



EUROPEAN UNION 2020:  
ENLARGING AND  
INTEGRATING  
CONFERENCE REPORT



Bled  
Strategic  
Forum



Slovenian Prime Minister Janez Janša and Slovenian Minister of Foreign Affairs Dimitrij Rupel with Conference participants at Bled castle

## CONTENT

Preface	4
Conference Report	6
Programme	8
Selected Keynote Speeches	10
Participants	80
Sponsors	82
Organisers	84



## MISSION

The Forum aims to bring together top political leaders, business executives, and experts, and to generate commitments for implementation of new strategies designed to allow Europe to better use its strategic weight and space.



## PREFACE

**Dimitrij Rupel,**  
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic  
Slovenia and Chairman of the Bled Strategic  
Forum

The Second Bled Strategic Forum, which convened just months before the start of the first Slovenian EU presidency, hoped to accomplish some important priorities. Among these priorities was a vision for the EU's future, which was reflected in the forum's title "European Union 2020: Enlarging and Integrating". The title alludes to an old dilemma discussed by politicians and in academic circles alike, on how to reconcile two seemingly divergent trends – integration and enlargement – thereby ensuring the future of the European Union and enabling it to respond efficiently to the manifold challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century – global competitiveness, diversification of energy supplies, and climate change – just to name a few. During the two days of the Forum, in my view, it became undeniably clear that the enlargement process represents an opportunity and is *conditio sine qua non* for a lasting stabilization of the European continent. From my own country's experience I have learned that a prospect of EU membership still provides the most powerful motor for the political, societal and economic reform process. 16 years after gaining independence and 3 years after joining the EU, Slovenia became the first among the new member states to introduce the Euro. Slovenia is also, as I am writing these lines, the first new member to preside over the Union. Against this background, we perceive it as our moral duty to keep the EU's door open for our South Eastern European neighbours.

As such, it is necessary to make clear what we can offer to those Eastern European neighbours who are currently part of the European Neighbourhood Policy. Does the ENP provide the appropriate answers to the aspirations of these countries and furthermore, how can the ENP be improved? What are the borders of Europe, and is it at all possible to define them? In our discussions we tried to develop answers jointly to these pertinent questions.

By the same token, it is obvious that only a consolidated and institutionally prepared Union will be able to react to the multiple challenges of today's multipolar, interdependent world in an efficient and timely manner. The recently launched Intergovernmental Conference on the Reform Treaty will hopefully provide substantial improvements to the current cumbersome decision-making process, bringing the EU closer to its citizens. Slovenia will do its best to make this goal a reality.

At the Second Bled Strategic Forum we collected many interesting ideas and proposals regarding some of the most pertinent challenges the EU is currently facing – namely ideas related to enlargement, energy and climate change, and the future of the EU integration process. All of the above-mentioned issues will feature among the priorities of Slovenia's EU Presidency in the first half of 2008.

This leads me to my final point: When we came up with the idea of establishing the Bled Strategic Forum, our intention was to create an informal platform where high level participants from different backgrounds could gather and discuss a variety of pertinent challenges confronting Europe. I think we have again succeeded in achieving this goal.

An impressive gathering of more than 450 people on the 26th and 27th of August, 2007 demonstrated overwhelmingly that the concept behind the Bled Strategic Forum works. I would like to thank all who participated for their dedicated contributions and thought-provoking debates. This booklet contains problems and solutions concerning the European Union of which the participants were acutely aware. I am also thankful to our generous sponsors. Without them, this forum would not have been possible. Special thanks go to the organizers of the Forum who worked hard to make the Second Bled Strategic Forum such a success.







Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Kirkilas, Macedonian Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski, Slovenian Prime Minister Janez Janša, Croatian Prime Minister Ivo Sanader, Slovenian Minister of Foreign Affairs Dimitrij Rupel and Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili at the Bled Strategic Forum 2007.

## LEADERS PANEL

What is the future of Europe? How do we build European cohesion and enhance Europe's competitiveness, and at the same time strengthen European security? Does Europe need finite borders? How can we maintain the positive dynamics of the enlargement process? Is energy our doom or salvation? What is needed to ensure that the EU continues competing and surviving in an asymmetric system of increasingly complex dependencies? These questions were put forward to leaders of Europe so they could share their views on the future of Europe and the future of the EU. These are some of the key questions that the 2<sup>nd</sup> Annual Bled Strategic Forum addressed in a comprehensive debate between top decision makers, academia, the media, non-governmental actors, and the business community from Europe and the World.

The conference started with a Leaders Panel moderated by **Stefan Wagstyl** from the Financial Times. Wagstyl presented a political and economic background of today's Europe. The leaders vision of Europe in 2020 was provided by the Slovenian Prime Minister Janez Janša, President of Georgia Mikheil Saakashvili, Croatian Prime Minister Ivo Sanader, Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Kirkilas, and Macedonian Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski.



Stefan Wagstyl



Janez Janša

### A Vision of Europe

“To the person who does not know where he wants to go there is no favourable wind,” said the Slovenian Prime Minister **Janez Janša**, quoting the Roman philosopher Seneca. Janša was referring to the notion that Europe needs to have a vision in order to move forward together, and that there is an immediate need for new ideas regarding enlargement and integration of the EU. The Slovenian Prime Minister's keynote speech called for a continuous strengthening of Europe to accommodate the East and the Caucasus region's aspirations to join the European Union. He recognises that putting together a common vision that will appeal to more than 30 European nations presents a great challenge. However, the strength that Europe and the EU possess today rests in the heritage of national diversities which have always been at the core of Europe. “Finishing work on the renewed common basis will pave the way to a more transparent, efficient, and democratic Europe that is closer to its citizens,” the Prime Minister said. Reconciling Europe's diversity is the best way to build a renewed common basis for a successful Europe.

Janez Janša remarked that Europe's economy is the most competitive and dynamic economy in the world and that the global balance of power is poised to shift. The

combined GDP of the EU members contributes to a quarter of the world's GDP with the Euro surpassing the dollar in its circulation. Global foreign currency reserves held in Euros amount to 25 percent. In addition, the notion of the EU as a politically inept entity is changing as the world looks to the EU for leadership on a variety of important global issues including environmental concerns, international law, global security and intercultural dialog. The Slovenian Prime Minister reiterates that a vision of the EU as a global power does not endanger effective multilateralism and that a commitment of all Member States to boost institutional capacity is critical to achieve this goal. Janez Janša believes that we must consolidate interests between Member States. Only then will we give the EU an even stronger voice in international affairs.

### The Caucasus Inclusion

“One of the key future challenges of the EU is to show more involvement on its eastern borders,” said **Mikheil Saakashvili**, the President of Georgia. He supported this statement by spelling out the readiness of Georgia to follow and implement the vision of a free and peaceful Europe. The Georgian President also expects the EU to help in solving frozen conflicts of the region, namely South Ossetia and Abkhazia, since these con-



Mikheil Saakashvili



Ivo Sanader

licts should be thought of as European problems that present a direct threat to the wider stability of the European Continent. Saakashvili stressed, however, that the final Kosovo status cannot be linked to any solution for South Ossetia or Abkhazia.

Georgia shares a common history and culture with Europe, and its citizens respect and share the European

Union's democratic values. President Saakashvili is convinced that the new ways of cooperation offered by the EU, such as the possibility of visa liberalisation, debate about free trade, and the new neighbourhood policy, have a positive effect on the region and that Georgia has benefited from good relations with the EU in the past. In his view, Georgia has made significant progress in recent years despite occasional Russian meddling in Georgia's domestic politics and economy. The Georgian President pointed out that substantial economic progress is especially visible in World Bank ratings and assessments, which present Georgia as the best reformer of economy with the lowest level of corruption amongst all transition economies. This progress leads toward a better quality of life for Georgians and no one in Georgia wishes to return to the past. In his view, Georgia wishes to cooperate with Russia but any such cooperation needs to be based on mutual respect and equality.

### Unfinished Business in the Balkans

The Croatian Prime Minister **Ivo Sanader** pointed out that one of the key tasks of the European Union is to complete the process of stabilisation of the European Continent, namely, the south-eastern part. Enlargement 2004 provided positive grounds for new reforms, new policies, and economic development in those

Western Balkan countries that strive for Euro-Atlantic integration. Sanader stressed that Croatia is the leading country with regard to these issues, as well as a model country in the Balkans regarding Euro-Atlantic integration. Continuous enlargement of the EU is necessary not only because of political, security, and economic aspects, but also to fulfil the historical goals of a free Europe. According to the Croatian Prime Minister an expanded EU would certainly become an even bigger global player.

New institutional arrangements will better prepare the Union to address key political challenges of the future such as climate change, energy security, and economic development. The responsibilities and commitments of the EU are increasing in today's globalized world. Global changes offer new possibilities for progress because a united EU is certainly stronger than individual Member States. Our task is to take advantage of these opportunities for the benefit of all citizens of the EU. Furthermore, Sanader is convinced that, "we cannot build and shape a successful and effective EU 2020 with tools of the past."

### Our Values

**Gediminas Kirkilas**, the Prime Minister of Lithuania, sees Europe as a confluence of common ideas, princi-

ples, and values. Ideals in politics are inseparable from our identities, interests and political behaviour. Lithuania believes that the EU is far from "a handful of eurocrats and directives". Lithuania will in 2009 celebrate its 1000th year anniversary as a European country despite its difficult historical path. The inclusion of Central and Eastern European countries into the EU has re-established historical justice as Europe represents solidarity, peace, prosperity, freedom, and democracy as opposed to the Soviet system. However, inclusion should not stop here. The zone of stability and democracy still needs to expand. The prospect of enlargement and the European Neighbourhood Policy have become vitally important to those aspirant countries that believe EU membership is full of opportunities and benefits.

Speaking about benefits and interests, Gediminas Kirkilas related that, "unfortunately, very often an uncompromising strive for benefits and a pursuit of interests can easily shake our values." The political and democratic situation in Russia is worrisome especially in the light of human rights violations, the abolishment of media independence, energy resources manipulation, aggressive rhetoric, and meddling in the internal affairs of other countries. A relationship between the EU and Russia requires reciprocity in principles and values, but often one side's interests prevail. "If we shut our eyes against

bilateral interest, then what are our European values and principles worth?" asks Kirkilas.

### European Completion

The Macedonian Prime Minister, **Nikola Gruevski** stressed that the time is ripe for the EU to revitalize the process of European completion. "A Europe whole and free simply cannot exclude the Western Balkan nations," said Gruevski. The challenge of the EU is to assume its role as a global leader, upgrade its decision-making structures, and to accept a more visionary approach in the debate about Europe's external borders.

Whether the EU will make the most of this historic opportunity regarding external borders remains to be seen. Concerning the success of European completion, Gruevski is convinced that from the perspective of a Balkan nation the success would mean replacing Balkan history for a European future. In addition, he believes that a success from the point of view of the EU would mean "collecting the dividends of the long term political, military and financial investment in the stability and prosperity of the Balkans." Therefore, extending the zone of democracy, security, and stability to the countries of the region that are willing to meet the standards and commitments is necessary to carry out the process of European completion.



Gediminas Kirkilas



Nikola Gruevski





## THE NEXT EU ENLARGEMENT

Panel A was sponsored by Datalab

The first panel of the day was devoted to never-ending questions regarding the prospects of future EU enlargement. The full panel of EU and non-EU foreign ministers was moderated by **Charles Grant** of the Centre for European Reform. The panel addressed a plethora of questions such as: How can we maintain the positive dynamics of the enlargement process? Can we separate the concept of the EU and the notion of a united Europe? If not enlargement, what are the alternatives for Georgia, Ukraine, the whole of the South Caucasus, and the Mediterranean region? How can the European Neighbourhood Policy be enhanced in this respect? How does President Sarkozy's initiative on the Mediterranean Union relate to the ENP?

The debate was placed against the background thesis suggesting that Europe is about to declare the enlargement process complete. Some speculators, including decision-makers, are suggesting that we realize a final external border of Europe in less than two years time. Others are suggesting that the EU enlargement process should remain on the table for the foreseeable future. Questions regarding what the EU is and where, in fact, the EU is at the moment have been at the forefront of intellectual debate since the creation of the community. The strategic fault line of EU enlargement seems to have shifted and now has at least three, sometimes competing, dimensions – the Eastern, South-Eastern and Medi-





Carl Bildt

terranean regions. In this respect, with the agreement to launch a new Intergovernmental Conference on the Reform Treaty, the June European Council has cleared the way for a new institutional agreement that represents a precondition for any future enlargements. On the other hand, conditions for future accessions have been made even stricter. Moreover, a strict conditionality will apply throughout the negotiation process. Integration capacity, including institutional and financial aspects will be examined in all crucial phases of the accession process.

“There are some reasons to be optimistic about the enlargement,” moderator **Charles Grant**, the Director of the Centre for European Reform began, during his short introduction to the panel on “The Next EU Enlargement”. The Reform Treaty and economic growth are fuelling this optimism. Without the Reform Treaty, agreed upon by the 27 Member States, future enlargements of the EU would not be possible. Positive economic growth in the EU also provides good grounds for enlargement because there tends to be more resistance to enlargement if some countries are preoccupied with their own economic problems. The absence of a solution regarding Kosovo marks a potential break on the accession of the Balkan countries to the EU and as far as Turkey is concerned, Sarkozy has been very clear in saying that he does not think that Turkey should join



Milan Ročen

the EU. “Despite economic growth there is still a noticeable enlargement fatigue operating in the EU today,” concluded Grant.

The debate on enlargement was opened by the Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs, **Carl Bildt**, with his statement that the enlargement process is only half finished. All past enlargements were successful in a political and democratic sense. Bildt stressed that the consequences of a stalled enlargement process for the Balkans could bring instability to the region and to Europe. Widening and deepening of the EU are two complementary processes that need to continue. However, the quality of the enlargement process is more important than the quantity as it offers social, economic, and political reformation to countries on the basis of the rule of law. According to Foreign Minister Bildt, the EU needs to fulfil all of the promises that it made to Turkey even if the outcome of Turkish membership is not known.

**Milan Ročen**, the foreign minister of the newly independent country Montenegro, is convinced that a European perspective for Montenegro and the Balkans presents a certain guarantee of stability for the region. A European perspective is the best drive for reforms. “The EU is not enlarging in the Western Balkans, but uniting,” said Ročen. The Minister believes that the Western Balkans will bring a new quality of relations to the EU

and will certainly not present a burden. Enlargement that will encompass the western Balkans will not endanger the functioning or efficiency of the EU. Ročen is confident that an enlarged EU would be more credible and would be able to better respond to global challenges. Europe must be united, progressive, effective, and reformed if it wishes the EU to achieve the status of global player. “The idea of unity in Europe will only then be fully realized.” The division between the Balkans and the EU lies not in borders, but in the extent to which we apply and promote common European values. The Foreign Minister Milan Ročen is convinced that, “In any case, borders must never turn into walls.”

**Antonio Milošoski**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Macedonia is convinced that the countries of the Western Balkans have made sufficient progress in fulfilling the necessary criteria for EU membership – criteria which are more strict with every additional enlargement. Furthermore, Milošoski states that, “the EU should present a clear European perspective to these countries.”

**Sven Alkalaj**, Foreign Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina reminded the audience that, “the debate about enlargement is already more than 50 years old.” The EU has throughout its history simultaneously pursued deepening and widening. A process that was, more of-



Antonio Milošoski



Sven Alkalaj and Vuk Jeremić



ten than not, stimulated by a multitude of challenges raised by new aspirant countries. Europe is much safer and more prosperous today than when the integration process started. The EU's open door policy contributes to this state of affairs together with the prospect of membership to those countries that meet the accession conditions. In light of this fact, regional cooperation is a vital dimension of the EU's commitment to Southeast Europe. Alkalaj concluded that there can be no better political alternative than EU integration for Bosnia and Herzegovina and its citizens.

**Lulzim Basha**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Albania reaffirmed Albania's commitment to Euro-Atlantic integrations and emphasised that Albania is half way through the integration process. Basha sees the final solution of Kosovo status as the key obstacle to stability of the region and fully supports Ahtissari's plan, which in his opinion is balanced and fair since it offers the widest guarantees to future generations of Serbs in Kosovo by setting high standards when dealing with the rights of minorities. "The idea of division that has been rather innocently floated recently and it is a very dangerous idea," said Basha. The division brings clear danger to not just to the region, but also beyond this region, continued Basha. Albania's wish is that Ahtisaari's plan will be accepted and implemented under the sponsor-



ship of the UN regardless of the 120 days of additional negotiations.

"Serbia holds great hopes for the Slovenian Presidency of the EU," started **Vuk Jeremić**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia, and continued that it is very natural that a country from the Balkan region would champion the cause of the region's relationship with the EU. Jeremić proposes that solving the problem of Kosovo's status will be a key test for the EU, as well as for the region. The Balkan countries are waiting for a signal to join the EU and at the same time they are struggling for their political identity, a better future and for progress. There is no clear assurance about the European perspective for the region. The EU should offer candidacy status to all Balkan countries to demonstrate that it is capable of fulfilling promises of assistance in areas of reform progress and joining the EU.

**Erato Kozakou-Marcoullis**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus agrees with Sweden's and Bosnia and Herzegovina's foreign ministers that the processes of widening and deepening of the EU are parallel processes. Both processes are beneficial to the current EU Member states as well as aspiring countries. The positive aspects of these dynamic processes can only be sustained through full adherence to the enlargement criteria, re-



spect of EU values, and proper communication with the public. Furthermore, sceptical public opinions within some EU Member states should be approached by showing the positive aspects of all EU enlargements to date. Kozakou-Marcoullis suggests that the European Commission should prepare a special enlargement agenda by 2010. As such, this agenda should involve an assessment of the consequences of future enlargements on EU politics and institutions, concrete proposals about absorption capacity and the future of enlargement process.

The Vice Prime Minister and State Minister of Georgia for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration **Giorgi Baramidze**, focused on Georgia's determination and adherence to European values and principles. Georgia has expressed their wish to deepen relations with the EU through the full implementation of the Action Plan by 2009 and the signing of the stabilisation and association process agreement. Baramidze called on the EU to be more flexible and show more understanding for aspirant countries and their capabilities to solve current problems. Baramidze contends that the EU should offer individual countries a higher degree of integration with the EU and in this way support their progress in implementation of national reforms. "Georgia intends to continue with the reforms regardless of a prospect of membership in Euro-Atlantic associations" said





Baramidze. Clear assurances of European perspective would undoubtedly help in the solving of open questions and would benefit reforms.

Germany supports future EU enlargement but at the same time **Peter Tempel**, Director General for European Affairs of the German Federal Foreign Office, argues that the future of the enlargement process cannot be approached with old instruments. He refers to the reformulated Article 49 of the Reform Treaty that makes it very clear that the EU door is open for new countries that are able to meet the enlargement criteria and respect for EU values. The tandem efforts of widening and deepening the Union are important and the EU learned some valuable lessons with the last enlargement, which he sees as a success. One such lesson that the EU gained through the last enlargement was the understanding that it is necessary to decide upon a clear negotiation process with Croatia and Turkey. A roadmap for a clear European perspective needs to be achieved step by step. The need to enhance communication with the citizens of EU is of paramount importance because they have lost confidence in the EU and its institutions. Proper communication with the public is essential if we wish to continue the enlargement process. It is equally important that we deepen cooperation with national and European parliaments, who will ratify new accession treaties of future members.



“Enlargement is in the name and in the definition of Europe” started **Oğuz Demiralp**, Turkish Secretary General for EU Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The enlargement process needs to be designed to remove borders and to provide grounds for understanding between different nations. The process is demanding and continuous and should not be stalled by the challenges of globalisation. Demiralp understands that the integration of Turkey into the EU is going to be harder due to the size of the country. “We some times feel discriminated against,” Demiralp said, reiterating political determination to continue reforms and negotiation process with the EU. That said, Demiralp concluded that “when we come to 2020 Turkey will be in.”

**Jean-Dominique Giuliani**, Director of the Robert Schuman Foundation, proclaimed that economic union and enlargement is a success. Furthermore, he agrees with Carl Bildt that, “the enlargement was a success but it was with a political purpose to redefine the continent.” Member states transferred some national competencies onto the EU. However, to do this they needed the political support of the national governments and citizens. “We need to strengthen the political union” said Giuliani and continued that, “strengthening the European Union goes hand-in-hand with strengthening of European identity.” The feeling of belonging must



be fostered. The countries of the Western Balkans have their place in Europe but the Union cannot extend to Asia or Africa since the EU would lose its character and lose the support of its people, at least the French. So far, EU foreign policy at its border has focussed on enlargement. We need a true foreign policy for neighbourhood after we finish the reunification of Europe with the Western Balkans. The European neighbourhood policy as we know it today is not a success. Giuliani agrees with Baramidze that the EU is weak in its relationship with Russia and that a new approach is needed.

The Executive Director of the Balkan Trust for Democracy, **Ivan Vejvoda**, is convinced that the EU needs to continue the enlargement process to face new challenges brought on by globalisation, to ensure peace and stability on the continent and to improve quality of life. Solidarity in the region is the correct principle of engagement as it is based on mutual commitment and responsibility. The EU should offer all countries of the Western Balkans candidate status and in the future we need to see the EU acting more responsibly in the Balkan region.



## ENERGY AND CLIMATE CHANGE

Panel B was sponsored by Esotech

Global energy trends are shifting. In light of this fact, we are facing mounting challenges that transcend energy and environmental issues. The environment has been added as a third dimension to the traditional supply and demand equation. It is a fact that the way we use and harness energy today will have to change. Today's patterns of energy use are simply unsustainable. Energy is an agent of industrial growth, but also a growing factor of instability and environmental destruction. Europe has taken the lead in promoting alternative energy solutions so that we may sustain our energy demand curve and better protect our environment. Given the global nature of this phenomenon, this challenge is hardly Europe's to tackle alone. Two distinct approaches to managing the development of the green energy market exist today. Europe's approach can be thought of as a top-down initiative, regulated and promoted at the national government level. In the US it is the private sector and the state governments that are most active in driving the alternative energy agenda. The correct school of thought needs to be discovered. The question that needs no discovery is already in our consciousness - are we doing anything regarding energy and the environment that will actually matter in the long run?

"Without energy we cannot run the world, at least, not the way we would like to," started the panel introduction moderator **Borut Grgič**, Director of the Institute for Strategic Studies in Ljubljana. Politics and business ask



how to rebalance energy portfolios and how to integrate environmental issues. The environment has become an externality and has been integrated into the market for obvious reasons. Enormous amounts of political capital are being spent on environmental issues such as green energy and the development of sustainable energy. Grgič summed up his introduction by stating that the EU is extremely dependant on specific energy suppliers and pointed out that the questions we must ask ourselves are how can we diversify this portfolio; what can Europe do to secure its energy supply?; how can we rebalance energy consumption within the 20/20/20 mark?

**Andrej Vizjak**, Minister of the Economy of Slovenia, emphasized that energy supply and climate change are closely connected. Power production contributes to one quarter of all greenhouse gas emissions. The EU agreed that by 2020 it will use 20 percent renewable energy resources, reduce the use of energy by 20 percent, lower greenhouse gas emissions by 20 percent, and increase the use of bio fuels by 10 percent. Slovenia will pay special attention to the stabilization of the EU's energy supply during its Presidency. The EU's dependency on imported energy resources is higher than 50 percent, while Slovenia's dependency reaches 53 percent. The EU should strive to find new relationships between internal markets and neighbouring countries





like through the Energy Community of South East Europe. Vizjak concluded that special attention needs to be placed on the development of cleaner technologies in those areas where the US and Japan have an undeniable competitive edge over the EU.

Senior Vice-President and General Counsel of the World Bank, **Ana Palacio Vallelersundi**, reminded us that energy has been a key aspect of European integration over the last century. Our energy supply is becoming increasingly problematic with each day and integration of the internal EU market and neighbouring markets is an important aspect of how to overcome such a challenge. New EU Member states still own energy resources in their respective countries and liberalisation of the energy market must be introduced gradually, as state ownership at this moment ensures stability of the energy supply. Key goals that should be met by 2020 include the establishment of interdependency between the EU and neighbouring markets, sustainability of the energy supply, and security. Proper international mechanisms need to be established if we wish to address these goals. Ana Palacio Vallelersundi concludes that the EU could, and should, have a leading role in this field if it addresses issues of new technologies, political and strategic challenges involving supply and demand, and the establishment of a proper and strong regulatory frame-



Hans van der Loo



Ernest Petrič

work. Furthermore, the EU must address issues linked to public opinion, such as nuclear energy.

**Hans van der Loo**, Head of the European Liaison Office of Shell International focused on the growing demand for energy. Van der Loo emphasized this by showing that in 1907 oil consumption was 115 million litres of oil per year. In 2007, it had reached 225 million litres per day. Oil reserves of easily accessible oil are diminishing. Even so, the total stock of the world's oil is enough to last for another 400 years at the current rate of consumption. Van der Loo warned, however, that this oil is not easily accessible and it is located in delicate ecosystems. For this reason, he believes that there is an imminent demand for cleaner energy technology. Van der Loo also pointed out that the use of coal is increasing and will grow in the next 20 years by 60 percent in spite of the fact that it is not a clean energy source. He attributes the growth of coal use to the security offered by an internal supply, as countries do not want to be import dependant. Furthermore, he believes that we must strive for increased development of technologies based on the use of carbon dioxide as well as advancements in the use of bio fuels and other renewable sources of energy, because at this time half of the energy we use every day is partially wasted due to inefficient technologies.

**Ernest Petrič**, Chair of the IAEA foresees that energy use will have a large impact on the future of security, environmental, economic, and political development. The problem lies in finding how to supply a sufficient amount of quality energy that is environmentally safe and cheap. One answer to this question is the use of nuclear energies that are cleaner in comparison to the energy produced by fossil fuels, which make up 50 percent of greenhouse gas emissions. Petrič argues that nuclear energy is a reality and that nuclear energy use will continue in the future because it is a safe energy. A multilateral approach toward the use of nuclear energy and proper waste management must serve as the cornerstone for the safe use of nuclear energy. Technical assistance, assistance with nuclear security systems, and staff training are essential for countries which are new to a nuclear energy market. At present there are 435 working nuclear power plans in the world that contribute 16 percent of the global demand for electricity. Nuclear power plants are no longer strictly in the domain of industrial countries as several developing countries build new capacities in this area. These recent developments will have a significant impact on the energy supply for these countries and will speed their economic development. "Nuclear energy is a reality and it is relatively clean for the environment and with regard to global warming. It can contribute to

resolving problems with our energy supply in the future," concluded ambassador Petrič.

**Gottfried Steiner**, Head of International Affairs of OMV Gas International focused primarily on the world's supply of gas and emphasised that in the future we will require more diverse energy resources. As such, this presents a special challenge to the gas and oil industry. The demand for gas is growing and it is expected that this trend will continue due to its availability, simpler use, price competitiveness against coal, and for environmental reasons. Price and security dictate those energy resource consumers will opt for in the future, argues Steiner.

**Shawn McCormick**, Vice President for International Affairs of TNK-BP in Moscow describes the relationship between Russia and Europe as one of mutual dependency and mutual benefit and not, necessarily, as a challenge. This relationship has functioned well over the past 40 year as the EU demand for energy has increased. Russia is the largest gas and oil producer in the world today and a key supplier of energy to the EU. Russia supplies about 30 percent of Europe's daily gas and 50 percent of its oil needs. McCormick emphasized that the challenge lies in making Russia part of the EU supply solution in such a way that Russia is satisfied as a



Gottfried Steiner



Shawn McCormick

producer and the EU as a consumer. A long term framework that includes transparency and predictability from both sides is needed and the question for policy makers is how to create this framework. Put simply, an EU – Russia energy dialog is very important and needs to continue.





## GLOBAL PREPONDERANCE

Panel C was sponsored by Iskratel

What is the role of multilateral institutions of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century? What is the role of businesses with respect to promotion of social policy, and what are the responsibilities of global powers? How should these centres of power interact and collude so as to minimize risk and increase predictability worldwide? These were just some of the questions that panellists tried to address and find provocative yet intellectually stimulating answers that provide insight into how international organisations, national governments, and non-governmental actors see global relations of the future.

The international system is changing fundamentally. The private sector and individual actors are taking a greater interest in world and regional affairs. Hence, the role of intra-governmental international organizations is changing. Managing a stable global order is no longer the exclusive business of states. As our system becomes increasingly integrated and interdependent, our actions have global impact. We are being asked today to make decisions and we independently take actions that leave behind global consequences. Therefore, how we wield power matters not just locally and regionally, but also globally. The power of one is now the business of all. What happens in Africa affects Europe and Asia as well. Today, the way in which we use power takes precedence over how much power we can accumulate. The panelists discussed their understanding of power and ways





Ali M. Abbasov



Marc Perrin de Brichambaut

in which power should and could be used in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century to approach global challenges. They also raised many pertinent questions as to how the different actors with power can collaborate to maximize the common good.

**Robin Niblett**, Director of Chatham House, London started the panel introduction by stating that at the moment we are experiencing a paradox in that there is a preponderance of global issues that are challenging governments around the world in the areas of climate change, WMD proliferation, disease, and economic integration. Niblett says we are seeing an intertwining of foreign and internal policies of countries in areas where we have not seen this before. At the very root of this paradox of preponderance of global issues is the notion that there is no preponderant power at the nation state level, regional level, or group of states level that could lead or manage this challenge. Nation states still dominate the international system and we certainly have some old powers like the US, Japan, the EU, and Russia acting very much with their own interests in mind, while on the other hand we also have new powers coming into focus such as India, China, Brazil, and South Africa. Even if the power to negotiate, regulate and set rules lies in the hands of governments, we must not forget that the actors, who could affect global change most notice-

ably, such as companies, NGOs, and different interest groups, are outside of government.

**Ali M. Abbasov**, Minister of Communications and Information of Azerbaijan emphasised that Azerbaijan is a reliable energy supplier to the EU. Both the EU and Azerbaijan signed an agreement regarding strategic partnership that marks an important step toward the establishment of long and sustained cooperative partnership. Income from energy exports to the EU will be used for the diversification of economy and to modernise a telecommunication infrastructure. Abbasov concluded that Azerbaijan is working toward a prosperous and stable South Caucasus region.

Secretary General of the OSCE, **Marc Perrin de Brichambaut**, expressed his belief that the question of values in the international community has become an important issue in the past decade. Values such as human rights, rule of law, democracy, open economy, and multilateral cooperation represent those values on which international organisations were founded. The EU and NATO enlargements represent the integration of new members into a community of common Western values. Questions surrounding the issue of values will continue to be important in international politics of the future.



Marek Belka

**Marek Belka**, Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe believes that the UN is still highly useful in today's international institutional architecture as it represents a global organisation with capacities which can not be found in any other organisation. The EU could serve a model for how a group of industrial countries could help other countries through international development assistance if all member states would fulfil their obligations by putting 0.7 percent of their national GDP toward development assistance. The EU could, with its influence, also greatly contribute to the successful working of the newly established Peacebuilding Commission within the UN framework.

“The EU represents a remarkable achievement which required an enormous dose of political wisdom and vision,” said **Nalin Surie**, Secretary at the Headquarters of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs. India is committed to principles of multilateralism and multipolarity in the global community. No country has the capability to solve the problems of the modern world alone. Surie claims that we need international organisations that are representative, just, and effective. This especially applies to the UN where we find some institutions within its framework in need of adaptation to a changing world. The Security Council needs to adapt to a changing



Nalin Surie





Kuniko Inoguchi

world. “The two main goals of power need to be peace and development,” stressed Suri.

**Kuniko Inoguchi**, Member of the House of Representatives of Japan is convinced that there is a deficit of leadership in the international community. The current problems in the international community cannot be solved with force. “The power of knowledge has become increasingly more important, and this is why civil society, including scholars, researchers, think tanks, non-profit organizations, media and all interested citizens are important partners in the international decision making process,” states Inoguchi. The power centres rest either with a country or with corporations but the knowledge belongs to each individual. In order to be effective and powerful, governments need to reach out to civil society to make use of this knowledge. This dynamic could serve as the basis for a new paradigm or a “new multilateralism” as Inoguchi calls it. The goal of this new multilateralism is to imagine a power of knowledge and a sense of ownership that would not compromise on priorities of humanitarian progress. Inoguchi is certain that the EU could have a pioneering role in the implementation of such multilateralism.

The Chairman of the China Foundation of International Studies, **Zhang Deguang**, assessed that our current



Bruce Jackson



Zhang Deguang

international community is faced predominately with the process of globalisation and asymmetric threats to international peace and stability, such as terrorism, climate change, proliferation of nuclear weapons, and organised crime. The EU and China must build a strategic partnership based on political trust. Zhang believes that the EU is China’s most promising economic partner. Zhang concluded that China expects the EU to remove the embargo on exports of weapons to China and recognise the Chinese economy as market economy.

**Bruce Jackson**, President of the Project on Transitional Democracies related that there are intensive debates taking place in academia in the United States concerning power. For the most part these academics are concerned with what is allowed or disallowed; what is the legitimate use of force; what is the appropriate balance between soft and hard power; and what the limits of power use are. Jackson claims that such debates tend to surface when the international system is experiencing a major flux of change.

**Kevin C. Desouza**, Assistant Professor at the Information School of the University of Washington assessed that power that used to be centralised is now decentralised. Power is no longer based on control but it is now based more on coordination and cooperation. The

origin of today’s power lies in a capacity for the establishment and maintenance of alliances. The EU has different potentials of power but most of them are still not mobilized.

**Janez Škrabec**, the CEO of Riko believes that the United States is still the leading global super power. However, its powers are again being matched by Russia. The powers of the US and Russia are also being checked by the EU, China, India, and Brazil, which makes the international political system multipolar. Multipolarity should be a condition for global stability. New powers bring new ideas and solutions and therefore political multipolarity is a prerequisite for sustainable development. Sustainable development has allowed many individuals and corporations to become powerful and many of them are now engaged in pro-social economies to improve living conditions and support development.



Janez Škrabec





## THE FUTURE OF THE EU INTEGRATION PROCESS

Panel D was sponsored by Alpina

Business theory suggests that every acquisition is followed by a period of consolidation. In the last 3 years the EU has taken on 12 new members, expanding the community from the east gates of Germany all the way to the Black Sea. Today the EU has 27 members; at the outset there were only six. Still, Europe's decision-making habits haven't changed all that much. Presently, European decision-makers remain removed from the public. Unable to decide, decide quickly and optimally, the EU risks being sidelined in a world where efficiency and an ability to demonstrate leadership are of paramount importance. How will Europe project power and manage its internal trends in light of growing difficulties in the decision-making process? Would the proposed changes, incorporated in the Mandate of the Intergovernmental Conference on the Reform Treaty, such as the double majority vote in the Council, the extension of the fields of non-consensual vote, or the enhanced role of the national parliaments in the European decision-making process, increase the EU's effectiveness and bring it closer to its citizens? How do we, in fact, bring EU institutions and decision-makers closer to the citizens? What else, apart from an efficient decision-making structure, is needed to ensure that the EU can continue competing and surviving in an asymmetric system of increasingly complex dependencies? Are the foundations of a new European structure, as outlined in the



Mandate of the Intergovernmental Conference on the Reform Treaty, sufficient to achieve these goals?

“Integration is an important issue and we have come to a junction in the process of European integration,” said **Antonio Missiroli**, Chief Political Analyst of the European Policy Centre, Belgium. Missiroli set the background for the panel by identifying some drives behind European integration such as political decisions, the emergence of new challenges that require new and shared responses, common institutions, the success of the integration process itself, as well as markets pressure. All of the above drives have been instrumental in the European Union integration process. However, the crucial drive of the past 15 years has actually been the process of treaty reform. Have these drives lost their force?; are we experiencing treaty reform fatigue?; what is the future of the EU integration process with 27 plus member states?; what will the main drives be in the upcoming years?; and what will the institutions look like? Missiroli finished his panel introduction by saying that a clear discussion regarding European integration is possibly the most important task that we can be confronted with today.

European integration is a “unique tool for converting political priorities at the EU level into real results on



the ground,” started **Kinga Göncz**, Minister of Foreign Affairs from Hungary. The EU managed to agree on the initiation of an Intergovernmental Conference to draft a new treaty for the Union, and it came up with a blueprint of the treaty. Göncz thinks that the new treaty could come into force in 2009 and also warns that the EU cannot afford a second failure. She sees the Reform Treaty as a compromise namely in the area of a double majority and as a framework to help us reach the common goal of a secure and prosperous Europe. Hungary believes that challenges in Europe should be tackled through a strengthening and deepening of the integration process. In addition, the EU should be brought closer to its citizens. “The developments of the past two years have highlighted that the integration process cannot be continued without their support,” reiterates Göncz. Membership in the EU must have positive effects on living standards for its citizens, as well as success of its enterprises. The way to achieve this is to empower the EU with the necessary tools to compete globally. Instruments and policies need to be reformed to help strengthen European competitiveness.

Enlargement of the EU must continue with the Western Balkans. The EU must reaffirm that the region has European perspective by stressing the advantages of enlargement, concluding the Stabilization and Association



Agreements, and facilitating easier travel conditions for the people of the Western Balkans. Negotiations with Turkey must continue. Minister Göncz understands Turkey’s EU-integration as a long-term and complex process and concluded that “it is in our interest to show our partners that the European Union is a credible and reliable partner.”

Slovenian Minister of Foreign Affairs **Dimitrij Rupel** assessed the positive aspects of EU integration using Slovenia as an example. Slovenia became even more successful after joining the EU. Its GDP per capita is now 19,000 euros as opposed to a 1989 GDP per capita of 3,000 US dollars. The EU knows two types of integration; integration into the EU and integration within EU. Integration within the EU is the process of harmonisation and deepening of the integration that started with the beginning the Union. The new treaty is a codification of this process. Integration into the EU through enlargement has, with the latest cases, been encouraged through historical developments such as the fall of the Berlin Wall and NATO enlargement. Slovenia will continue to work toward inclusion of the Western Balkans into the EU. The Thessaloniki agenda needs to be refreshed, as it does not offer enough benefits for the region to join the EU. The EU should also find new ways to address the aspirations of European Neighbour-







hood Policy countries, such as closer cooperation and possible membership.

**Alexandr Vondra**, Czech Deputy Prime Minister for European Affairs stressed that European integration needs to be balanced. Due to the EU's lack of efficiency, transparency and democracy, Vondra believes that the EU is in need of reforms, rather than a constitution. Vondra rejects the comparison of the EU to a bicycle that needs to be peddled constantly in order to move. He believes that sometimes we need to stop and get off the bicycle to find the best way to the finish line and remove obstacles from the road. The EU should stand back for a moment and define a "common purpose." The future EU should improve the balance between legitimacy, transparency and democratic work, and competitiveness in a current global environment, and security and stability. The Western Balkan countries need to be next on the list for EU enlargement if we hope to fulfil the historical goal of a unified and free Europe. Vondra pointed out that Turkey should join the EU as well, as this would create great strategic benefits for the EU.

**Giuliano Amato**, Italian Minister of the Interior assessed that the proposed Reform Treaty is controversial and pointed out that some of the provisions focus on constitutionalism and better efficiency while others



support an intergovernmental model. We must ask ourselves how this inconsistency can affect the efficiency of the EU. Answers are also needed regarding the basic rights in the UK. Amato believes that an increased role of national parliaments in the decision making process, compromise regarding the voting system for a Council that does not improve transparency of decisions, and European legislation, whose name is not changing as envisaged in the Treaty of the European Union, can have an affect on low efficiency of the EU.

**Doris Pack**, Member of the European Parliament expressed satisfaction regarding agreement on the new Reform Treaty. Enlargement of the EU with the Western Balkan countries will be a test for the entire Common Foreign and Security Policy. Each potential EU candidate needs to be assessed alone. Regarding Serbia, Pack said that the country needs to be aware that much more needs to be done prior to joining the EU, especially in the area of cooperation with the Hague Tribunal. The EU also needs to reassess its unjust visa policy toward the Western Balkan region.

Member of the European Parliament **Andrew Duff** pointed out that "the new Reform Treaty does not differ much in content from the Constitution, however the form is much different." Even so, there are concerns



about the ratification process in the Netherlands and the UK where weak political parties will have a hard time convincing the public that the referendum is unnecessary. France, however, will most likely have no such problems this time. The intergovernmental conference should prepare the groundwork for the ratification process as the EU cannot afford another failure. Furthermore, the new Reform Treaty did not adequately solve the problems related to the Charter of Fundamental Rights in the UK, legislative system, security policy, etc. Duff does not agree with Amato's praise of increased powers and roles of the national parliaments.

The intermission between Panel B and Panel C was used to continue the intellectually stimulating programme with two round tables on "Economic and Political Trends in South Caucasus and Central Asia: The Role of the EU and the OSCE" and on "Turkey in Europe." The themes of both round tables were linked to the 1<sup>st</sup> Bled Strategic Forum as a way to follow up on the proceedings of 2006.



## ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL TRENDS IN THE SOUTH CAUCASUS AND CENTRAL ASIA: THE ROLE OF THE EU AND OSCE

The South Caucasus and Central Asia Region are two regions of EU interest due to their energy resources, the challenges of political and economic development, and unresolved issues of international security. Since 2003 the EU has increasingly become a prominent security and political actor in the South Caucasus Region. The EU has launched a European Security and Defence Policy mission, appointed a Special Representative for the region, employed the Commission's mechanisms to support democratisation processes, and started implementation of its European Neighbourhood Policy. Furthermore, the Central Asia Region, despite being further away from Europe and lying in the immediate vicinity of Russia and China, has growing importance for EU policy makers. By joining the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Central Asian countries subscribe to the organization's values, standards and commitments. During Germany's presidency of 2007 the EU adopted a new comprehensive strategy allowing the EU to present itself as a serious player in the Central Asia region.

The close cooperation of both regions with OSCE was designed to pursue an agenda of political, economic, and social progress. The questions that panellists and participants focused on revolved around the success of the EU and OSCE agendas in recent years in both the South Caucasus Region and Central Asia. Are both organisations complementing the work of the other or is

competition and duplication diminishing stabilisation efforts? Is OSCE enhancing the profile of the EU in the region? Should the approach of the EU and OSCE to Central Asia be similar to the one taken in the South Caucasus Region? Are the high expectations of the Central Asian Region concerning Europe's interest in providing sustainable efforts in political, economic, social and security areas justified?

**Vartan Oskanian**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Armenia warned that South Caucasus and Central Asia are two different regions that are developing in different ways and therefore they need to be considered differently. Economic development in countries of the regions cannot only be assessed on the level of their GDPs because it is imperative that any assessment takes into consideration the economic and political development trends. Furthermore, energy should not be the only theme of discussion connected to South Caucasus and Central Asia. Human resources represent an equally important element of economic development. "International organisations should continue to play an active role in the regions," said Oskanian. Organisations such as OSCE, the EU, NATO, and the Council of Europe are complementing each other in the region and have an important role in political and economic stabilisation. These organisations are not only focused on oil

and energy resources of the regions but are focused on providing stability and peace, concluded Oskanian.

Georgian Vice-prime Minister and State Minister of Georgia for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration, **Giorgi Baramidze**, suggested that the term South Caucasus needs replacing. He proposed that it would be more appropriate to use the term, Caspian region. Baramidze stressed that the EU should not only be interested in the region due to energy resources as energy resources are only one aspect of the region. All countries of the region are under pressure from Russia, especially those that are pro-western oriented. Georgia is striving to increase its GDP and is determined to continue economic and democratic reforms and strengthen the institutional capacity of its institutions.

**Vaqif Sadiqov**, Deputy Foreign Minister of the Republic of Azerbaijan stressed that the South Caucasus region has always been a part of Europe. European neighbourhood policy provides good grounds for a relationship between the EU, the South Caucasus region, and Central Asia. However, we cannot focus solely on energy resources when we look at the South Caucasus region and Central Asia. Special attention also needs to be placed on solving present conflicts of both regions. They expect the EU to take a more active role in bringing stability and prosperity to the regions. There

is growing awareness that the EU still has unused potential available to assist the regions. An enlarged EU with Romania and Bulgaria will undoubtedly bring a new quality of relations with the South Caucasus region and Central Asia.

**Bernard Snoy**, Coordinator of OSCE Economic and Environmental Activities pointed out that the comparative advantage of OSCE lies in the actual presence of the organisation in the South Caucasus region and Central Asia. OSCE implements tailor made programmes designed to help three countries in the South Caucasus region and five in Central Asia. Snoy highlighted that energy is of crucial importance for the region as well as environment issues that could have a potential impact on security.

**Peter Semneby**, EU Special Representative for the South Caucasus emphasized that the South Caucasus is not important only for its energy resources. The South Caucasus Region is in the EU's geographic proximity hence the EU - South Caucasus relationship is characterized as a neighborhood relationship. The last EU enlargement brought the EU even closer to the region. Many new members have had similar transition experiences to the South Caucasus region. The most challenging development in the region is social development, while conflicts present an obstacle in sustainable development. Countries of the region

cannot cooperate efficiently due to closed borders, and are therefore incapable of integrating regionally. Semneby claims that the main role of the EU is to offer guidelines for closer regional integration and that the EU and OSCE cooperate in the region successfully. The EU needs to continue to focus on promoting good neighbourhood relationships between countries of the region and to assist in solving regional conflicts.

Head of the OSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights Election Mission to Armenia, **Boris Frlec**, focused on Armenia and demonstrated the democratic progress Armenia has achieved in the past two years. Armenia is continuing to fulfil Council of Europe and EU expectations in the field of democratisation. One positive change was the adoption of the democratic election law that allows Armenia free and democratic elections.

Energy Security Specialist for Platts, **John Roberts**, presented energy resources as an important aspect of stability of the region. The EU should offer financial and political frameworks that would allow countries of the region to utilize their energy resources for the benefit of their stability and prosperity. Income from energy resources is critical for regional development. However, countries of the region do not invest enough of the income accumulated through export of energy into social policies.

## TURKEY IN EUROPE

Turkey's EU perspective is in the balance. Much will depend on the next Turkish government, but also on the EU's internal political dynamics. The question of Turkey's membership in the EU is derivative of perception, prejudice, and impact. At the same time, Turkey's geographic position and its outreach into Central Asia and the Middle East are of strategic relevance for European security and European markets. Turkey itself represents an investment opportunity and an important market for Europe companies.

Turkish public opinion is slowly turning against the possibility of EU membership and against the EU in general. Political structures in Turkey have taken note of this and are already adjusting their focus and their political rhetoric. Alternative political realities such as Turkey's strategic relationship with Russia, Turkey's Eurasian Dimension, and Turkey's Middle East links are becoming more relevant. A breakdown of the Turkey-EU relationship will no doubt have a negative impact on the level of influence the EU has over Turkish foreign and domestic politics, as well as the future of the EU economy. The participants of the round table focused on the current state of relations between Turkey and European states, the future of Turkish-EU relations, on outlining potential risks, and challenging unrealistic concerns from both sides.

Turkish Ambassador to Slovenia **Sina Baydur** opened with a statement that put the round table into perspective by stating that, "Turkey is now a negotiating country." Turkey's European Union voyage has at times been bumpy but has in recent years struck a new path on the road to full membership. Turkey is dedicated to fulfilling all the membership criteria, and reforms are progressing at a steady pace. The Turkish Government, even before the recent general elections, demonstrated its dedication by preparing a road map for alignment with the EU *acquis communautaire*. Baydur emphasised that Turkey needs to see equal dedication on the part of the EU and EU members. She stressed that political issues unrelated to *acquis* must not be allowed to interfere in the accession negotiations, which are of a technical nature not just for Turkey but for the EU as well.

**Sinan Ulgen** the Chairman of EDAM emphasized that there is a need for change in political rhetoric with regard to Turkish membership. Turkey is aware of the fact that EU accession is a difficult and profoundly transformative process. Undermining the whole process is an increased conviction of the Turkish public that regardless of the reforms, the EU will not let Turkey join. Hence frustration on the Turkish side is growing. According to Ulgen, fulfilling criteria assumes accession to the EU. However, that does not seem to hold true for Turkey.

"The debate should shift from negative visibility to constructive visibility," points out Ulgen. At the moment the EU is perceived as constantly pressuring Turkey on a variety of issues and in a sense 'discriminating' against Turkey, in comparison to other aspirant countries. As a consequence, the perception that Turkey does not need the EU is becoming increasingly popular. The real benefits of EU membership need to be explained more clearly and a general change of dynamic in future EU-Turkey interactions is needed. Ulgen stressed that focus should be placed on exploring alternatives to Turkish membership or rather the cost of an EU without Turkey. The main idea behind this approach is to place emphasis on the benefits the EU derives from Turkish membership.

The Research Director of FNSP at CERF, **Anne-Marie Le Gloannec**, pointed out that a large number of Europeans are opposed to Turkish EU membership. In France the main cause of this attitude is, in her view, at the level of political debate rather than other factors such as religion, the Armenian lobby, etc. Le Gloannec claims that the French elite falsely believe that Muslims will form an alliance with conservative Christians that would counter secularism in Europe. EU citizens harbour deep uneasiness at the speed of enlargement and people perceive Turkish membership in the EU as ben-

efiting Turkey and not necessarily the EU. Management of the EU enlargement process is also questionable. For this reason, EU citizens press for stricter requirements and compliance from the candidate countries. To counter such pressures, better communication is needed to convince EU citizens that Turkish membership is beneficial for the EU. There are also contradictions within the enlargement process itself. For example, while states have authoritative power on treaties and agreements, the people have to be integrated and consulted in the process; competition may exist between enlargement, which signifies extension of democracy and the security zone and the entropy which it brings as a consequence; there are obvious differences in perception of timeframes between enlarging fast by aspirant countries and enlarging slow by the EU member states.

**Constanze Stelzenmüller**, the Director of the German Marshall Fund in Berlin, focused on public diplomacy and provided insight into what Turkey can do to ameliorate the situation. Turkey can and should play a more constructive role and should show consistency in implementing reforms swiftly as to avoid situations whereupon the EU keeps shifting the goalposts. Turkey should engage with skeptics in Europe and play a constructive role with regard to its Diaspora in Germany and Europe as a whole. EU integration marks a profoundly trans-

formative process for a country and not merely a question of signing a document. EU integration, it seems, is at times misunderstood and should be explained more clearly in Turkey. The Turkish public is very critical of NATO, the EU, and the US and believes that it is becoming increasingly unlikely that Turkey will join the EU. However, there are important exceptions to this negative trend. First, there is the fact that around 40 percent of Turkish people are undecided about joining the EU. Second, many Europeans think that it is likely that Turkey will become a member of the EU. These two positive aspects present an opportunity to change attitudes and develop better understanding, but we need public diplomacy to achieve this.

Former Member of Turkish Parliament **Ogan Soysal** introduced the Marmara Group Foundation, which has been very successful in working on the 'yes to Europe' campaign. The initiative tries to enhance the network between European and Turkish stakeholders. His contribution was primarily focused on emphasizing some positive trends and opportunities for Turkey and the EU to improve their relationship.



Keynote lunch address at the Grand Hotel Toplice in Bled given by Ana Palacio Vallelersundi, Senior Vice-President and General Counsel of the World Bank. Lunch was sponsored by Holding Slovenske elektrarne (HSE).

## PROGRAMME

### Sunday, 26 August

#### 17:00-17:15 Opening of the Bled Strategic Forum

##### Welcome Address

Janez Fajfar, Mayor of Bled

##### Introductory Address

Dimitrij Rupel, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic Slovenia and Chairman of the Bled Strategic Forum

#### 17:15-18:45 Leader's Panel: "Vision for Europe"

**Moderator** Stefan Wagstyl, Financial Times

##### Keynote Address

Janez Janša, Prime Minister of the Republic of Slovenia

Mikheil Saakashvili, President of the Republic of Georgia

Ivo Sanader, Prime Minister of the Republic of Croatia

Gediminas Kirkilas, Prime Minister of the Republic of Lithuania

Nikola Gruevski, Prime Minister of the Republic of Macedonia

#### 20:00-22:00 Keynote Dinner Address

Martti Ahtisaari, Special Envoy of the Secretary-General of the United Nations for the future status process for Kosovo

#### 22:00-23:30 Night Owl Session: "International Financial Markets: Trends, Risks and the Future Ahead"

David Benedek, NLB

Peter Groznik, KD Group

Slavko Andrejevic, Apax Partners, London

Simon Sovič, Lehman Brothers

### Monday, 27 August

#### 8:00-9:20 COM/IT Breakfast

Ali M. Abbasov, Minister of Communications and Information of the Republic of Azerbaijan & business delegation

#### 09:30-11:45 Parallel Panels

##### Panel A: "The Next EU Enlargement"

**Chair** Charles Grant, Director, Centre for European Reform

Carl Bildt, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Sweden

Milan Ročen, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Montenegro

Antonio Milošoski, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia

Sven Alkalaj, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Lulzim Basha, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Albania

Vuk Jeremić, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia

Erato Kozakou-Marcoullis, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus

Giorgi Baramidze, Vice Prime Minister and State Minister of Georgia for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration

Peter Tempel, Director General for European Affairs, Federal Foreign Office of the Federal Republic of Germany

Oğuz Demiralp, Secretary General for EU Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey

Jean-Dominique Giuliani, Director of the Robert Schuman Foundation, Paris

Ivan Vejvoda, Executive Director of the Balkan Trust for Democracy, Belgrade



**Panel B: “Energy and Climate Change”**

**Chair** Borut Grgič, Director of the Institute for Strategic Studies  
Andrej Vizjak, Minister of the Economy of the Republic of Slovenia  
Ana Palacio Vallelersundi, Senior Vice-President and General Counsel of the World Bank, Washington  
Ernest Petrič, Chair of the IAEA Board of Governors  
Hans van der Loo, Head of the European Liaison Office, Shell International  
Gottfried Steiner, Head of International Affairs, OMV Gas International  
Shawn McCormick, Vice President for International Affairs of TNK-BP, Moscow

**12:15-13:45 Keynote Lunch Address**

Ana Palacio Vallelersundi, Senior Vice-President and General Counsel of the World Bank, Washington

**14:00-15:30 Round table discussions**

*Economic and Political Trends in South Caucasus and Central Asia: The Role of the EU and the OSCE*

**Chair** Svante E. Cornell, Research Director of the Central Asia-Caucasus Institute & Silk Road Studies Program Joint Centre, Uppsala University, Sweden  
Vartan Oskanian, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia  
Giorgi Baramidze, Vice Prime Minister and State Minister of Georgia for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration

Vaqif Sadiqov, Deputy Foreign Minister of the Republic of Azerbaijan  
Bernard Snoy, Coordinator of OSCE Economic and Environmental Activities  
Peter Semneby, EU Special Representative for the South Caucasus  
Boris Frlec, Head of the OSCE’s Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights Election Mission to Armenia  
John Roberts, Energy Security Specialist for Platts, Jedburg  
**Turkey in Europe**  
**Moderator** Ms Katja Geršak, Senior Fellow, Institute for Strategic Studies  
Akkan Suver, President of the Marmara Group Foundation, Turkey  
Sinan Ülgen, Chairman, EDAM  
Constanze Stelzenmüller, GMF Berlin  
Anne-Marie Le Gloannec, Research Director of FNSP, CERI Paris

**16:00-18:15 Parallel Panels**

**Panel C: “Global Preponderance”**

**Chair** Robin Niblett, Director of Chatham House, London  
Ali M. Abbasov, Minister of Communications and Information of the Republic of Azerbaijan  
Marc Perrin de Brichambaut, OSCE Secretary General  
Marek Belka, Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe  
Nalin Surie, Secretary at the Headquarters of the Ministry of External Affairs, India  
Kuniko Inoguchi, Member of the House of Representatives of Japan

Zhang Deguang, Chairman of China Foundation of International Studies  
Bruce Jackson, President of the Project on Transitional Democracies  
Kevin C. Desouza, Assistant Professor at the Information School of the University of Washington  
Janez Škrabec, CEO, Riko

**Panel D: “The Future of the EU Integration Process”**

**Chair** Antonio Missiroli, Chief Political Analyst, European Policy Centre, Belgium  
Kinga Göncz, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Hungary  
Dimitrij Rupel, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia and Chairman of the Bled Strategic Forum  
Alexandr Vondra, Deputy Prime Minister for European Affairs of the Czech Republic  
Giuliano Amato, Minister of the Interior of the Italian Republic  
Doris Pack, Member of the European Parliament  
Andrew Duff, Member of the European Parliament

**18:15-19:30 Closing remarks**

Dimitrij Rupel, Chairman of the Bled Strategic Forum and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia





## SELECTED KEYNOTE SPEECHES

### INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS

**Dimitrij Rupel**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic Slovenia and The Chairman of the Bled Strategic Forum

**“Responsibility to develop and the ability to help”**

Honourable guests, Ladies and gentlemen, Dear Friends,

Welcome to Slovenia. When we started this project last year, it was a vision. That vision is now our reality. It is an honour for me to open the second annual Bled Strategic Forum titled Europe 2020: Enlarging and Integrating.

Indeed, we are enlarging and integrating – the Forum I mean. This year we have 1 head of state participating, 4 Prime Ministers, 2 deputy heads of government, 10 ministers of foreign affairs, and several other ministers. We are again joined by high representatives of international organizations (the UN, OSCE, World Bank, and EBRD) and by over 400 business leaders, international policy experts, members of the press and the diplomatic corps.

I am delighted to see so many familiar faces, and I am particularly pleased that so many friends from the Caucasus-Caspian region returned to Bled. At our last year's Forum, we tackled the issue of the Caspian Outlook, which undoubtedly is important for the European Union – from the perspective of our energy stability, economic trade and security.

The Bled creators were right to think that our broader region, including South East Europe needs a strategic

forum where decision-makers from all branches can gather, exchange views on topical issues and network.

Europe is also expanding and integrating, and next year Slovenia will take on the Presidency of the EU. From our side, we will do our best to contribute our fair share to further development of the European Union integration process. The next enlargement priority is the Western Balkan region, and Slovenia will work hard to bring the countries of the Western Balkan closer to Europe. Furthermore, our presidency will most probably have to deal with the Kosovo issue. Ultimately, the Western Balkan belongs in the EU, but the process of enlargement should not stop here. With the Thessaloniki Declaration adopted the process of Balkan integration into Europe was politically decided already in 2003. Now, it is high time to turn these commitments into reality.

We live in an interesting time period and I know this sounds a bit cliché, but let me explain. We are riding on the wave of a telecommunication revolution; the EU is enlarging; China's economy is booming. India is moving fast ahead with a GDP growth of close to 10 percent annually. New non-state players are entering the stage. Corporations now wield bigger budgets than nation states. Our world is increasingly shared. We are indeed, interconnected.





This means we have common responsibilities too. We only have one environment and there is no softer way of putting it – we are destroying it. Our technological revolution is making our lives better, but it can quickly turn into a curse if we don't think long-term. We have to cut our carbon emissions by replacing unsustainable energy patterns with renewables. The European Union is putting forward an ambitious plan to cut back on carbon emissions by pledging to increase investments in the field of green energy. Green is the future – wind energy, hydropower and biomass are the sunrise industries – but Europe can't do this alone. We need our allies to share the responsibility of leading with us – the U.S. and others. I can't imagine what will happen if China and India continue to grow and develop at such impressive levels without putting in place a green energy plan.

I want to also mention today our shared responsibility to promote peace, economic development and fight poverty. This world can no longer be divided into us and them. We are one. The Internet already connects over 1 billion citizens; and I suspect this will soon double. Air travel has been made easier. In this century we are in the business of dismantling borders not putting up new barriers to interaction. We are trimming our governments and expanding the zone of individual rights and liber-

ties. Our economies are integrating behind the concepts of free trade and freedom of movement for labour.

However, there is always the danger that our world is not representative – that it is elitist in a way. I may be less optimistic if we were sitting somewhere on Lake Chad in Africa today and not here in Bled. Africa must be helped; and we must help it. Let us not be naive and greedy with our resources. Poverty drives people to consider desperate measures. Poverty causes states to fall out of the international patterns and move away from globalization rather than closer to it. This causes externalities and in an integrate world externalities are always dangerous because of their nature of unpredictability.

A sustainable global order is something that the EU can help structure. We are engaged in many political processes, and contribute enormously through development assistance, conflict prevention and crisis management for the good of global stability. It is not wrong to ask the question: what kind of a power should Europe be? I think promotion of dialogue, human rights, rule of law and democracy, free market, and social responsibility all fit.

To be able to evaluate Europe's role in the year 2020, we need to look at what Europe represents today: the

EU27 with almost 500 million inhabitants is a home to only 7 per cent of the world population (6, 6 billion people). EU's GDP in 2006 represented 31 per cent (15 trillion USD) of the whole world GDP (48, 3 trillion USD). The European Union uses 20 per cent of what the world's ecosystems provide in terms of fibres, food, energy, and waste absorption. The energy consumption share of the EU is 16%.

Europe 2020 is tomorrow's Europe – it is the world our children will inherit from us. We have the opportunity today and tomorrow to look beyond the narrow day-to-day world in which we often find-ourselves and consider the big picture. Let us be visionaries, and responsible at that.

I am happy to announce that this year we are organizing Bled Strategic Forum with the Centre for European Perspective, which is to become a regional focal point to promote an open dialogue and exchange of ideas, in addition to providing governments and organizations with the benefit of various regional experiences.

It is my great pleasure ladies and gentlemen to announce to you the next speaker, Prime Minister of Slovenia H.E. Janez Janša – dear Prime Minister welcome – and all the members of the Leader's Panel – H.E. Mikheil Saa-

kashvili, President of Georgia, H.E. Ivo Sanader, Prime Minister of Croatia, H.E. Gediminas Kirkilas, Prime Minister of Lithuania, H.E. Nikola Gruevski, Prime Minister of Macedonia, and our distinguished moderator, Mr. Stefan Wagstyl from the Financial Times.

Ladies and gentlemen, friends, I am looking forward to an interesting and fruitful debate and I wish you all a pleasant stay here at Bled.

## Keynote Addresses: VISION FOR EUROPE

**Janez Janša**, Prime Minister of the Republic of Slovenia

Dear President, Mrs Saakashvili, Prime Minister, Mr Gruevski, Mr Kirkilas and Mr Sanader, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen

Allow me to first welcome those of you who are here for the first time. I hope you will enjoy your stay. I would like to extend a special welcome also to those who helped us launch the Bled Strategic Forum a year ago. Your positive feedback has encouraged us to gather again at Bled. Stronger for last year's experience, we are looking forward to opening a new discussion with our new friends

The topic is no less than the vision of the European Union in 2020. High aspirations reflect the re-gained boldness waving across Europe. The EU today is close to setting renewed common basis. This is important to Slovenia. It has always been our conviction that the EU needs fresh ground to continue both enlargement and further integration. Furthermore, improved atmosphere brightens prospect for our presidency which is due to start in four months.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The leitmotiv of building Europe whole and free has inspired cross-generational European project for fifty years. The story with its ups and downs, crises and last-minute twists is approaching its happy ending. Europe is almost free, though not yet entirely. It is almost unit-



Janez Janša, Prime Minister of the Republic of Slovenia

ed, though not yet completely. There are still countries and nations who aspire to join the EU. There are those among them who have already been promised that they will not be left behind.

In our vision of the European Union in 2020, these commitments are fulfilled. Furthering enlargement agenda will therefore be one of the top tasks of the Slovenian presidency. Accession negotiations are already underway with Croatia and Turkey. Slovenia will try to help your country, Prime Minister Gruevski, to join them. We will do our utmost to allow the rest of the Western Balkans to make further steps as soon as the conditions are met. At the same time, the EU will have to come up with solutions to accommodate aspirations from one of the most dynamic regions of Europe – its East and the Caucasus. Last year's conference in Bled bore witness that Slovenia recognizes the European outlook for the region.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The EU is at a point where completing the construction of united Europe does not suffice anymore. Seneca said: »To the person who does not know where he wants to go there is no favourable wind.« This is why emergence of what is called a new narrative for Europe must already run in parallel with remaining chapters of the original one. Only then will return to Europe be realised: com-

ing back is finished when together we move forward.

Putting together a fresh vision that will appeal to more than 30 European nations over generations is a great challenge. However, reconciling Europe's diversity with its unity has always been at the very core of European enterprise. It has brought us to a level, where the future of European societies has never been linked closer to the fate of our common undertaking. This is the true message of the process launched with the Laeken Declaration.

Finishing work on the renewed common basis will pave the way to more transparent, efficient and democratic Europe which would be closer to its citizens. In our vision, this should not come at the expense of what Europe has already achieved: dynamic balance among its Member States, smaller and bigger, old and new; peacefully managed and nurtured diversity; a community of law on both national and European level.

In socio-economic terms, the vision of Europe was set in a prospect of building »the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world«. European solidarity and social cohesion, cherished around the globe must be sustained in this process.

The implementation of the renewed Lisbon Strategy will be high on the Slovenian presidency agenda and the focus of the European Council next March. Since the strategy was conceived, however, the EU's growing

dependence on outside energy sources has made its impact felt stronger. Slovenia recognizes the importance of facilitating the construction of a coherent and sustainable European policy.

Dear Friends,

Europe has to change with the world. For any vision of the European Union to be credible, it must take into account external realities that will shape global environment in the future. Outlines of some of these realities are already getting clearer.

The global power balance is expected to shift. In terms of regional security network, enlarged NATO will help consolidate the Euro-Atlantic area of peace and stability. Concerted action on a global level will remain prerequisite for successful fight against terrorism, while open and subtle dialogue will stay the best recipe for managing global interactions among cultures. Discussions on climate change will still feature high on global agenda, hopefully within a fair and effective post-2012 framework.

Population of Europe, representing a quarter of humankind before the World War I, today amounts to less than 10 percent of world population. On the other hand, joint GDP of the EU Member States accounts for quarter of the world GDP. In terms of world trade, this share comes up to a third. In terms of development aid,

it is close to a half of the world figure. With the share of euro in global foreign currency reserves at 25 % and its circulation surpassing that of dollar; European currency plays a crucial role in emerging global monetary system.

The notion of the EU as an economic giant and a political dwarf is changing. The world looks to the EU for leadership on a wide variety of issues. The EU has already met some of these expectations. It has taken a pioneering role in addressing global environmental issues and a key position in consolidating international law. Its history and cultural diversity makes its potential to lead intercultural dialogue stronger than any other place. The start of our presidency in January will coincide with launching of the Europe year of intercultural dialogue.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is up to us, Europeans, to decide what a story we want to tell. Our choice has to be a fresh narrative of a reunited continent determined to become an active global player, an innovative force able to catalyze modernity in global society. With the words of José Manuel Barroso: »Losing this opportunity would be the greatest failure of our political generation.«

Solutions from the ongoing treaty-amending process are expected to boost the EU's institutional capacity for exerting its global leverage. Inner consolidation will give

the EU a stronger voice in world affairs, from global security to climate change. The commitment of all Member States to keep our ranks united around a coherent foreign and security policy will be critical. This, of course, does not exclude national profiles.

Neither does the vision of the EU as a global player put our alliances and partnerships or effective multilateralism as a key objective under question. On the contrary, more active role would enhance the EU's engagement in its neighbourhood and strengthen its commitments in the wider world.

Dear friends,

By the time we meet here again next year, Slovenia will have completed EU presidency. We are resolute to make it a success. The task is considerable and support will be welcome. We count on all of you. Our experience of cooperation in trio with Germany and Portugal is positive. A different perspective, a friendly suggestion or a fresh idea can make all the difference. This is why your contributions to this year's discussion are of additional value. I wish you good time here in Bled







Gediminas Kirkilas, Prime Minister of the Republic of Lithuania

**Gediminas Kirkilas**  
Prime Minister of the Republic of Lithuania

Dear Mr. Chairman, Dear president Mikhail Saakashvili, Dear Prime Minister Janez Janša, Dear Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski, Dear Prime Minister Ivo Sanader,

Distinguished hosts and guests, Excellencies, Ladies and gentlemen,

It is an honour and pleasure, to address the distinguished audience today, and meet the people, who do care about the future of Europe in the wider and deeper sense. We warmly welcome the Slovenian initiative, to discuss our Europe of Tomorrow. On this occasion, I would like to speak of the relevance of values, guidelines for the enlargement policy, EU-Russia relations and geo-energetic situation. It is a little wonder, that Europe faces challenges, which we should treat as opportunities.

Our Europe is a certain derivative of values. In general, ideals in politics are inseparable from our identities, interests and finally, political behaviour. Our principles and beliefs lead us through life, and finally constitute what we call ‚ourselves‘. There should be no room for double standards. Unfortunately, very often an uncompromising strive for benefits and pursue of interests can easily shake our values.

Today, I want to emphasise the meaning of Europe – Europe as a confluence of our common ideals and principles. I know that sensation-hungry people, let alone sceptics, see Europe merely as a “handful of eurocrats

and directives”. However, I can assure you, my country does not share this view. As a politician, I always believe we can always make things better; otherwise, there is no point to be in politics at all. We want and can contribute. Having joined the EU, Lithuania contributed with fast growing economy [we are among the fastest growing economies in the EU], successful post-communist transformation and good neighbourly relations, in spite of historical fate.

Lithuania, let me remind you, will celebrate its 1000-year anniversary as a European country in 2009. During the last 20 years Europe for us, as well as for a number of Central and Eastern European countries, has been a deprived homeland for half a century. The come-back to the West was the reestablishment of historical justice after the Soviet clutch. I want to stress, that a political consensus across the Left and the Right in Lithuania, was one of the cornerstones in our Transatlantic integration. Europe for us represents solidarity, peace, prosperity, freedom, democracy and, I want to add, ambition to be an important and helping partner around its boundaries and in the world politics.

Ladies and Gentlemen,  
I believe I have good reasons to say so. Lithuanians are among the biggest supporters of the country’s membership in the EU and the enlargement process in the EU.

Therefore, we support the EU enlargement policy and welcome progress in this direction. Lithuania with other countries that successfully passed the transition wants and is able to offer its valuable experience to the new democracies and to encourage other countries to consolidate reforms. Who would not want to see the zone of stability and democracy to be expanded?

It is becoming universally accepted that the EU enlargement is a success story, if not a little political miracle for us. Back in the early 1990s, very few believed in rapid and successful post-communist economic and political transformation in the Baltic States, let alone their membership in the EU and NATO and other international organisations. Therefore, I think, the success story will continue.

The EU enlargement has become of vital importance to the countries aspiring for the EU membership and, at the same time, it provides more opportunities and benefits for the EU itself. The expanded internal market has created conditions for the European economy to become stronger and more dynamic. Enlargement must be based on successful reforms, which should deserve appropriate stimuli. The validity of the Copenhagen criteria is unquestionable. Hence, principles of rigorous, yet fair conditionality serve for assessing readiness of candidate countries. Besides, the European Union is becoming stronger with each round of the

enlargement, thus entailing positive internal reforms. I hope, that the new Reform Treaty will also encourage further EU enlargement. We have had a strategic debate on EU enlargement in December 2006, where the EU leaders have reached a renewed consensus on the enlargement policy. These should be our guiding principles, and there is no need to establish dividing lines in our continent.

Dear participants,

In my opinion the European Neighbourhood policy is a relevant for the enlargement. We all must, therefore, continue to actively support reforms in the South Caucasus, Ukraine and Moldova, let alone, in Belarus. Practical co-operation, for example in the areas of free trade and gradual integration in the EU internal market, facilitation of travel, sectoral co-operation, resolution of frozen conflicts and others are stepping stones of Wider Europe.

Speaking of EU neighbourhood, I would also like to address EU-Russia relations. They are frequently labelled as strategic. Yet, is it really so? The political and democratic situation in Russia worries us: abolished media independence, continued violations of human rights and manipulation of energy resources [continuing unexplained stop of oil supplies via Druzhba pipeline to Lithuania], increasingly aggressive rhetoric, as well as recent events

in Estonia, UK and Georgia raise very serious concerns. Some say, Russia prepares for the upcoming elections, and most of the statements and actions are for so-called “domestic consumption”. But is such a Russian behaviour appropriate for the 21<sup>st</sup> century? It takes two to tango. The EU-Russia cooperation requires reciprocity in principles and values. Ratification of Energy charter and Transit protocol in Russia could be very a good sign for furthering EU-Russian partnership, if this is what Russia really wants. But if we shut our eyes against mere [and often bilateral] interests, then what our European values and principles are worth?

At the same time, we have to underline the increased role of the EU as a global player, especially when we talk about such challenges as climate change and energy security. Global economic growth and rising energy consumption inevitably increases the CO<sub>2</sub> emission. We cannot evade the responsibility. By addressing climate warming, we could focus on energy saving, renewable energy resources and nuclear energy, which is undergoing a certain renaissance.

Ladies and gentlemen,

I would like to specifically underline the importance of nuclear energy, which reduces the greenhouse effect. Nuclear energy is not an Ugly Duckling any more. It is an alternative to traditional energy resources. Lithu-

ania opts for nuclear energy, since it is very important for our energy security. Our dependence on imported gas from the monopoly supplier will significantly increase due to the closure of Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant by the end of 2009. Unfortunately, we have no energy links with the rest of the EU. Therefore, Lithuania with its partners Latvia, Estonia and Poland is developing a new modern Western type nuclear power plant in Lithuania by 2015. It will diminish dependence on almost 100 percent imported hydrocarbons and make our primary energy consumption mix more balanced. In parallel, implementation of the nuclear power station project is linked with the Lithuanian power grids with Poland and Sweden, and joining the Union for the Co-ordination of Transmission of Electricity (UCTE). Besides, we support the EU pledge to achieve at least a 20 percent reduction of greenhouse gas emissions by 2020.

Another instrument to diminish the green house effect is the development of energy of renewables. Lithuania is committed to increase a share of renewables to 20 percent in 2025 in the overall energy balance. Efficiency of energy consumption can also reduce the emission of carbon dioxide. Starting from 2009 Lithuania is planning to reduce energy consumption by 1 percent every year.

Honourable Participants,

I am sure that today’s presentation and subsequent discussions will bear fruit for our Europe of Tomorrow. Thank you all for your kind attention. I am now looking forward to your questions or comments.



Nikola Gruevski, Prime Minister of the Republic of Macedonia

**Nikola Gruevski**

Prime Minister of the Republic of Macedonia

Prime Ministers, Ministers, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I cannot but of course start with thanking my friend Janez and our important ally Slovenia for their famous hospitality. I would also like to congratulate Minister Rupel and the Centre for European Perspective for the organization of this prominent conference. It is a great pleasure to be here.

Dear friends,

In June, with Prime Minister Sanader and our mutual friend Prime Minister Sali Berisha, we were together in Tirana when we had our joint meeting with President Bush to talk about the future of our region. Only few weeks after that, Secretary General De Hoop Scheffer joined us in Ohrid for the second EAPC Security Forum where one of the topics was also the Euro-Atlantic integration of the Adriatic three. In July in Dubrovnik, we discussed Europe’s New South. And finally, today, few months ahead of the Slovenia’s EU Presidency, we elaborate upon our vision for Europe. The proximity of these important events taking place in the region is not accidental.

We all know the roots of the historic European project. The founding fathers had a great vision. They also had courage and decisive leadership to make their vision a reality. The same is required for European Union to fully





assume its global leadership role, to upgrade its decision-making mechanisms, to deal with its energy concerns and to adopt a more visionary approach in the ongoing debate on Europe's external borders. The efforts to agree upon the new Reform Treaty as soon as possible, based on the political consensus reached at the last European Council is a major step in the right direction.

I would like to stress that the following months are exceptionally important for South East Europe – months of both challenges and opportunities. The time has come to revitalize the process of European completion. I say completion because Europe whole and free simply cannot exclude the Western Balkan nations. Whether the European Union will make the most of this historic opportunity in a region encircled by its members anticipates the answers to the broader challenges it faces.

From the perspective of the EU, a success would mean collecting the dividends of the long term political, military and financial investment in the stability and prosperity of the Balkans. From the perspective of the nations in the region, a success would mean replacing their Balkan history with a European future. The triple formula for success will not be a surprise for anyone.

First, the biggest remaining challenge is needless to say Kosovo. We sincerely hope that this last piece of the Bal-

kan puzzle will be dealt with in a way that would further contribute to the stability and security in the region. Easier to say than to do, but not impossible, taking into account the fact that the stakes are big enough for strategic political decisions. Here again, the ability of the European Union to speak with one voice will be critical for a successful outcome of the final status process. As far as Macedonia is concerned, we will continue to support the efforts of the international community, both politically and with concrete support, such as the full logistic support to KFOR provided by the Macedonian military alone.

The resolution of the final status of Kosovo however is just one side of the Balkan security strategy. In parallel, the zone of democracy, security and stability should be expanded with the Euro Atlantic and subsequent European integration of the countries in the region that meet the standards and are able and willing to meet their commitments. This will, without any doubt, complement the strategy.

Finally, the door should be widely opened for Serbia, Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina, coupled with broad political support for their accelerated integration into Europe. The result of this strategy will be stable, democratic and prosperous region, ready to enrich the European diversity.

Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Macedonian Government firmly decided to play its role in opening the European chapter of the Balkans. We know that the opportunity to join NATO has become a reality and we will do everything within our power to earn that privilege. For the people of Macedonia, next April's Summit in Bucharest will be a meeting with our future. At the same time, as a candidate country, we strive to make enough progress in accordance with the Copenhagen criteria for the EU to open accession negotiations with Macedonia in 2008. Our people have been waiting for too long to join the European mainstream and we must seize this historic opportunity. The Government is firmly committed to deliver on its reform agenda.

Allow me, briefly, to address some of the issues we have been focused on. The Ohrid Framework Agreement is the pillar of the genuine Macedonian model of democracy in a multiethnic and multi-cultural society. Equitable representation of all ethnic communities in the state administration and in public bodies has been significantly improved owing to the tripled state budget funds allocated for this purpose. The second stage of the decentralization process - that of fiscal decentralization – started last month. 42 municipalities will be able to autonomously fund and exercise their competences in the areas of education, health care, social protection, culture and sport.

While as in every democracy, we have differences with the opposition, the Government managed to reach a political compromise with the opposition on issues related to the Framework Agreement and we continue with its implementation. The commitment to implementing the Framework Agreement and promoting the inter-ethnic relations are best reflected in the public opinion polls. In the last UNDP survey carried out in Macedonia, the great majority of citizens (over 80%) have expressed satisfaction with the inter-ethnic relations in the country. The broad fight opened up by the Government against organized crime and corruption shows concrete results. There have been successful actions in detecting and cutting off several cross-border and international routes for trafficking in human beings, migrants and drugs. The Government enforces resolute action against corruption. The court proceedings regarding major part of the high profile cases that scandalized the public have been completed with a verdict. The implementation of judicial reforms, aimed at enhancing the independence and efficiency of the judiciary, considerably contributes to strengthening the rule of law. The independence of the new Judicial Council is guaranteed by arrangements under which the majority of this Council's members are judges elected from the ranks of judges by judges, at direct elections, with secret ballot. The reforms aimed at increasing the efficiency have started to pay dividends.

All of the activities envisaged under the Economic Program of the Government will be realized in a complete and quality manner. The measures undertaken for flattening of taxes and reducing administrative procedures have produced results. A growing number of foreign companies announce investments in Macedonia (Johnson Control, Johnson Matthy, Societe General, Siemens, Swedmilk, etc.). The 2007 key economic priorities include the following policies: maintaining the macroeconomic stability, improvement of the business climate, and reducing unemployment and poverty. The projected GDP growth is 6% and the growth in the first quarter of this year was 7%.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Macedonia in all its diversity is in some ways Europe in a nutshell. In Macedonia we differ by many things- ethnicity, language, religion and other cultural traits. Yet, we do succeed in finding modalities for our joint life, fully respecting our differences. Our model of stability at home made it possible for the Republic of Macedonia to strengthen its role of a generator of stability in the Balkans and contributes to the European security. If the first ever EU mission of Concordia took place in Macedonia only 4 years ago, today we are part of the EU Althea Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina with a contribution of a medical unit and a helicopter detachment.

As I hope I was able to present before you, Macedonia has a clear vision. It is a vision with no alternatives. It is a vision of European Macedonia. Part of Europe defined, as Zbigniew Brzezinski recently said in Dubrovnik, with Scandinavia to the North and Balkania to the South.



Martti Ahtisaari, UNSG Special Envoy on Kosovo, Chairman of Crisis Management Initiative. Dinner was sponsored by the Carniolian Investment Company.

## Keynote Dinner Address

**Martti Ahtisaari**, UNSG Special Envoy on Kosovo, Chairman of Crisis Management Initiative

Dear Minister Rupel, Esteemed Heads of State and Government, Ladies and Gentlemen,  
First of all, let me thank the Chairman of the Bled Strategic Forum for inviting me to come here today. I am delighted to have this opportunity to be the keynote speaker on the very first day of the Conference for 2007. The Forum makes an enormous contribution to the quality of the debate about Europe and its future bringing together top political leaders, business executives and experts.

This has never been an easy debate, nevertheless it is very important to speak about it openly. I will be of course only happy to share my thoughts with you here in Bled today.

Dear friends, the founding fathers of the European Union were preoccupied with promoting peace, prosperity and democracy within Western Europe. However, with the end of the cold war the European project is now about promoting these very same objectives beyond the European continent - and moreover doing it at a time when the rise of China, the resurgence of Russia and the emergence of political Islam pose a major challenge to our European values of compromise, consensus and liberal democracy. Many claim that it is structural and organizational failings that have prevented the European Union from fulfilling its potential on the world stage, but I sense that the real weakness

has sometimes been the absence of political will. We do need the proper structures that are in the European Reform Treaty, but unless they are coupled with combined will of our citizens, political leaders and businessmen, the EU will not be able to tackle global problems. In forging this common will, the EU will need to develop a growing sense of solidarity, a recognition that the problems of one member state are problems of all 27 member states. Moreover, I believe that to win the credibility it will need to deal with global issues, the EU needs first to deal with some troubling open issues in our own backyard. I will mention just three of these critical issues, starting with the one that has been occupying me the most: the determination of the status of Kosovo.

Ladies and gentlemen,

As many of you know, the immediate EU concerns in the Western Balkans are provoked by continued uncertainty over status and hence the future of Kosovo, the diminishing on daily basis role of the UN interim administration, particularly in the economic field, and the ongoing mutual deep distrust between Belgrade and Pristina. The unsettled status of Kosovo is posing a threat to the otherwise improved stability of the Balkans – arguably the last remaining piece of the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia.





In November 2005, the UN Secretary-General asked me to lead the political process to determine Kosovo's future status. For the past year and a half I and my colleagues have held intensive negotiations with the leadership of Serbia and Kosovo. And yet at the very early stages of my mandate and during my initial visits to Belgrade and Pristina at the end of November 2005, it became apparent that the positions and perceptions on the status were entrenched and so widely contradictory that any immediate attempt to narrow these differences would lead nowhere.

My team and I therefore commenced work in early 2006 with an understanding that it should try to at least close the gap between Belgrade and Pristina on "technical aspects" of status: Rights of Communities and their members; Decentralization; Religious and Cultural Heritage; Economic provisions and Property. Technical agreements or at least rapprochements were thought to then serve as building blocks for the resolution of status.

On 10 March this year I chaired in Vienna a High-level meeting concluding the negotiations on the future status process for Kosovo during which my team, with strong support from the international community, has engaged both parties in 17 rounds of direct talks and 26 expert missions to Belgrade and Pristina.

I regret to say that at the end of the day, there was no will from the parties to move away from their previously



stated positions. Belgrade insisted that Kosovo should remain an autonomous province within Serbia, while Pristina insisted on independence. I had hoped, and very much preferred, that this process would lead to a negotiated agreement. But it has left me with no doubt that the parties' respective positions on Kosovo's status do not contain any common ground to achieve such an agreement. I felt that no amount of additional negotiation would change that. It was my firm conclusion that the potential of negotiations was exhausted.

Therefore, I sent my Settlement proposal, which is the best compromise as I see it to the UN Secretary-General. I envisage that the supervisory role of the international community would come to an end only once Kosovo has implemented the measures set forth in the proposal.

The UN Secretary-General has endorsed my Settlement proposal and forwarded it to the UN Security Council. The suggested solution has enjoyed wide international support, not least within the EU. But this was not enough to produce a resolution that could be adopted by the Security Council. As you know, a Troika established by the Contact Group is now leading an additional attempt to negotiate a settlement. I maintain that it is high time to resolve its future status. Neither a return of Kosovo under Serbia's rule, which the overwhelming majority of the Kosovo people would not ac-

cept, nor a continuation of Kosovo's current political and legal limbo under international administration are viable options.

I hope that the international community will end this conflict by closing a chapter where history was manipulated and used to fuel violence and hatred. Thus I move back to where I started – Kosovo is and should be primarily an European issue. It is high time to move from the conflict management phase to the endgame. Otherwise the stalemate will persist but the EU cannot afford Kosovo to become just another "frozen conflict". We need a solution to be implemented as soon as the UNSG makes public the CG report on the current mediation efforts, which is due on 10 December. Doing nothing is not an option and my Settlement proposal provides an organised methodology for an UN exit and EU takeover. This requires a strong and consistent united European position in the coming months, which will take intense diplomatic efforts at the highest levels.

The second issue is energy – this runs like a golden thread that links the most fundamental issues facing our continent today: the challenge of climate change, our relationship with Russia, and our ability to pursue a values-driven foreign policy in the Middle East and Central Asia. As far as energy is concerned we will have to build an integrated EU-wide market for gas and electricity. Such market would not only be good for con-

sumers and businesses, but also enhance our energy security. If there is a problem in one EU country, energy could be quickly be supplied from another EU country. Such market will also mean the establishment of better regulatory oversight and ownership unbundling - a single company should no longer own energy production, transmission and distribution assets. Another open energy security issue is the diversification of supplies. A forward-looking debate about our future energy supplies is urgently needed. In other words, the realities have made the need for alternative pipeline routes more pressing. An obvious and promising example for the EU in general and the Western Balkans in particular, is the Nabucco pipeline project suppose start in two years. Any delays in forging a European energy policy would undermine our unity and would eventually be harmful for our long-term energy security.

The final issue, I would like to mention is Europe's biggest foreign policy success, and its most divisive issue for the future: enlargement. No one questions the urgent need for reforming the EU institutions and that the reforms should go hand-in-hand with any future enlargement. This has been the case so far during the last 50 years - as we all know several waves of expanding the European family have taken place along with reforms and strengthening of the EU institutions. Therefore,



further admitting of new members is not something that may happen without further integration of the current members. But there are compelling reasons for further enlargement that have to be considered, which are not limited to the economy only.

I would like to share with you my perception about the EU enlargement policy with particular emphasis on Turkey. By far the most successful EU foreign policy has been its own expansion. The hope of accession to the EU played a critical part in ensuring a smooth transition from dictatorship to democracy in some of present member states. Further, this hope alone dramatically transformed the East European former communist countries as they were undergoing transition from central planning to market economy and from totalitarian society to liberal democracy. The same is true about the Western Balkans that were a decade ago theater of wars but have been pacified and stabilized thanks mainly to their prospect of joining our EU family.

And last but not least, since the opening amid much fanfare of Turkey's long-delayed membership talks the government in Ankara has made radical changes in its domestic politics, economy, law, media and society. I share the view that against the background of successful export of values to its backyard, the EU has done much better with its neighbors than the US has with Latin America, largely because of the enlargement carrot.

A case in point is Turkey whose application to join our family dates back in 1963 when it was accepted as eligible. The long EU accession process only begins when a candidate has met Europe's "Copenhagen criteria": democratic institutions, a free press, the rule of law, and property rights. The tortuous negotiations in which Turkey must incorporate 95,000 pages of EU rules and regulations have already begun, but its full membership is not an immediate prospect. It could take time and it would depend on the pace of Turkey's adjustment and on these EU countries that are currently objecting its membership.

Like I said, the prospect for EU admission is already radically changing Turkey. Huge changes in the legislation and amendments to the constitution have been implemented with the aim to review it and bring it in line with the European Convention on Human Rights (dropped were the laws which limit free speech, for Kurdish families to have the right to educate their children in their own language, and for rulings in military courts to be open to appeal).

As to economics, Turkey has shown a greater than the EU average GDP increase - as it becomes richer and its market more attractive, Turkey may find itself as a growth locomotive, just as the recovering economies of western Europe were during the 1950s and 1960s. On the other hand, Turkey's youthful population, with a third of its citizens under 15, promises some relief for the demograph-

ics of an ageing Europe. The projected EU growing labor shortage may not be easily resolved without considering membership of Turkey and Ukraine.

The implications of Turkey's candidacy are profound for the geopolitics of the Middle East and for the cultural mix of a Europe which can expect eventually some 15 to 20 per cent of its citizens to be Muslim, including Asians in Britain, North Africans in France, and a couple of millions Turks working in Germany. Putting an end to the Turkish hope to join the EU would amount to catastrophe. It would lead to a fallout between the West and the Islamic countries, and it would frustrate more than 15 million Muslims who currently live in the EU. Moreover, it would be seen by many Muslims as rebuff engineered by a Christian club and would seriously shake EU tenets - namely that the Union is based on pluralistic principles and values as well as on solidarity and preserving diversity.

Naturally, there are other issues for the EU to consider besides Turkey. There is still much work to be done the Western Balkans. Kosovo's future status has additional dimensions should we acknowledge that the whole region, Serbia and Kosovo including, has the prospect of EU membership. Or take for example the entry negotiations with Croatia or are due to begin with the Republic of Macedonia. As Lord Ashdown put it more than two years ago - "the European perspective is the only glue that

holds the Western Balkans together. If you take this glue away, you go back to instability, corruption, conflict."

But the benefits of the enlargement are not for the applicants countries only. The economies of the old members have benefited as well. Particularly successful have been the economies of those that fully opened their labor markets to workers from the new entrants (Britain, Ireland and Sweden).

Dear friends, I believe firmly in the potential of the European Union. We have the biggest single market in the world, the largest aid budgets, tens of thousands of peace-keepers that are active all over the world, and a corps of 50,000 diplomats. We have seen through the process of enlargement that we can make a real difference if we show leadership and abandon our introspection, for a serious engagement with the rest of the world. But this takes unity, courage, vision and greater coherence. I think that there is a real opportunity for Europe to begin shaping global events and have got together with 50 other Europeans from across the EU to create a new organization that will push this goal, the European Council on Foreign Relations. It will be launched in October with offices in seven European countries and a mission of promoting a stronger and more effective European foreign policy. We hope that you will join us in this endeavor.







## PARTICIPANTS

**Abbasov Ali M.**, Ministry of Communications and Information of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Azerbaijan; **Adeola Adebisi H.E. Obileye**, Embassy of Nigeria to the Republic of Slovenia in Budapest, Nigeria; **Ahtisaari H.E. Martti**, Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for the Future Status Process for Kosovo, Finland; **Alasania Giuli**, International Black Sea University, Georgia; **Algayerova Olga**, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic; **Aliyev Elchin**, Sinam Company, Azerbaijan; **Aljaf Bakhtyar**, IFIMES, Slovenia; **Alkalaj H.E. Sven**, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina; **Almeida Rui**, Embassy of Portugal in the Republic of Slovenia; **Amato H.E. Giuliano**, Ministry of Interior of the Italian Republic; **Anderlič Jože**, Kranjska investicijska družba d.o.o., Slovenia; **Andonov Trajče**, Makedonija Trade d.o.o., Macedonia; **Arevalo Ciro**, Embassy of the Republic of Colombia in Vienna; **Ashok Venkatesh**, Ministry of External Affairs of India; **Assenova Margarita**, Institute for New Democracies, Washington, USA; **Atanassov H.E. Vladimir**, Embassy of Bulgaria to the Republic of Slovenia; **Babayeva Sabina**, AB Skybell Company, Azerbaijan; **Babič Aldo**, Luka Koper, Slovenia; **Bai Peng**, Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Republic of Slovenia; **Bakradze Alexander**, Ministry on European and Euro-Atlantic Integration of Georgia; **Balodis Oskar**, Cabinet of the Prime Minister of Latvia, Latvia; **Balut Aleš**, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia; **Baramidze H.E. Giorgi**, Ministry of the Republic of Georgia on European and Euro-Atlantic Integration of Georgia; **Baričič Andrej**, Globe Ljubljana d.o.o., Slovenia; **Basha H.E. Lulzim**, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Albania; **Bavdaž Kuret Darja**, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia, Slovenia; **Baydur H.E. Sina**, Embassy of the Republic of Turkey to the Republic of Slovenia, Turkey; **Bayramov Ayaz**, MCIT, Azerbaijan; **Bebler Dr Anton**, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia; **Bečirović Zijad**, IFIMES, Slovenia; **Belka Marek**, UN Economic Commission for Europe; Benedek David, NLB d.d., Slovenia; **Benedetti Ksenija**, Head of the Protocol of the Republic of

Slovenia; **Benko Bogdan**, Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia; **Berce Bratko Branka**, Institute for Urbanism of the Republic of Slovenia; **Bergant Dr Zvonko**, National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia; **Bernhard Erika**, Deputy Head of Mission, Embassy of the Republic of Austria in Slovenia; **Bildt H.E. Carl**, Foreign Minister of Sweden; **Bilhan Dr Murat**, Director of Foreign Policy Platform at Istanbul Kültür University, Turkey; **Bišćević Hido**, State Secretary for Political Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of the Republic of Croatia; **Bizek Vladimir**, Consultant, Former Deputy Minister of Environment of the Czech Republic; **Bizkova Rut**, Deputy Minister of the Environment of the Czech Republic; **Blokar Ondina**, Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia; **Bogdanska Uljana**, Director of the Directorate for the EU, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Bulgaria; **Bohorič Janez**, Chairman of the Management Board, Sava Group, Slovenia; **Bojc Janez**, KD Holding, Slovenia; **Bonicioli Claudio**, President of The Free Port of Trieste, Italy; **Bricelj Mitja**, Ministry for Environment and Spatial Planning of the Republic of Slovenia; **Brofoss H.E. May Britt**, Ambassador of Norway to the Republic of Slovenia; **Bručan Andrej**, Minister of Health of the Republic of Slovenia; **Bryceson Simon Peter**, Consultant on Political and Environmental issues; **Bucik Marko**, Government Office for European Affairs, Slovenia; **Budin Miloš**, Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of International Commerce, Italy; **Canchola Ulises**, Embassy of Mexico in Vienna; **Canovas del Castillo Munoz Luis**, Embassy of the Kingdom of Spain in the Republic of Slovenia; **Chase Peter**, Former Director of Regional Affairs, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, State Department, USA; **Chinkuli H.E. Kingsley**, Ambassador of the Republic of Zambia to the Republic of Slovenia in Berlin; **Cigler Mihael**, Profos d.o.o., Slovenia; **Cockburn Hannah**, Embassy of the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland in the Republic of Slovenia; **Coleman Maryruth**, Charge d'Affaires, Embassy of the USA in the Republic of Slovenia; **Constantinescu H.E. Dana Manuela**, Ambassador of Ro-

mania to the Republic of Slovenia; **Constantinidou Theodora**, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus; **Cornell Dr Svante E.**, Research Director of the Central Asia – Caucasus Institute & Silk Road Studies Program Joint Center, Uppsala University, Sweden; **Coundoureas H.E. Dionyssios**, Ambassador of Greece to the Republic of Slovenia; **Cvenkel Stanko**, Sava d.d., Slovenia; **Czukor H.E. Dr Jozsef**, Ambassador of the Republic of Hungary to the Republic of Slovenia; **Čufer Andrej**, AKA PCB Company, Slovenia; **Darchiashvili Zurab**, Assistant to the Head of Protocol of Georgia; **Datta Sushil Kumar**, First Secretary, Embassy of India in the Republic of Slovenia; **de Brichambaut Marc**, OSCE Secretary General; **De Zwann Prof. Jaap W.**, Clingendael Institute, The Netherlands; **Deguang Dr Zhang**, Chairman of China Foundation of International Studies, China; **Degutis Darius**, Ambassador of the Republic of Lithuania for Special Missions; **Delević Milica**, Deputy of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Head of the General Directorate for the EU of the Republic of Serbia; **Demiralp Oguz**, Secretary General for European Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey; **Desouza Dr Kevin**, The Information School, University of Washington; **Di Lullo Mara**, Head of Sector of International Affairs in the Minister's Cabinet, Italy; **Dilong Dr Martin**, Deputy of the Ambassador of the Slovak Republic to the Republic of Slovenia; **Dimc Neli**, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia; **Dimitrievski Ilija**, Savatech d.o.o., Slovenia; **Dimitrov Nikola**, Adviser to the Prime Minister of the Republic of Macedonia; **Ding Peiyi**, Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Republic of Slovenia; **Dmitriev Viacheslav**, Counsellor of the Embassy of the Russian Federation in the Republic of Slovenia; **Dokl Lidija**, Sava Hoteli Bled, Slovenia; **Dolničar Jeraj Andreja**, Project Manager, CEP; **Domadenik Gregor**, Adviser at the Embassy of the USA in the Republic of Slovenia; **Drobnak Branko**, CEO of Poteza Group d.d., Slovenia; **Drobnič Mitja**, Political Director, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia; **Duff Dr Andrew**, Member of the European Parliament; **Dukes Alan**,

Director General of the Institute of European Affairs, Ireland; **Eames Richard**, Economist Intelligence Unit, Austria; **Ekornes Carina**, Embassy of Norway in the Republic of Slovenia; **Entin Mark**, MGIMO University European Studies Institute, Russia; **Erjavec Karl**, Minister of Defence of the Republic of Slovenia; **Fajfar Janez**, Mayor of Bled, Slovenia; **Fasslabend Dr Werner**, President of the Political Academy of the ÖVP, Austria; **Filipič Vinko**, Pošta Slovenije d.o.o, Slovenia; **Filipovski H.E. Samoil**, Ambassador of the Republic of Macedonia to the Republic of Slovenia; **Filippi Bal-estra Gian Nicola**, Head of Mission of the Republic of San Marino to the European Communities; **Fink Mojca**, Triglav Naložbe d.d., Slovenia; **Fischer Mark**, German Marshall Fund, Brussels Office, Belgium; **Fon Sattler Urška**, Centre for Excellence in Finance, Slovenia; **Forquet Dr Fabrizio**, Spokesman of the Minister of Interior of the Italian Republic; **Fouyas Nikolaos**, Secretary of Embassy of Greece in the Republic of Slovenia; **Frlec Dr Boris**, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia; **Gagloeva Alana**, Deputy Head of the President's Speaker, Georgia; **Gaiashvili Tamaz**, President of Air Company "Georgian Airways", Georgia; **Gaspari Mitja**, Former Governor of the Bank of Slovenia; **Geršak Katja**, Institute for Strategic Studies, Slovenia; **Ghazarian Salpi**, Assistant to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia; **Giuliani Jean Dominique**, President of the Robert Schuman Foundation, France; **Godnič Klavdij**, Mobitel d.d., Slovenia; **Goetz H.E. Joachim**, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to the Republic of Slovenia; **Golob Saša**, Public Relations, Representation of the European Commission in Slovenia; **Göncz H.E. Kinga**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Hungary; **Gorgiladze Giorgi**, Assistant to the President and Head of Protocol of Georgia; **Görög Dr. Tibor**, Regional Representative of the International Organization for Migration, Hungary; **Gosar Prof. Dr Anton**, The Department of Geography of the Faculty of Humanities, University of Primorska, Slovenia; **Grabeljšek Anton**, ZORD Slovenia, Agency for Compulsory Oil Stocks, Slovenia; **Grant Charles**, Centre for European

Reform, UK; **Gregorčič Lucija**, Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Slovenia; **Grevi Giovanni**, Institute for Security Studies of the EU, France; **Grgič Borut**, Institute for Strategic Studies, Ljubljana, Slovenia; **Groffen H.E. John**, Ambassador of the Kingdom of Netherlands to the Republic of Slovenia; **Groier Dr Gerhard**, Energie Steiermark AG, Austria; **Grošelj Klemen**, Research Centre of Defence Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia; **Groza H.E. Aivars**, Ambassador of the Republic of Latvia to the Republic of Slovenia in Vienna; **Gruevski H.E. Nikola**, Prime Minister of the Republic of Macedonia; **Güldamlasi Cengiz**, Businessman and Member of the Executive Board of the Marmara Foundation, Turkey; **Gulmammadov Rufat**, Head of the Department of Development of Information Society, MCIT, Azerbaijan; **Gyarmati Istvan**, International Centre for Democratic Transition, Hungary; **Hagard H.E. John**, Ambassador of Sweden to the Republic of Slovenia; **Harmoza Sandra**, Embassy of the Republic of Poland in the Republic of Slovenia; **Haubertova Denisa**, Head of the Cabinet of the Deputy Prime Minister of the Czech Republic; **Hauc Aleš**, Director General of Pošta Slovenije; **Herrero Ansola Jose Luis**, Head of the OSCE Office in Baku, OSCE; **Hlača Bojan**, Executive Director, Port of Rijeka Authority, Croatia; **Hlavsova H.E. Ivana**, Ambassador of the Czech Republic to the Republic of Slovenia; **Holzer – Remondi Richard**, Embassy of Australia in Vienna; **Horslund Jens Otto**, Head of the Foreign Policy Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Denmark; **Hribar Milič Samo**, Director General of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the Republic of Slovenia; **Huggard Joseph**, The Weinberg Group, Belgium; **Ibrahimi H.E. Valter**, Ambassador of the Republic of Albania to the Republic of Slovenia; **Ibrahimi Veton**, Public Relations Service, Government of the Republic of Macedonia; **Íbrayev H.E. Rashid**, Ambassador of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the Republic of Slovenia in Budapest; **Ilayama H.E. Tsuneshige**, Ambassador of Japan to the Republic of Slovenia; **Inoguchi Dr Kuniko**, Member of the House of Representatives of Japan; **Inzko H.E. Dr**

**Valentin**, Ambassador of the Republic of Austria to the Republic of Slovenia; **Ismayilzade Farid**, Country Manager of SilverKey Company, Azerbaijan; **Ivančević Željko**, Foundation for Economic Interests Promotion, Brussels, Belgium; **Ivančič Aljoša**, Komida, Slovenia; **Jackovich Victor**, Jackovich International, USA; **Jackson Bruce**, President of the Project on Transitional Democracies, USA; **Jakin Matea**, Project Manager, CEP; **Jaksa Renata Anna**, ICEG European Centre, Hungary; **Janse Diana**, Adviser to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sweden; **Janša H.E. Janez**, Prime Minister of the Republic of Slovenia; **Jegermanis Gints**, Head of the Policy Planning Unit, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia; **Jelinčič Plemeniti Zmago**, National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia; **Jeremić H.E. Vuk**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia; **Jerovšek Jožef**, National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia; **Ješovnik Peter**, Public Agency of the Republic of Slovenia for Entrepreneurship and Foreign Investments (JAPTI), Slovenia; **Joličić Kuliš Vera**, Chief of the Cabinet, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Montenegro; **Jovanović Jovan**, Program Officer, Balkan Trust for Democracy, German Marshall Fund of the United States, Serbia; **Juozaityene Jurate**, Secretary at the Ministry of Environment of the Republic of Lithuania; **Juraev Sayfiddin**, Director of Regional Policy Fund, Uzbekistan; **Jurkynas Mindaugas**, Adviser of the Prime Minister on Foreign Policy of the Republic of Lithuania; **Kacin Jelko**, Member of the European Parliament, Slovenia; **Kadyrbayev Serzhan**, Embassy of the Republic of Kazakhstan in Budapest; **Kajnič Dr Sabina**, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia; **Kakas Nandor**, Adviser to the Ambassador of the Republic of Hungary to the Republic of Slovenia; **Kalezić Nataša**, First Secretary at the Embassy of the Republic of Serbia in the Republic of Slovenia; **Kaps Carola**, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Germany; **Kaps Franz**, Senior Partnership Adviser for Europe and Central Asia Region, World Bank; **Karan Monika**, Head of Marketing at ESOTECH, Slovenia; **Kasekamp Prof. Dr Andres**, Estonian Foreign Policy Institute, Estonia; **Kasprzyk**



**Andrzej**, Personal Representative of the OSCE Chairman-in Office; **Kaszuba H.E. Piotr**, Ambassador of the Republic of Poland to the Republic of Slovenia; **Katsoudas Dimitrios**, Secretary General for European Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Greece; **Kaya Gökçen**, First Counsellor Deputy Head of Mission at the Embassy of the Republic of Turkey; **Kazuki Takei**, First Secretary, Embassy of Japan in the Republic of Slovenia; **Kazumasa Miyazaki**, Embassy of Japan in the Republic of Slovenia; **Kercan Vladimir**, Executive Manager, Turboinstitut d.d., Slovenia; **Khalil Youssry**, 1st Secretary at the Embassy of Egypt in the Republic of Slovenia; **Kieber – Beck H.E. Rita**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Principality of Liechtenstein; **Kim Julianna**, 2nd Secretary at the Embassy of the USA in the Republic of Slovenia; **Kirkilas H.E. Gediminas**, Prime Minister of the Republic of Lithuania; **Kitoshvili Dimitri**, Parliamentary Secretary of the President of Georgia; **Kizildeli Balkan**, Former Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to the Republic of Slovenia; **Klobas Elvin**, Executive Director CEP, Slovenia; **Kocič mag. Andrej**, President of the Management Board, Zavarovalnica Triglav d.d., Slovenia; **Köklücinar Engin**, Marmara Group Foundation, Turkey; **Koletnik Damijan**, Director of HSE, Slovenia; **Korošec Breda**, Ministry of the Economy of the Republic of Slovenia; **Košir Špela**, Lawyer, CEP; **Kotar Breda**, Trimio, d.d., Slovenia; **Kothbauer H.S.H Princess Maria – Pia**, Ambassador of the Principality of Liechtenstein to the Republic of Slovenia in Vienna; **Kovač Dr Miro**, Head of Diplomatic Protocol, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of the Republic of Croatia; **Kovačič Matjaž**, NKBM, Slovenia; **Kovačić Miroslav**, State Secretary, Central State Administrative Office for e-Croatia; **Kozakou Marcoullis H.E. Erato**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus; **Kraaimoore Albert**, 2nd Secretary at the Embassy of the USA in the Republic of Slovenia; **Kračun Dr Davorin**, University of Maribor, Slovenia; **Krajc Gregor**, Deputy of the Director of the Government Office for the EU Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia; **Krajnovič Goran**, Charge d' Affairs, Embassy of the Republic of Serbia

in the Republic of Slovenia; **Kramar Marjan**, Nova Ljubljanska Banka d.d., Slovenia; **Krnel Umek Dušica**, Ministry of Health of the Republic of Slovenia; **Krnjević Mišković Damjan**, Adviser at the Cabinet of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia; **Kryžanowski Marko**, President of the Management Board of Petrol d.d., Slovenia; **Kuanyshev Doulat**, Special Representative of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan; **Kunin Daniel Louis**, Special Adviser to the Prime Minister and the President of Georgia; **Lampelj Tina**, Ministry of the Economy of the Republic of Slovenia; **Le Fevre Cervini Enzo Maria**, Center for International Conflict Resolution – Columbia University, USA; **Le Gloannec Anne-Marie**, Research Director of FNSP at CER, France; **Lecavalier Francois**, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development; **Legueltel Pierre**, Embassy of the Republic of France in the Republic of Slovenia; **Lenarčič Janez**, State Secretary for European Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia; **Lenassi Matjaž**, BSH Hišni aparati, d.o.o., Slovenia; **Lensment Jaak**, Counsellor at the Embassy of the Republic of Estonia in Vienna; **Lenzi Guido**, Diplomatic Adviser to Minister of Interior of the Italian Republic; **Levy Yaakov**, Ambassador, Director of Policy Planning, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the State of Israel; **Liebler Lukas**, Conergy AG, Germany; **Lombardo Aldo**, Head of Protocol of the Italian Republic; **Lombe Chalwe**, First Secretary, Embassy of the Republic of Zambia in Berlin; **Lovšin Andrej**, President of the Managing Board, Intereuropa d.d., Slovenia; **Lubi Viljar**, Director of the General Affairs Division of the EU Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Estonia; **Maček Ratko**, Head of Public Relations of the Croatian Government, Croatia; **Madatli Nigar**, Leading Adviser at the Ministry of Communications and Information, Azerbaijan; **Maguire Sile**, Department of Foreign Affairs of Ireland; **Maksom H.E. Dato Kamilian**, Ambassador of Malaysia to the Republic of Slovenia in Budapest; **Malešič Marjan**, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia; **Mally Igor**, Government Office for European Affairs, Slovenia; **Malmgren Sara**, Public Relations

Service, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Sweden; **Mammadov Mahammad**, General Manager of Aztelecom, Azerbaijan; **Marinič Igor**, Deputy Director General of Pošte Slovenije d.o.o., Slovenia; **Marinšek Igor**, Mobitel d.d., Slovenia; **Martin Nielsen Richard**, Desk Officer, Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada; **Martinz Iris**, Energie Steiermark AG, Austria; **Marusich Grgic Paola**, Debevoise & Plimpton LLP, USA; **Marxer Roland**, Director of the Office for Foreign Affairs of the Principality of Liechtenstein; **Mate Dragutin**, Minister of Interior of the Republic of Slovenia; **Matković Bianca**, State Secretary, Head of Prime Minister's Cabinet, Croatia; **Matulionis Devidas**, State Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania; **McCormick Shawn**, Vice President of the TNK-BP, Russia; **Merdan Emi-na**, Adviser to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bosnia and Herzegovina; **Mertelj Andrej**, Datalab d. d., Slovenia; **Mignot H.E. Jean-Louis**, Ambassador of the Kingdom of Belgium to the Republic of Slovenia; **Mihaljčić Radovan**, Assistant to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina; **Mijanović Irena**, Deputy to Head of Secretariat for European Integration of the Republic of Montenegro; **Milačić H.E. Slavica**, Ambassador of the Republic of Montenegro to the European Communities; **Milošoski H.E. Antonio**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia; **Mirkishili Tahir**, President of Ultra Company, Azerbaijan; **Missirolli Dr Antonio**, Chief Political Analyst, European Policy Centre, Belgium; **Mlakar Marko**, EastEuro d.o.o., Slovenia; **Morel Pierre**, EU Special Representative for Central Asia; **Mortu Cristina Gabriela**, Embassy of Romania in the Republic of Slovenia; **Mozdakov Yaroslav**, Manager at the TNK-BP, Russia; **Možina Damjan**, Sales Manager, Krka d.d., Slovenia; **Mučaj Genci**, Chief of Staff, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Albania; **Muradkhanov Kamal**, Parliament of Georgia; **Muradov Garay**, Counsellor of the Embassy of the Republic of Azerbaijan in the Republic of Slovenia; **Nabiyev Rashad**, Head of the Department of Finance and Economic Analysis, MCIT, Azerbaijan; **Naibov – Aylisli Ilyas**, Country Manager of Cysco Systems in Azerbaijan;

**Napast Boštjan**, Petrol d.d., Slovenia; **Narinen Kirsti**, Embassy of Finland in the Republic of Slovenia; **Nasullayeva Leyla**, Deputy Country Manager of Ericson in Azerbaijan; **Neccia Roberto**, First Secretary at the Italian Embassy in the Republic of Slovenia; **Ni Mai**, Macquarie Bank, UK; **Niblett Dr Robin**, Chatham House, UK; **Nigsch Werner**, Embassy of the Principality of Liechtenstein in Vienna; **Nikolozishvili H.E. Nikoloz**, Ambassador of Georgia to the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Slovenia; **Nobilo H.E. Dr Mario**, Ambassador of the Republic of Croatia to the Republic of Slovenia; **Nordin Van Gansberghe Cecilia**, Embassy of Sweden in the Republic of Slovenia; **Obhraio Deepak**, Parliamentarian Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Canada; **Ojuland Kristiina**, First Vice President of the Riigikogu (Parliament of the Republic of Estonia); **Oskanian H.E. Vartan**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia; **Ostalep Valeriu**, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Moldova; **Pack Doris**, Member of European Parliament; **Pahor Borut**, Member of the European Parliament, Slovenia; **Palacio Vallelersundi Ana**, Senior Vice-President and General Counsel of the World Bank; **Paldan H.E. Dr Roman**, Ambassador of the Slovak Republic to the Republic of Slovenia; **Panayides H. E. Charalambos**, Ambassador of the Republic of Cyprus to the Republic of Slovenia; **Papež Anton**, TCG Unitech, Slovenia; **Paradiž Boštjan**, Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning of the Republic of Slovenia; **Pavlič Drago**, Vice President Power Technologies ESOTECH, Slovenia; **Payne Bryan**, Department For Business, Enterprise and Regulatory Reform, UK; **Pejčinović Burić Marija**, State Secretary for European Integration, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of the Republic of Croatia; **Pejković Ani**, Embassy of the Republic of Croatia in the Republic of Slovenia; **Peljko Žiga**, KD Holding, Slovenia; **Perkovič Rok**, Datalab d. d., Slovenia; **Perović H.E. Branko**, Ambassador of the Republic of Montenegro to the Republic of Slovenia; **Peruzzo Dr Guido**, Federal Ministry of Economic and Technology of the Federal Republic of Germany; **Peterle Lojze**, Member of the European



Parliament, Slovenia; **Peterlin Marko**, Institute for Policies of Space, Slovenia; **Petersen Jan**, Member of Parliament, Norway; **Petrič H.E. Dr Ernest**, The Chair of the IAEA Board of Governors, Ambassador of the Republic of Slovenia to the Republic of Austria; **Pfeffer Wilfried**, Embassy of the Kingdom of Belgium in the Republic of Slovenia; **Pierangelo Claire**, Representative of the State Department, USA; **Pilić Aleksandar**, First Counsellor at the Embassy of the Republic of Serbia in the Republic of Slovenia; **Pipan Anita**, Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia; **Podobnik Dr Janez**, Minister of the Environment and Spatial Planning of the Republic of Slovenia; **Policastro Walter**, Centre of Services, Italy; **Protogjer Martin**, Cabinet Chief of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Macedonia; **Psiachas George**, Director of the Secretary-General's Office, Greece; **Puljić Žunjić Ana**, Embassy of the Republic of Croatia in the Republic of Slovenia; **Pumprickaite Nemira**, Spokesman of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Lithuania; **Puodžiunas H.E. Giedrius**, Ambassador of the Republic of Lithuania to the Republic of Slovenia in Vienna; **Purg Danica**, President of the IEDC-Bled School of Management, Slovenia; **Radosavljević Aleksandra**, 1st Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia; **Radulović Dragana**, Minister Counsellor for the EU and NATO, Montenegro; **Rahmanov Abulfat**, General Manager Sinam, Azerbaijan; **Rahten Dr Andrej**, Adviser to the Prime Minister of the Republic of Slovenia; **Rant Dr Jože**, Institute Jožef Štefan, Slovenia; **Ravbar Vojka**, SKB Banka, Slovenia; **Reflak Barbara**, National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia; **Reitmeier Joachim**, Bawag Bank d.d., Slovenia; **Repanšek Jana**, Centre of Excellence in Finance, Slovenia; **Risman Denis**, Programme Director, CEP, Slovenia; **Roberts John**, Platts, UK; **Ročen H.E. Milan**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Montenegro; **Rondos Alexander**, Former Ambassador for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Greece; **Rozman-Clark Tea**, Project Manager, CEP; **Rudkovskaya Asya**, Business Development Manager of Cisco Systems, Azerbaijan; **Rupel H.E. Prof. Dr Dimitrij**,

Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia; **Rus Dr Andrej**, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia; **Rusi Agneza**, Adviser for the EU Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia; **Saakashvili H.E. Mihkeil**, President of Georgia; **Sadiqov Vaqif**, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan; **Sammot Dennis**, LINKS, UK; **Sanader H.E. Dr Ivo**, Prime Minister of the Republic of Croatia; **Sanakoev Dimitri**, Chairman of Temporary Administrative Unit of South Ossetia, Georgia; **Sancin Dr Vasilka**, Faculty of Law, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia; **Sapountzis Nikolaos**, Chargé d'Affaires, Embassy of Greece in the Republic of Slovenia; **Scheunemann Randy**, Orionstrategies llc, USA; **Schwarz Karl – Peter**, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Germany; **Sedmak Sašo**, Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia; **Semaskiene Ausra**, Counsellor of the Embassy of the Republic of Lithuania in Vienna; **Semneby Peter**, EU Special Representative for the South Caucasus; **Seshadri H.E. Dr Villur Sundararajan**, Ambassador of India to the Republic of Slovenia; **Sever Mjusa**, Country Director of the Institute for New Democracies, Uzbekistan Office; **Sexton Bernadette**, Hulla&Co. Human Dynamics KG, Austria; **Sharashidze Ekaterina**, Head of Administration of the President of Georgia; **Shelton Grace**, 1st Secretary at the Embassy of the USA in the Republic of Slovenia; **Shlapachenko Dmitry**, Adviser to Mr Martti Ahtisaari; **Simakin Dr Sergey**, Minister Counsellor of the Embassy of the Russian Federation in the Republic of Slovenia; **Simonovska Veronika**, Government Office for European Affairs, Slovenia; **Slabe Damijan**, Delo d. d., Slovenia; **Smole Marko**, FUECH - European Consular Corps, Slovenia; **Snoy Bernard**, Coordinator of OSCE Economic and Environmental Activities; **Sovič Simon**, Lehman Brothers International, UK, Slovenia; **Soysal Ogan**, Former Member of Parliament and Member of the Executive Board of the Marmara Foundation, Turkey; **Spečius Saulius**, Adviser of the Prime Minister on Legal, Economic Issues and Infrastructure of the Republic of Lithuania; **Staleva Anita**, Directorate for the EU,

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Bulgaria; **Stana Alojz**, GEOPLIN d. o.o., Slovenia; **Stanton Louise Jane**, Embassy of the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland in the Republic of Slovenia; **Stasev Aleksandr**, Embassy of the Russian Federation in the Republic of Slovenia; **Steiner Gottfried**, OMV Gas International GmbH, Austria; **Stelzenmüller Dr Constanze**, German Marshall Fund, Berlin, Germany; **Stenius – Mladenov H.E. Birgitta**, Ambassador of Finland to the Republic of Slovenia; **Stepanjan Sara**, Sarajan d.o.o., Slovenia; **Strmčnik Dr Boštjan**, Korona d.d., Slovenia; **Strømme Thomas**, Royal Norwegian Embassy in the Republic of Slovenia; **Surie Nalin**, Secretary at the Headquarters of the Ministry of External Affairs of India; **Sutela Pekka**, Head of the Bank of Finland Institute for Economics in Transition, Finland; **Suver Dr Akkan**, Marmara Group Foundation, Turkey; **Suvorov Bojan**, Organization of Employment Service of the Republic of Slovenia; **Svilanović Goran**, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia; **Szczerski Krzysztof**, Undersecretary of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland; **Šalkauskas Vaclovas**, Head of Foreign Policy Group at the Republic of Lithuania Government Chancellery; **Šip Nataša**, Project Manager of Representation of the European Commission in Slovenia; **Škrabec Janez**, Riko, Slovenia; **Špaček Metod**, Director of the Cabinet of the State Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic; **Šter Andrej**, State Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia; **Talić H.E. Izmir**, Ambassador of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Republic of Slovenia; **Tempel Peter**, Director General for European Affairs, Federal Foreign Office of the Federal Republic of Germany; **Tiilikainen Dr Teija**, State Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Finland; **Topčagić Osman**, Director of the Directorate for European Integration, Bosnia and Herzegovina; **Tsikhstavi Tamara**, Hulla&Co. Human Dynamics KG, Austria; **Turk Dr Žiga**, Minister without Portfolio Responsible for Growth of the Republic of Slovenia; **Türk Danilo**, Former Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs for the United Na-

tions; **Učakar Mitja**, Bawag Bank d.d., Slovenia; **Ülgen Sinan**, Chairman, Center for Economics and Foreign Policy Studies – EDAM, Turkey; **Unsayü Omur**, Counsellor of the Embassy of Turkey in the Republic of Slovenia; **Urmanov Ildar**, KAMAZ Incorporated, Russia; **Uršič Aljoša**, Skupna pokojninska družba d.d., Slovenia; **Van Der Loo Hans**, Head of European Liaison Office, Shell International, Brussels, The Netherlands; **Van Rij Cornelis**, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Netherlands; **Vanin H.E. Mikhail**, Ambassador of the Russian Federation in the Republic of Slovenia; **Vejvoda Dr Ivan**, Executive Director of the Balkan Trust for Democracy, Belgrade Office of the GMF of the US, Serbia; **Verga H.E. Daniele**, Ambassador of Italian Republic to the Republic of Slovenia; **Vexina Sebastian**, Embassy of the Republic of Argentina in Vienna; **Vihar Matjaž**, Datalab d. d., Slovenia; **Vizjak Andrej**, Minister of Economy, Slovenia; **Vondra Alexandr**, Deputy Prime Minister for European Affairs of the Czech Republic; **Vovk Vincenc**, Trimio, d.d., Slovenia; **Vrankar Mateja**, BDO EOS Revizija d.o.o., Slovenia; **Vrčon Andrej**, Administrative Director CEP, Slovenia; **Vukadinović Ana**, Head of Secretariat for European Integration of the Republic of Montenegro; **Wagstyl Stefan**, Financial Times, UK; **Wei Liu**, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China; **Wilkinson de Vexina Moira**, Embassy of the Republic of Argentina in Vienna; **Xiao Zhang**, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China; **Xiaoguang Yang**, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China; **Yakovenko Igor**, President of AZEL Company, Azerbaijan; **Yezhov Stanislav**, Embassy of Ukraine in the Republic of Slovenia; **Yildirim Ugur**, Medvešek Pušnik DZU d.d., Slovenia; **Zagožen Dr Jože**, Director of HSE, Slovenia; **Zhu Weidong**, Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Republic of Slovenia; **Zhu H.E. Zhaolin**, Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to the Republic of Slovenia; **Zingeris Emanuelis**, Deputy of SEJM of the Republic of Lithuania; **Zrinski Urška**, Centre of Excellence in Finance, Slovenia; **Zupan Dr Jure**, Minister of Higher Education, Science and Technology of the Republic of Slovenia; **Žmuc Kušar Jelka**, Petrol d.d., Slovenia



## ORGANIZERS



### The Centre for European Perspective

The Centre for European Perspective is an innovative project platform that generates functional knowledge and brings together good practices to actively support the European and Euro-Atlantic integration processes. We are fully committed to developing the European perspective for European Union candidate countries, potential candidate countries and countries of the New Neighbourhood Policy by implementing high standard demand-and-needs driven projects. The implementation of projects for countries of South East Europe is our current priority with no prejudice to projects in other regions.

More information about the Centre for European Perspective available at <http://www.cep.si>



MINISTRSTVO ZA ZUNANJE ZADEVE  
REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE  
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA

### The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia is responsible for implementing Slovenian foreign policy and tasks assigned with the Foreign Affairs Law (Ur.l. RS, 45/2001) as well as other acts and regulations. With its expert opinions, the Ministry participates in the planning, procedures and preparation of foreign policy matters of the Republic of Slovenia, as well as the adopting of positions by the National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia and the Government of the Republic of Slovenia.

More information about the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia available at <http://www.mzz.gov.si>



### Institute for Strategic Studies

The Institute for Strategic Studies Ljubljana is an independent policy center devoted to developing and promoting innovative solutions to pressing national and global issues. ISS helps private and public sector leaders address their greatest challenges in an increasingly complex and interconnected world, where political risk and economic opportunities arise daily and unexpectedly.

More information about the Institute for Strategic Studies available at <http://www.iss-lj.si>





## DONORS

Cetis d. d.	Lenovo - Slovenija	Poteza Skupina d. d.
Comita d. d.	Luka Koper d. d.	Publikum d. d.
Gorenje d. d.	Maksima Holding d. d.	Riko d.o.o.
Helios d. d.	Marand Inženiring d. o. o.	SKB Banka d. d.
Ilirika d. d.	Medvešek Pušnik d. d.	TNK-BP
Istrabenz d. d.	Mobitel d. d.	TRIALOG Austria
Kolektor Group d. o. o.	NLB d. d.	Trimo d. d.
Krka d. d.	Petrol d. d.	Vegrad d. d.
Lek d. d.	Porsche Slovenija d. o. o.	Žito d. d.





## SPONSORS



Editorial:

Institution - Centre for European Perspective - © CEP, 2008

Preface written by:

prof. dr. Dimitrij Rupel

Translations:

Institution - Centre for European Perspective - © CEP, 2008

Photographs:

Foto BOBO - photographers: Srdjan Živulović and Tina Kosec


Institution - Centre for European Perspective - © CEP, 2008

Design and Layout:


Sidarta

Publisher:

Institution - Centre for European Perspective - © CEP, 2008



*The Luxury of Time*  
BETWEEN HEAVEN  
AND EARTH



**Posestvo Pule**  
Fam. Anderlič

*The Pule Estate*  
Drečji vrh 16, SI - 8231 Trebelno, Slovenia  
T.: +386 (0)7 34 99 700 or +386 (0)1 47 02 700; F.: +386 (0)7 34 99 702  
E-mail: marketing@pule.si

[www.pule.si](http://www.pule.si)



**ENVIRONMENTAL SOLUTIONS**

- Industrial solutions to purify and treat water
- Clean air solutions for new plants and retrofits
- Municipality water solutions adapted for local needs
- Waste recycling solutions

**CREATING A BETTER WORLD**

- Our core business is developing and implementing projects within:
  - environmental solutions,
  - power engineering.
- We support transfer of knowledge into practice:
  - as leading company in the Slovenian Environmental Cluster,
  - as initiator of Slovenian Water's Technology Platform,
  - as partner with Slovenian Universities and Institutes.

**POWER ENGINEERING**

- Renewable energy sources
- Rewamping, upgrading, construction of hydro and thermo power plants
- Transmission and distribution of electrical energy
- Production and distribution of heating energy
- Industrial installations

ESOTECH, Company for development and implementation of environmental solutions and power engineering, joint stock company, Preloška cesta 1, 3320 Velenje, SI- Slovenia, EU  
T: +386 3 8994 500, F: +386 3 8994 503, E: info@esotech.si [www.esotech.si](http://www.esotech.si)




V najboljših stvarih na svetu je tudi slovensko jeklo.

**sij** Slovenska industrija jekla  
skupina

Acroni  
Metal Ravne  
Noži Ravne  
Elektrode Jesenice  
SUZ  
ZIP center

Slovenska industrija jekla, d.d., Gerbičeva 98, 1000 Ljubljana



**gen**  
ENERGIJA

prihodnost energije

[www.gen-energija.si](http://www.gen-energija.si)



