. Among the panellists in the opening session were Donald Tusk, President of the European Council, and Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović, President of Croatia. Refugees and migrants were swamping many routes up from Greece. Many governments were confronting a human wave they claimed they never expected, but which was organising itself super efficiently by mobile phone. Croatia was struggling to cope with huge numbers on the move. Slovenia wondered what it would soon face. Hungary was erecting razor wire. "We failed to see it because we were too politically correct," President Grabar-Kitarović confided a few months later.

The unimagined scale of the human exodus ended up causing the unthinkable - radicalization of politics in parts of Europe. It prompted new political realignments in countries like Germany, Poland, Hungary and Italy, with the decimation of traditional parties in France.

As EU First Vice President Frans Timmerman confirmed to me on the platform at the Bled Forum 2017, earlier that year it had left the EU and all it stood for "on the brink". The threat from unthinkables had become existential for Europe's unity.

In Germany, Chancellor Angela Merkel made a serious misjudgement. She barely survived the general election in September 2017. It took her six months to form a new coalition government. It was the price she paid for not being willing to understand the enormity of the migration challenge two years earlier. Accepting one million refugees was a warm humanitarian gesture. But the outcome destabilised traditional politics in Germany. It had the same impact in Poland. And similar in Hungary, where there is a super nationalist government which has both fuelled and benefitted from anti-migrant sentiments.

What is unfolding is a phenomenon which should not just be labelled populism. It is Push-Backism. Anti-establishment-ism. People are forcefully pushing back against those who in their eyes have failed. Those who were affected by the migration crisis, those whose jobs and lives were threatened, blame their leaders and globalisation. They want things to go back to the way they seemed few years ago, even if that is unlikely to provide the answers they are looking for or expecting. The overall direction of travel is towards greater radicalism and less accommodation for policies that create disillusionment.

Prepare for even bigger disruptions

And in many ways, you haven't seen anything yet. Artificial intelligence (AI) and algorithms are already decimating the normal assumptions of stability within countries. The strategic challenge now is a threat to social stability. Jobs which many people assume will be there to enable them to enjoy their lives, or at least to have enough to feed their families, simply won't exist. Many jobs in the retail sector or banking and financial sector, will be replaced by AI and algorithms.

Coming down the track is the prospect of a hollowing out of the middle class. Jobs that the middle and lower middle classes have traditionally taken, and which provide the spending power for every community, may soon and swiftly vaporise. This could then create even greater problems for social stability for many countries, which increasingly discredited leaders will be expected to handle. But can they?

Costs of being stuck in old ways

Are the leaders prepared to even countenance such unthinkables and unpalatables which will test their traditional political abilities and instincts?

Our work and project doubts that. Conformity of political instincts means new unthinkables are not even on radar screens while political survival within the usual election cycle is at stake. Political and corporate leaders have already lost credibility in the eyes of those they serve and those who vote for them. Political leaders have lost control and influence because the public is disillusioned. That is a huge credibility deficit to overcome. To do so may no longer be possible.

This prompts an even more profound question to be debated at this Bled Forum.

What is National Security? We argue it is now way beyond defence of the homeland against kinetic and terror threats that are reminiscent of this region in the 1990's. With the new scale of unthinkables security is now as much about how to protect national *stability* faced with the new hollowing out of so much that has been assumed to guarantee that stability.

Need for new, smart leadership

But there are reasons for optimism. Smart leaders who get the issues and do not reject them as a blip will work to ensure that corporates and governments with their public servants can thrive on change. If people accept that conformity is an issue, there are ways now for solutions to be found, or at least, options of solutions. None of them are easy. None of them guarantee success. But they are there as our case studies confirm.

The primary need is to accept the scale of unthinkables with a new courage and humil-

ity. It is about leaders opening their eyes to unthinkables. Leaders should accept the inevitability of unpalatables. This means there must be a different relationship with their shareholders, stakeholders and voters. As some leaders have told us, often this requires a new empathy and humility.

Already, in gatherings like the CEO Initiative from *Fortune Magazine*, and to a certain extent the World Economic Forum (WEF), you'll hear voices raising real concerns that the future of capitalism is at risk. This is because the public are questioning the right of companies to have a license to operate. A month after this Bled Forum, one of the world's few top corporate women leaders - Indra Nooyi - will step down after twelve years as Chair and CEO of PEPSICO. She realised the existential threat to the giant food corporate from a growing numbers of disaffected customers and disillusioned consumers. Under the rubric 'Performance with Purpose' she successfully transitioned much of PEPSICO from sugar-based products to more healthy and sustainable products.

Nooyi was also one of the few leaders to spot early on that the nature of work, skills and corporate ethics has to change well be-

It's about having open eyes, open ears and open minds. There must be a new culture, behaviour and mindset for leaders.

yond window dressing. This is because the next generation are saying, "I only want to work for an organisation, or company, or start-up which is sustainable, which believes in renewables, and which believes in a degree of social justice."

These are profound changes that most leaders are reluctant to embrace with more than tokenism that can be noted in the annual report.

In a letter dated 16 January 2018, Laurence Fink, the chief executive of BlackRock Investments, decided to go public highlighting exactly these problems—the need for new purpose for government, a new purpose for corporations.

There was also a call for a new set of values. This is not necessarily about money, but about the value of what you do, and the value to society. That, coming from the biggest financial company in the world, speaks volumes. The same sentiments were echoed by Joe Kaeser, the global chief executive of Siemens the engineering giant.

So, already, the leadership mountains may be moving potentially in a positive direction. But there remains an enormous amount of resistance, scepticism and denial. Most in positions of leadership in governments and the corporate world are not prepared to accept these new realities. This was highlighted in the PricewaterhouseCoopers CEO

survey which was published in January 2018. There are still far too many who believe that what we have described is a blip—a transitory kind of situation, a freak occurrence. They believe that somehow, we're going to return to the way things were.

The extensive data we have gathered leads us to say strongly that this is a flawed planning assumption of governments and of corporations. Some are beginning to wake up to that. But their response is nothing like enough when you see the daily evidence growing around us. When you hear President Putin suddenly talking about the new breed of invincible nuclear weapons that Russia is developing, and you see the new power of the People's Republic of China, these are new realities which are completely fragmenting all the assumptions of stability that there have been up to now.

So it's about having open eyes, open ears and open minds. There must be a new culture, behaviour and mindset for leaders. Also, what's needed is a degree of courage, probably a degree of humility, and the realisation that in this new wave of unthinkables, things aren't going back to the way they were before. It is now a war time on ideas and on stability, the kind that the Bled Strategic Forum should play a key part in debating and airing.

The final word is this: you have to be courageous enough to recalibrate leadership skills smartly, at high speed. And you have to build trust. Things are moving very quickly. Leadership needs to be brave and humble enough to realise this. Then those at the top will not be caught out by the inevitable unthinkables that have yet to be thought about. That is when they have a massive potential to hit hard and in unexpected ways.

It will mirror the shock and surprise on the faces of leaders on the Bled Forum in 2015 who could not come to terms of the scale of what was becoming the existential threat to European unity from the unpalatable human tide of refugees and economic migrants. It was on an unthinkable scale they had never believed possible. But it happened.

'Thinking the Unthinkable' is a new book co-authored by Nik Gowing and Chris Langdon, and published by John Catt Educational Ltd www.johncatt.com. The book is the latest stage in an ongoing, dynamic project that started in 2014. Please become an active contributor or participant for the ongoing research on leadership. We want to hear your views on leadership. Please engage with your own experiences and insights, especially if you are a leader. You can contribute at www.thinkunthink.org ●



Post Iran nuclear deal

The post-JCPOA environment in the Middle East and its geopolitical repercussions: an Arab Gulf perspective

/ By Dr. Abdulaziz Sager, Chairman, Gulf Research Center



For the states that comprise the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC – Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates), the decision of the U.S. Trump Administration to withdraw from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), or the Iran nuclear deal, as it is more commonly known, did not come as a surprise. For one, President Trump voiced his displeasure with the accord even during the presidential campaign, and kept up the pressure for significant improvement to the deal after assuming office. In addition, the GCC states voiced similar concerns over the terms of the nuclear agreement and found themselves largely in agreement with the new administration in Washington. While not urging President Trump to completely withdraw from the JCPOA, they nevertheless argued that significant improvements and adjustments to the accord were required if the long-term security of the region was to be assured. As it stood, the general feeling in the U.S. and the Arab Gulf was that the JCPOA contributed to greater insecurity in the Middle East rather than promoting its stability.

At the outset, it needs to be mentioned that despite not being included in the official negotiations, the GCC member states were supportive of the nuclear negotiations process. This is reflected in statements such as those of the GCC Foreign Ministers who officially pronounced on August 3, 2015 that “once fully implemented, the JCPA will contribute to the region’s long-term security, including by preventing Iran from developing or acquiring a military nuclear capability.” GCC Secretary-General Abdul Latif Al-Zayani also let it be known that: “We, in the GCC, support the legitimate right of states, including Iran, to have nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. But, at the same time, we are opposed to other options that could affect regional security and stability.”

There is a deep conviction among the Arab Gulf states that a political and diplomatic solution to the issue of nuclear proliferation is clearly preferable to further escalation of the crisis. For the GCC, war has never been an option for resolving Iran’s nuclear

case. This is because there exists a complete understanding what havoc and destruction another conflict would create in the region.

At the same time, the decision by the U.S. to ultimately withdraw from the nuclear deal was grounded in many of the same fundamental reservations that the GCC states held about the deal itself. These included:

1. A strong conviction that it was sanctions that brought Iran to the negotiating table and that with the pressure now off, Iran would soon prove intransigent once again, when it came to the resolution of other regional issues. This could be clearly demonstrated by the case of Syria, where Iran had not contributed to finding a peaceful solution in the past 3 years.
2. There is a strong belief that Iran continues to be intent on pursuing military nuclear capabilities and that Iran will use the time of the agreement, in particular the so called ‘sunset clauses’ to enhance its capabilities and pursue its research activities. A

For the GCC, war has never been an option for resolving Iran’s nuclear case.

key question remains what would happen after the agreement expires. The Obama administration’s point and hope that the deal would bring about a change in Iranian behavior was largely seen as being naïve – after all, the Iranian revolution has been around for almost 40 years. There was also a concern about what would happen in ten years when a new generation of Iranian leaders – i.e. those coming out of the Iran-Iraq War who tend to be more hard-line, take over power in Tehran. No one in the GCC states wants a return to the Ahmadinejad years.

3. Finally, there was the conviction that the sanctions relief associated with the nuclear deal would be used by Iran to bolster its interventionist policy in the region, including through further support of proxy groups that promote a sectarian agenda. In particular, this includes the continued mobilization of Hizbullah in support of the Syrian government of Bashar Al- Assad; the support for hundreds of

Shia militias in Iraq that have prevented the process of reconciliation and unification in Iraq from proceeding forward; and the assistance provided to the Houthis militia in Yemen, in particular, the supply of ballistic missile material that has been used to attack targets inside Saudi Arabia and the use of which has been threatened against other GCC states.

Taken together, Iran’s interventionist policies throughout the region are seen in the GCC states not as something temporary, but rather as a “fixed” policy that is aimed directly at undermining the stability of neighboring countries. In this context, the continuation of the JCPOA in its current form would have simply extended an umbrella for Iran to continue with its activities without any consequences.

The key problem here has been that the signatories of the agreement have failed to use the period since the deal was signed in 2015 to continue negotiations towards a more comprehensive accord with Iran that addresses regional security priorities and deals with other concerns outside the nuclear domain. Instead of using the JCPOA as a stepping stone to draw Iran into further discussions about a regional security process, the focus remained on the nuclear issue only. This, in turn, ultimately undermined the agreement as a whole, and left the region in a volatile and unstable situation, given the uncertainty over what comes next.

To be sure, the regional security environment in the post-JCPOA era is only one of the many political challenges with which the Middle East finds itself confronted. Other items include the need to bring the many current war and conflict situations to peaceful resolutions - the most obvious being Syria, Libya and Yemen. There is also the continued challenge of state decay and failure alongside the rise of violent non-state actors as a component contributing to the “failed state phenomenon.” Yemen is a clear example of this, where the Houthis have been allowed to uproot a legitimate government. Thus, an effort must be made to bring the state back and to support the strengthening of state institutions as a way to re-establish domes-

tic security and stability. Finally, the issue of external involvement in Middle Eastern affairs needs to be addressed, given the fact that external actors always come with their own agendas, which most often do not correspond with the needs and requirements of local communities. This includes the current Russian role in Syria, but also concerns the United States as it develops a strategy vis-à-vis Iran. To counterbalance such policies, the European Union would be strongly advised to engage all actors in the region in a comprehensive dialogue that takes the local security interests seriously. In the end, security can come from the outside, but can only be guaranteed by the forces on the inside.

Where Europe can be consequential is in defining what the post-JCPOA environment must look like if a further downward spiral into violence and instability is to be avoided in the region. As far as Iran is concerned, four scenarios are possible at this moment: acceptance of the new conditions imposed on it and readiness to strike a new deal; rising domestic pressure caused by the inability to reform the Iranian domestic economy, resulting in increased repression by the state and an overall heightened sense of insecurity; intervention by Russia and China to offer themselves as alternatives to the U.S. policy, resulting in increased great power competition, including a disregard for regional security needs; and finally, sudden military escalation due to an unforeseen event or unexpected confrontation that could spiral out of control, given undefined rules of engagement and the limited conflict management capabilities in place. Given that the first scenario is unlikely, the other three would add additional pressure on top of the already tense situation. The key question at this stage involves the readiness of Europe to get involved and offer an alternative path. Given the fact that Europe is directly impacted by the stability of the Middle East, it would appear to be a question of not if but when. ●

Addressing radicalization and violent extremism

Reform and cooperation in the Western Balkans: working toward comprehensive P-CVE policy solutions

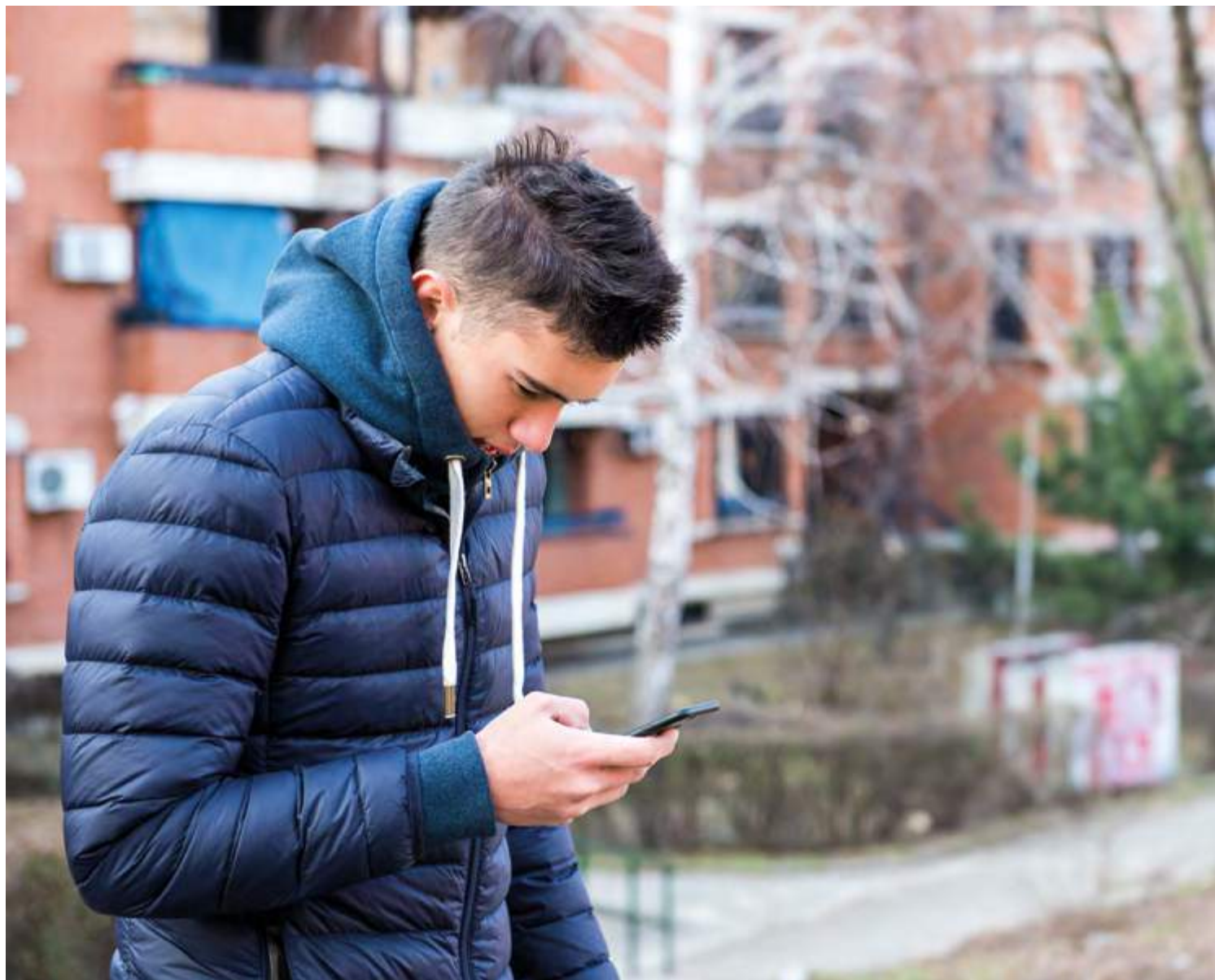
/ By Jelka Klemenc and Rajko Kozmelj, IISG Support Group, DCAF Ljubljana

Policymakers and practitioners from the Western Balkan countries are facing diverse and numerous challenges in confronting security issues related to radicalisation that may lead to violent extremism of terrorism. There are many complex tasks ahead in reforming their policies in order to be able to engage in efficient prevention and countering of those phenomena (P-CVE in short). During the last couple of years, the attention of the EU and the wider international donor community on this particular field of reform has increased significantly. Like in EU Member States, the projects and policy solutions anchored around the pre-existing, 'traditional', Counter-Terrorism (CT)-oriented arrangements, representing almost exclusively law enforcement (police and intelligence). One of the most valuable lessons so far has been that bringing in new contemporary knowledge and encouraging coordinated action will be *key* to any comprehensive future P-CVE policy solutions on the ground. There is also significant opportunity to enhance cooperation and engagement with the EU Member States, who are also working further to improve their own P-CVE capacities – through cross-fertilisation of knowledge and experience, but also crucial information sharing.

The attention to P-CVE in the Western Balkans had increased with the emergence of ISIS, recruitment, and the penetration of ultraconservative ideologies into traditionally moderate and tolerant Muslim communities. First assessments followed between 2015-2016, revealing the numbers of departed Foreign Terrorist Fighters –Western Balkan nationals to war areas at approximately 1000. This has contributed to an overwhelming focus on the response to mainly this type of extremism, and it was only sometime later that it expanded to other forms of (home-grown) extremism, either heritage to inter-ethnic conflicts and unfinished state-building in the region or right-wing extremism. The international community on this field of policy has been contributing invaluable financial support and expertise to policymakers and practitioners, expanding traditional CT cooperation and reform to the area of P-CVE. We have, however been witnessing, quite uneven progress of reform.

Not surprisingly, the police have been the main actuator of capacity-building and policy improvements in the policy field of addressing radicalisation and violent extremism in the Western Balkans, and this has also been the case in EU Member States. The actual role of the police in P-CVE, however, can only be limited when it comes to *comprehensive* P-CVE solutions, where we engage in the prevention, early identification and finally disengagement and reintegration of an individual who has been progressing down the path toward violent behaviour. It is the schools, social workers, medical practitioners, prison and probation officers and, crucially, the individual's local community that play the most important role.

In 2017, the Slovenian-led project named "First Line"¹ provided thorough assessments for the Western Balkan countries focusing on the existing preconditions for establishing such comprehensive policy approaches in the future. This would be achieved by de-



veloping multi-disciplinary P-CVE mechanisms in each country, based on existing good practices of European countries and on the expertise offered by the EU centre of excellence. The solutions on the ground would connect both state and, crucially, community levels in a joint formal structure, which would offer a sufficient response to such cases. Later in 2017, the Western Balkan Counter-Terrorism Initiative (WBCTi)² developed a model policy concept³ to guide both the Beneficiaries as well as actors providing

The factors driving radicalized individuals toward violent behaviour remain an important public concern in the Western Balkan region.

external assistance in the Western Balkan region, in order to continue reform in the direction of what would be a long-term sustainable solution.

The main deficiency at this time – not only in the Western Balkans, but also in Europe as a whole – is the lack of structures and procedures that would introduce an active role in P-CVE on part of sectors other than the police. Only by involving sectors such as education, social affairs, cultural affairs and all relevant parts of society as well, will we gain sufficient understanding of the factors and triggers behind radicalization. This will allow us to assess the risks posed by individual cases and plan for efficient prevention, referral, and eventual rehabilitation and reintegration into society. The levels of awareness needs to be further raised on how educational institutions, medical practitioners as well as the civil society, youth and women could play an active role in contemporary P-CVE.

The factors driving radicalized individuals toward violent behaviour remain an important public concern in the Western Balkan region. At a time of rising trends in mixed migration flows in the region, European public discourse turns to the potential threat posed by returning Foreign Terrorist Fighters. In terms of the states' ability to address a case of an individual in need of deradicalization and reintegration (incl. the Foreign Terrorist Fighters' family members), the capacities and expertise remain low. As

returnees may face criminal prosecution upon return, the capacities of prisons are also important, namely, a prison can either serve as breeding ground for radicalisation or may play a vital role in deradicalization/disengagement of an individ-

ual – when/if supported by stable system in place that also involves the individual's local community. The countries' politicians place P-CVE high on their agendas. All of the Western Balkan countries have appointed national P-CVE coordinators.

There are no ideal models nor is there a quick-fix solution in place that we could simply offer to the countries in establishing a multi-stakeholder mechanism enabling a whole-of-society approach and response. Any transfer of EU and other relevant international standards can indeed be based on those found in EU Member States, but those also have to be viewed critically in terms of their adaptability to local circumstances, so we do not impede long-term sustainability of a policy solution, not to mention the waste of costly investments while getting to that solution. In the upcoming years, the EU and the whole international community need to work on achieving a comprehensive under-

standing of the whole society and all relevant state agencies of the P-CVE scope, underlying concepts and good practices. They should provide further guidance to state and local existing structures in the Western Balkans on how to proceed and, most of all, they should aim for coordinated and aligned action in any further administrative reform and capacity-building

The first model solutions to be developed, however, should allow for sufficient exchange of experience between countries as well, via inclusion of Western Balkan practitioners and experts in the EU Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN) Centre of Excellence. This will, in our experience, also result in useful *cross-fertilisation* of knowledge and experience as the EU Member States themselves continue to strive toward improvements of their own P-CVE policies and can greatly benefit from the Western Balkan experience. ●

Endnotes

- ¹ 'FIRST LINE Practitioners Dealing with Radicalisation Issues – Awareness Raising and Encouraging Capacity Building in the Western Balkan Region' (project ref. no. HOME/2014/ISFP/AG/RAD/7533)
- ² The Western Balkan Counter-Terrorism initiative (WBCTi) is an EU-supported effort to respond to the developments related to Terrorism, Violent Extremism and Radicalisation phenomena in the Western Balkans by maximizing the potential of Regional Cooperation policy and by merging the efforts of all relevant security actors in this area of policy development in an efficient – and sustainable – manner. It is part of the Integrative Internal Security Governance in the Western Balkans (WB IISG).
- ³ 'P-R-A – Prevent-Refer-Address' model concept'

EU – Western Balkans: so close and so far away

The new EU Strategy for Western Balkans brings new momentum, but are WB ready for real reform?

/ By Ivana Boštjančič Pulko, Head of Peace and Security Programme, Centre for European Perspective

This year's BSF is entitled Bridging the Divide, properly implying there are many divisions to be bridged worldwide, in Europe, regionally and within countries. The region of the Western Balkans (WB) is certainly facing countless divisions, most prominent one is undoubtedly between the region of six countries (WB6) and the EU.

The good news is that there is a new momentum in the EU-WB relations with some important milestones achieved since last year. Whether this momentum will persist and have a meaningful impact remains to be seen, also because divisions within the EU over the region persist. The burning question, however, is whether the political elites in the WB are finally ready to fully commit to the implementation of democratic and free-market reforms, which might cost them privileges and functions in their countries.

New EU Strategy for the Western Balkans

European Commission's new Strategy for the Western Balkans from 6th February undoubtedly is the main game-changer in the last twelve months. Alarmed by the rising influence of Russia, Turkey, China and others on its southern flank, stemming directly from the crisis in the EU's enlargement policy, the EC put together a Strategy, which proposes some courageous measures, especially the progressive opening of the EU funds, inclusion of the WB6 governments in EU policy-making processes before membership and lifting barriers for trade and travel. It also points out that "countries show clear elements of state capture, including links with organised crime and corruption at all levels of government and administration, as well as a strong entanglement of public and private interests." It goes on to say that "none of the Western Balkans can currently be considered a functioning market economy." To ensure that a new strategy can deliver, it will need robust monitoring and enforcement systems. Legal reforms are meaningful only if they are implemented in a reliable and sustainable way.

The role of civil society is and will be more important than ever in order to act as a watchdog and promoter of changes. While EU's progress reports, linked formalistically to the 'Copenhagen' accession criteria, have been asserting that progress is being made, the reports from non-governmental organizations continued to shed a light on a more disturbing reality. EU should certainly be bolder in identifying the fake reformers in the Balkans since 'stabilitocracy' in the name of preserving stability only benefits small circles of political elites and their allies in the region.

Is the EU really committed?

European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker surprised everyone last year, suggesting that Serbia and Montenegro, which have both begun membership talks, could join the bloc by 2025. This date was not endorsed by many EU leaders and even Angela Merkel, the frontrunner friend of the WB, said that membership must be based on factual progress and what has been achieved on rule of law, on fighting corruption and other conditions such as border disputes. The 2025 was primarily 'advertised' by the EC to revive the reform efforts in the WB and the EC should now track its strategy document with its instruments to monitor the progress

in the region in order to avoid preferring speed over quality of reforms. New strategy foresees new instruments to monitor progress, such as the Reinhard Priebe report on corruption and one-party takeover of state institutions in Macedonia in 2015.

At the EU-Western Balkans summit held 17 May in Sofia, which was the first such event since 2003 and thus has a huge symbolic value, the EU leaders reaffirmed their unequivocal support to strengthen the region's political, economic, and social transformation. They stressed the importance of good neighbourly relations, regional stability, and mutual cooperation. This includes in particular finding solutions to bilateral disputes and dedicating additional efforts to reconciliation. The next EU-Western Balkans summit would take place during the Croatian presidency of the Council in 2020 but three other on-going or upcoming presidencies, namely Austria in 2018, Romania in 2019 and Croatia in 2019 plan to keep Western Balkans high on the agenda.

In addition, the Berlin Process, which was launched in 2014 to revitalize dynamic of the enlargement policy, contributes to keeping the momentum alive. As part of the process the London Summit was held in July and the next will be held in Poznan in 2019. Despite the fact that many stress limitations of the Berlin Process since it only involves limited number of EU member states and the six Balkan countries, the process was certainly one of the first tools initiated to put the region and enlargement back on the EU's agenda and many proposals which have been developed as part of the Berlin process ended up in the new EC's Strategy. The Berlin Process is also complementary to the more technical enlargement process, dedicating the civil society a more prominent role. Poland, which will host the next summit, believes that enlargement should be continued also due to security reasons - weak states on the EU's flank pose a threat in the areas of smuggling of human beings, weapons and drugs into the EU.

Furthermore the EU leaders agreed to open membership talks with Macedonia and Albania by the end of 2019, if both Balkan aspirants show enough progress in judicial and anti-corruption reforms. This is the result of a compromise among EU governments to keep alive the WB membership hopes but seek further reforms before talks can formally start. EC also announced in July that Kosovo has met the remaining benchmarks to win visa liberalisation with the EU that other Western Balkan countries already enjoy. Proposal still needs to be adopted by the European Parliament and the Council of all 28 member states, of which some remain sceptical about Kosovo's rule of law and fight against crime. EC stressed it would "continue to monitor the implementation of all requirements set out in the visa liberalisation roadmap". It is impossible to predict the length of this process.

Yet, despite these positive developments, deep divisions within the EU over the region persist. President of the European Council Donald Tusk said "when it comes to troubles per capita, the Western Balkans are much bigger than, for example, Germany and France together." French President Emmanuel Macron insisted the EU should first focus on reforming itself before any new enlargement adventures. Spanish Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy boycotted the summit due to the presence of Kosovo, which Madrid and four other EU capitals do not recognize.



Based on those divisions, the final Sofia EU-WB Summit declaration expressed "unequivocal support" for the "European perspective" of the WB, whereas the Thessaloniki text from 2003 stressed that the "future of the Balkans is within the EU".

It is clear that a number of EU governments are currently not convinced whether the WB6 belong in their club, fearing also a backlash from voters, since the opposition to enlargement has grown substantially over the past 15 years. The EU abandoned the pursuit of an active policy towards this region after 2008 and the critical assessment of the EU's expansions in 2004 and 2007 has strengthened disapproval to the admission of new members.

Some good news and some more challenges

Resolution of the Macedonia name dispute with Greece was the news the Balkans badly needed. The compromise, hopefully to be confirmed in a referendum in Macedonia in September proves that solving bilateral disputes is possible even after many years of deadlock. In June both Prime Ministers declared they had struck a deal and NATO invited "Northern Macedonia" to become a member at the Brussels summit in July, a full decade after a membership proposal was blocked. Athens should ratify the accession protocol in autumn, together with the agreement on the name issue. Optimistically this episode will provide a happy ending, assuring a special place in the history of both countries.

It seems that solving of bilateral disputes will be high on the agenda in the near future as well. Witnessing the unresolved border dispute between Slovenia and Croatia, the new EC's Strategy clearly emphasizes the significance of not importing bilateral disputes into the EU and calls upon responsible parties to solve them as a matter of urgency. Accession process should be utilised in that sense. The fact that five EU countries do not recognize Kosovo as an independent state makes international gatherings tense - e.g. referring to the six Western Balkan states as 'partners'. The other main actors having influence in the region might not be necessarily in favour of the resolution of the bilateral disputes and the EU should be able to counter the negative effects of these other actors' actions.

The topic of reconciliation deserves more attention. It might present a priority for some of the EU countries and civil society organisations but not for the WB governments. They never agreed over interpretations of recent

history and many of them still aim to rewrite it. If civil society was not in the picture, there would be nobody really left insisting on reconciliation or resolution of bilateral disputes.

What does the future hold?

While there is no doubt that the EU countries would like to see WB become a stable and democratic region intrinsically linked to the EU, the EU should also be careful to avoid the integration process, benefiting only the political elites in bringing them 'closer to the EU' without true reform processes. Legitimising undemocratic regimes and fake advancement in order to assure regional stability, instead of promoting the implementation of pro-democratic reforms will have a boomerang effect. It is understandable that EU needs a lot of juggling to keep the countries within the Euro-Atlantic sphere of influence but strongest EU political groups also sometimes have a (negative) role in defending corrupt regimes. EU should not be tolerating these practices. It should also not accept Balkans' officially pro-European governments regularly employing nationalist and anti-EU rhetoric to provoke tensions in relations with their neighbours in order to mobilise society, particularly before elections.

The Balkans' relative socio-political stability, present in the WB since 2008, paradoxically, contributed to weakening EU's involvement in the region, which resulted in rising euroscepticism and disillusion with the EU. EU's member states and institutions were increasingly perceived as the allies of the local regimes and this trend should be overturned. With the current favourable climate and good winds coming from the EU, the opportunity for the countries of the Western Balkans is truly historic. It would be beneficial if a separate directorate-general dealing only with the countries having a credible membership perspective was established, which would go beyond merely the monitoring of the adoption of laws but also assess the real impact of reforms.

Hopefully this transition of the Western Balkans becoming a truly stable and rights-respecting democratic society, is underway. As the new Strategy stresses "the Western Balkan countries now have a historic window of opportunity to firmly and unequivocally bind their future to the EU. They will have to act with determination." With complexity of issues and actors, it will not be simple. Enlargement policy is the EU's main policy tool in the Western Balkans. There are not many other options left. ●

Making a move

Russia's interests and strategic limitations in Eastern Ukraine

/ By András Rácz, Associate Professor, Pázmány Péter Catholic University

On 16th July 2018 in Helsinki Russian President Vladimir Putin reportedly proposed U.S. President Donald Trump to hold a referendum in the occupied territories of Eastern Ukraine about the future status of the region. Shortly thereafter, on 24th July 2018 an earlier unannounced meeting took place between German Chancellor Angela Merkel and her Foreign Minister Heiko Maas with Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov and Russia's Chief of the General Staff Valery Gerasimov in Berlin. Still on the same day, Lavrov and Gerasimov travelled to Paris, and met French President Emmanuel Macron as well. Besides other issues, both discussions touched upon the settlement of the conflict in Ukraine. The proposal to send a United Nations peacekeeping mission to Eastern Ukraine to assist the work of the already present OSCE observers (originally launched by Russia in September 2017) was reportedly discussed in detail.

The increasingly active Russian diplomacy might be understood as a clear sign that Russia's strategy about the conflict in Eastern Ukraine is changing. Besides, though Russia still maintains the official narrative of non-involvement regarding Eastern Ukraine, the Helsinki, Berlin and Paris meetings all demonstrated that in order to make progress in the case of Eastern Ukraine Russia is the one to address, and not the Donbas separatists.

Russia's strategic goals in Ukraine

From Russia's perspective, maintaining or settling the conflict in Eastern Ukraine is not an objective in itself, but a tool to influence Ukraine as a whole. The likely actual objective is to make sure that Ukraine never joins either the EU or NATO, and does not become a successful, democratic country either. Keeping Ukraine out of NATO, and preferably also clean of Western forces stationed there is connected to Russia's per-

ceived security and defense interests. Meanwhile, the opposition to enhancement of Ukrainian-EU relations can be derived from Kremlin's security interests: Moscow needs to make sure that Ukraine does not succeed in continuing on its current pro-Western path in order to prevent the Russian population from contemplating a similar turn.

One way to achieve these goals is to pressure Kyiv to give such high level of autonomy to the two separatist regions, that it would later enable them to block any pro-Western intentions of the Ukrainian state. This could

Time does not work in Russia's favor anymore. Maintaining the two separatist entities - the so-called Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics - puts an immense burden on the already overstretched Russian budget.

be done either via open coercion, which Russia tried after defeating Ukraine's military in September 2014 and February 2015, or via convincing the international community to make Ukraine accept Russia's conditions. Another way leads through influencing the upcoming presidential and parliamentary elections in Ukraine, both scheduled to take place in 2019. If a Russia-friendly president or parliament takes office, the Kremlin could take for granted that Ukrainian relations with both the EU and NATO would suffer serious drawbacks.

Russia's shrinking options and changing strategy in Ukraine

Russia's economy is in grave need of reforms, as well as foreign investments and technology. The appointment of well-known reformist economists - such as Anton Siluanov and Alexey Kudrin - to key state positions, or the recently announced, radical increase of the retirement age all indicate that serious changes have to take place. As U.S. and EU economic sanctions isolate Russia from the Western capital markets, and also

block access to Western technologies, getting them lifted is an essential condition to any successful reform.

The main problem for Russia is that its Ukraine-related objectives contradict the overall need to improve and stabilize the Russian economy. As the most painful Western sanctions are conditioned to the fulfillment of the Minsk ceasefire agreements, theoretically an easy way to get rid of the sanctions would be to simply give up Eastern Ukraine, and let Kyiv retake control. However, this would contradict the Kremlin's above-described defense and regime-security interests. Hence, Russia needs to find a way that does not endanger the strategic interests related to Ukraine, but also permits the necessary economic modernization, preferably including the lifting of sanctions.

Another problem is that time does not work in Russia's favor anymore. Maintaining the two separatist entities - the so-called Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics - puts an immense burden on the already overstretched Russian budget. Russia finances everything in the separatist regions: salaries, health care, education, and even food supplies for a territory, which still has a population of approximately 3 million. Recent reports about decreasing Russian subsidies may indicate that Moscow does not intend to - and probably cannot - maintain these proxies infinitely. From the financial perspective, it would be a lot more beneficial for Moscow if all costs would fall on the Kyiv government.

Regarding the military situation, the lasting stalemate in the conflict settlement initially favored Russia by allowing it to stabilize its separatist proxies. However, due to the gradual improvement of Ukraine's armed forces, the Kremlin's potential of military coercion over Kyiv is shrinking. Short of a full-scale attack which would have to involve Russian regular forces too, no other form of military pressure could currently coerce

Ukraine to comply with the Minsk agreement. Any such attack would immediately ruin Russia's hopes to get Western sanctions lifted any time soon, therefore a serious military escalation is highly unlikely to happen.

The conflict no longer has any domestic mobilization potential either. According to the latest relevant polls of the Levada Center, by September 2017 less than one third of the Russian population paid high or even moderate attention to the conflict in Ukraine. This is in sharp contrast to the data of summer 2014, when nearly two-thirds of Russians followed the events closely. Hence, if the Kremlin intends to divert the society's attention from the painful economic reforms, it is not the conflict in Ukraine that Moscow needs. Instead, a political breakthrough that could lead to the lifting of Western sanctions, thus to the improvement of Russia's economic situation would be more beneficial from the perspective of Moscow's domestic political intentions.

Where is Moscow heading?

All in all, the recent Russian proposals about a UN mission to be sent to the Donbas, and about holding a referendum there, do not indicate at all that Moscow intends to give up its political objectives in Ukraine, or its influence over the occupied Donbas region.

Instead, it is 'only' the control over military escalation dynamics that Russia is now ready to give up, in exchange for a dominantly political settlement mechanism through the deployment of a UN mission. Moscow probably hopes that its new attitude might help get Western sanctions removed, but without endangering Kremlin's fundamental strategic interests in Ukraine. Besides, the change of strategy in conflict settlement does not mean that Russia would abandon its efforts to influence the upcoming Ukrainian elections either. ●



Direction: decentralization

Digital decentralization and institutional resilience: companies avoid domicile in jurisdictions with unclear rules, now blockchain lets them avoid any domicile

/ By William Entriken, Blockchain Developer and Advisor to Oxcert

S In this global economy, companies have ever more choices of where to incorporate and how to classify their services. In a few high-profile cases, innovative companies have creatively ignored existing regulations and nearly replaced existing industries. Their excuse is that the rules are too bothersome to read. The public has welcomed these companies and is starting to question the value of government regulatory institutions. So these institutions must make their rules easier to understand for would-be entrepreneurs in order to retain public confidence and attract innovative companies.

Decentralized case studies

In the past decade, a few innovative and quasi-legal companies have shown everybody that laws and regulations for taxi service across the world can be safely ignored. These are millions of pages of rules that “ridesharing” company managers most likely did not bother to read. The consumers are not reading the rules either. This great experiment left a lasting message with consumers — government institutions are not always the best market custodians, even where they have long held control. Consumers quickly found that ride availability was up, drunk driving was down, and they had a powerful feedback mechanism for poor experiences.

Next is the hotel industry. New entrants are making real estate available for short-term rent. At first they did not pay the 10% or higher occupancy taxes that government institutions typically demand. And they were not accountable to institutions’ demands for safety checks. Again, consumers found that institutions had provided little value in policing this market. Safety at “home-sharing” rentals are on par with hotels. And more rentals on the market is a great value to consumers.

***Bitcoin has no jurisdiction.
The company has no
domicile. Actually,
there is no company.***

This last example touches the most sacred of government institutions, fiat currency. Bitcoin started with the straightforward mission of replacing the Visa and MasterCard payment networks — by offering lower fees and accounts that cannot be seized by governments. Of course Bitcoin and related digital currencies with a mere market capitalization of 300 billion Euros have hardly achieved their original mission. (Visa cleared 7.5T EUR of transactions in the past year, UnionPay 13T EUR.) However the impact is clear — decentralized systems offer an alternative where previously trust in government was required.

The Bitcoin example is special. Governments know that companies strategically move their intellectual property to low-tax jurisdictions. And consumers know (thanks to General Data Protection Regulation) that their information has been moved around to cloud services in various jurisdictions. But Bitcoin has no jurisdiction. The company has no domicile. Actually, there is no company.

No-domicile organizations

A very brief way to describe how Bitcoin works is to say it is a document notary system. Based on the magic introduced in some 1980s computer science journals, this system works without any one organization maintaining it. The first notarized document basically says “I invented the Bitcoin system and I have one million Bitcoin.” All subsequent documents are basically a transfer from one person that has some Bitcoin to another person.

The new part of this system, which is both powerful and dangerous, is that people can transfer and store money in any jurisdiction. Only the assigned owner must consent to authorize a transaction. This is in strong contrast to traditional monetary systems where government or banks can block or reverse any transaction.

Bitcoin is only the first blockchain application to create billions of Euros out of thin air in this way. This month, a new gambling system collects wagers using a similar decentralized system. Nobody can prevent these wagers from going through and nobody can tax them. Oh, and P.S., all the transactions are anonymous. Other applications are coming to track ownership of physical property and identities of people, all without government help.

Resilient rules

Government institutions can act today to stop their best companies from leaving to other jurisdictions or even no jurisdiction.

Companies that will raise capital for decentralized organizations are frequently choosing Switzerland to incorporate. Why? Because they have read the laws in other countries regard-

ing “security sales” and “utility token sales” and they didn’t understand them. It is easier to move a company to another country than it is to hire a lawyer to interpret laws in your country. That’s an opportunity, review your laws, make them more straightforward.

Next, learn the modern definition of accountability. If you eat a bad meal, there is probably an app already on your phone begging you to provide all the details so it can make an actionable and public report. If institutions cannot provide this level of service and convenience for reporting potholes, citing public health concerns, or reporting unfair workplace practices then somebody in the private sector will replace that institution.

Lastly, this one is hard. If the fees for government services are very high, then a competitor will find an opportunity to get around

them. If government charges a 2% fee to record house title transfers but it does not need that much money to police house title transfers, or offset the economic externalities, then this is what economists call “rent seeking”. Some company will come along that promises to transfer houses without paying transfer tax by calling it “ownership sharing” rather than a “transfer”. Each time something like this happens, public confidence in government is weakened. So institutions should carefully evaluate what services they provide and at what cost.

Fortunately, resilient government institutions have a large opportunity ahead. Institutions which implement a regulatory framework that people can actually read will quickly attract innovative companies and increase public confidence. ●

Government institutions can act today to stop their best companies from leaving to other jurisdictions or even no jurisdiction.

BLOCKCHAIN

Trace the origin of your yogurt

Blockchain: transforming trust among organizations and revolutionizing supply chains

/ By Tomaž Levak, Žiga Drev and Branimir Rakić, Co-Founders of OriginTrail

There has been a lot of discussion about the blockchain and its potential recently. Many have heard about the technology in the context of cryptocurrencies, but the blockchain can be used for so much more. For instance, blockchain can enable us to reliably trace the origin of the food we buy at supermarkets. So let us talk about a conversion of these two 'chains' - supply chain and blockchain.

In supply chain context, blockchain provides a foundation to create a neutral layer for exchanging data among companies resulting in a single version of truth for any business transaction. What makes it so revolutionary is that there is no central authority that could retroactively change data, ensuring that trust is built into the network itself. This paradigm shift is revolutionizing relations that are the foundation for doing business today. Blockchain technology holds the promise to usher in the 4th technology revolution.

Because of the way business is done today, often, collaborators, partners and associates have different interests and do not trust each other. Wherever there is an information asymmetry, there is a clear need for a neutral solution (source). Blockchain

Blockchain technology holds the promise to usher in the 4th technology revolution.

technology can provide that neutrality. Even if any number of given actors wanted to conspire to alter data, they could not do so, at least not without anyone noticing it. This is the beauty of decentralization. No one actor holds the keys to change the truth.

Where does using the blockchain makes sense?

If you take a moment to look at your surroundings this moment, as you are reading this, there is a very high probability that most of the objects surrounding you went through some form of regional, national or global supply chain to get to you. In the most general terms, what constitutes a supply chain is a network of entities that are in some way interacting with a product or service on its way to the market and during its time on the market. Supply chains today are increasingly growing in complexity, which creates challenges when it comes to managing this multitude of often fluid relations effectively.

With so many claims out there about the blockchain's potential to revolutionize this or that industry or process, it almost seems like the technology is a solution waiting for a problem. However, the problems are already here and they are plaguing global supply chains. They include opacity - where products or their ingredients cross many points and borders and are difficult to keep track of - and lost efficiency due to corrupt data. For example, in the current industry, 10% of all freight invoices contain inaccurate data, including duplication, wrong freight mode charges and incorrect fees (source). As supply chains are becoming increasingly global and complex - they are actually more networks than chains - they are growing more opaque. Until today, no IT system was adequate to address end-to-end supply chain visibility because it was always imposed by a single entity.

This, in turn, de-motivated all the rest of the stakeholders to share more data than what was absolutely necessary. With decentralised systems, data governance is turned upside down. Once companies realise that they can keep ownership of their data and still create new value out of sharing it, motivation to collect and share data is established. Blockchain is not only a trust builder, it provides opportunities for cost reduction to the supply chain industry.

Protocols and standards: How can the companies get ready?

It all starts and ends with the data. Introducing a novel technology in the business processes always comes with a risk of compatibility and interoperability, either with legacy technology or with business processes. Adoption of the technology is easily facilitated by compatibility with already used standards. In supply chain industry, GS1 has been recognized as an authority on the "global language of business" - it is the not-for-profit organization that led the implementation of the EAN barcodes which transformed global retail when they were introduced in the 1970s.

By utilising protocols like OriginTrail, most businesses are ready for the blockchain today, as long as they use widely adopted standards, such as GS1's. In that case, the blockchain can be introduced as an integrity layer that runs on top of legacy IT systems. Once the data between partners is synchronised, further supply chain applications are possible. One possible example is a mobile app that enables consumers to scan the item in a store and see the product journey. After scanning a yogurt, for example, they could exactly see when and on which farm the milk was collected, when it was produced into the yogurt, and when it entered the store. Integrating data from the sensors in a truck, they could also add information if the yogurt was transported at the right temperature. If the farm is certified for ecological farming, this blockchain-based trail of events could also act as an audit that the final product is "bio". In this example, blockchain leads to increased consumer confidence and helps brands stand out in a market.

A proactive approach from policymakers is necessary for benefits of blockchain to take root in various industries.

Companies can also set up their internal application for more efficient supply chain management. The Chinese online food marketplace Yimishiji found inconsistencies in data provided by their suppliers the first day they connected their system with the OriginTrail's blockchain solution.

The road ahead

Blockchain technology is here to stay. For the benefits of the blockchain to take effect across industries and add value to the general business environment, there is a need for a proactive approach - coming from policymakers, as well.

Blockchain redefines the notion of trust and it can redefine the role of agencies and institutions which now act as intermediaries of trust, from arbitrary ones relying on individuals, to ones setting the rules of the global trade game based on data with integrity.

Blockchain-based innovations, such as smart contracts, could also require rethinking of legislation.

Some countries are already establishing a welcoming environment for blockchain-based businesses, which can include changes in legislation or - like in the early days of the internet - giving a strong signal that the regulation will not stifle innovation until the adoption of the technology becomes more widespread. In order to be able to grasp the full potential of this new technology, such support is of crucial importance. ●



A disconnect in the age of digital

How digital technologies are changing the environment of diplomacy

/ By Matthew Jacobs, Digital Coordinator, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, U.S. Department of State
Ingrid Omahna, Project Coordinator, Centre for European Perspective

Just as the advent of the printing press precipitated a vast rise in global literacy and interconnectivity over five hundred years ago, the development and proliferation of modern digital communication technologies has revolutionized the way individuals across the globe are creating, transmitting, receiving, and internalizing information.

The emergence of inexpensive and accessible digital communication platforms, specifically social networks, represents a significant milestone in global interconnectivity - a model rooted in increased individual agency and liberty. The proliferation of digital communication media has completely democratized traditional information flow processes. First, it reduced barriers to entry. While the power to produce content was previously coalesced in the hands of the elite, everyone now has access to a mobile and professional production at their fingertips. Second, it empowered individuals to radically define their own information environment. Individuals can now create and shape the distribution networks according to their own preference - defining which markets they trust, and which markets they will render and receive content - shifting away from the traditional hierarchical methodologies and mechanisms.

Did these advances occur more rapidly than humanity could handle? Individuals have the capability to be inundated by information, data, and choice, but their cognitive capacities have not yet adapted to the increased load. It remains a question as to whether humanity has evolved at the same pace as the media landscape it endeavored to develop, and whether it is equipped to thrive within it. For example, individuals now have the choice to access an infinite amount of information, but have their cognitive capacities progressed enough to accurately process and act on it? Current studies suggest it has not.

Similarly, have individuals become skilled enough to building, recognizing, and navigating networks enough to break free of the social tendencies that have historically kept in-

dividuals from developing relationships with others that hold different ideas, perspectives, and skills? Current studies suggest they have not. Such results are particularly worrisome as they indicate that the digital media environment has the potential to exacerbate long-standing social issues rather than solve them. People might have the world at their fingertips, but can they adeptly navigate it.

Institutions, particularly those that have traditionally served as the bedrock foundation of democratic societies, have similarly struggled to adapt to this new information environment. Historically, these institutions were seen to be a critical component of the media landscape - often producing and distributing a significant segment of the content that informed the citizenry. This power meant that little attention was focused on narrative competition, or invested in innovating new models that sought to pursue a

People might have the world at their fingertips, but can they adeptly navigate it?

closer relationship with citizens. Individuals are no longer just passive receivers of information, but can correspond directly and horizontally. Since one-way communication no longer exists, their support is crucial in gaining support for the successful shaping and implementation of government policies. In order to achieve the credibility of the implemented policies, the broadest segments of the population must be involved in the decision-making process. Many institutions are unaccustomed to new norms and modalities, and unprepared to alter their traditional processes to fit within the digital information space. Misconduct of technology in the world of politics can present a significant risk, if it is not properly involved in the policy-making process or its impacts are not applicably considered. Ultimately, without adapting, they risk losing the connection with their citizenry - thereby un-

dermining their representational purpose.

This has precipitated an interesting challenge where both citizens and institutions are grappling with a disconnect in a world that does not just call for increased interconnectivity and linkages, but necessitates them. These aforementioned challenges have, in many cases, fostered disconnects rather than bolstered connections between citizens and institutions.

This challenge is further compounded by the reality that a number of actors have identified the disconnect and sought to exploit the democratic nature of the digital revolution to undermine linkages not just between citizens, but between citizens and the institutions that represent them. This disconnect has reduced faith in the concept of objectivity - the singular equalizer among democratic citizenry. Civil discourse erodes without objectivity - leading to political uncertainties that carry significant domestic and international ramifications. Institutions have a unique responsibility within the realm of mass communications, which is based on presenting the truth and enabling the well-being of society. Credibility and relevance are no longer taken for granted, authority is more easily challenged. Institutions may no longer be in control of concrete, factual, information as it once were.

Changes are needed in order to incentivize compromise and transparency, and consequently restore trust and confidence. In order to preserve the democratic values and egalitarian nature that defined the digital revolution, institutions must be bold enough to chart a course for the digital future and reaffirm their role within it.

The Centre for European Perspective (CEP), in partnership with the U.S. Department of State is actively encouraging governments to embrace the emerging art of 21st century statecraft. They jointly developed the European Digital Diplomacy Exchange, an intergovernmental network of government communicators committed to strengthen the capacities of the countries to plan, coordinate and prepare digital

campaigns through various digital communication tools. The program is intended to empower them to counter threats in the information space, and bolster their ability to engage with their own citizens, assisting region-wide efforts for governments to focus on accountability and transparency. Finally, it helps to foster regional coordination and cooperation. A fundamental offering of this network is therefore hand-on government-to-government digital strategic communications guidance, training, and mentorship. The strong relationships fostered over the course of the program have precipitated a network of dedicated professionals who are committed to ensuring governments are operating ahead of the digital curve, and therefore able to better communicate with their citizens, better listen to their citizens, and both embrace and protect their role within the context of this new, democratized, digital information environment.

CEP and the State Department have already engaged over 150 mid- to high-level government communicators from Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Georgia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Serbia, and Ukraine. The plan is to expand the program and include additional countries from the Baltics and Central Europe in 2019.

While early results from this program are positive, governments represent only a single node of a larger network of actors grappling with their role in the 21st century information environment. Thought leader engagement from the private sector - including tech industries, civil society, and academia are all necessary to ensure that the promise of the digital revolution is fulfilled. All too often these segments work in isolation from one another, at odds with one another, but without any sustained interest in cooperative engagement. Global digitalization should be envisioned as a means of bringing the society closer together and not responsible for pushing it apart. Public and private sector need to join their forces and collectively build the bridge to society. Together. Now. ●

Global Diplomacy Lab

Building inclusive diplomacy

/ By Hanina Ben Bernou, Chi Nguyen and Ahmad Maaliji, Global Diplomacy Lab

What happens when you take nearly a hundred global doers and thinkers, leaders and diplomats and put them together in some of the world's most innovative hotspots? The Global Diplomacy Lab (GDL), initiated in 2014 as a public private partnership by the Federal Foreign Office, three private foundations and the German development agency GIZ, has been hosting important debate and reflection about how we work globally to address some of the biggest challenges today. By bringing the talents of academics, activists, diplomats and doers together, the GDL – under the patronage of Federal Foreign Minister Maas – has fostered a strong network ready to immerse itself in a range of complex and diverse global questions. But, tackling many of these intractable challenges, such as urban violence, migration and digital diplomacy, means bringing new unsettling and innovative approaches to how we respond. This work is about moving beyond theory, connecting unusual partners, hearing from communities and building networks. The GDL's efforts have become synonymous with innovation, rule-breaking, influence and impact.

This year, the GDL is delighted to return for the 3rd consecutive year to the Bled Strategic Forum to host two events: More Seats at the Table, and Bridging the Trust Divide between People and Institutions. Led by GDL members, Chi Nguyen, Hanina Ben Bernou

and Ahmed Seyar, these sessions will uncover some critical questions about accountability, trust and how we move forward in an age of cynicism and despair.

This year's Night Owl session, More Seats at the Table: Achieving Gender Equality Today, will put the spotlight on the question of gender inclusion, violence and harassment in the post-MeToo age. As many institutions, government and civil society organisations face their own MeToo moments, it has become clear that this is a time for many to have courageous conversations about how they can be better allies, champions and defenders of gender equality.

With experts bringing forward their experiences in government, civil society, politics and the corporate world, the discussion will focus on how we can innovate and move this challenge forward. Participants will have a chance to weigh in on how to commit to actions that they can take to bring more gender equality to their communities. Panellists will include a current member of the European Parliament, a former UN Chief of Staff and Foreign Minister, a leading gender equity advocate and a corporate partner at one of the top global consulting firms. The session's moderator, Chi Nguyen, a Canadian expert in gender inclusion, has been an active member of the GDL since 2015.

Bridging the Trust Divide between people and institutions, the second GDL contri-

bution to this year's BSF, will be a powerful interactive panel (in the format of a fishbowl discussion) that will challenge notions of trust and distrust in our societies today, with input from experts in the fields of crisis prevention, global issues, public communication, public governance and many more thanks to the members of the audience. They will be invited to occupy the empty chair among the speakers to raise questions or add different perspectives. Panellists will include the Director for Public Governance at the OECD, the UN Youth Delegate of Hungary, the Deputy Director for Civilian Crisis Prevention and Stabilisation at the German Federal Foreign Office as well as the Director of the Slovenian Government Communication Office.

As the GDL is not shying away from giving the same voice to all (regardless of age or level of seniority), this year, for the first time, a smartphone video competition among the participants of the Young Bled Strategic Forum has been launched to give one of them the chance to be heard in the main panel. The winner, Ms Zsófia Rácz, will give insights into why young people are so frustrated with institutions and how they can become actors of change and innovation in the debate on trust.

The partnership between the GDL and the BSF is particularly significant because each brings forward an opportunity to ad-

vance the common goals of provoking leaders to take a more pluralistic and global approach to challenges of the day. Bringing the global expertise of the GDL to Bled provides a truly global platform to think about inclusive diplomacy today. ●

A photograph of a man with a beard and long hair, wearing a dark jacket, sitting on the ground in a field of tall grass. A young child in a striped shirt and denim shorts is jumping joyfully, holding a large, colorful kite. The scene is set outdoors with trees in the background and a bright sun creating a lens flare effect.

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those
satisfying
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It's culture time

2018 is Slovenia's Year of Culture, twelve months dedicated to celebrating the country's rich cultural heritage - from the capital's museums, galleries and architecture to world class show caves, historic festivals and UNESCO World Heritage Sites.

Visit Slovenia to trace human history and culture back to their very origins. Here you can discover medieval castles and Roman ruins, and seek out fascinating artifacts including the world's first musical instrument and the oldest wooden wheel in existence. We present 10 top cultural sights that you shouldn't miss...

1. LJUBLJANA - A CULTURAL CAPITAL

Where better to start than Slovenia's capital. A world leader in sustainability, the EU Green Capital 2016 is well known for the iconic architecture of Jože Plečnik (be sure to see his Triple Bridge or 'Tromostovje') as well as offering a colorful mix of art and culture. The city's myriad museums and galleries include the National Museum of Slovenia, the Museum of Modern Art and the National Gallery of Slovenia.

2. CHASE WINTER SPIRITS IN PTUJ

Slovenia's oldest city has roots stretching back to the Stone Age, and is overlooked by the mighty 12th century Ptuj Castle. The city is perhaps best known for hosting Slovenia's largest carnival festival - Kurentovanje takes place in February, a masked rite of spring that sees locals chase away the bad spirits of winter.

3. PICTURE PERFECT PIRAN

'Picture perfect' Piran is one of the Adriatic's best-preserved historical towns, with Venetian Gothic buildings stretching out along Slovenia's Mediterranean coastline. Visitors soon discover a labyrinth of narrow streets, a harbor lined with fishermen and historic salt pans, now preserved as landscape parks.

4. DISCOVER WINE TRADITIONS IN MARIBOR

Historic Maribor is Slovenia's second largest city and a former European Capital of Culture. Located in one of the country's best wine growing regions, it is also home to the world's oldest grapevine. The vine still produces red Žametovka grapes and marks the center point for November's St Martin's Day.

5. POSTOJNA CAVE AND PREDJAMA CASTLE

Postojna Caves this year celebrates its 200th anniversary with a calendar of special events. Predjama Castle offers a wonderful insight into the country's history, having been perched in the middle of a 123 meter high cliff for over 800 years!

6. RADOVLJICA, SLOVENIA'S SWEETEST TOWN

The charming old town of Radovljica is home to some wonderful architecture and The Museum of Apiculture, which offers an insight into the native Carniolan honey bee and one of Europe's largest exhibited collection of painted beehive panels, a curiosity from the world of Slovene folk art.

7. CULTURAL BLEED

The majestic castle and emerald green lake of Bled are two of Slovenia's most popular attractions. Medieval Bled Castle towers 130 meters above the lake and is thought to be one of Slovenia's oldest. Come for the views but stay for the galleries, the Church of St Martin and the iconic 'Church of the Island', which was once visited by the ancient Slavic goddess Živa.

8. SLOVENIA'S UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE SITES

There is a great number of UNESCO World Heritage Sites in Slovenia. Among them Škocjan Caves, home to one of the world's largest known underground river canyons and Ig's pile dwellings, which offer a wonderful insight into prehistoric Europe. Also included are the protected mercury mines of Idrija, the primeval beech forest re-

serves in Krokar and Snežnik, and the hidden Franja Partisan Hospital from WWII. Just recently, The Mura River Biosphere Reserve was designated at the annual conference of UNESCO's Man and Biosphere Program.

9. WALK IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE COUNTS OF CELJE

In this ancient town on the River Savinja once lived one of Slovenia's most powerful families. The Celje family were once princes of the Holy Roman Empire, and Barbara of Celje was the Queen of Hungary, Germany, and Bohemia. The Counts of Celje legacy includes the country's largest medieval castle and a tragic love story famous countrywide.

10. A COUNTRY OF GREAT MUSICAL IMPORTANCE

A flute made of cave bear bone, thought to be the world's first musical instrument, is housed at the National Museum of Slovenia. The instrument was discovered in the Divje Babe Cave and is thought to be 60,000 years old.



BRIDGING THE DIVIDE

Programme

Monday, 10 September

13.00 Gathering

–14.00 @Bled Festival Hall

14.00– Opening of the 2018 BSF

15.00 @Bled Festival Hall

Welcome address:

› H.E. Mr Karl Erjavec, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia

Address by:

› H.E. Dr Miro Cerar, Prime Minister of the Republic of Slovenia

Chaired by:

› Mr Peter Grk, Secretary-General of the Bled Strategic Forum

15.00 Leaders' Panel

–16.00 @Bled Festival Hall

Keynote address by:

› H.E. Mr Borut Pahor, President of the Republic of Slovenia

Speaker:

› Mr Michel Barnier, Chief Negotiator - Task Force for the Preparation and Conduct of the Negotiations with the United Kingdom under Article 50 TEU, European Commission

Moderator: Mr Ali Aslan, Presenter and Journalist, Germany

16.00 Coffee Break

–16.30 @Bled Festival Hall

16.30 State of the World

–18.00 @Bled Festival Hall

In partnership with Politico.

Speakers:

› H.E. Ms Ohood Khalfan Al Roumi, Minister of State for Happiness and Wellbeing at the United Arab Emirates Government, and Director General of the Prime Minister's Office at the Ministry of Cabinet Affairs and the Future

› Ms Violeta Bulc, European Commissioner for Mobility and Transport

› Dr Christian Ketels, Chief Economist at The BCG Bruce Henderson Institute, Sweden

› Prof Alf Rehn, Professor of Innovation, Design, and Management at the University of Southern Denmark, Denmark

Moderator: Mr Matthew Karnitschnig, Chief Europe Correspondent at Politico, Germany

18.00 Special Panel

–19.00 @Bled Festival Hall

Speaker:

› H.E. Mr Igor Crnadak, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina

› Ms Reva Goujon, Vice President of Global Analysis at Stratfor, United States of America

› H.E. Mr Thomas Greminger, Secretary General of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe

Moderator: Mr Ali Aslan, Presenter and Journalist, Germany

19.00 Power Talk: One-on-One with Aleksander Čeferin, President of UEFA

@Bled Festival Hall

Speaker:

› Mr Aleksander Čeferin, President of the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA)

Moderator: Ms Ajša Vodnik, CEO of AmCham Slovenia, Slovenia

20.00 Networking Reception

–22.00 @Grand Hotel Toplice, Grand Hall

Presentation of the Bled Strategic Forum Distinguished Partner 2018 Award:

› Mr Andrej Logar, State Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia

› Ms Fatou Bensouda, Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court

Addresses by:

› Mr Janez Fajfar, Mayor of Bled, Slovenia

› Mr Janez Škrabec, CEO of RIKO d.o.o., Slovenia

Chaired by: Mr Peter Grk, Secretary-General of the Bled Strategic Forum, Slovenia

22.00 Night Owl Session – More Seats at the Table: Achieving Gender Equality Today

In partnership with Global Diplomacy Lab. Hosted by The Boston Consulting Group.

@Grand Hotel Toplice, Lake Lounge

Speakers:

› Ms Tanja Fajon, Member of the European Parliament, Slovenia

› Ms Steph Guthrie, Impact Producer at A Better Man, Canada

› Ms Susana Malcorra, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship of the Argentine Republic

› Ms Melanie Seier Larsen, Partner and Managing Director at The Boston Consulting Group, Slovenia

Moderator: Ms Chi Nguyen, Gender Equity Consultant, Canada

SIDE-EVENTS

9.00 Diaspora's Role of a Bridge in Contemporary International Relations

In partnership with Office of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia for Slovenians Abroad.

@Rikli Balance Hotel, Arnold II Hall

Greetings by the Host:

› Mr Gorazd Žmavc, Minister for Slovenes in Neighbouring Foreign Countries and Around the World, Office of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia for Slovenians Abroad

Introduction: Dr Aleksandra Pivec, Secretary of State at the Office of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia for Slovenians Abroad

Speakers:

› Mr Terens Spenser Nikolaos Quick, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Hellenic Republic

› Dr Raymond Xerri, Director of Directorate for Maltese Living Abroad and President of Europeans Throughout the World, Malta

› Dr Zvone Žigon, Advisor at the Office of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia for Slovenians Abroad

› Mr John Doma, Honorary Consul General for Slovenia in Canada and Managing Partner at Bateman MacKay LLP, Canada

› Mr Blaž Tomc Zidar, Production pharmacist/engineer at Teva, Representative of the Association of Slovenes Educated Abroad (VTIS) Slovenia

Moderator: Mr Igor Evgen Bergant, TV News Programme Host & Journalist & Commentator at RTV Slovenia, Slovenia

Tuesday, 11 September

9.00 European Union: What Keeps Us United

–10.30 @Rikli Balance Hotel, Arnold I Hall

Speakers:

› H.E. The Honourable Carmelo Abela, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade Promotion of the Republic of Malta

› Ambassador George Ciamba, Secretary of State for Bilateral and Strategic Affairs in the Euro-Atlantic Area at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania

› Ambassador Stéphane Dion, Special Envoy of the Prime Minister to the EU and Europe, Ambassador of Canada to the Federal Republic of Germany, Government of Canada

› Mr Tobias Flessenkemper, Senior Fellow & Balkans Project Director at Centre International de Formation Européenne (CIFE), Germany

› Mr Pierre Heilbronn, Vice President Policy and Partnerships at the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development

› Prof. Dr Ambassador Colette Mazzucelli, University Professor at New York University, United States of America

› Mr Iztok Mirošič, State Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia

› Mr Matthew A. Palmer, Deputy Assistant Secretary at U.S. Department of State, United States of America

› Mr Konrad Szymański, Secretary of State for European Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland

Keynote listener:

› Mr Thomas Ossowski, Deputy Director General for European Affairs at Foreign Office of the Federal Republic of Germany

Moderator: Ms Shada Islam, Director for Europe and Geopolitics at Friends of Europe, Belgium

9.00 Alone We Fail: Working Together for a Sustainable Future

–10.30 @Rikli Balance Hotel, Arnold II Hall

Setting the scene:

› Dr Janez Potočnik, Co-Chair of the UN International Resource Panel, Partner SYSTEMIQ, former European Commissioner for Science and Research, and former European Commissioner for Environment

Panel:

› Mr Anas Al-Modefer, Director of Planning of Analysis at Delivery and Rapid Intervention Center, Saudi Arabia

› H.E. Ms Ohood Khalfan Al Roumi, Minister of State for Happiness and Wellbeing at the United Arab Emirates Government, and Director General of the Prime Minister's Office at the Ministry of Cabinet Affairs and the Future

› Mr Vasja Bočko, CEO of IRYO, Slovenia

› Mr Harald Neumann, CEO of Novomatic AG, Austria

› Hon. Vasantha Senanayake, State Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka

› Young BSF Representative: Mr Miloš Popović, United Nations Coordination Analyst

Moderator: Mr Timotej Šooš, National Coordinator for the Agenda 2030, Slovenia

9.00 Digital Bridge: Transformation for Institutional Resilience

In partnership with Centre for European Perspective and U.S. Department of State.

@Rikli Balance Hotel, Zrak Hall

Speakers:

› Dr Corneliu Bjoła, Associate Professor of Diplomatic Studies at the University of Oxford, United Kingdom

› Ms Nataša Briški, Co-founder and Editor-In-Chief at Meta's list, Slovenia

› Ms Crystal Patterson, Global Civic Partnerships Manager at Facebook, United States of America

› Dr Matthias Sachs, Director Corporate Affairs at Microsoft CEE, Germany

Moderator: Mr Matthew Jacobs, Public Affairs Specialist at U.S. Department of State, United States of America

10.30–11.00 **Coffee Break**

@Rikli Balance Hotel

11.00 **Mediation in a New Multipolar World – Between Expectations and Reality**

@Rikli Balance Hotel, Arnold I Hall

Keynote address by:

› **Ms Helga Maria Schmid**, Secretary General of the European External Action Service

Speakers:

› **Mr David Gorman**, Director Eurasia at Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, United States of America

› **Dr Bassma Kodmani**, Member of the Syrian Negotiation Commission and Executive Director of the Arab Reform Initiative, Syria

› **Ms Katarina Kresal**, Founder and President of the European Centre for Dispute Resolution, Slovenia

› **Dr Amre Moussa**, Secretary General of the Arab League 2001–2011 and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Egypt 1991–2001

› **Mr Roman Vassilenko**, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan

› **Ambassador Samuel Žbogar**, Head of the EU Delegation to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

Keynote listener:

› **Ambassador Peter Semneby**, Special Envoy at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Sweden

Moderator: **Dr Antje Herrberg**, CEO of mediatEUr, Belgium

11.00 **Cyber Security System: Achieving Resilience**

In partnership with Siemens.

@Rikli Balance Hotel, Arnold II Hall

Speakers:

› **Major General Dobran Božič**, Director of the Office of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia for the Protection of Classified Information

› **Mr Kai Hermsen**, Global Coordinator for the Charter of Trust at Siemens AG, Germany

› **Mr Mitja Jermol**, Head of Center for Knowledge Transport at Jozef Stefan Institute, Slovenia

› **Dr Antonio Missiroli**, Assistant Secretary General for Emerging Security Challenges at North Atlantic Treaty Organization

› **Mr Uzi Moscovici**, Major General (ret), Vice-President of Missile Division at Israel Aerospace Industries, Israel

› **Dr Gregor Pipan**, CEO of XLAB d.o.o., Slovenia

› **Mr Tanel Sepp**, Deputy Director of the Cyber Policy and IT Department at the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Estonia

Moderator: **Mr Guy De Launey**, Correspondent and Presenter at BBC News and Monocle, United Kingdom

12.30 **Networking Lunch**

–14.00 @Rikli Balance Hotel

14.00 **International Criminal Court: 20 Years after Rome – Setting a Path for the Future**

@Rikli Balance Hotel, Arnold I Hall

Speakers:

› **Mr Richard Goldstone**, Retired Justice of the Constitutional Court of South Africa

› **Dr Amal Jadou**, Assistant Minister at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and

Expatriates of the State of Palestine

› **Mr O-Gon Kwon**, President of the Assembly of States Parties of the International Criminal Court

› **Mr Phakiso Mochochoko**, Director of the Jurisdiction, Complementarity and Cooperation Division at the Office of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court

› **Prof. Dr Ernest Petrič**, Senior Advisor to the President of the Republic of Slovenia

Moderator: **Mr Dan Damon**, Presenter at BBC Radio, United Kingdom

14.00 **Being Human in the Age of Technology**

In partnership with IBM.

@Rikli Balance Hotel, Arnold II Hall

Speakers:

› **Dr Marko Grobelnik**, Researcher at the Artificial Intelligence Laboratory, Jožef Stefan Institute, Slovenia

› **Mr Iskren Krusteff**, Chairman of the Managing Board at Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, Bulgaria

› **Mr Martin Svik**, Executive IT Architect at IBM, Czech Republic

› Young BSF Representative: **Mr Jakob Hjortshøj**, Associate at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Denmark

Moderator: **Ms Katja Geršak**, Editor in Chief of the Bled Strategic Times, Slovenia

14.00 **Bridging the Trust Divide between People and Institutions**

In partnership with Global Diplomacy Lab.

@Rikli Balance Hotel, Sonce Hall

Speakers:

› **Mr Marcos Bonturi**, Director for Public Governance at the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

› **Ms Kristina Plavšak Krajnc**, Director of the Government Communication Office of the Republic of Slovenia

› Young BSF Representative: **Ms Zsafia Racz**, United Nations Youth Delegate of Hungary

Moderators:

› **Mr Ahmad Maaliji**, Development Manager at MOSAIC, Canada

› **Ms Hanina Ben Bernou**, Member of the Global Diplomacy Lab, Kenya

15.30 **Coffee Break**

–16.00 @Rikli Balance Hotel

16.00 **Western Balkans: Lost Years or New Hope?**

In partnership with Riko and European Fund for the Balkans.

@Rikli Balance Hotel, Arnold Hall

Speakers:

› **Prof. Dr Florian Bieber**, Director of Centre for Southeast European Studies, University of Graz, Austria

› **Mr Gent Cakaj**, Deputy Minister for Europe and Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Albania

› **H.E. Prof. Dr Srdjan Darmanović**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Montenegro

› **Dr Enver Hoxhaj**, Deputy Prime Minister of Kosovo

› **Mr Srdjan Majstorović**, Member of Balkans in Europe Policy Advisory Group (BiEPAG), Serbia

› **Ms Hedvig Morvai**, Executive Director of the European Fund for the Balkans, Serbia

› **Mr Terens Spenser Nikolaos**

Quick, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Hellenic Republic

› **Mr Momčilo Radulović**, President of the European Movement in Montenegro, Montenegro

› **Mrs Charlotte Ruhe**, Managing Director, Central and South Eastern Europe at the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development

› **Mr Andrej Zhernovski**, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia

Keynote listener:

› Young BSF Representative: **Mr Adnan Čerimagić**, Analyst at the European Stability Initiative, Germany

Moderator: **Mr Tim Judah**, Balkans Correspondent at The Economist, United Kingdom

16.00 **Climate Change and Security Dynamics**

@Rikli Balance Hotel, Zrak Hall

Speakers:

› **Ms Aira Kalela**, Senior Adviser at the Office of the President Tarja Halonen, Finland

› **Dr Adil Najam**, Dean of Frederick S. Pardee School of Global Studies, Boston University, United States of America

› **Ms Ana Stanič**, Founder and Director of E&A Law Limited, United Kingdom

› **Dr Danilo Türk**, Former President of the Republic of Slovenia

Moderator: **Ms Mome Saleem**, Program Coordinator Ecology at Heinrich Boell Stiftung, Pakistan

17.30 **Closing of the 2018 BSF**

–18.00 @Rikli Balance Hotel, Arnold Hall

Closing remarks:

› **Mr Andrej Logar**, State Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia

SIDE-EVENTS

8.30 **The Role of South East European National Security Authorities in Ensuring Cyber Security**

In partnership with Office of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia for the Protection of Classified Information.

@Rikli Balance Hotel, Voda Hall

Opening:

› **Major General Dobran Božič**, Director of the Office of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia for the Protection of Classified Information

› **Dr Antonio Missiroli**, Assistant Secretary General for Emerging Security Challenges at North Atlantic Treaty Organization

› **Mr Uzi Moscovici**, Major General (ret), Vice-President of Missile Division at Israel Aerospace Industries, Israel

› **Mr Goran Svilanović**, Secretary General of the Regional Cooperation Council

Moderator: **Mr Jure Tepina**, Executive Editor at 24ur.com, Slovenia

11.00 **De-Victimising Victims**

–12.30 *In partnership with ITF Enhancing Human Security.*

@Rikli Balance Hotel, Zrak Hall

Speakers:

› **Ms Sabina Beber Boštjančič**, Deputy Director of ITF Enhancing Human Security, Slovenia

› **Mr Mirsad Mirojević**, Manager at Sitting Volleyball club “Fantomi”,

Bosnia and Herzegovina

› **H.E. Ms Isabelle Poupard**, Ambassador of Canada to the Republic of Slovenia, Canada

› **Mr Mohammad Shafiq Yosufi**, Director of the Directorate of Mine Action Coordination (DMAC) of the State Ministry for Disaster Management and Humanitarian Affairs, Afghanistan

Moderator: **Dr Dijana Pleština**, Former Director of the Croatian Government Office for Mine Action, Croatia

13.00 **Survivors: Breaking the Silence on Child Sexual Abuse**

Book reading with Eirliani Abdul Rahman.

@Rikli Balance Hotel, Zrak Hall

Speakers:

› **Ms Eirliani Abdul Rahman**, Executive Director of YAKIN (Youth, Adult survivors & Kin In Need), Singapore

› **Imran**, a 43-year-old male survivor of sexual abuse

14.00 **Engagement, Conditionality or Both?**

Security and the Rule-Of-Law Through a Renewed EU Perspective In partnership with IISG – Integrative Internal Security Governance.

@Rikli Balance Hotel, Zrak Hall

Speakers:

› **Mr Rajko Kozmelj**, Chair of the Integrative Internal Security Governance (IISG) Support Group, Slovenia

› **Mr Oliver Spasovski**, Deputy Prime Minister of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia and Minister of Internal Affairs

› **Dr Sonja Stojanović Gajić**, Director of Belgrade Centre for Security Studies, Serbia

› **Mr Goran Svilanović**, Secretary General of the Regional Cooperation Council

Moderator: **Dr Sabina Lange**, Senior Lecturer at EIPA, Belgium

15.30 **Putting European Consensus on Development into Practice: Political Foundations as Bridge Builders for the Implementation of SDGs**

In partnership with ENOP – European Network of Political Foundations.

@Rikli Balance Hotel, Zrak Hall

Speakers:

› **Dr Florian Lütticken**, Policy Coordinator for European Development Policy in the Directorate-General for International Cooperation and Development (DEVCO) of the European Commission

› **Ms Gudrun Kopp**, Member of ENOP Advisory Board and Former Parliamentary State Secretary at the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development, Germany

› **Mr Đuro Blanuša**, Secretary General of the Regional Youth Cooperation Office (RYCO), Serbia

› **Ms Sabina Wölkner**, Head of the Multinational Development Policy Dialogue at Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Belgium

Moderator: **Ms Mojca Kleva Kekuš**, President of Progresiva and former Member of European Parliament, Slovenia

Tuesday, 11 September

8.30 AmCham Business Leaders Club
-10.00 Breakfast – Shaping the (Digital) Future of Work: How to Bridge the Divide Between Humans and Technology?

In partnership with AmCham Slovenia.
@Rikli Balance Hotel, Sonce Hall
Speakers:

- › Mr Patrick Cowden, Founder of Beyond Leadership, Germany
- › Ms Tina Mendelson, Principal at Deloitte Consulting LLP, United States of America
- › Ms Tamara Pavasović Trošt, Assistant Professor of Sociology at the Faculty of Economics, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia
- › Dr Alexander Plekhanov, Deputy Director of Research at the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development

Moderator: Ms Ajša Vodnik, CEO of AmCham Slovenia, Slovenia

9.30 How Will New Technologies
-12.00 Affect Cultural Tourism - Science Fiction or Reality? Tourism as an Instrument for Cultural Co-Operation

In partnership with Ministry of Economic Development and Technology of the Republic of Slovenia and Slovenian Tourist Board.

- @Grand Hotel Toplice, Grand Hall
Opening address by:
- › Ms Maja Pak, Director of Slovenian Tourist Board, Slovenia
- Opening address by:
- › Mr Zdravko Počivalšek, Minister of Economic Development and Technology of the Republic of Slovenia
- Keynote address by:
- › Mr Manuel Butler, Executive Director of the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO)
- Keynote addresses by:
- › Mr Tomi Ilijaš, Founder and President of Arctur, Slovenia
 - › Dr Urška Starc-Peceny, Chief Innovation Officer at Arctur, Slovenia
- Speakers:
- › Mr Zenel Batagelj, Partner at Valicon, Slovenia

- › Ms Helena Bulaja Madunić, Art Director & Creative Producer at Teslopolis @ My Magical Thoughts, Croatia
- › Mr Georg Steiner, Tourism Director at Tourism Board Linz, Austria
- › Ms Nienke van Schaverbeke, Head of Europeana Collections at Europeana Foundation, The Netherlands
- › Ms Eva Štravs Podlogar, State Secretary at the Ministry of Economic Development and Technology of the Republic of Slovenia
- › Ms Verena Vidrih Perko, Museum Curator at Regional Museum Kranj and University Teacher at the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

Moderator: Mr Igor Evgen Bergant, TV News Programme Host & Journalist & Commentator at RTV Slovenia, Slovenia

10.15 Session 2: Bridging the Divide:
-10.45 the Human Brain and Artificial Intelligence

@Rikli Balance Hotel, Sonce Hall
Speaker:

- › Dr Nikolaos Dimitriadis, CEO of Trizma Neuro, Serbia

11.15 Session 3: Moving from a Physical
-12.45 to a Digital Society

In partnership with Microsoft.
@Rikli Balance Hotel, Sonce Hall

- Speakers:
- › Mr Frank Barz, Head of Industrial Internet of Things at T-Systems International GmbH, Germany
 - › Mr William Entriken, Advisor to Oxcert and Independent Blockchain Developer, United States of America
 - › Mr Boris Koprivnikar, Minister of Public Administration of the Republic of Slovenia
 - › Mr Samir Sharma, CEO of datazuum, United Kingdom
 - › Ms Nanna-Louise Wildfang Linde, Assistant General Counsel at Microsoft/CELA Central Eastern Europe, Denmark

Moderator: Mr Jaka Repanšek, Founder of RePublis, Slovenia

11.15 InvestTalk Slovenia 2.0
-12.45 In partnership with Bank Assets Management Company.

@Rikli Balance Hotel, Voda Hall
Speakers:

- › Dr Imre Balogh, CEO and Executive Director of Bank Asset Management Company (DUTB), Slovenia
- › Mr Gregor Benčina, President of Slovenijales Group, Slovenia
- › Mr Michael Hummelbrunner, Global Director Finance/Controlling, Magna Steyr, Austria
- › Mr Shengke Liu, Managing Director of Ping An Ventures, China

Moderators:
Mr Matej Skočir, Head of Division for Internationalisation at the Ministry of Economic Development and Technology of the Republic of Slovenia

Mr Gregor Umek, Senior Advisor - Slovenian National Contact Point OECD at the Ministry of Economic Development and Technology of the Republic of Slovenia

12.45 Session 4: The Positives and the
-13.15 Dark Side of a Hyper-Connected World

In partnership with Pristop.
@Rikli Balance Hotel, Sonce Hall

- Speaker:
- › Dr Thomas Killion, Chief Scientist at North Atlantic Treaty Organization

Moderators:
Mr Jaka Repanšek, Founder of RePublis, Slovenia
Ms Ajša Vodnik, CEO of AmCham Slovenia, Slovenia

Young BSF

SIDE-EVENTS

Monday, 10 September

09.00 Conflict Prevention, Peace
-11.00 Building and Mediation

In partnership with Doshisha University, Japan, and Faculty of Social Sciences, Slovenia.

@Rikli Balance Hotel, Arnold I Hall
Speakers:

- › Ms Maja Dolinar, Ph.D Student at the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

- › Dr Miro Haček, Full Professor at the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia
 - › Mr Akihiro Ienaka, MA Student at Doshisha University, Japan
 - › Mr Mostafa Khalili, Ph.D Student at Doshisha University, Japan
 - › Mr Faris Kočan, Research Assistant at the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia
 - › Dr Rok Zupančič, Assistant Professor at the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia
- Keynote listener:
- › Ms Nina Pejič, Junior Researcher at the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

Moderator: Dr Masanori Naito, Professor at Doshisha University, Japan

11.00 Mediterranean Dimension of the
-13.00 OSCE - Youth and Security

In partnership with Embassy of the Italian Republic in Slovenia.

@Rikli Balance Hotel, Sonce Hall
Opening remarks:

- › Mr Iztok Mirošič, State Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia
- › Mr Matjaž Nemec, Chair of the Committee on Foreign Policy of the National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia
- › Ambassador Paolo Trichilo, Ambassador of the Italian Republic to the Republic of Slovenia

Mediterranean Café leaders:

- › Dr Abdelhamid El-Zoheiry, President of the Euro-Mediterranean University
- › Dr Ana Bojinovič Fenko, Associate Professor at the University of Ljubljana
- › Mr Ettore Greco, Executive Vice President of Istituto Affari Internazionali

- › Mr Matteo Pugliese, Special Representative of the Chairperson-in-Office on Youth and Security, OSCE
- › Mr Holger Fabian Sahl, Strategic Analyst at Frontex

Moderator: Ms Meliha Muherina, Project Manager at Centre for European Perspective, Slovenia

Getting around BSF: Map of Bled



- 1 Bled Festival Hall (Cesta svobode 11)
- 2 Hotel Krim (Ljubljanska 7)
- 3 Hotel Park (Cesta svobode 15)
- 4 Grand Hotel Toplice (Cesta svobode 12)

- 5 Best Western Premier Hotel Lovec (Ljubljanska cesta 6)
- 6 Kompas Hotel Bled (Cankarjeva 2)
- 7 Hotel Golf (Cankarjeva 4)

- 8 Hotel Savica (Cankarjeva 6)
- 9 Hotel Astoria (Prešernova 44)
- 10 Vila Zlatorog (Veslaška promenada 9)
- 11 Shuttle Point

CONTACT INFORMATION

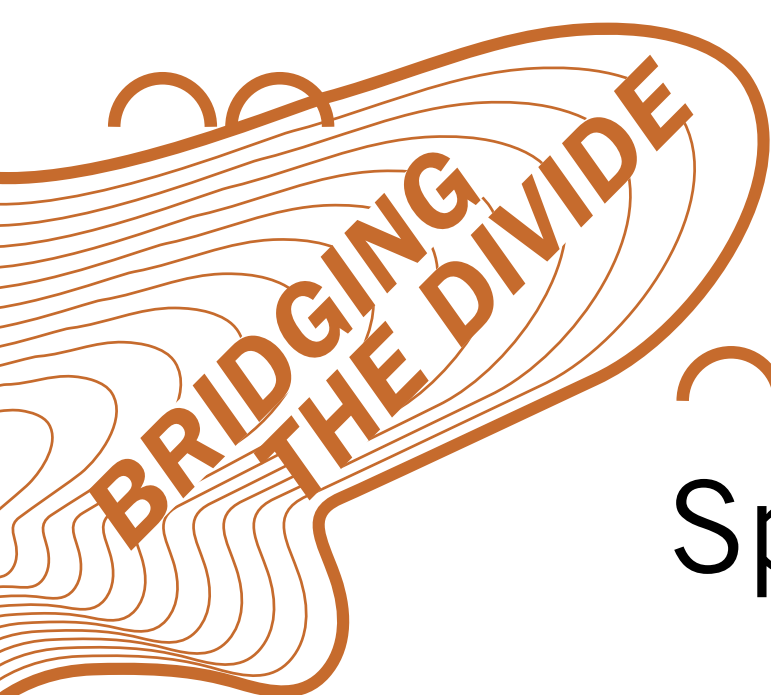
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Speakers' biographies

Opening of the 2018 BSF



Karl Erjavec
Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia (since 2012). Mr Erjavec holds a BA in law. After a career in the private sector, he served as the director of the Expert Service and the head of the Office of the Human Rights Ombudsman. He was the minister of defence (2004–2008), minister of the environment and spatial planning (2008–2010), and the state secretary at the Ministry of Justice (2001–2004). He is the president of the Democratic Party of Pensioners of Slovenia.



Miro Cerar
Prime Minister of the Republic of Slovenia. Before entering politics, Dr Cerar was a full professor at the Faculty of Law, University of Ljubljana. He took part in the drafting of the Slovenian Constitution and worked as a legal adviser to the National Assembly. He taught comparative constitutional law at the Golden Gate University in San Francisco and underwent training at Berkeley. He is the author and co-author of numerous books and papers.



Peter Grk
Secretary-general of Bled Strategic Forum. He is the Western Balkans Coordinator at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia. Previously, he chaired the Committee on the Civilian Aspect of Crisis Management in Brussels, and has been an adviser to the foreign minister and chief foreign policy adviser to the prime minister. He holds a degree in political science.

Leaders' Panel



Borut Pahor
President of the Republic of Slovenia for a second term, which started on 23rd of December 2017. In his long political career, he has been an MEP, president of the National Assembly and prime minister. He started his professional career in 1990, as a delegate in the National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia. He is a former leader of the political party known today as Social Democrats.



Michel Barnier
Commission's Chief Negotiator for Article 50 negotiations (since October 2016). Mr Barnier previously held various positions, both in France and at the European level. He was minister of foreign affairs (2004–2005), minister of state for European affairs (1995–1997), and minister of the environment (1993–1995). He has also served as a European commissioner for regional policy (1999–2004) and for the internal market and services (2010–2014).



Ali Aslan
An international TV presenter and journalist who has worked worldwide for global news networks such as CNN, ABC News, and Deutsche Welle TV. An internationally sought-after presenter, Mr Aslan regularly mod-

erates at major conferences around the world, and has shared the stage with, among others, Angela Merkel, Emmanuel Macron, and Bill Clinton. He holds degrees in journalism and international affairs from Columbia University and Georgetown University.

State of the World



Hooood bint Khalfan Al Roumi
Minister of State for Happiness and Wellbeing of the UAE Government and Director General of the Prime Minister's Office at the Ministry of Cabinet Affairs and the Future. Ms Al Roumi is the Vice Chair of the World Government Summit Organization, a member of the UN Foundation Global Entrepreneurs Council and the WEF Young Global Leaders, and a board member of the Dubai Future Foundation. She has led the formulation of many national strategies, and occupied several positions in Dubai and the federal government. Ms Al Roumi holds an EMBA from the University of Sharjah and a BA in economics from UAE University.



Violeta Bulc
EU Commissioner for Transport since November 2014. She held various positions in the telecommunications industry, including Telekom Slovenia and Telemach. She was the owner and CEO of Vibacom, engaged in work on sustainable and innovative business solutions. Immediately prior to her appointment as EU Commissioner, she was the deputy prime minister of Slovenia, responsible for development, strategic projects, and cohesion.



Christian Ketels
Christian is the chief economist of The Boston Consulting Group, and leads the Center for Macroeconomics at the BCG Henderson Institute, BCG's think-tank. His research themes include the impact of structural changes in the global economy on business, the role of location for business success, the future nature of public-private collaboration, and growth strategies. He has been a member of the Harvard Business School for 17 years.



Alf Rehn
An internationally recognised thought leader in the areas of innovation and leadership, and is currently a professor of innovation, design and management at the University of Southern Denmark.



Mr Matthew Karnitschnig
POLITICO's chief Europe correspondent, based in Berlin. He joined the publication in 2015 from the Wall Street Journal, where he spent 15 years in various positions as a reporter and editor in the U.S. and Europe. In a career spanning two decades, Karnitschnig has been on the front lines of some of the defining political and economic stories of our time.

Special Panel



Igor Crnadak
Minister of Foreign Affairs of BiH. Former member of the European Integration Committee of the National Assembly of Republika Srpska. Served as Deputy Minister of Defence of BiH and Chairman of the BiH NATO Coordination Team. Between May and November 2015, he was Chairman of the Committee of Ministers of Council of Europe.



Reva Goujon
Stratfor's Vice President of Global Analysis. She is widely known for her ability to watch the map move and explain how powerful, underlying forces, from geopolitics to demographics and technology, are reshaping the global order. She is published widely and delivers speeches to corporate and political audiences in the United States and abroad. Her consultations with strategy teams of companies across the globe cover a range of sectors, including government, energy, finance, defence, technology, real estate and agriculture.



Thomas Greminger
Ambassador Thomas Greminger was appointed OSCE Secretary General in July 2017. He held numerous senior positions in the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs. As permanent representative of Switzerland to the OSCE, he chaired the Permanent Council during Switzerland's 2014 OSCE Chairmanship. He holds a PhD in history and is a lieutenant colonel in the Swiss Armed Forces.

Ali Aslan
(See Leaders' Panel.)

Power Talk: One-on-One with Aleksander Čeferin, President of UEFA



Aleksander Čeferin
A graduate of the Faculty of Law, University of Ljubljana, Čeferin went on to work for his family's law firm, and developed a special interest in representing professional athletes and sports clubs. He later took over his father's company. In 2011, Čeferin was elected president of the Football Association of Slovenia, and served as a second and third vice chair of the UEFA Legal Committee from 2011 to 2016. He was elected UEFA's seventh president at the 12th Extraordinary UEFA Congress in Athens in 2016, automatically becoming a FIFA vice president.



Ajša Vodnik
CEO, AmCham Slovenia. Entrepreneur. Business leader. At the age of 29, as editor-at-large, she launched and led the Slovene TV station Paprika. She has worked as a consultant on strategic and business communication and as a communication coach. She has interviewed many prominent Slovene and international political and business leaders. As CEO of AmCham Slovenia, she is a passionate motivator for positive change and proud co-author of the AmCham YOUNG platform and of the Partnership for Change programme – a unique collaboration between the public and private sector.

Networking Reception



Andrej Logar
State Secretary, representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Slovenia. His previous positions include Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Slovenia to Denmark, Norway, Lithuania and Iceland, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Permanent Representative of the Republic of Slovenia to the UN Office and other international organizations in Geneva, as well as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Permanent Representative of the Republic of Slovenia to the United Nations in New York.



Fatou Bensouda
Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, having been elected in 2011 by consensus by the Assembly of States Parties. Previously, she served as the Court's first deputy prosecutor (2004 to May 2012), senior legal advisor and head of the Legal Advisory Unit of the UN International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (2002 to 2004), and the attorney general and minister of justice of The Gambia, inter alia. She has received numerous awards and acknowledgements.



Janez Fajfar
The mayor of Bled. He graduated in Ethnology and Geography from the University of Ljubljana in 1979. After travelling the world in the '80s, he joined the Iron Forging Museum in Kropa as a curator. In 1984, he became a reception manager at the Hotel Vila Bled and in 1991, he was appointed the hotel director. In 2006, Janez Fajfar was elected as the mayor of Bled, to be re-elected in 2010 and 2014.



Janez Škrabec
Founder and managing director of the company Riko, d.o.o. He studied Economics at the Faculty of Economics in Ljubljana. His further studies took him to the IEDC – Business School Bled (SLO), Cleveland State University (USA) and INSEAD Fontainebleau (France). Mr Škrabec is Honorary Consul of the Kingdom of Morocco and of the Republic of Belarus as well as an active member of several diplomatic and business clubs. He shares his experience in management, philanthropy and sustainable development with the wider public at round-table discussions and as a guest lecturer in Slovenia as well as abroad.

Peter Grk
(See Opening of the 2018 BSF.)

Night Owl Session – More Seats at the Table: Achieving Gender Equality Today



Tanja Fajon
A politician and journalist, currently serving as a member of the European Parliament (MEP), the Vice Chair of Socialists and Democrats, and the Vice Chair of Social Democrats of Slovenia. A strong advocate of freedom of movement and its economic benefits, Fajon was a rapporteur on the visa liberalisation

process for the Western Balkans. In 2014, she was re-elected as an MEP and became the first Slovenian woman to have won her mandate with preferential votes.



Steph Guthrie

A consultant who uses media and the arts to spark conversation about gender-based violence. She recently worked on the documentary 'A Better Man', a 2017 Hot Docs Top 20 Audience Favourite, to stimulate discussions about domestic violence and accountability at school, in the workplace, and in the community. She has worked with clients such as White Ribbon, Mozilla, TechGirls Canada and Long & McQuade. As a co-founder of Drunk Feminist Films, she creates participatory spaces for fun-loving, critical engagement with pop culture.



Susana Malcorra

She has been foreign minister of Argentina and represented her country as the chair of the WTO Ministerial Conference in Buenos Aires in 2017. Her previous positions include chief of staff of the UN secretary-general, USG in peacekeeping operations and deputy director of the World Food Programme. Prior to that, she had 25 years of business experience in IBM and Telecom Argentina, which she left after holding the position of CEO.



Melanie Seier Larsen

Aa partner and the managing director at BCG with over 13 years of experience in management consulting, and a primary industry focus on consumer products, the retail industry, people and organisation functional topics in SEE/CEE countries. She leads the BCG consumer goods practice across Eastern Europe. She is a member of the supervisory board of the Managers' Association of Slovenia, she presides over the Women's Manager Association at the Manager's Association of Slovenia, and the Slovene IEDC Alumni Club.



Chi Nguyen

Her most recent role was as CEO of a start-up social enterprise consulting firm focused on violence prevention and gender inclusion, Parker P. Consulting. She is a 'Responsible Leader' (BMW Foundation) and member of the Global Diplomacy Lab. In Canada, she has been an active community member with political, feminist and charitable organisations. Ms. Nguyen was the recipient of a Governor General's award for her gender equality work (2004). She loves raising her feminist boys, Ellis and baby Sam.

Diaspora's Role of a Bridge in Contemporary International Relations



Gorazd Žmavc

Born on 28th of February 1947 in Krško. He is a lawyer by profession. He worked for more than thirty years in the field of economics in major companies. In the mid-80's, he worked at the Municipality of Ptuj. On 25th of February 2014, he took office as minister for Slovenes in neighbouring foreign countries and around the world.



Aleksandra Pivec

Ms Pivec started her career as a professional research assistant at the Faculty and Scientific Research Centre Bistra Ptuj, where she was involved in the design and management of regional development planning and project implementation for the area of the statistical region and the implementation of research and application projects concerning the local economy. In September 2016, she joined the Office of the Republic of Slovenia for Slovenians Abroad, and currently holds the position of state secretary.



Terens Spenser Nikolaos Quick

He was appointed Deputy Minister to the Prime Minister in January 2015, and was a member of the Committee against Corruption. He was elected secretary of the Standing Parliamentary Committee on Greeks Abroad and was an active member of several parliamentary committees (2012–2015). Mr Quick has had an impressive media career as a well-known journalist and TV anchor for 45 consecutive years.



Raymond Xerri

Born in New York (1969), moved to Malta in 1977, he studied in Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Germany, and in Malta (political sciences, international relations). He obtained his doctorate in philosophy in Melbourne, Australia (2002). Dr Xerri has served as a diplomat in Canberra and London. He was the head of the International Office and the Office for Local and Regional Education (2005–2012). He is the director of the Directorate for Maltese Living Abroad, Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Trade Promotion of Malta (since 2012). Since 2016, he has been the president of Europeans throughout the World. Dr Xerri is also an author, editor, and producer and founder and co-founder of several international organisations.



Zvone Žigon

He holds a BA in journalism, an MA in social anthropology and PhD in political science from the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Ljubljana. From 1991 to 1996, active as a newspaper journalist. Through the Institute for Slovenian Migration Studies, he published four scientific books on ethnic identity among Slovenians abroad. From 2005 to 2009, he served as consul general of Slovenia in Cleveland, USA, and 2010 to 2011 as chargé d'affaires at the embassy in Canberra, Australia. From 2011, he has worked as Head of division with the Government's Office for Slovenians Abroad.



John Doma

Managing partner at Bateman MacKay LLP, a chartered professional accounting and business advisory firm. Since 2011, John has been the Honorary Consul General for Slovenia in Canada. In 2016, John received the HORUS Award for Social Responsibility in Slovenia, and in 2017, he was made a fellow of the Chartered Professional Accountants. John is also an advisor for the Green Energy Co-operative of Ontario.



Blaž Tomc Zidar

Educated at the University of Ljubljana and University College London. He has been involved with VTIS and its management for approximately 4 years now. They implement various programmes to connect Slovenians educated abroad and try to use their knowledge and experience with relevant institutions in Slovenia. He currently lives in Zagreb, where he works in the pharmaceutical industry.



Igor Evgen Bergant

A late evening news host at TV Slovenia and a columnist, who specialises in international relations, the EU, sustainable development issues, energy and tourism. He is a Bled Strategic Forum veteran.

European Union: What Keeps Us United



Carmelo Abela

Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade Promotion of the Republic of Malta. In 1990, he joined the Mid-Med Bank Ltd, today HSBC Bank Malta plc, where he worked as a Manager until April 2014. Until December 2014, he worked with the Prime Minister as the Government Spokesman and Whip. In 2014, he was appointed Minister for Home Affairs and National Security. On the 9th of June 2017, he was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade Promotion.



George Ciamba

Ambassador Ciamba, Secretary of State for Bilateral and Strategic Affairs in the Euro-Atlantic Area, is a career diplomat who joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania in 1990. In 2016, as a Special Representative for Economic Diplomacy, he contributed to promoting and developing economic projects of strategic interests to Romania. Since 2012, he has served as Secretary of State for European Affairs. He represented Romania as an ambassador in Athens (2005–2012) and in Ankara (1999–2003), and served as Secretary of State for Multilateral and Global Affairs in the MFA (2003–2005).



Stéphane Dion

Prior to his current appointment, Mr Dion was Canada's Minister of Foreign Affairs from November 2015 until January 2017. He was previously Minister of the Environment from 2004 to 2005, and, in 2005, chaired the United Nations Conference on Climate Change (COP11/MOP1). From 2001 to 2003, he was Minister responsible for Official Languages. Serving as Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs between 1996 and 2003, longer than any other Canadian since Confederation, he played a primary role promoting Canadian unity.



Tobias Flessenkemper

A senior fellow and Balkans Project Director at the Centre international de formation européenne (CIFE) in Nice, and a lecturer in European politics at the University of Cologne. He is the co-founder and managing director of elbarlament.org, a consulting company based in Berlin focusing on innovation in democratic governance and cultures of democracy. Previously, he worked for the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), the EU, and the OSCE, and was a secretary general of the European Youth Forum.



Pierre Heilbronn

Before joining the EBRD, he was deputy chief of staff for France's Minister of Economy and Finance. He served as the European adviser of the French Prime Minister and acting General Secretary for European Affairs as well as assisted in the creation of the European External Action Service. He was acting head of Cabinet of the European Commissioner for External Relations and Management of Development Aid, working on the Neighborhood policy.



Colette Mazzucelli

Colette teaches international relations, among other courses, at New York University. Her diplomatic experience includes hosting the International Visitor Leadership Program with the US Department of State. Dr Mazzucelli is an alumna of the Global Diplomacy Lab. She is a former director of the International Programs, Budapest Institute for Graduate International and Diplomatic Studies. A participant in the Robert Bosch Foundation Fellowship Program, she assisted with the ratification of the Treaty on the European Union in the Federal Republic of Germany.



Iztok Mirošič

A state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia. He has served as ambassador in Libya, Tunisia, Malta, Italy and San Marino, and the UK. Prior to that, he was a state secretary and a foreign policy and EU adviser in the Prime Minister's Office. He was one of the negotiators for the Arbitration Agreement between Slovenia and Croatia and the head of the South Eastern Europe Department.



Matthew A. Palmer

A member of the Senior Foreign Service (class of Counselor) and currently serving as Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs with the responsibility for the Western Balkans and the Aegean. Previously, he was Director of the

Office of South Central Europe. Earlier tours included Belgrade, Nicosia, the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, and various positions in Washington, including roles in the Secretary's Policy Planning staff as well as the National Security Council.



Konrad Szymański

Since November 2015, Mr Szymański has been Secretary of State for European Affairs at the Polish MFA and Prime Minister's Plenipotentiary for European Council meetings. As a member of the Law and Justice Party, he was a member of the European Parliament in the 2004–2014 period. He sat on the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on Industry, Research and Energy.



Thomas Ossowski

Born in Karlsruhe on 1 July 1967. From 1988 to 1992, he studied political sciences and international relations at L'Institut d'Etudes Politiques in Paris. He has been a member of the German Diplomatic Service since 1992, with postings in Israel, Rwanda, and Afghanistan. From March 2014 to July 2016, he served as ambassador to the Philippines, Palau, Micronesia, and the Marshall Islands. From August 2016 to June 2017, he was the director for relations with EU Member States and regional and cross-border cooperation. Since July 2017, he has been a special representative for the negotiations on the EU Multiannual Financial Framework.



Shada Islam

Responsible for policy oversight of Friends of Europe's initiatives, activities and publications concerning the future of Europe, migration, the Asia Programme and the Development Policy Forum. Ms Islam is a visiting professor at the College of Europe (Natolin), where she teaches Asia-Europe relations, and is also a fellow at Vrije University Brussel. She was selected as one of the twenty most influential women in Brussels by Politico, and writes Friends of Europe's much-read 'Frankly Speaking' commentary.

Alone We Fail: Working Together for a Sustainable Future



Janez Potočnik

A PhD economist, former director of IMAD, former minister of European affairs, former head of the negotiating team for the accession of Slovenia to the EU and former EU commissioner for science and research and for the environment, currently serving as co-chair of the UN International Resource Panel and Partner SYSTEMIQ.

Mr Anas Al-Modefer

Director of Planning of Analysis at Delivery and Rapid Intervention Center, Saudi Arabia
"N/A"



Ohoud bint Khalfan Al Roumi

Minister of State for Happiness and Wellbeing of the UAE Government and Director General of the Prime Minister's Office at the Ministry of Cabinet Affairs and the Future. Ms Al Roumi is the Vice Chair of the World Government Summit Organization, a member of the UN Foundation Global Entrepreneurs Council and the WEF Young Global Leaders, and a board member of the Dubai Future Foundation. She has led the formulation of many national strategies, and occupied several positions in Dubai and the federal government. Ms Al Roumi holds an EMBA from the University of Sharjah and a BA in economics from UAE University.



Vasja Bočko

A co-founder and CEO of Iryo, a health-care IT start-up which has the mission of unlocking the value of health-care data. He is a seasoned IT manager with experience in the blockchain and crypto field. He has worked

for a cryptocurrency exchange on a global digital identity solution for the telco industry and other IT projects.



Fawaz Farooqui

DG Delivery and Rapid Intervention Unit and National Transformation Programme, part of Vision 2030 initiatives of the Government of Saudi Arabia. He is responsible for the implementation and delivery of initiatives, including Vision 2030. He previously served as an adviser to the minister of the economy and planning, establishing the General Entertainment Authority and initiating programmes geared towards improving the quality of life of citizens. He obtained his engineering degree from the University of Southern California and holds an MBA from Stanford University.



Harald Neumann

Has 20 years of leadership experience gained in different companies focused on technology, including Alcatel, T-Systems Austria and the Federal Computing Centre of Austria. Prior to joining NOVOMATIC, Mr Neumann managed the G4S Security Services Austria AG as Chairman of the Board. In 2011, he joined the NOVOMATIC Group as Managing Director of Austrian Gaming Industries GmbH. Since October 2014, Mr Neumann has served as Chief Executive Officer of NOVOMATIC AG.



Vasantha Senanayake

State Minister of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. Having entered parliament in 2010, he was appointed deputy minister of wild life and sports in 2014. He earned a LLB degree from the University of Buckingham (UK) in 1995, followed by a LLM degree from Kotalawela Defence University, Sri Lanka. Mr Senanayake has been a vocal campaigner for gender rights and empowerment issues. He takes great interest in environmental and wildlife issues.



Mr Miloš Popović

UN Coordination Analyst at United Nations, Montenegro. Head of UN Coordination Office in Montenegro. His previous positions include public finance specialist in the Ministry of Finance in Montenegro, teching at the University of Donja Gorica (UDG), associate in Telekom Montenegro (Member of Deutsche Telekom group).



Danica Purg

President of both the IEDC-Bled School of Management, Slovenia, and CEEMAN, an international association of management development institutions of 55 countries. Prof. Purg received the 2010 International Educator of the Year Award from the Academy of International Business (AIB) for outstanding achievements in international business education. In 2017, the Global UN PRME Forum presented her with an award for pioneering work in establishing the UNPRME initiative. Prof. Purg holds three doctor honoris causa titles and two honorary academic titles.



Timotej Šooš

Timotej leads Slovenia's efforts to deliver on Agenda 2030 for sustainable development. He is a member of the Global Council on SDG17 and the OECD Advisory Group on Using Well-Being Metrics in Policy. Recently, he led the development of Slovenia's long-term development strategy. As a career diplomat, Timotej served as a special adviser to the minister of foreign affairs and as digital diplomacy coordinator. He also worked at Slovenian missions to UN in New York and to the OECD in Paris.

Digital Bridge: Transformation for Institutional Resilience



Corneliu Bjola

Associate Professor in Diplomatic Studies at the University of Oxford and Head of the Oxford Digital Diplomacy Research Group. He also serves as a Faculty Fellow at the Center on Public Diplomacy at the University of Southern California and as a Professorial Lecturer at the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna. His research focuses on the impact of digital technology on the conduct of diplomacy with a focus on strategic communication, digital influence and methods for countering digital propaganda.



Nataša Briški

Co-founder and Editor-in-chief at Meta's list. Journalist by profession with 25 years of experience working for local, national and international media. Social media trainer, columnist, podcaster and member of an Expert Council on Gender Equality (the Ministry of Labour, Family, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities), and member of Commission on gender equality in science, advisory board at the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport.



Crystal Patterson

With more than 15 years of experience in politics, policy and elections, Crystal leads Facebook's civic partnerships work, with a focus on elections integrity. A native of northeast Ohio and a graduate of Northwestern University, Crystal is based in Washington, DC.



Matthias Sachs

Government Affairs Lead for Microsoft in CEE since 2015. He first came to Microsoft in 2012 as Government Affairs Manager for Germany. Before joining the company, he worked as a Business and Public Affairs Consultant and started his career as a political adviser to a Member of Parliament. He gained his doctoral degree in Political Science from the University of Cologne, from where he also holds an M.A. in Political Science, History and German Philology.



Matthew Jacobs

Digital Coordinator for the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs at the U.S. Department of State. Mr Jacobs serves as the chief digital policy officer and strategist for the Bureau, working to refine how to embrace the 21st century statecraft. He has recently focused on fostering communal resiliencies in the digital landscape. He founded the European Digital Diplomacy Exchange, an intergovernmental network committed to increasing members' collective capacities to implement strategic digital communications.

Mediation in a New Multipolar World – Between Expectations and Reality



Helga Maria Schmid

Secretary General of the European External Action Service (EEAS). Within EU institutions, Ms Schmid previously served as the deputy secretary general for political affairs (EEAS) and the director of the Policy Planning and Early Warning Unit of the High Representative for the CFSP (General Secretariat of the Council of the EU). Prior to that, Ms Schmid was the head of the political staff of the German Federal Foreign Office and the head of the Office of the German Minister for Foreign Affairs.



David Gorman

Director for the Eurasia region for the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue. He has 25 years of experience in the field of peace-making working for several international organizations. He was based in the Philippines, Indonesia, Liberia, Bosnia as well as the West

Bank and Gaza. He graduated from the London School of Economics, was featured in the award winning film "Miles and War" and has published several pieces on mediation.



Bassma Kodmani

Member of the Syrian Negotiation Commission, a co-founder of the Arab Reform Initiative, where she has been working as its Executive Director since 2005. She is also an Associate Professor of International Relations at the University of Paris. In 2011, she took on a mission as Head of Foreign Relations and spokesperson with the Syrian National Council, the opposition coalition seeking democratic change in Syria. She resigned in 2012. In 2016, she joined the delegation of the democratic opposition in the Geneva peace talks on Syria.



Katarina Kresal

Founder and President of the European Centre for Dispute Resolution. She is the Strategic Planning and International Projects Head of the Dispute Resolution Department and is a specialist in corporate and commercial law, M & A, arbitration and mediation and representation of foreign clients. She is a practicing lawyer at the Law Office Katarina Kresal. She served as the Minister of the Interior of the Republic of Slovenia between 2008 and 2011.



Amre Moussa

An Egyptian politician and diplomat who was the Egyptian Ambassador to India (1983–1986), Permanent Representative of Egypt to the United Nations (1990–1991), and the Foreign Minister of Egypt (1991–2001). Amre Moussa was also the Secretary-General of the Arab League, a 22-member forum representing Arab states (2001–2011). He serves as Board of Trustees Member of Nizami Ganjavi International Center.



Roman Vassilenko

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan. He began his career at the International Relations Department of the Presidential Administration of the Republic of Kazakhstan and held numerous important positions, including assistant to the head of the Prime Minister's Office, chief inspector of the Secretariat of the Secretary of State, chairman of the Committee for International Information of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, deputy director of the Nazarbayev Center, and ambassador-at-large at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He speaks English, French and Vietnamese.



Samuel Žbogar

European Union's ambassador in Skopje since 2016. His previous positions include the EU special representative for Kosovo and head of the EU Office in Pristina, minister of foreign affairs of Slovenia, Slovenian ambassador to the United States and deputy permanent representative of Slovenia to the United Nations in New York.



Ambassador Peter Semneby

Special Envoy at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Sweden



Antje Herrberg

CEO of MediatEUr, Adjunct Professor College of Europe. Mediation Expert, facilitator and adviser to 13 peace processes, positions included: Member of the UN Standby Team for Mediation, UN Director and chief facilitation adviser to Ahtisaari at the Crisis Management Initiative, Europe Director for Interpeace, and Director at the EastWest Institute.

Cyber Security System: Achieving Resilience



Dobran Božič

Director of the Government Office of the Republic of Slovenia for Protection of Classified Information. His previous positions include Defence Representative at the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Slovenia to the United Nations in New York, Chief of Defence and numerous command and staff positions in the Slovenian Armed Forces.



Colonel Jerry Chappee

Chief of the U.S. European Command's Joint Cyber Center, United States of America. Colonel Chappee is a mobilized reservist with extensive cyber security experience in the Healthcare industry and in the military for the last 25 years. He has worked in the Missile Defense Agency developing cyber assessment procedures and was the only Army reservist to be mobilized to help stand up the operational arm of US Cyber Command. He has been a Chief Information Security Officer in his military and civilian roles with a focus on critical infrastructure.



Kai Hermesen

The global coordinator of the Siemens AG Charter of Trust initiative. He has headed business strategies security services at Siemens AG and was a project manager at Siemens Management Consulting in Germany, India, and elsewhere. He holds a degree in international management/CEMS from the Rotterdam School of Management, Erasmus University Rotterdam, the Netherlands, and in international business from Maastricht University, the Netherlands.



Mitja Jermol

UNESCO Chair on Open Technologies for Open Educational Resources and Open Education and head of the Centre for Knowledge Transfer at the Jožef Stefan Institute in Slovenia. His research concerns e-learning, artificial intelligence in the context of business intelligence, personalised learning, smart cities, and factories of the future. Mitja is a co-founder of the Institute's two spin-outs, Quintelligence and Cycorp RER.



Antonio Missiroli

Assistant Secretary General for Emerging Security Challenges. His previous positions include: director of EUISS, adviser at BEPA of the European Commission, director of studies at the European Policy Centre, senior research fellow at the W/EU Institute for Security Studies, head of European Studies at CeSPI, and visiting fellow at St Antony's College, Oxford.



Uzi Moscovici

Currently vice-president of the Missile Division at Israeli Aerospace Industries, senior cyber consult to organisations and governments and board member at Migdal, Israel's largest insurance company and financial corporation. Former head of IT and cyber defence for the IDF (CIO+CISO) and a general staff member. An experienced leader with deep IT and cyber experience. Between 1982 and 2010, he worked as a field officer, holding various command posts. He holds an MSc from the US Army War College and an M.B.A. from New York Polytechnic University.



Gregor Pipan

His working experience started in Jožef Stefan Institute where he began his work in the field of distributed systems, namely clusters of computers. After short period of working for a few small software development companies, he started working for XLAB d.o.o. in 2001, where he still works today.

**Tanel Sepp**

Deputy Director of Cyber Policy and IT Department of the Estonian Ministry of Defence. Although Mr Sepp joined the Ministry of Defence in September 2015, he has been in the Estonian Foreign Service as a career diplomat since 2003. He was sent on various missions: to Luxembourg (2005), to the Permanent Representation of Estonia to the EU (2006–2009), to the Special Mission of Estonia in Afghanistan (2009–2011) and to the Estonian Embassy in Washington, DC (2012–2015).

**Guy De Launey**

Guy has been the Balkans Correspondent for BBC News since 2012. He was previously BBC correspondent in Southeast Asia, based in Phnom Penh, for 8 years. Guy is also a correspondent for Monocle magazine and presents The Globalist and Daily programmes on Monocle 24. He has lived and worked in Japan, reported from dozens of countries around the world and interviewed everyone from Ban Ki-Moon to Jackie Chan.

International Criminal Court: 20 Years after Rome – Setting a Path for the Future

**Richard Goldstone**

A retired justice of the Constitutional Court of South Africa. He was previously the first chief prosecutor of the United Nations International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda.

**Amal Jadou**

Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs for Europe (since 2012). She began her political career in 2005 in the Prime Minister's Office, where she worked as a foreign policy adviser to the prime minister until 2006. From 2006 to 2009, she was the director general for international relations in the Office of the President. From 2009 to 2011, she served as deputy chief of mission at the PLO Mission to the United States.

**O-Gon Kwon**

President of the Assembly of States Parties of the International Criminal Court (ICC) from December 2017 for a term of three years. He also serves as president of the International Law Institute of Kim & Chang, a law firm in Korea, as well as of the Korean Society of Law. His previous positions include judge of the ICTY for 15 years and various courts in Korea for 22 years.

**Mr Phakiso Mochochoko**

Director of the Jurisdiction, Complementarity and Cooperation Division at the Office of the Prosecutor, International Criminal Court. Prior to his role as Director of the Jurisdiction, Complementarity and Cooperation Division, he served as ICC Registry Senior Legal Advisor as well as Legal Counsellor for the Permanent Mission of Lesotho to the UN. He chaired various Committees and Working Groups including the UNGA Sixth Committee and the Working Group on Part 9 of the Rome Statute. He holds a B.A. Law and L.L.B. degrees from the National University of Lesotho; an M.A. in International Relations and a Post Graduate Diploma in International Law and Diplomacy from St. John's University, New York.

**Ernest Petrič**

A senior advisor to the President of the Republic of Slovenia, and a member of the ILC and Advisory Committee on nominations for ICC judges. His previous positions include ambassador to India, Nepal, USA, Mexico, Brazil and Austria, permanent representative to the UN in New York, Vienna and OSCE. He has been a state secretary at the MFA of Slovenia, judge and president of the Constitutional Court of Slovenia, president of the ILC and chairman of the board of governors of the IAEA.

**Dan Damon**

Dan presented the daily World Update programme on the BBC World Service since 2003, with global news and analysis. During the 1990s, with his camerawoman wife, Siân, Dan covered the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe, the Yugoslav wars and conflicts in the Middle East and Asia. Recently, he helped set up the new BBC Korean language service.

Being Human in the Age of Technology

**Marko Grobelnik**

Researcher at the Artificial Intelligence Laboratory at the Jožef Stefan Institute. He has been working on various aspects of AI since 1985. His focus areas of expertise are Machine Learning, Data/Text/Web Mining, Network Analysis, Semantic Technologies, Deep Text Understanding, and Data Visualisation. He collaborates with major European academic institutions and industries and is also a co-author of several books, co-founder of several start-ups and is/was involved in over 40 EU funded research projects on various fields of AI. Since 2016, Mr Grobelnik is the Slovenia's digital champion at the European Commission.

**Iskren Krusteff**

High-impact entrepreneur, mentor, investor, internationally recognised go-to entrepreneurship ecosystem expert. A bridge-maker and investor focused on growing start-ups and scale-ups through sustainable business models, partnerships, and innovation. He has managed NGOs, businesses and programmes £50m+ in the public and private sectors in the EU and MENA. He hosts and participates in high-profile international conferences and roundtables. Trusted pitch coach, judge of national and international start-up competitions, public speaker. Crypto-economics expert. Disrupter. Visionary.

**Martin Svik**

Mr Svik is leading IBM Watson iLab, which is focusing on the delivery of IBM cognitive and AI capabilities for the clients across Europe and globally (virtual assistants, enterprise search, nature language processing, image recognition, cybersecurity). He has already been working for the U.S. headquarter for Chief Innovation Officer for 4 years, collaborating on most innovative projects for the biggest strategic clients in the area of Analytics, Cognitive Science, AI, Blockchain, IoT and others. Mr Svik is a regular key note speaker.

**Mr Jakob Hjortshøj**

Associate at Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark. As a political scientist specialised within international geopolitics of technology, his experience includes working closely with the first and only Tech Ambassador in the world, where he, based in Silicon Valley, helped lift Denmark's 'TechPlomacy-initiative' from the ground engaging in diplomatic discussions with the global technology sector across the world from a foreign- and security perspective.

**Katja Geršak**

Katja is the editor-in-chief of the Bled Strategic Times, and was instrumental in the inception of the publication. She is also the CEO of Fan360, a blockchain-based company, and vice president of the Business Angels of Slovenia, working extensively with the start-up community. She co-founded Regional Dialogue, an NGO successfully implementing programmes concerning judicial reform in Uzbekistan.

Bridging the Trust Divide between People and Institutions

**Marcos Bonturi**

OECD Director for Public Governance. He leads a team of over 200 employees at the Public Governance Directorate

(GOV). GOV helps governments design and implement strategic, evidence-based and innovative policies to strengthen public governance, respond effectively to economic, social and environmental challenges and deliver on government's commitments to citizens. It covers topics such as innovation, digital government, transparency, integrity, public procurement, public budgeting, gender-responsive policies, risk management and regulatory reform.

**Kristina Plavšak Krajnc**

B.A. in journalism and M.A. in international relations. Director of the Government Communication Office of the Republic of Slovenia since the 1st of September 2015. During her more than 20-year-long career she held positions in communication and international affairs, including public relations adviser to the Slovenian Prime Minister, adviser to the Slovenian President of the Republic of Slovenia for cooperation with non-governmental organisations and Director of the Information Office of the Council of Europe in Slovenia.

**Zsafia Racz**

Zsafia Racz is the second youth delegate of Hungary to the United Nations. As part of the national delegation, her job is to represent her country on an international level with a special focus on issues concerning youth. She was present at the meetings of the Third Committee of the General Assembly in October 2017 and also at the ECOSOC Youth Forum in January 2018. Besides being a youth delegate, she is a third year law student in Budapest, Hungary.

**Ahmad Maaliji**

An international development and policy expert. His previous positions include counsellor (EU and multilateral cooperation) at the Mission of Afghanistan in Brussels, and deputy chief of staff for policy and programmes and institutional development advisor at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan. He strongly believes in track II diplomacy and strengthening the role of civil society organisations in policy making.

**Hanina Ben Bernou**

Governance adviser at the Delegation of the European Union to Kenya. Her previous positions include stabilisation adviser of the delegation of the European Union to Somalia, programme manager for global and emerging threats at the European Commission, project manager at GDF SUEZ Energy Sales GmbH, and MEDESA sea-water desalination plant.

Western Balkans: Lost Years or New Hope?

**Florian Bieber**

Professor of Southeast European History and Politics and Director of the Centre for Southeast European Studies at the University of Graz, Austria. He is the coordinator of the Balkans in Europe Policy Advisory Group. He has worked at the European Centre for Minority Issues and taught at Kent University (UK). He is, or has been, a visiting professor at CEU, Cornell University, and the University of Bologna, and in Sarajevo and Belgrade, and a fellow at LSE and NYU.

**Gent Cakaj**

Cakaj served as a political adviser to the Prime Minister of Albania. Prior to that, he worked for civil society as a consultant. He was educated in Kosovo, Belgium and Hungary, and holds two bachelor's and three master's degrees in philosophy, political sciences, and law.

**Srđan Darmanović**

Minister of Foreign Affairs of Montenegro. He is a professor at the University of Montenegro and a member of the Venice

Commission. He has held numerous important positions, including Montenegrin ambassador to the United States, the founder and the first dean of the Faculty of Political Science, the founder and president of Podgorica-based think-tank CEDEM, and the president of the Montenegrin Diplomatic Academy.

**Enver Hoxhaj**

Hoxhaj is a key Kosovo politician and diplomat, playing a vital role in consolidating and strengthening Kosovo's diplomacy. He was a member of the Kosovo delegation in the UN-led talks on defining Kosovo's final status (2005–2007). He played a key role during state-building processes before and after Kosovo's declaration of independence.

**Srđan Majstorović**

Chairman of the Governing Board of the European Policy Centre. He is a member of the Balkans in Europe Policy Advisory Group. Mr Majstorovic was the deputy director of the European Integration Office of the Government of Republic of Serbia. He was a member of the negotiating team for the accession of the Republic of Serbia to the EU, responsible for political criteria and the rule of law chapters 23 and 24.

**Hedvig Morvai**

Since 2007, the Executive Director of the European Fund for the Balkans, an initiative aimed at strengthening democracy and fostering European integration of the Western Balkans. Prior to that, she served as the director of the Citizens' Pact for South Eastern Europe. She serves on the board of the Center for Advanced Studies in Rijeka, and is a member of the European Council on Foreign Relations and the Epos Network. She studied law and communications.

Terens Spenser Nikolaos Quick

(See Diaspora's Role of a Bridge in Contemporary International Relations.)

**Momčilo Radulović**

President of the European Movement in Montenegro. He also served as an adviser to the OSCE ambassador in Montenegro and has worked as a political and media analyst. He has also worked as an international consultant on EU integration, Western Balkans politics and economics, the media, education, the rule of law, public administration reform and security issues. He is a coordinator of the Regional Convention on EU Integration of the Western Balkans. He has a BA from Belgrade University and an MA from Graz University.

**Charlotte Ruhe**

EBRD's managing director for Central and South Eastern Europe; is responsible for 18 countries from Poland and the Baltic States to Greece and Cyprus. In a 25-year career in the Bank, she was previously director, SME finance and development, providing finance and advice to SMEs across 26 EBRD countries of operation. She served as director for Croatia in Zagreb from 2005 to 2010 after working for 10 years on debt and equity transactions in EBRD's financial institutions team.

**Andrej Zhernovski**

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia. He was vice chair of the Council of the City of Skopje, adviser to the mayor of the City of Skopje and mayor of the Municipality of Skopje Centre. As a member of parliament, he held several positions, dealing mostly with international and foreign policy issues. As a member of the delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, he was a member of different committees, advocating human rights and democracy.

**Adnan Čerimagić**

Part of ESI since August 2013. Mr Čerimagić has worked for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bosnia and Hercegovina, he did a traineeship in the Secretariat of the European Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee and worked for the Human Rights and Democracy Centre (ETC) in Graz. He studied law at the University of Graz and EU international relations and diplomacy at the College of Europe in Bruges. At ESI, he is researching EU enlargement policy, the Western Balkans' EU integration process and Turkey.

**Tim Judah**

Journalist and author. He is a correspondent for The Economist, covering the Balkans, as well as other areas. He has worked for many major publications and broadcasters. He has written wartime reportage about Afghanistan and Ukraine for the New York Review of Books. His recent work has appeared in the FT Magazine and in 2018, he undertook a major investigative project for the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Climate Change and Security Dynamics**Aira Kalela**

A senior adviser to the former Finnish president Tarja Halonen since 2013. In the 1984–2010 period, she was the director general at the Ministry of the Environment; in 2015, she was the EU's lead negotiator on climate change and gender equality for the Paris Agreement; in 1989, she was one of the principal negotiators on the UN decision launching the sustainable development process. Ms Kalela participated in the 1992 Rio Summit, the 2002 Johannesburg Summit, and the Rio+20 Summit.

**Adil Najam**

Inaugural Dean of the Pardee School of Global Affairs at Boston University, United States. He is the former vice chancellor of the Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS) in Pakistan. He was a co-author of the Third and Fourth Assessments of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), work for which the IPCC was awarded the 2007 Nobel Peace Prize. He has written 12 books and over 100 scholarly papers, including on climate change and security.

**Ana Stanić**

An expert on international, EU and energy law. She regularly advises governments, international institutions and companies on issues such as maritime boundary disputes, concession agreements for the construction of large-scale energy infrastructure, the right to self-determination, human rights and climate change. She has acted as counsel in numerous commercial disputes and investment treaty arbitrations and has appeared before the European Court of Justice. Most recently, Stanić has been advising on the inter-relationship between EU and international law and the implications of Brexit.

**Danilo Türk**

Former president of the Republic of Slovenia (2007–2012). Dr Türk is a diplomat, politician, and professor of international law. He served as UN assistant secretary-general for political affairs (2000–2005), and prior to that, was the Slovenian ambassador to the UN (1992–2000). He was chairman of the Global High-Level Panel on Water and Peace (2015–2017) and chairs the board of directors of the Global Fairness Initiative, an NGO based in Washington, D.C.

**Mome Saleem**

An anthropologist. She has been working as a policy researcher for the last 12 years. She has published research on various topics, such as resource politics, climate change, gender, as well as peace and security. Being part of various national, regional and global networks, she has served as an adviser to the

Global Diplomacy Lab in Berlin. She is curator of a citizen's movement on urban development. She has trained journalists and parliamentarians on environment issues. She is a regular expert/guest at media talk shows.

Closing of the 2018 BSF**Andrej Logar**

(See Networking Reception.)

The Role of South East European National Security Authorities in Ensuring Cyber Security**Dobran Božič**

(See Cyber Security System: Achieving Resilience.)

Antonio Missiroli

(See Cyber Security System: Achieving Resilience.)

Uzi Moscovici

(See Cyber Security System: Achieving Resilience.)

**Goran Svilanović**

Secretary General of the Regional Cooperation Council since the 1st of January 2013. He previously served as a Coordinator of the OSCE Economic and Environmental Activities (2008–2012). In November 2004, he became Chairman of Working Table I of the Stability Pact for the South-eastern Europe, where he served until the end of 2007. He was a member of the Review Group of the Stability Pact, which proposed the transformation of the Stability Pact into the Regional Co-operation Council.

**Jure Tepina**

A longtime investigative journalist, who is, among other things, known for reporting from the scenes of terrorist attacks and in emergency situations. He is also an excellent moderator of various events.

De-Victimising Victims**Sabina Beber Boštjančič**

Sabina joined ITF in October 2001 as a project manager. In 2004, she took over the position of Head of the International Department and in February 2014, the responsibilities of Deputy Director. Specific duties: full project cycle management of ITF programs/projects; contacts with donors, authorities and beneficiaries; development of strategic and annual plans; fundraising for ITF programs/projects; setting up of new programs/projects; program/project reporting and periodical analytical reports; implementation of capacity building activities.

**Mirsad Mirojević**

Manager of the sitting volleyball club OKI Fantomi from Sarajevo and a mine survivor himself. OKI Fantomi enables individuals to overcome the consequences of armed conflict, with the ultimate goal of helping affected communities and individuals develop to their full potential. The club and its members are 4-time European champions, 5-time BIH national champions, and 10-time Euro League Champions.

**Isabelle Poupart**

Ambassador of Canada to Slovenia, Hungary as well as Bosnia and Herzegovina. Originally a lawyer, she joined Global Affairs Canada in 1995. Prior to her current assignment, she was Permanent Representative of Canada to the OSCE. She served twice at the Joint Delegation of Canada to NATO and also worked for the Conflict Prevention Centre of the OSCE. In Ottawa, she held various positions, including Senior Adviser to the Assistant Deputy Minister for Global Issues, Strategic Policy and Europe.

**Mohammad Shafiq Yosuf**

Mohammad Shafiq Yosuf, born on the 1st of January, 1973, comes from the Bagram district of Parwan Province. He finished his primary education in Mazar-e-Sharif and holds a post-graduate degree in Civil Engineering. He worked in the field of Civil engineering for about two years and joined the mine action sector, first with a local operator and then with UNMACA as Operations Assistant. He served in key managerial positions with UNMACA/UNMAS and was appointed as DMAC Director in 2012.

**Dijana Pleština**

Gulf Research Center chairman and founder. President of Sager Group Holding in Saudi Arabia which is active in the fields of information technology, aviation services and investments. Appointed member of the Makkah Province Council in 2003. Also serves as a member of the advisory boards of Arab Thought Foundation; Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of the Armed Forces; Faculty of Economics and Administration of King Abdulaziz University; Saudi Ministry of Higher Education; and Geneva Centre for Security Policy.

Survivors: Breaking the Silence on Child Sexual Abuse**Eirliani Abdul Rahman**

Executive Director of YAKIN (Youth, Adult survivors & Kin In Need) and is programme director at the Kailash Satyarthi Children's Foundation. She is a member of Twitter's Trust & Safety Council and the Community Engagement Committee of the United World College. She served in Singapore's foreign service from 2005 to 2015, in Berlin as a first secretary and in Delhi as a political counsellor. Her book 'Survivors: Breaking the Silence on Child Sexual Abuse' is in its second print run.

**Imran**

A 43-year-old male survivor of sexual abuse.

Engagement, Conditionality or Both? Security and the Rule-Of-Law Through a Renewed EU Perspective**Rajko Kozmelj**

Chair of the Integrative Internal Security Governance (IISG) Support Group hosted by DCAF Ljubljana, supported by the European Commission, and the author of the integrative approach to internal security cooperation and reform launched at the EU level in late 2014. His previous posts were with the Slovenian Permanent Representation with the EU during 2012–2017, and with the European Commission (DG Home) between 2009–2012. He served as Assistant Director of the Slovenian Criminal Police between 2007–2009.

**Oliver Spasovski**

Deputy Prime Minister of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia and Minister of Internal Affairs. He graduated in law from the Faculty of Law Justinianus Primus, St. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje. He served three times as a member of parliament in the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia. As a proven professional and an expert in security policies, with a previously proven dedication, he was appointed to his present position in 2017 for the third time.

**Sonja Stojanović Gajić**

Director of the Belgrade Centre for Security Policy. Her previous employment was with the Strategic Development Unit, the OSCE Mission to Serbia, and the Montenegrin Police Department in strategic management. She holds an MA in politics, security and integration

from the University College of London. She devised a methodology for measuring security sector reform in transitional societies.

Goran Svilanović

(See The Role of South East European National Security Authorities in Ensuring Cyber Security.)

**Sabina Lange**

Senior Lecturer at EIPA, Maastricht and Associate Professor in International Relations at the University of Ljubljana. In her research, consultancy and training work, she focuses on inter institutional relations in the EU, in particular on the relations between Member States and the Commission, and on the EU's relations with the Western Balkans.

Putting European Consensus on Development into Practice: Political Foundations as Bridge Builders for the Implementation of SDGs**Florian Lütticken**

Policy Coordinator for the European development policy in the Directorate-General for International Cooperation and Development (DEVCO) of the European Commission where he has been working since 2004. Prior to joining the Commission, Mr Lütticken was Head of Division for the EU-funded projects at SEQUA, a joint development agency of the German employers' and business' associations (DIHK, ZDH, BDI, BDA) and GIZ. Mr Lütticken studied in Germany, Spain and Sweden and holds a PhD from Trier University on European trade policy.

**Gudrun Kopp**

Gudrun Kopp served as an MP Member of the Federal Parliament (Deutscher Bundestag) between 1998–2013 and as an MP and Parliamentary State Secretary to the Minister for Economic Cooperation and Development. She is currently holding the post of a Board member at the European Network of Political Foundations (ENoP).

**Đuro Blanuša**

Before his appointment as RYCO Secretary General, Mr Blanuša served as a senior adviser for the Ministry of Youth and Sports of the Republic of Serbia, sector for International Cooperation and European Integration. Having a rich portfolio in civil society, youth organizations and non-governmental sector activism, he represented Serbia in the European Steering Committee for Youth. Member of various regional and European expert groups, he was engaged as the Republic of Serbia governmental representative in the RYCO establishment process.

**Sabina Wölkner**

Director of the Multinational Development Policy Programme of Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) in Brussels. She is also the director of the EU co-funded project 'Get involved: women empowerment in Morocco and Benin'. Prior to that, she was the head of the KAS office in Sarajevo (2009–2014). In Bosnia and Herzegovina, KAS implements projects of EU integration, democratisation and reconciliation. Before joining KAS, Sabina was a resident fellow at the Central Europe programme of the German Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin.

**Ms Mojca Kleva Kekuš**

President of Progressiva and former Member of European Parliament, Slovenia. Mojca Kleva Kekuš is a former Member of the European Parliament (S&D) that devoted her mandate to fight against inequalities and fight for equality between women and men. She worked in REGI committee on financial instruments in Cohesion policy, especially in Central and Eastern Europe and on the MFF 2014–2020. Before her mandate in the EP she was Slovenian Parliament representative in Brussels and worked for seven years in the Slovenian Parliament. Moj-

ca is currently working in the Cabinet of the Rector of the University of Primorska.

AmCham Business Leaders Club Breakfast – Shaping the (Digital) Future of Work: How to Bridge the Divide Between Humans and Technology?



Patrick Cowden

Unleashing Our Fullest Organisational Potential. Patrick has bet his life on the idea of a new quality of interaction and connection in organisations. An idea that ignites the innate human capacity in each of us to connect and cooperate. A capacity that raises teams to levels of collaboration, innovation and performance rarely seen before. By utilising state-of-the-art activation mechanisms based on respect, trust and appreciation, we can unleash our fullest potential in any context and in any setting.



Tina Mendelson

A principal at Deloitte with 20 years of experience advising public sector clients on strategy and complex organizational transformations. She has helped agencies accelerate their mission by developing innovative programs, policies, and systems, often in close partnership with non-profit and private sector stakeholders. She is currently leading a team to support the United States Health and Human Services Department, a \$1.1 trillion government agency, with its multi-year transformation program aimed to improve the health and wellbeing of the U.S. Population.



Tamara Pavasović Trošt

An Assistant Professor of Sociology at the Faculty of Economics, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia. She holds a PhD in Sociology from Harvard University (2012). Her research interests include nationalism, stereotypes, ethnic identity, and culture, with a geographical focus on the Western Balkans, and qualitative and mixed methods. Her most recent publication is "Changing Youth Values in South-east Europe" (Routledge, 2018).



Alexander Plekhanov

Deputy director of research at the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development in London. His main responsibilities include editorship of the Transition Report and the Regional Economic Prospects. Mr Plekhanov is one of the lead authors of The Future of Work: Regional Perspectives, a joint report by four regional development banks. Before joining the EBRD, Mr Plekhanov worked at the International Monetary Fund in Washington, DC. He holds a PhD in economics from the University of Cambridge.

Ajša Vodnik

(See Power Talk: One-on-One with Aleksander Čerferin, President of UEFA.)

How Will New Technologies Affect Cultural Tourism - Science Fiction or Reality? Tourism as an Instrument for Cultural Co-Operation



Maja Pak

Director of the Slovenian Tourist Board (STB), has dedicated her career to tourism. At the STB, she also held the positions of secretary general and head of the R&D department. Her duties have included research and tourism analysis, the strategic planning of tourism at the national level, marketing campaigns, green (sustainable) tourism management, the management of several projects, and cooperation with tourism institutions. She is the author and co-author of many strategic documents on tourism.



Zdravko Počivalšek

Minister of Economic Development and Technology of the Republic of Slovenia. Former manager of Mlekarne Celeia

dairy company. In 1999, he took over the top managerial position at Atomske toplice spa resort, transforming it into Terme Olimia. Received several awards from the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Slovenia for outstanding economic and entrepreneurial achievements and Manager of the year 2010.



Manuel Butler

Executive director of UNWTO since June 2018. He supervises four operational programmes. Previously, director (CEO) of TURESPAÑA since 2016 and a Spanish civil servant since 1985. PhD in naval engineering, master's degree in senior management, (IESE Business School (PADE), University of Navarra) and post-graduate degree in corporate finance (London Business School). Experience in Western Europe, North America and Latin America, working in management positions (public and private sectors). Tourism counsellor (embassies of the United Kingdom and Germany and consulate in Miami).



Tomi Ilijaš

Founder and president of Arc-tur. An entrepreneur, he focuses on hi-tech innovation, and has participated in many EU-funded R&D projects. He invents new business models in HPCaaS and successfully brings high-performance computing to manufacturing SMEs. Lately, his research focus has been on transferring new technologies such as HPDA, IoT and blockchain from Industry 4.0 to Tourism 4.0. He is also a member of the PRACE Industrial Advisory Committee, a board member at Fortissimo Marketplace Limited, and an IEEE fellow.



Urška Starc-Peceny

Chief innovation officer at Arc-tur. She is an expert on research in the collaboration of the design of smart cities and smart communities. She is one of the initiators of the concept of Tourism 4.0. Living between Slovenia and Vienna, where she is responsible for NASA Space Apps Challenge in Austria, she is also a university lecturer in smart-related topics.



Zenel Batagelj

Partner at VALICON, Co-found.it & ICONOMI team member. He has worked with the biggest corporations in the SEE region for the last 25 years, and is a true believer in the distributed Web 3.0 economy and the disruptive power of smart contracts. His recent focus has been on visioning, branding and juicing blockchain possibilities. People at LinkedIn say that he is good at marketing, consumer understanding, analytics, survey methodology, and polling. He just loves the last one.



Helena Bulaja Madunić

Award-winning innovator and pioneer of digital, immersive, interactive storytelling, with 25 years of excellence. Multitalented film director, artist, set and graphic designer, illustrator, screenwriter, curator, and most successful regional art director and producer of complex cultural cross-media projects. Her work has been awarded at numerous festivals and conferences from Europe to the USA, Japan, and New Zealand. For the past 13 years, her focus has been on the creation of cross-media projects and content inspired by Nikola Tesla, with artists like Gilliam, Abramović, Anderson...



Georg Steiner

Tourism director of Linz since 2007. He successfully completed the project of the European Capital of Culture in 2009, and was the general manager of the Tourism Board of Eastern Bavaria and general manager of the Danube Shipping Company Wurm + Köckin Passau. He has also taught tourism courses at the University of Applied Sciences Deggendorf, Munich, and the University of Passau.



Nienke van Schaverbeke

Head of Europeana Collections at the Europeana Foundation, The Hague, Netherlands. Europeana is the European Commission's digital platform for cultural heritage. Through Europeana, citizens and the cultural and creative industries can access European culture for the widest possible variety of purposes. She has over 15 years of experience in the publishing and library sectors. Her previous positions include head of the European Library, commissioning editor at Cambridge University Press, and marketing manager at Brill Academic Publishers.



Eva Štravs Podlogar

State Secretary at the Ministry of Economic Development and Technology. She has extensive experience in tourism, at local, regional and national levels. From 2001 until 2015, she was Director of Tourism Bled. In 2015-2016 she worked as Director General of the Tourism and Internationalisation Directorate at the Ministry of Economic Development.



Verena Vidrih Perko

An archaeologist and museologist, museum curator, and university teacher. She continued her education at the University of Zagreb, Masaryk University in Brno, and in the United States on a Paul Getty scholarship. She was the director general of the Directorate for Cultural Heritage at the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Slovenia. She is one of the initiators and founders of doctoral heritage studies at the University of Ljubljana, and a member of the international professional associations ICOM, ICO-MOSS, and Interpret Europe.



Igor Evgen Bergant

A late evening news host at TV Slovenia and a columnist, who specialises in international relations, the EU, sustainable development issues, energy and tourism. He is a Bled Strategic Forum veteran.

Session 2: Bridging the Divide: the Human Brain and Artificial Intelligence



Nikolaos Dimitriadis

Award-winning communications professional, educator and consultant. He is the author of the books 'Neuroscience for Leaders: A Brain Adaptive Leadership Approach' and 'Advanced Marketing Management: Principles, Skills and Tools'. He has worked with international brands such as IKEA, IBM, JTI, Nestle, Johnson&Johnson, Pierre Fabre, Coca-Cola, Banca Intesa Sanpaolo, Raiffeisen Bank, Rauch, Teekanne, USAID, and others. He is the CEO of Trizma Neuro, a cutting-edge neuromarketing company.

Session 3: Moving from a Physical to a Digital Society



Frank Barz

Head of Industrial Internet of Things at T-Systems International GmbH, a 100% daughter company of Deutsche Telekom. Frank has a strong background within the Utility and Telco business, his previous positions include the Head of Business Development at ista GmbH. Franks holds an M.A. in Chemical Engineering from the University of Münster.



William Entriken

Advisor to 0xcert and an independent blockchain developer. He is the lead author of ERC-721, which is a technological standard protocol for tracking people's identity and ownership of physical assets. He currently works at Pacific Medical Training and previously worked for Google, the United States Navy, and public and private engineering companies in the defence and research sectors.



Boris Koprivnikar

Mr Koprivnikar manages activities which are, to a great extent, an integral part of the Centre of Government, and focus on digital transformation of public administration as well as the economy and society as a whole. As Chief Digital Officer, he initiated and is actively promoting an ambitious vision of "Slovenia – a green reference country in a digital Europe". He aspires to bring together interests of the State, economy and citizens for setting up a digital eco-system.



Samir Sharma

CEO of datazuum, a data strategy and analytics consultancy. He helps companies to set up and execute their data strategies. Working alongside the board, C-Suite and directors, he advises them on how to use data more effectively in this ever-evolving digital world. Mr Sharma has 20 years of international experience in consulting and strategy roles in the UK, Europe, Africa, and the United States. He is a regular keynote speaker at international technology conferences and a charity fundraiser.



Nanna-Louise Wildfang Linde

An expert on the leadership and management of international teams. She facilitates cross-country and cross-function collaboration between teams. She has led various regional legal and corporate affairs teams at Microsoft, Western European. She currently leads the corporate, external and legal affairs team in Central and Eastern Europe. She has built strategies to position Microsoft as a trusted partner of key stakeholders in Western/Central + Eastern Europe, particularly government and other key regulators. Her leadership style is open, transparent and inclusive. She has a strong record of building high-performance teams.



Jaka Repanšek

Founder of RePublis d.o.o., providing legal and business counselling to several Slovenian and international TIME (telecoms, internet, media and entertainment) companies. Mr Repanšek graduated from the Faculty of Law at the University of Ljubljana and gained his graduate degrees from Cambridge University (Diploma in European Community Law) and completed MBA study at the University of Kansas (CIMBA). Mr Repanšek is a member of several international organizations and an active panellist at business and educational seminars and conferences.

InvestTalk Slovenia 2.0



Imre Balogh

CEO and Executive Director of the Bank Asset Management Company (DUTB). Before that, he was a non-executive director of DUTB and also managed the orderly wind-down of Probanka as president and CEO. Previously, he was an advisor and member of the strategy committee of the supervisory board of First Ukrainian International Bank. Prior to that, he worked in top management positions in MKB Bank Hungary, and was a chairman/board member in various financial institutions.



Gregor Benčina

With more than 20 years of international experience, has been the CEO of the EBS Group since 2002, which today also includes the Slovenian legacy companies Slovenijales and Jelovica. Manager of the Year of St. & C. Europe (2010), Young Manager of the Year in Slovenia (2006). Member of the Olympic Committee of Slovenia and of the Governing Board of the European Athletic Association. Partner at the Athletic Diamond League in Monaco. Since 2015, he has been the Honorary Consul of the Republic of Finland in Slovenia.

**Mr Michael Hummelbrunner**

Global Director Finance/Controlling Magna Steyr, Austria
Michael Hummelbrunner was appointed Global Director Finance/Controlling Magna Steyr in 2013. Magna Steyr is the worldwide leading brand-independent engineering and complete vehicle manufacturing partner for OEMs and a subsidiary of Magna. Canadian-based Magna is a U.S. \$ 39 billion global automotive supplier with over 172,000 employees and 340 plants in 28 countries. Hummelbrunner has been with Magna since 2004 in various positions in Finance and Controlling.

**Shengke Liu**

Lance is the managing director of Pingan Ventures – a subsidiary of Pingan Insurance (Group) Company of China LTD, which focuses on investments and asset management in technology, consumer products, education area. Lance manages a portfolio of US\$2bn today and led several major deals in technology industries in China.

**Matej Skočir**

Head of Division for Internationalisation at the Ministry of Economy and a member of Supervisory Board of Public Agency SPIRIT Slovenia. His previous positions include Senior Adviser at Trade and Investment Promotion Office, Head of Division for FDI and Head of Division for FDI and Export Promotion at SPIRIT Slovenia. He holds an M.A. in International Economy from the Faculty of Economics and is fluent in English and Italian.

**Gregor Umek**

Performs tasks of Slovenian National Contact Point OECD at the Ministry of Economic Development and Technology. His previous positions include Business Analyst at Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Slovenia, Analyst at the Institute for Strategic Solutions, Legal Adviser at Nova Ljubljanska banka d.d., Professional Associate at the Embassy of the Republic of Slovenia in Washington, the European Parliament and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Slovenia.

Session 4: The Positives and the Dark Side of a Hyper-Connected World

**Thomas Killion**

Appointed NATO's chief scientist as of 1 October 2016. He serves as chair of the NATO S&T Board, where he acts as the STB's representative to the Secretary General and the North Atlantic Council. He also serves as the senior scientific advisor to NATO leadership. Previous executive assignments include: director of technology at the Office of Naval Research (2012-2016) Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Army for Research and Technology/Army Chief Scientist (2004-2010).

Jaka Repanšek

(See Session 3: Moving from a Physical to a Digital Society.)

Ajša Vodnik

(See Power Talk: One-on-One with Aleksander Čeferin, President of UEFA.)

Conflict Prevention, Peace Building and Mediation

**Maja Dolinar**

A double PhD candidate in international relations and social and cultural anthropology at the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia. She is the head of digital preservation at the Social Science Data Archives, Faculty of Social Sciences, where she deals with research data management, repository standards, and certification. Her research interests include Euro-Mediterranean relations, regionalism, international organisations, and open data science.

**Miro Haček**

Professor at the Department of Political Science at the Faculty of Social Sciences. A former head of the political science department and of the policy analysis and public administration department at the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Ljubljana. He is currently vice-president of the Central European Political Science Association. Visiting professor to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and University of Johannesburg (both 2018). Editor-in-chief of The International Journal of Comparative Politics.

**Akihiro Ienaka**

A graduate student at Doshisha University. His previous research involved politics in modern Turkey and memory studies.

**Mostafa Khalili**

A Ph.D. student in global studies at the Graduate School of Global Studies at Doshisha University, Japan. He is also a Ph.D. student in the advanced doctoral programme in global resource management (GRM). He has conducted many scientific field studies in Japan and in some developing countries, such as Laos, Kenya, Thailand, Iran, and Turkey, focusing on human resource management. In April 2018, he was awarded a JSPS Research Fellowship for Young Scientists, the most competitive research fellowship in Japan.

**Faris Kočan**

A research assistant with the 'RePAST: Revisiting the Past, Anticipating the Future (www.repast.eu) project' funded by Horizon 2020. His previous positions include advisor at the National Assembly of Slovenia and political analyst at the Institute for Strategic Solutions. Currently, he is also managing editor of IJEMS and a columnist at Homopolitikus.

**Rok Zupančič**

An assistant professor at the University of Ljubljana. His research interests focus on conflict prevention and peace-building in South-eastern Europe. He is a principal researcher and the leader of the Slovenian research team in an H2020 project 'RePAST - Revisiting the Past, Anticipating the Future' (www.repast.eu). He recently completed his Marie Curie Fellowship at the University of Graz (Centre for Southeast European Studies), exploring the normative power of the EU in the north of Kosovo.

**Nina Pejić**

Programme director of the Gender Equality Research Institute and junior researcher at the Department of International Relations, Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Ljubljana.

**Masanori Naito**

Professor of Middle Eastern studies at the Graduate School of Global Studies, Doshisha University in Kyoto. He was a member of the Scientific Advisory Committee of MOST/SHS, UNESCO. He has written several books and articles on Islamist movements both in the Middle East and Europe.

Mediterranean Dimension of the OSCE - Youth and Security

**Iztok Mirošič**

State secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia. He has served as ambassador in Libya, Tunisia, Malta, Italy and San Marino, and the UK. Prior to that, he was a state secretary and a foreign policy and EU adviser in the Prime Minister's Office. He was one of the negotiators for the Arbitration Agreement between Slovenia and Croatia and the head of the South Eastern Europe Department.

**Matjaž Nemec**

Mr Nemec holds an M.A. in International Business and Sustainable Development. He was Private Secretary to the President of the Government, Analyst in the Government Communication Office, and Assistant to the President of the Republic of Slovenia.

**Paolo Trichilo**

A career diplomat since 1990, currently ambassador of Italy in Slovenia. He has held various positions ranging from OSCE, Consul, Turkey, Anti-terrorism, India, OECD, Labour Minister Advisor.

**Abdelhamid El-Zoheiry**

A physician and a professor at the Cairo University School of Medicine. He worked at the Egyptian Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research as a senior advisor for international cooperation and an executive director of the Research Development and Innovation Programme. Between 2012 and 2014, he served as the founding president of Heliopolis University in Cairo. In 2014, he was appointed president of EMUNI.

**Ana Bojinovič Fenko**

An associate professor and heads the International Relations Department at the University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Sciences. She is a Jean Monnet Professor, and received a European Commission 2017 Success Story and Best Practice Award for the project EU4PRIM (Enhanced EU content in primary school curricula). She publishes scientific research on EU enlargement policy, comparative analysis of small states' foreign policy and on international regionalism; her focal areas are the Mediterranean, Central Europe and Western Balkans.

**Ettore Greco**

Executive vice president of the Institute of International Affairs, Italy, where he heads the programme of Italian foreign policy and the programme of multilateralism and global governance. From 2008 to 2017, he was the director of the Institute. He worked at the Brookings Institution between 2006 and 2007. He was the deputy director of the Institute in the 1997-2008 period. From 1993 to 2000, he directed the Institute's Central and Eastern Europe programme. Between 2000 and 2006, he was the editor of The International Spectator.

**Matteo Pugliese**

A special representative of the OSCE Chairmanship on Youth & Security in 2017 and 2018. An ISPI associate research fellow for the Center on Radicalisation and International Terrorism, Pugliese holds a JD from the University of Genova and a MA in strategic studies and international security from the Ca' Foscari University of Venice. He studied at the Pontifical Catholic University, Chile and the University of Zagreb. Pugliese graduated from the course for general staff officers at the Italian Naval War College.

**Holger Fabian Sahl**

He is a strategic analyst at the European Border and Coast Guard Agency (Frontex), headquartered in Warsaw. At Frontex, he runs the Emerging Threat Assessment and is the lead author of the Quarterly Risk Analysis. In his previous role, he served as an analytical consultant at NATO headquarters in Brussels. He holds degrees from Stanford University and the London School of Economics.

**Meliha Muherina**

Project manager at the Centre for European Perspective, where she focuses on the role of youth and the Euro-Atlantic integration of the Western Balkans. She graduated in international relations from the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana. She is also the vice president of Bosnia and Herzegovina Association for the United Nations.

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