



# THE POWER OF THE FUTURE

CONFERENCE REPORT  
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## ABOUT THE FORUM

Bled Strategic Forum has emerged as an important annual gathering of prominent thinkers from the spheres of politics, business, and academia from the region and beyond. It has taken place every year since 2006 in the Slovenian resort town of Bled, which is famous around the world for its beautiful alpine lake.



THE POWER OF  
THE FUTURE  
Main Panel



Nik Gowing



Fu Ying

Under the title “The Power of the Future”, the forum tackled some of the main challenges of the decade, focusing on new players, especially the BRIC countries, on European challenges in the Mediterranean, EU-China relations, Afghanistan, the future of energy, challenges and perspectives in the Western Balkans, the role of small states in global affairs, as well as food security and the role of innovation in economy. This year, an important innovation has been introduced to the Bled Strategic Forum – the Young BSF, which aimed to attract a younger audience, i.e. future decision-makers. Who are the new global power brokers? According to Professor Joseph S. Nye, two important power shifts are occurring in this century – a power transition and power diffusion. Power transitions from one dominant state to another are widely known historical events, while power diffusion is a more novel process.

Some observers believe that the Western-oriented world order is being replaced by one increasingly dominated by the East. Jim O’Neill of Goldman Sachs predicts that the new Growth 8 (the Brics plus Korea, Indonesia, Turkey and Mexico) will grow four to five times as quickly as the United States by the end of the decade. China alone will account for half this growth.

To cope with the transnational challenges that characterise a global information age, the international community will need to continue to develop a series

of complementary networks and institutions. The UN plays a crucial role in legitimisation, crisis diplomacy, peacekeeping, and humanitarian missions. The main dilemma that the international community faces is how to include everyone and still be able to act.

The Bled Strategic Forum opened with the Main Panel moderated by **Nik Gowing, International Broadcaster and Journalist, United Kingdom**, who first pointed out that the discussion would focus on some very critical and difficult issues, wondering whether the title ‘The Power of the Future’ should be paraphrased to ‘The Fragile Power of Future’, ‘The Vulnerable Power of the Future’ or ‘The New Fragility and Vulnerability’. According to Gowing, we should be asking where the current models and the existing norms lie. Are the current assumptions still relevant and appropriate? How much do we need to change them and how fast should that happen? The old game is clearly no longer appropriate given the wide array of issues the world is facing.

At the beginning of the panel, **Fu Ying, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China**, emphasised her belief that we are facing not only a political and economic power shift from West to East, but a more complex diffusion of power from the centre (the West) to other regions. A global approach is needed, Fu said, to resolve today’s global challenges, but this approach is somewhat hindered by international political

and financial institutions established in the post-World War II era. Considering the 21st century’s completely reconfigured political and economic inter-state relations, finding effective solutions to challenges requires changes in the structure and operation of these relations, as well as constructive cooperation between state and non-state actors.

Fu noted that effective cooperation between states is not possible when beliefs and stereotypes, which emerged during the Cold War, persist. According to Fu, the problem lies precisely in the (in)ability to overcome the cold-war view of China as a threat to the West. The West’s fear of Chinese investment is a classic example of this attitude. Its deep-seated traditional perception of the division of roles in the global economy, where the West acts only as an investor and developing countries are only investment destinations, prevents the West from accepting the fact that the last decade has seen important socio-economic changes in certain developing countries, and that these countries have overcome the traditional division of roles and are evolving into global investors.

Regarding the power of modern technologies, Fu noted that most of their social effects are positive, but at the same time challenging for governments, as the latter need to keep up with the speed of information dissemination by finding fast, expert and clear-cut solutions to problems.

**Igor Olegovich Shchegolev, Minister of Telecommunications and Mass Communications of the Russian Federation**, reflecting on power in the future, emphasised that Russia has been anxious for technological and political advance, which has resulted in a transformation of their system of values. Shchegolev believes that it is precisely a crisis of values that is currently most pressing in Russia: Russian society has been facing a decline in traditional values, while it has not yet established a set of new ones. This has produced a kind of moral vacuum which has been destroying social cohesion and is furthermore expected to influence the distribution of power between different actors.

As regards global trends shaping the distribution of power, Shchegolev believes that traditional society has been changing into a global society, which, by means of modern IT, will be founded on networking and driven by information, rather than money, as new technologies enable the rapid dissemination of information. However, Shchegolev believes people will be challenged by their (in)ability to separate truth from lies. Shchegolev suggested that today, more than ever in the past, it is easy to manipulate people; therefore, the present situation calls for the establishment of rules or control over certain content on the Internet which are either illegal or incite violence, political extremism or terrorism.



Igor Olegovich Shchegolev



Ambassador Richard A. Boucher



Samuel Žbogar

**Ambassador Richard A. Boucher, Deputy Secretary-General of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development**, pointed out, in the light of the OECD's recent assessment of the global economy, that although the economic crisis and uncertainty have predominantly affected the EU and USA, it is possible that the current positive economic trends in China may soon change. It is still unclear what the future centre of economic power will be. Furthermore, we are challenged today by the general lack of trust between major stakeholders: consumers fear unemployment; business sectors distrust government measures; and, because of the possible political consequences, politicians prevaricate over adopting the necessary structural reforms.

There is no magic formula for ending the crisis overnight, Boucher said, further noting that solutions do exist, as this is not the first economic crisis we have faced. Governments, he assured, are well aware of what anti-crisis reforms may be adopted. Boucher expressed his belief that well-targeted socio-economic measures were needed to encourage people's willingness to work and their competitiveness without, however, undermining social cohesion, although he doubted the existence of social cohesion and political will in the affected countries.

**Samuel Žbogar, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia**, first addressed the international community's major challenges in the 21st century – water and food supply, environmental change, and migration – while noting that countries were no longer able to resolve global issues alone; therefore, one possible solution is to establish partnerships between state and non-state actors.

To support his belief, Žbogar pointed to the fact that we face a shift in power from the West to the East and South. Also, we are simultaneously witnessing the equally important process of the strengthening of non-state actors, e.g. private foundations, multinational corporations, civil society and non-governmental organisations, which have a far greater influence on solving certain problems than many states. Non-state actors have become important co-shapers of the political agenda. Although small in number, they can reach a wider public through modern technology and thus exert significant influence and pressure on governmental decision-makers. Žbogar described this as an excellent example of 'soft power'.

The resolution of the financial crisis in the eurozone is hindered by an increasingly anti-European atmosphere in some EU Member States, Žbogar said, resulting in a lack of support for measures aimed at greater fiscal integration.

**Mahmoud Salem, Blogger, Activist, Writer and an Investment Banker, Egypt**, shared his views on the role of social networks and the Internet in the recent political changes in Egypt: Social networks did not start the revolution, but were an important means of mobilisation. Salem believes that the revolution was primarily the result of the younger generations' resistance to corruption, the absence of real democracy and lack of dialogue. Social networks are revolutionary in themselves, since they enable ordinary people to exchange information and ideas and to participate in wider political discussions, thus giving them the opportunities to criticise the status quo. In the case of Egypt, the role of modern technologies has been even more important because of the high proportion of young people in Egypt's population.

Salem expects the trend of political participation through social networks and other modern technologies to grow proportionally as technologies become cheaper. At present in Egypt, it is mostly members of the quite small middle class who have access to modern technologies; therefore, further changes are expected when technology becomes accessible to the poorest people.

In Salem's view, due to the economic crisis afflicting certain superpowers, global society is in a state of general concern about the uncertainty of the future. How-

ever, that global society is now aware that no one has a monopoly on truth is to be welcomed.



Mahmoud Salem



## SEARCH FOR A NEW “WORLD ORDER” IN THE MEDITERRANEAN Special Panel

The Mediterranean area has been the cradle of civilization since ages. Through history tremendous developments have taken place in the region. We are facing one of the historic periods this year. The Mediterranean is today highly fragmented. Arab states are in the turmoil, Middle East peace process is in the stalemate, Turkey is sometimes confronted with some extreme positions about its EU future, EU financial crises, etc.

Because of energy recourses, aging of European population, migration flows, ecology, history, etc. a democratic, prosperous and stable Mediterranean is in vital EU interest.

There is strong impression that EU never know exactly hot to effectively address Mediterranean structural imbalances. The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership aimed to attain partnerships in different fields of cooperation from political dialogue to migration management. Next to multilateral Barcelona Process, a pluri-bilateral framework of European Neighbourhood policy has been in effect since 2004.

Besides the inter-governmental regional relations, there are, numerous non-governmental regional actors, cooperating in the fields of human rights, environment, sustainable development, education, inter-cultural dialogue, cultural heritage preservation, sports, youth, arts, scientific co-operation etc.

Within the context of inter-governmental Mediterranean policies and especially the recent months' popular uprising in Arab world, some actors, including EU, have already altered their regional policies towards the Mediterranean area. Arab Spring and Summer has also already evoked many discussions on national and regional democratic transition as well as on comparing and sharing experiences and good practices from post-communist states. The panel was moderated by

**Edward Mortimer, Senior Vice-President and Chief Programme Officer at the Salzburg Global Seminar, Austria**, who first pointed to the increased interest of the international community in political developments in the Southern Mediterranean region this year. He assessed them, but also emphasised provocatively that the Arab Spring would inevitably be followed by Autumn, which, moreover, would be affected by the financial and monetary crisis in the Northern Mediterranean.

**Thorbjørn Jagland, Secretary General of the Council of Europe**, sees current developments in the region as an important global shift in political power. In 1989, on the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution, the international public was certain that there would be no more great revolutions. Moreover, not even last Christmas would anyone have expected the turmoil in the Southern Mediterranean that was to come. It is characteristic of revolutions that they challenge conventional



Edward Mortimer



Thorbjørn Jagland



Přemysl Sobotka



Ambassador Khemaies Jhinaoui

wisdom, and a special feature of this latest one is that the outbreak of discontent – largely due to corrupt systems than to the general human rights situation – took place with the use of social media.

An important difference between the turmoil in Eastern and Central Europe and in the Southern Mediterranean is outlined in the historical background: in the nineties, Europe remembered (pre-war) democracy, while the Southern Mediterranean had no such memories. This is why the building of democratic institutions (including free media, respect for human rights, eradicating corruption, establishing checks and balances between different branches of power) and local control of processes are especially important.

In the broader international context, Jagland expressed hope that Israel would realise that the attitude of the new democracies towards it will largely depend on Israel itself. On the other hand, Islam should also realise that with these new circumstances, it has also been offered an important opportunity.

**Přemysl Sobotka, First Vice-President of the Senate of the Parliament of the Czech Republic**, first emphasised his great personal interest in tackling the critical economic situation in small Mediterranean countries, such as Slovenia, Croatia, Cyprus, and Israel. Sobotka opposes the long-standing passive approach of small countries to the issue of European integration, which has a negative impact on

the economy, ecology, and energy, as well as European security. In his estimation, basic economic principles cannot be eliminated, much as real ecology cannot be eliminated by fundamentalist fanaticism and hysteria against nuclear energy. Current security issues and the issue of combating international terrorism cannot be resolved by remaining passive or even avoiding Euro-Atlantic integration. The freedom of progressive democratic systems ends with a disregard for the real situation, cultural diversity and historical experience in favour of pointless uniformity. The same applies to the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean. Our respect for these two areas of the Mediterranean should also apply to its European part. This is the only way to achieve a unified Mediterranean region of peace and political and economic cooperation. Any instability or unrest can have a negative impact on whole broader region. Therefore, is it not the time for an open debate on the real effects of the Arab Spring on the EU and its relationship with the Arab world?

**Ambassador Khemaies Jhinaoui, State Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Tunisia**, emphasised that the turmoil in the region would also have long-lasting consequences for Europe. In Tunisia, the uprising was not sparked by poverty or economic stagnation. Tunisia has seen economic growth; but the fruits of prosperity were unevenly distributed among the population.

Today, Tunisia faces great challenges. The country is witnessing an “explosion of democracy”. People want results and they want them now. At the same time, the entire region faces the same challenges; thus there is a great need for regional and international awareness of them. The Southern Mediterranean region also needs assistance in the management of the media, political parties, education and employment.

It is time for an innovative approach. Thus far, cooperation between the Southern Mediterranean and Europe has not proven as a great success. The region needs an engine, and this is where Jhinaoui sees Europe having an important role.

With regard to the Middle East Peace Process Jhinaoui stated that now is the moment for the international community to devote itself intensively to the issue again. The Oslo Accords in 1993 raised the hope that a breakthrough was possible, but it has not yet been made.

**Wadie Abunassar, Director of the International Center for Consultations, Israel**, first anecdotally assessed that it would be a miracle if the Middle East Peace Process were to be resolved by agreement between the two sides. However Abunassar emphasised that he is not as pessimistic as his statement might imply. He believes that there is hope. This is also reflected in developments in the Arab world, which

Abunassar sees as a long-term and difficult process. At this moment, we need some kind of damage control. According to Abunassar, there are four important factors: the establishment of inter-religious dialogue between Israel and Palestine; enhanced interaction with those that can influence Israel; enhanced promotion of pluralism by the international community (including the EU); and emphasis on the important role of minorities.

Abunassar underlined that it is premature to speak of a new world order. Abunassar suggests a pragmatic approach by the international community: friendship with Israel; wise negotiations with the Arab world and establishing re-education on both sides.

Abunassar stated that the international community must understand that the situations in Libya, Tunisia, Egypt and Yemen are not alike. Abunassar also said that the violence in Syria would continue for longer than we would hope.



Wadie Abunassar



## THE POWER OF INNOVATION

### Night Owl Session

Massive growth in the global demand for mineral resources is expected to occur as a result of continued population growth and rising standards of living in emerging economies. Europe is largely dependent on other countries for raw materials, putting the economy at risk due to increasing competition for scarce resources.

Some raw minerals and in some cases also energy sources are being increasingly monopolised by single states.

Research and innovation could be the right instrument for identifying new ways of development and for finding sources and technologies to meet future demands. The EU lays great emphasis on this priority, which should transform it into an innovation society.

Innovation is closely related to the issues of intellectual property and its protection, to internationally recognized and accepted system. In this context, intellectual property rights may also be regarded as a response to the risk of losing the sole competitive advantage through technology transfer to countries possessing natural resources.

The problem opens up issues such as quality vs. quantity, developed vs. less developed countries, sustainable environmental policies vs. indifferent ones, etc. The panel was moderated by **Maja Grgič, Journalist at Delo, Slovenia.**

**Ambassador Richard A. Boucher, Deputy Secretary-General of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development,** stated that in future, state bud-

gets will be very limited. There will be few opportunities for budget incentives. A stimulating economic environment is more important for the development of innovations than a purely scientific or technological approach. What is needed is a competitive environment and legislation that does not limit entrepreneurs, accessible loans and markets, and a mentality enabling the development of innovations. This applies, for example, to old companies using new technologies, companies developing low-priced innovations, national tenders, the appropriate structure of public and private investment, and protection of intellectual property. Inequality is one of the issues in emerging, as well as mature markets. We need knowledge, technology, and market incentives, but also equal opportunities.

Boucher also pointed out that the crisis we are going through killed Keynes and Friedman. It did not validate their theories, but considered them dogmas. The only thing that counts is what works. The crisis will teach us what to do to overcome it, but it will not give us long-term answers on what to do next. We must learn what works; we cannot simply think it up. The fact that social policies influence economic ones will have to be studied and taken into consideration better.

**Peter Jungen, President of the European Enterprise Institute, Belgium,** believes that capitalism differs from other systems in its position on innovations. China and



Maja Grgič



Ambassador Richard A. Boucher



Peter Jungen





Asia always produced more than 50% of the world's GDP. This has changed in the last two hundred years due to capitalism and industrialisation in the West. The market economy and capitalism have a bright future ahead: if not in Europe, then in China, India, Brazil and elsewhere. Jungen believes that the driving force of change is entrepreneurship. Profits are generated by innovation, which means that entrepreneurs make innovations possible. The only means for Europe to overcome the crisis is innovation based on the entrepreneurial spirit, not governments and their institutions.

The financing of innovations is of key importance, as are demography and government debt.

In future, the world will be divided into two large groups: economies with low budget growth and high economic and demographic growth, and economies without these; Europe belonging in the latter group. New jobs are mainly created by new companies, which means that without new companies, there will not be any new jobs. However, the real difference is in the financing of innovations, as the US is investing considerably more than Europe. In the US, growth is mainly produced by venture capital-based firms. Young companies should be protected from politicians and bureaucracy.

**Dr Andrea Castronovo, President BMW Group Central and Eastern Europe, Austria**, said that for BMW, innovations are technological solutions and a sustain-

able approach, which is not contrary to profit-making, investments, research and development. Innovations benefit share owners, the company, as well as all employees. BMW is prepared for sustainable mobility in the future, but the government and politicians must ensure legislation that enables appropriate investment and energy policies.

Castronovo stated that Europe is very diverse. Everything revolves around innovation, but speed is also important. Something will have to be done so that the right solutions are adopted and implemented faster.

Castronovo also believes that, above all, innovations should be commercial. If you have an innovation that no-one buys, you have not done anything with it. Even if the consumer does not buy it directly on the market, an innovation increases the total comparative value of the product.

Politicians should manage the distribution of wealth without indebting future generations. The principal challenge should be how to create wealth for future social distribution without borrowing.

**Jan Mühlfeit, Chairman Europe Microsoft Corporation, Czech Republic**, believes that innovations enable exponential growth in efficiency. Technology is becoming the most important society-changing factor and will also bring a fundamental change in the nature of politics, the economy and society. Facebook is the third larg-

est country in the world. Technology and innovations will completely change mainly the way in which things are done. Software and high technology, not consumption and financial services, are the real driving forces of development and the basis for the 're-industrialisation' of national economies, which is proven by the German economic miracle.

The digital paradox is that the more technology there is in a society, the more important is the human brain and talent. Computers have become logically superior to people. We can only compete by being creative and innovative, as technology will become a generally available good. This is why education and the innovation process, together with technology, are essential. Last year, Chinese students scored best in the world for the first time since mathematical, reading and science skills have been measured. In ten years' time, at least two out of the ten best universities in the world will be Chinese. The European education system is killing the entrepreneurial spirit of European children. The system has not changed for the last two hundred years. Global connectedness is also causing global competition. Europe needs an inner incentive for growth, a start-up mentality, which can be achieved with an appropriate education system.



## THE EU AND CHINA: STRATEGIC PARTNERS AND COMPETITORS

Panel A

China and the EU have already developed cooperation in all fields. The EU is China's major export market and China is Europe's second trading partner. China has been a supporter of the euro area, and the EU supports China's stable development with investment and technology.

A strategic dialogue between the EU and China was established last year as a new tool of EU-China partnership. Both of them have commitments and responsibilities regarding the international security and stability and must work hard to deliver them. In this respect, the EU-China relations transcend bilateral framework and take on a global dimension.

In a rapidly changing and interdependent world, the EU and China play a key role in providing an effective international response to issues such as the financial crisis and its economic repercussions, climate change, human rights, green technologies, energy and food security, proliferation of WMD, regional issues, etc.

The EU and China are both undergoing intensive transformation due to the EU 2020 Strategy and China's 12th Five-Year Plan, and are at different stages of economic and social development. Both strategic documents identify some structural weaknesses and intensified global challenges regarding which EU's and China's strategic formal conclusions are similar - the need for sustainable development. The panel was

moderated by **Dr Gustaaf Geeraerts, Director of the Brussels Institute of Contemporary China Studies, Belgium**, who first outlined the strategic relations between the EU and China that are also relevant to the rest of the world, such as the financial crisis, climate change, human rights etc. The cooperation is based on mutual responsibility and respect, although relations are increasingly competitive owing to China's ascent. The system is gaining in complexity because there has been a shift of distribution of capabilities and identities. Every single change brings new opportunities; we therefore wish to determine the main future challenges and opportunities of EU-China relations and anticipate their influence on the partnership.

**Fu Ying, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China**, emphasised that we have to understand EU-China relations and find the courage to strengthen them. Fu believes that mutual trust and equality have to be promoted. The EU has been an important partner for China from its reform implementation onwards; relations have been growing stronger, and in the past thirty years, trade increased from \$2 billion to \$500 billion.

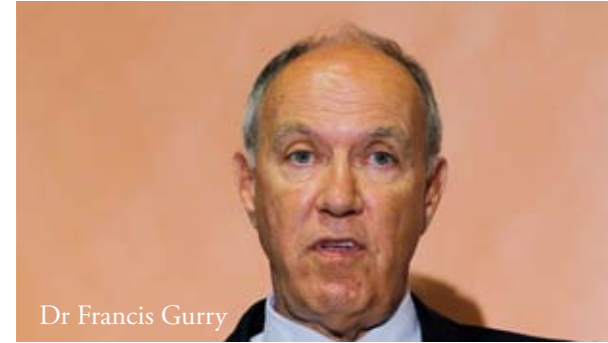
From the political standpoint, China is an important partner of the EU. More attention should be directed to peace which, despite some obstacles, is becoming a global tendency. China perceives Europe as a force for



Dr Gustaaf Geeraerts



Fu Ying



Dr Francis Gurry



Prof Zhou Hong

peace; the two do not have fundamental conflicts. It believes in multiculturalism and the need for promoting development and tackling climate change. As for development planning, China and the EU also have some things in common: the EU with the Europe 2020 strategy, and China with its five-year plans. They both advocate sustainable development, thus creating many opportunities for joint action.

The main challenges in EU-China relations are political rejection and lack of trust. EU-China relations are excellent in the economy, but weaker in the political sphere. Although the EU anticipates more Chinese investments, it becomes hesitant when they happen. China advocates equal treatment, but the presence of the EU in the Chinese market is stronger than vice versa. There is a contradiction: the EU perceives China as its main trading partner, but does not recognise it as a market economy.

**Dr Francis Gurry, Director General of the World Intellectual Property Organization**, pointed to the fact that intellectual property rights and technological cooperation are among the most important areas of EU-China relations. China is the second largest investor in education, and the number of published scientific studies is rising sharply. It has more and more excellent researchers, and promotes competition and economic capacities. In the future, intellectual property rights will

be a basis for competition, the result being in different economic relations and increased competitiveness. Changes in these relations will also influence strategic partnership. They will become more complex, and the interdependence of interests will also increase; all this can strengthen strategic relations that could even go beyond the North-South division.

Gurry assessed that the international community has been successful in adopting regulations, which is not the case for their implementation. Gurry pointed to the fact that China had contributed significant inventions to the humanity (such as print, gunpowder and compass), changing the world in the past and future. Due to increasing interdependence, China could take its share, for instance, in ensuring food.

**Prof Zhou Hong, General Director of the Institute of European Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China**, established that the 'practical relations' between the EU and China are increasingly strong - for example, in trade. The number of student exchanges is rising; likewise cooperation in various joint science projects, culture and human rights. Unfortunately, changes of mentality do not follow this dynamic, and 'intellectual relations' have not yet reached the same level. Europe's idea of China is not objective enough, which raises the following question: what is Europe afraid of? Perhaps it fears that relations would become further

complicated and extend their influence to economic cooperation. Although the EU and China have established numerous formal dialogues, there are not enough people to hold them. EU investments in China are vast, whereas Chinese investments in the EU are not. Why is China among the smaller investors in Europe? Europeans should not be concerned about the 'Chinese threat'. In order to overcome this obstacle, discussions will have to be more sincere. There are two conflicting opinions. China is aware of the fact that our histories and collective memories are different. In the EU, tradition is perceived negatively owing to the Reformation. Due to foreign exercises, there has been a rupture in Chinese tradition, but the country aims to re-establish it. Despite the differences, the two sides have points of common interest - for example, in supporting peace. Modern trends bring us closer together, and we have to cooperate accordingly. Logic and talk will not suffice; the two partners have to treat each other equally.

**Ambassador Viorel Isticioaia Budura, Managing Director for Asia and Pacific, European External Action Service**, began his opening presentation with the interdependence of the EU and China, which established a strategic partnership in 2003 and signed several agreements. The obstacles from the past will have to be overcome, the lifting of the existing arms embargo and recognition of China as a market economy. The EEAS

will harmonise European foreign policy, including relations with China. We are now creating a new history. The strategic partnership will enhance bilateral relations with individual members; the EU and the EEAS are now ready to continue building it. It is vital that the EU relations with China be unified and effective. The EEAS aims at enhancing individual bilateral relations, the main challenge being to overcome the differences between particular members.

Budura concluded that there are three pillars of strategic partnership. The first pillar is embodied by high-level dialogue, further enhanced by the visit of the President of the European Council to China, and the new position held by the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs. The latter initiated the strategic dialogue with Mr Dai Bingguo, the Chinese partner, which took place for the second time this year. Global actors have to harmonise their ideas. The second pillar is represented by economic relations - after decades of Europe entering the Chinese market, the trend is now reversing. Although the third pillar is a symbol of the relations between people, some concrete forms of cooperation are already underway to further enhance them.



Ambassador Viorel Isticioaia Budura



## THE POWER OF SMALLER STATES IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS

### Panel B

The role of smaller states in global affairs is becoming ever more visible. In recent years, they have emerged as important players in the international community. Their influence is not determined merely by the size of their territory, economy or military power, but also by their ability to achieve their goals. Smaller states with challenging ideas, positive visions and the courage to make new proposals can have a considerable influence on international affairs, either on their own or through cooperation in various coalitions.

Some say that the role of smaller states in the international community is limited and that they have a major power deficit. However, they can have an impact in international relations. Their proactive role can be based on different approaches to their activities abroad, either through multilateral diplomacy or bilateral cooperation. Wisely designed foreign policy priorities and active participation in decision-making can result in more visibility and influence for smaller states.

International organisations enable smaller states to participate in decision-making procedures as equal partners. Smaller states play an important role in the United Nations, as they represent a large majority of the membership. However, there is still some scepticism. Some say that smaller states have less influence in international forums than great powers, which still make the most important decisions.

The panel was moderated by **Pia Hansson, Director of the Institute of International Affairs and Centre for Small States Studies, Iceland**, who believes that the importance of the power of smaller states is increasing, as there are numerous countries that could be labelled as such. All countries are smaller than China. The criteria for classifying countries are various - for example, area, population etc. Sometimes classification is only a matter of perception. Hansson summed up the debate saying that smaller countries have to set an example in order to be influential and act at the regional level. They rely primarily on multilateral institutions, the rule of law, human rights and democracy.

**Alfredo Moreno Charme, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Chile**, first stated that the modern international community is marked by globalisation and interdependence among its members. Multilateral diplomacy is increasingly important in the international community. In international fora, each country has a vote, which influences on the security of smaller states that are unable to rely solely on their diplomacy and armed forces.

Relying on multilateral organisations and international law does not ensure relevance in international relations – this can only be established by taking firm decisions that influence political and economic policies. No smaller country lacking a strong democracy, sound



Pia Hansson



Alfredo Moreno Charme



Dr Aurelia Frick



José Luis Rocha

public finances and an effective development strategy can play a relevant role in international relations. Smaller states have to be transparent and responsible, as this is the only way to preserve a credible role in regional and global affairs. Their potential can be used best by focusing on individual priority areas and affairs where they can be successful. Charme also said that every opportunity has to be seized, as they are scarce compared to those of larger states; the price to pay for missing an opportunity is higher and more far-reaching. Regional groups can be useful for smaller states. The fact is that efficiency can be achieved through actions within multilateral organisations. A country has to support multilateral organisations and agreements to promote its interests at a global level. All smaller states share the same interest in global decisions being taken in multilateral forums and not by larger states alone.

**Dr Aurelia Frick, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Principality of Liechtenstein**, believes that although size is a limitation, it also provides many opportunities. Liechtenstein strives to gain added value in the international community. To this end, clear priorities and areas have to be determined. The strategy of Liechtenstein is to be regarded as a responsible and active partner. The key lies in a clear definition of priorities: the rule of law, human rights and international solidar-

ity. Liechtenstein has eight embassies, which illustrates how important it is to clearly define the country's presence and activities in those countries. Liechtenstein is a credible partner which, owing to its neutrality and small size, has no political interests and thus acts as a mediator between various groups.

Our country pays great attention to multilateral platforms, as they enable better use of the available resources. Frick believes that smaller states are not arrogant. They possess other forms of power, not only influence. However, we are under the pressure and influence of larger states. Sometimes we are an easy target, as we lack the protection that larger countries have, and yet we can change things. We can, and we do, promote our interests.

Being small does not necessarily entail having the same interests. The relationship with regional integration varies, and the formation of such relationships does not depend on a country's size. The best way to promote the interests of smaller states is through multilateral organisations in which like-minded countries can be united in order to become more visible and taken into account.

**José Luis Rocha, State Secretary at the Ministry of External Relations of Cape Verde**, first stated that Cape Verde is a small country. It is part of the global society, since one and half million Cape Verdeans live abroad.

Cape Verde has three foreign policy goals: affirmation of the global nation around the world, the promotion of peace and global and regional security, and protection of economic interests.

The country has the power of a good example at the regional and global levels and the power of mutual accountability. With participation in global and regional multilateral organisations, Cape Verde acts transparently and responsibly and illustrates the principle of mutual responsibility.

Rocha believes that size is relevant if we consider the fact that the country has regular and close relations both with international organisations and other countries. In international relations theory, the power of smaller states is not a matter of realistic or idealistic categories. Such states are pragmatic, given that their intention is to survive. Setting a good example is also a matter of pragmatism. All countries benefit from the cooperation between them. Smaller size can be useful as well. Regional organisations do not necessarily signify geographic proximity. There are three types of international organisations: universal, regional and cultural. Smaller states can mediate between two countries on the basis of their relations with them. Smaller states have to think globally and act locally, take care of their own interests and protect joint ones.



## RESTORING AFGHANISTAN

### Panel C

The aim of the international community is the construction of an Afghan state that is able to govern and secure itself. On the one hand, the Afghan state is sometimes perceived as an administrative failure, blighted by corruption, a proliferating drug trade, presidential elections, and lack of vision for the future of the country among the leadership. On the other hand, the Afghans have legitimate complaints regarding the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) owing to excessive civilian casualties, the high-handedness of contractors, and the failure to rein in Pakistan's support for the Taliban.

In the light of substantial defence budget cuts and the negative public perception of NATO regarding the war in Afghanistan, Europe will be even less able to preserve the capacity to operate outside the continent. Demands on the US as a security provider remain great, and are even growing in some regions. However, America's ability to meet these demands is rapidly diminishing and is unlikely to recover. The panel was moderated by **Mjuša Sever, Director of Regional Dialogue, Slovenia.**

**Mahbouba Seraj, Women's Rights Advocate, Member of the Afghan Women Network Working Committee and Director of Soraya Mashal Consulting, Afghanistan,** believes that the quality of life in Afghanistan has not improved considerably in the past

ten years. The Afghan people do not know what it is to live in peace. Ten years ago, they were hopeful; today, they face an uncertain future. They are concerned about the period after 2014, when the international community is to withdraw. The latter perceives Afghanistan as a very difficult issue. Women are particularly concerned, as they fear they will lose the rights they have acquired. Even though it is a complex relationship – owing to Afghanistan's alliance with the US – cooperation between Afghanistan and Iran is vital, especially because of the number of Afghan refugees. Relations with neighbouring countries are even more problematic because of narcotics trafficking across Afghanistan's borders. To the rest of the world, ethnic differences seem problematic, but they are not, and should thus not cause difficulties. International forces, such as NATO and the US, should not act as 'occupying forces', since this undermines the support of the local population.

**Dr Ljubica Jelusič, Minister of Defence of the Republic of Slovenia,** explained the reasons for NATO's presence in Afghanistan: the appeal by the UN to provide assistance to the country (according to the UN Charter, countries are responsible for preserving international peace and security) and the willingness of NATO members to help. In the past, attempts to stabilise Afghanistan relied solely on a military approach,



Mjuša Sever



Mahbouba Seraj



Dr Ljubica Jelusič



Ambassador Francesc Vendrell



Prof Dr Sarfraz Khan

and for this reason, both Great Britain and the Soviet Union failed. The Afghan people have always responded by taking up arms. Jelušič explained that only combat units would withdraw in 2014 – the international community as such would remain in the country and continue to provide development assistance. However, patience is crucial. In the now relatively stable Western Balkans, the international community has been present for twenty years, whereas in Afghanistan, it has been present for ten. In democracy building, the international community should pay more attention to the Afghan people. Jelušič pointed out the Declaration on an Enduring Partnership between Afghanistan and NATO signed at the Summit in Lisbon which anticipates further assistance from NATO for military training for the Afghan security forces. One must take into account the role of non-NATO members who contribute troops to ISAF. The UN should also play a more important role in Afghanistan.

**Both, Ambassador Francesc Vendrell, Former UN and EU Special Representative for Afghanistan,** and Mahbouba Seraj argued that the Afghan people are now less hopeful than ten years ago. Vendrell believes that the international community has made several mistakes in Afghanistan: the limited extent of the UN's engagement in Afghanistan; the ill-defined goals of the intervention and strategies for their achievement; less attention

devoted to Afghanistan owing to Iraq; erroneous ideas regarding Pakistan; unfair elections and the actions of international armed forces. Vendrell remains optimistic and is convinced that Afghanistan can achieve progress. Combating the narcotics trade in Afghanistan depends greatly on the actions of the US, but the focus of the US on this issue is inconsistent. On the other hand, the EU does not wish to oppose the US. Several EU Member States are convinced that any involvement of the EU in Afghanistan should first be approved by the US. Developing countries should provide support in order to consolidate the role of the UN. A UN Special Envoy should be appointed in order to find a political solution and negotiate with the Taliban. Vendrell stated that the US is not in favour of this proposal. It would be useful if the Taliban could open a liaison office, preferably in a third country. In seeking reconciliation, agreements should be made within Afghanistan (the search for inner political consensus) and in the region (agreements with individual countries prior to a joint regional conference). A Friends of Afghanistan group should also be established at three levels (state, parliamentary, and civil society or NGOs).

**Prof Dr Sarfraz Khan, Director of the Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar, Pakistan,** believes that the reasons for the present situation both in Afghanistan and Pakistan lie in the 1970s, when the West

made the wrong choice in supporting dictatorships instead of democratic forces in the two countries. This has led to terrorism. Khan outlined that the conflicts in the region originate outside Pakistan, even though this country is involved in them. The Pakistani people only want peace. It will take much more effort to eliminate organisations that promote terrorism in the region. Khan envisages that the region will remain unstable in the coming years, especially if the countries of the region do not establish mutual trust and assist in restoring Afghanistan.



## WHAT IS NEXT FOR THE BALKANS? RESPONSIBILITY, POWER TO PROGRESS, PERSPECTIVES Panel D

At a time when other economic priorities and turmoil in the Mediterranean tend to attract the attention of European leaders, it is important for the Western Balkans to maintain the momentum of positive Euro-Atlantic dynamics. Despite the popular phrase about "enlargement fatigue", the Thessaloniki commitments remain relevant and binding. Keeping enlargement perspectives alive is not the responsibility solely of EU Member States or the European Commission; Western Balkan countries can overcome the reservations of Eurosceptics with an engaged and constructive approach to the reform processes required and with mature regional relations. The responsibility for opening the EU towards the Western Balkans in order to integrate the remaining part of South-East Europe into the EU lies on both sides.

A glance at the headlines shows that there is potential to create more good news from the Balkans. Political elites in the region should be empowered and inspired to maintain the pace of reforms and to make progress on implementing the criteria. European integration is not a goal per se – the goals are to create a better future for citizens, improve economic, financial and social systems, modernise administrations and set higher standards regarding the rule of law and protection of human rights. Responsibility for the well-being and prospects of its citizens is in the hands of local political elites.

Croatia, on the doorstep to full membership of the EU, and Montenegro with its strong commitment to the reform process, are setting examples to the region of how to achieve those goals. Nevertheless, much effort and many compromises, political will and consensus are needed by other Western Balkans countries. Courage is required to bite the bullet of the contested past and create prosperous relations between countries in the region.

All-inclusive and active regional cooperation leading to a new level of trust and constructive atmosphere is the region's best response to the fading support for enlargement in EU Member States. Integration in other key fields may be achieved long before EU membership, especially in areas of cooperation essential for the region's development (for example, in transport, energy, communications etc). Many common challenges may be addressed effectively through joint efforts and an inclusive regional approach. In short, "We all need one another".

The panel was moderated by **Tim Judah, Balkans Correspondent for The Economist, United Kingdom**, who in his introductory remarks, outlined the importance of cooperation and assistance of the European partners for the successful implementation of reforms in the region. At the same time, the EU has to sustain interest in the European enlargement process. He assessed that economic cooperation between







Vuk Jeremić



Milan Roćen



Dr Valentin Inzko

the former Yugoslav countries was very positive, and pointed to some critical issues in the countries of the region, particularly the lack of progress in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the issue of media freedom, and the European perspective of Serbia with regard to the recent message conveyed in Belgrade by the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel.

**Vuk Jeremić, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia**, stated that Serbia has great expectations. From a historical point of view, the region of the Western Balkans has always been exposed to triangular geopolitics, namely, pressure from the West, East and Southeast. The present generation has a historic opportunity to break this pattern by joining the European integration process. Jeremić believes that enthusiasm for enlargement is waning. If the enlargement process stops after Croatia has joined the EU, the region will receive a very negative message. If the requirements for Serbia's membership of the EU are too strict, it will paralyse the country. History shows that the situation in the Balkans has never been completely stable - it either progresses or regresses. Regression, however, could jeopardise the stability of the region, for which the international community is also responsible. Jeremić touched upon regional cooperation and assessed it as an important element of stability. In relation to Kosovo, Jeremić stated that Serbia is committed to the

principle of diplomatic and peaceful conflict resolution, pointing out that for the first time in the history of the Balkans, a country is aiming to resolve delicate issues in a peaceful manner.

**Milan Roćen, Minister of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of Montenegro**, pointed out that growing nationalism among younger generations is a problem in the region. More attention should be devoted to the education system and new textbooks in order to encourage a spirit of tolerance, along the lines of the Franco-German model. The region should receive the attention of Brussels because of excellent work and good examples, and not because of problems and conflicts. The countries themselves are responsible for positive neighbourly cooperation. Montenegro is aware that no one will turn a blind eye as it qualifies for EU membership. In this regard, Montenegro can profit from the experience and good practice of Slovenia and Croatia. In Montenegro, all political and civil structures take part in the European process, which is particularly important for smaller states. Roćen expects that this year's progress report by the European Commission will be positive and that Montenegro will take a further step towards the EU.

**Dr Valentin Inzko, High Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina**, outlined that one year after the parliamentary elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina a new

government has not yet been formed, although this may happen soon.

Sixteen years after the Dayton Agreement, the region is developing, and all the countries are drawing closer to the EU, particularly Croatia. It is only a matter of time before the Western Balkan countries join the EU. In relation to the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Inzko pointed to the moral and political responsibility of the international community towards the situation in the country and domestic responsibility and vision for development. Serbia and Montenegro are aware of the importance and necessity of the reforms required to qualify for EU membership. To this end, the new government of Bosnia and Herzegovina will also have to be determined. Local politics will have to determine the country's future by 2020. Bosnia and Herzegovina is rich in natural and human resources, thus constituting a solid basis for a bright future if turned to its advantage.

**Jan Fischer, Vice President Operational Policies, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development**, pointed out regional and cross-border cooperation through transport and energy projects as opportunities for development and stronger relations between the countries of the region. The current economic situation is far from stable. According to Fischer, Europe seems defeated by the economic and financial crisis. Fischer believes that the core of the problem in Europe is in the

lack of foresight and fresh ideas, as well as the ageing of the population. The latter is an important challenge for Europe, as it cannot be postponed. Fisher also pointed out that in order to tackle the crisis and stimulate economic development, the following steps should be taken: improve the business environment and education; promote an open economy; improve competitiveness; invest in research, development and innovation, and establish stronger science-industry interface.

**Prof Dr Aleš Debeljak, Professor at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia**, emphasised that, within the historical and sociological framework of the Western Balkans, European integration is difficult in the new, historically and ethnically diverse former Yugoslav countries due to opposing requirements: to function simultaneously as European nation states and multi-ethnic and multicultural societies. Newly-established nation states formed after the violent conflicts in the former Yugoslavia find cooperation difficult, since they face new barriers created during the dissolution, as opposed to the trends linking the 'old' European nation states in the West. Debeljak believes that cultural and artistic links assist in overcoming these barriers.



Jan Fischer



Prof Dr Aleš Debeljak



## FOOD SECURITY – A REFLECTION OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY

### Panel E

More than one billion people – one in every six human beings – suffer from hunger and malnutrition. More than six million children die every year from hunger-related diseases before their fifth birthday, and the number of undernourished people has reached about one billion; all this on a planet that could produce enough food to feed twelve billion people, or twice the world's present population.

The world population will grow from almost seven billion now to over nine billion in 2050, so the question is how to produce more food more efficiently both globally and at the regional and national levels. There is a need for a 50-70 per cent increase in global food supplies in the next 40 years, which is a realistic target, according to scientists.

Climate change is causing the desertification of large areas of the world, leading to poverty, starvation and civil unrest – food prices have been a factor in the unrest in North Africa and the Middle East. The resulting loss of 2.5 billion USD of agricultural production in 2010/11 will exert significant pressure on food prices, increasing poverty and food insecurity for millions. Drought due to reduced rainfall resulted in major crop failures around the world in 2010, forcing those who could not cultivate enough food or earn enough to sustain themselves.

According to the current UN Special Rapporteur on the right to food, small-scale farmers can double food production within ten years in critical regions by using ecological methods instead of chemical fertilisers. Agro-ecological projects have shown an average crop

yield increase of 80 per cent in 57 countries, with an average increase of 116 per cent for all African projects. Recent projects conducted in 20 African countries demonstrated a doubling of crop yields over a period of 3-10 years.

Hunger is a political issue, not just a technical problem. The panel was moderated by **Dr Nadya Zhexembayeva, Coca-Cola Chair of Sustainable Development at the IEDC-Bled School Management and Vice-President of the UN Global Compact Slovenia, Slovenia**, who stated that several aspects are essential to food security: good governance, the political and legislative dimensions, engaging the political leadership, and technological development. Zhexembayeva regrets that food security has not yet been discussed at the multilateral level at the UN Security Council. Food security should also be more publicised in the media, and not only discussed when it becomes a pressing issue. Zhexembayeva believes that food security is closely related to water and environmental issues. It is also connected to economic aspects, particularly in the capacity to distribute food. Food security is comprised of several levels which have been thoroughly defined in debates and have to be carefully studied in order to adequately tackle the issue. These levels are related to eradicating poverty, the need for investment in agriculture, ensuring needed and effective technologies, the role of legislative powers, political will and adequate political leadership, as well as trade issues.



Dr. Nadya Zhexembayeva



Valentine Rugwabiza

**Valentine Rugwabiza, Deputy Director-General of the World Trade Organization**, emphasised that food security is high on the WTO's agenda, stating that the numbers of hungry and undernourished people in the world are worrying, particularly when taking into consideration the fact that at the same time, numerous people live in abundance. Rugwabiza underlined the pressing situation in the Horn of Africa, where the causes of drought will need to be resolved and food security will need to be ensured for all people. In previous decades, Africa was a major exporter of food. Now, ensuring food security in Africa is one of the key issues facing countries. There is potential for greater food production, but it is hindered by other factors. Rugwabiza believes that trade is further deepening the vulnerability of the population. However, it is only one component of food security and it enables a balance between supply and demand. The WTO is striving to remove restrictive measures on exports and is calling for investment in agriculture and food production.

Rugwabiza stated that food security should be everyone's priority and raised the question of whether the expansion of the middle class can be sustainable. At the same time, research is needed into where food production could be increased. Investment will need to be directed at agriculture again, which will improve the efficiency of home food production. Another issue is avoiding food protectionism.

**Ambassador Manuel Domingos Augusto, State Secretary at the Ministry of External Relations of the Republic of Angola**, presented the endeavours of the Angolan government in dealing with the food security issue. Its consequences are no longer merely local, but global; solutions are therefore required at the global level. They need new political and economic guidelines. The private sector and rural population are included in the implementation of these policies. This is the approach adopted by the Angolan government, which is based on encouraging bank financing to boost rural development, and establishing local and regional markets to ensure more effective food distribution. Furthermore, food aid needs to be suspended in order to stimulate the rural population to produce food. Domingos Augusto also emphasised the importance of regional cooperation and regional strategies in this regard.

Domingos Augusto said that local issues need to be tackled at the regional level. In Angola, various programmes have been drafted. Now, discipline will have to be maintained. To ensure food security, adequate infrastructure is also required, but Angola does not have it. For this reason, Domingos Augusto emphasised the importance of technical and development cooperation. At the multilateral level, the discussion on food security will have to be strengthened, as the issue is mainly discussed only when it is actually too late. More preventive debates in relevant multilateral forums are needed.

**Dr José Humberto de Brito Cruz, Senior Advisor at the Policy Planning Unit at the Ministry of External Relations of the Federative Republic of Brazil**, began by stating that it is unfortunate that food security is being discussed in today's world, but we are forced into this by the state of affairs. The key food security issue is not food availability, but access to food, as it is not accessible to a large part of the population due to high prices. Throughout history, the food security issue has pushed Brazil into a contradiction. For many years, it was a leading producer and exporter of food, but it now faces an unimaginable percentage of hungry and undernourished people. De Brito Cruz emphasised two good Brazilian practices in ensuring food security. With the 'Zero Hunger' programme launched by the Brazilian president in 2003, the eradication of hunger has become the country's main priority. The Brazilian government ensured that the poor population has access to food. Mothers thus receive a special card enabling them to purchase food (on condition that their children are vaccinated and enrolled in school). Micro-credits also support the development of family agriculture. However, in implementing these measures, the Brazilian government has been mindful of the environmental effects and the need for agricultural research.

De Brito Cruz said that food security is not exclusively a national issue. Work must be done locally and measures need to be taken globally. Part of the problem is

also food protectionism. Development cooperation is of key significance for certain regions.

**Jerome C. Glenn, Executive Director of the Millennium Project, United States of America**, first pointed to the issue of food prices. According to him, the reasons for high food prices, which also influence food security negatively, are the increase in population; increasing overabundance in certain regions; diversification of use of cereals; land erosion; the loss of cultivatable areas; higher costs of fertilisers; market speculation; the decline of pollination and bee die-offs; the drastic depletion of global food reserves; climate change; the depletion of drinking water reserves; the frequency and magnitude of meteorological disasters; the lengthening and transformation of seasons; the melting of glaciers; and the rise of sea levels.

All of these reasons must be challenged in order for food prices to normalise. Glenn believes that the answer is to be found in technological solutions, such as salt-water agriculture. It has been established that a large number of crops can be grown with salt water; such food production could therefore be useful in coastal areas and would not depend on levels of rainfall or other environmental aspects. A further solution is to radically change livestock farming, which in itself is one of the largest environmental polluters. Alternative methods of livestock farming will have to be undertaken.

Glenn emphasised that action needs to be taken at the local level and gradually extended upwards.



Dr José Humberto de Brito Cruz



Jerome C. Glenn



## WHAT WILL POWER THE FUTURE?

### Panel F

World energy demand is expected to increase by 40 per cent by 2030. A major share of this increase will occur in developing countries. At present, fossil fuels account for over 70 per cent of the global energy needs, and future energy demands will be met predominately by an increased use of fossil fuels. Oil consumption will increase from 85 million barrels per day in 2008 to 105 in 2030.

Emissions from fossil fuel combustion are considered the primary cause of climate change. To achieve economic growth while reducing carbon emissions requires the restructuring of the global economy. The green economy is a new development paradigm intended to achieve a low carbon and energy-efficient economy.

A transition from fossil fuels to renewable energy is the cornerstone of the green economy. However, it is unrealistic to expect that renewable sources of energy could meet energy demands in the near future, especially with the goal of achieving peak global emissions by 2015.

Nuclear power is often seen as a bridging technology to a low carbon economy; while not renewable, it has a low carbon footprint and is also considered economically efficient. However, in the aftermath of the accident at the Fukushima nuclear plant, many countries are reconsidering their nuclear policy, and public opinion will prob-

ably be against the building of new nuclear facilities. The panel was moderated by **Miroslav Gregorič, Consultant, Former Section Head in the Office of Nuclear Security at the International Atomic Energy Agency and Former Director of Slovenian Nuclear Safety Administration, Slovenia**, who said that in the future, a full energy mix and energy efficiency will be needed. Nuclear energy remains relevant, but it will be more expensive, due to additional safety and security measures. The fast-growing economies are also interested in renewables. Energy is connected to innovation, which is illustrated by the development of the use of renewables. Carbon capture and storage is a future option for cleaner coal use, which will require technological innovation. Politicians alone cannot implement changes; they need stronger motivation from voters, and governmental and non-governmental organisations.

**Ambassador Richard H. Jones, Deputy Executive Director of the International Energy Agency**, first said that we have to define the time frame of the future. Population growth will increase energy consumption in the field of the economy. However, new technologies and innovations contribute to efficient energy use.

Jones said that there is no real alternative to fossil fuels. Their efficient consumption is thus increasingly important. Technological innovations have promoted natural gas as an alternative to coal. It is positive that



Miroslav Gregorič



Ambassador Richard H. Jones



Dr Doug Arent



Dr Plinio Nastari

the use of renewables is on the rise, particularly in Europe. Nevertheless, this does not change much at the global level.

All available energy resources will be necessary in the future. Although renewables are taking the lead in Europe, this is not the case in India and China. Earlier, we said that all energy resources should be used. But for some countries, the use of particular kinds of resources is more rational. The technology and knowledge available are considerable compared to other areas, and we should start using them, as they are the cheapest option. There are no good or bad energy resources, as each of them has some advantages and disadvantages. Energy should be used more efficiently and wisely; cleaner and safer energy resources should be developed in order to contribute to economic development and the creation of new jobs. The world demand for energy will increase and we thus need new solutions. Governments will not get involved unless the population provides an initiative.

**Dr Doug Arent, Executive Director of the Joint Institute for Strategic Energy Analysis, United States of America**, said that greenhouse gases are not the only factor influencing the environment. We should also consider the use of space, the effects on water resources and the environment in the case of natural disasters etc. Power consumption is improving both at the level of

users and energy systems. The issue of nuclear power should be considered from the political perspective and from the perspective of individual states. Global and local responses may differ. Although renewable resources comprise only a small portion of global energy, 60 per cent of new energy resources come from renewables.

Change is inevitable, but policies will have to be able to move in the right direction. The system is very large, and it will take time to change it, although consciousness of this is rising.

The 4 per cent global rise in food prices was caused by biomass production for biofuel. At first, some policies promoting biofuel production provoked negative consequences, such as deforestation, harmful monocultures, etc.

Energy can be saved through intelligent and less expensive planning and construction. The efficiency of the global energy system will have to double by 2050. Energy should be separated from economic development with smart and strategic planning of buildings, transport, electrical wiring etc. There are also numerous technological possibilities.

**Dr Plinio Nastari, President and Founder of DATA-GRO, Brazil**, stated that there is an increasing awareness about clean and sustainable energy. The biomass, one of the most 'democratic' forms of energy, has great potential. At the global level, the use of oil and gas will

increase in the future, owing to the rising standards in the developing countries. Biofuel is sustainable if obtained correctly and from the right biomass. It can be produced in an environmentally friendly way, using very little land and energy, but it is mostly derived from grain, which is not sustainable. Biogas has even more potential. There are good and relatively simple technologies, and many unexploited possibilities. Biomass has great potential to be cleaner and cheaper from fossil fuels. What is more, it is an industry that could create many new jobs.

Recent research shows that there is almost no connection between rising food prices and the use of biomass for biofuel and biogas. The only exception is bioethanol production in the US, which caused higher prices of corn and some other individual kinds of food. Food production in the countries implementing sustainable biofuel and biogas production has risen and become more effective. China, India and Africa - with extensive farmland - produce great amounts of biowaste which could be used for biofuel. We need more vision and political will to create an environment ready to develop biomass use.



## YOUNG BSF THE WESTERN BALKANS IN 2020 – IN THE EYES OF TWENTY-YEAR-OLDS

### Round Table A

The disintegration of Yugoslavia marked the beginning of the economic, legal and political transformation of the Western Balkan countries. Twenty years since the beginning of the disintegration, the political landscape in the Western Balkans has changed dramatically. There is great interest among the Western Balkan countries in joining the EU as soon as possible.

Younger generations from the Western Balkans are dealing with similar problems that have been plaguing their countries in transition. They are the link between the different nations, and also the people who are shaping a better world for tomorrow. Some of them do not remember Yugoslavia, as they were not even born at the time of its disintegration. However, the younger generations across the Western Balkans are aware of its disintegration, since its impact still influences their life (the life of ordinary citizens and their leading decision makers).

This panel was an opportunity for twenty-year-olds from various parts of the Western Balkans to come together to discuss the future of the region, to explore its challenges and opportunities, to exchange experiences and discuss their implications for the future, and to see beyond current ideas, solutions and visions. They were given a chance to assume responsibility for their future and take the lead in building the democratic societies necessary for EU integration.

The panel was moderated by **Dr Erhard Busek, President of the European Forum Alpbach, Austria**, who

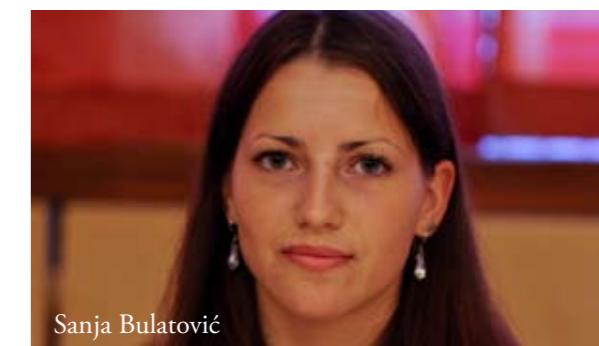
opened the panel by addressing the question of the future and the role of Balkan countries in it. Busek's answer was: "They are here!" Later on, Busek referred to this statement when talking about the position and role of the Western Balkans in the 2020 perspective and in the evolving Europe.

**Sanja Bulatović, Graduate in International Relations from the Faculty of Political Science, University of Montenegro, Montenegro**, stated that when she was born, the political structure of the Western Balkans was not as it is today. However, with the war in the 1990s, the area became highly important in political terms. The war broke the traditional links between different nations in the former Yugoslavia. Bulatović acknowledged the importance of the EU, but also mentioned that political stability and economic prosperity are the real goals for ex-Yugoslav countries. "The EU is not a cure", Bulatović explained. There are also some other cooperation initiatives in the region that can enhance the real goals of the area.

Bulatović pointed out that a multi-cultural multi-identity state is the only solution. All nationalities need to co-exist. As to the EU in 2020, the answer is that the EU may resolve accession issues for the countries of the Western Balkans; however, both certain countries and the region as whole need to take their own steps. It is interesting that the people from the Western Balkans would like an 'EU lifestyle'; however, they fail to do as much as they should.



Dr Erhard Busek



Sanja Bulatović



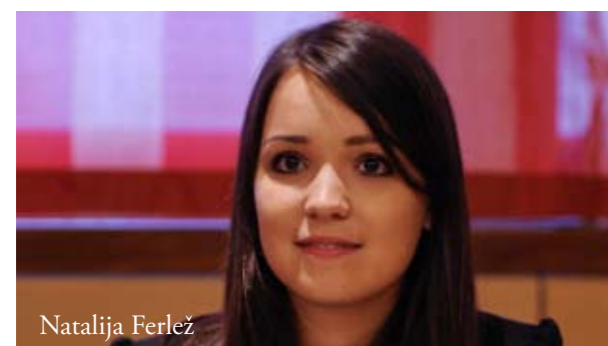
Emina Bužinkić

**Emina Bužinkić, Secretary General of the Croatian Youth Network, Croatia**, began by stating that there is no future without the past. Some issues need to be addressed by taking a step back in order to take two steps forward in the future. Bužinkić offered a solution – dealing with past perspectives by considering a multi-layered approach from the young generation, who will know how to re-establish connections between the nations of the Western Balkans. As to the EU, Bužinkić said that it should not be a goal in itself, but rather a means to an end.



Amra Džaferović

Bužinkić raised the question of whether people knew enough about the EU in general. EU issues in education are not at the top of the agenda, which blurs the public's opinions. There are also some widespread discriminatory issues in the European labour market. 'However, the EU is not an answer'. On the other hand, pluralistic society is a necessity.



Natalija Ferlež

**Amra Džaferović, Student at the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina**, talked about idealistic, realistic and pessimistic futures for the EU. Džaferović said that she represented all the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, not merely herself. "Constitutional issues are essential in BiH and need more attention", Džaferović added. Furthermore, more needs to be invested in education, which would make people more open and objective. Džaferović described the people in BiH as proactive and proud citizens.

Džaferović said that her mother was born in Yugoslavia, who spoke proudly of it as a Yugoslavian. "Do young people really want to join the EU?" Of course, education and visa liberalisation make people's lives easier. As to politics and young people, we need to make politics fairer to young people, who should be actively engaged in it. "We need to show to people that one person can make a difference."

**Natalija Ferlež, Student of International Relations at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia**, first made some remarks about the process of democratisation after the war in the Western Balkans. Ferlež sees the future of the region in the EU; however, the EU needs to foster incentives for a faster path to the EU. Ferlež emphasised the willingness of Western Balkan countries to cooperate and mentioned regional cooperation in different areas as something that could hasten future developments.

Regional cooperation needs rather more effectiveness in methods and approaches. The external factor is a tool that encouraged regional cooperation. Here, countries need a wider perspective and need to start cooperation between themselves.

Ferlež stated that the costs of the disintegration of the Western Balkans with the EU far exceed those of integrating the region into the EU. Therefore, the EU needs to send a clearer message to the Western Balkan countries.

**Bardhyl Hasanpapaj, Teaching Assistant at the Faculty of Law, University of Prishtina, Kosovo**, said that there are problems; however, as a young and highly-motivated individual, Hasanpapaj sees that problems might be resolved through cooperation and an active approach, not only on the part of the countries, but also the citizens of the region. In addition, more needs to be done in the field of economic development. In Kosovo, for instance, support is needed from the Serbian side due to its important role in Kosovo. Hasanpapaj also mentioned that cooperation in the country itself is evolving and hoped that the EU (and all other international organizations) could see the improvement. "The EU has been doing a lot both in the area and in the region".

Hasanpapaj believes that there is a lack of will on the part of stakeholders in the region. We need to know history; however, there are more important issues that need to be dealt with.

Hasanpapaj is afraid that everything points to the EU. People do not see the EU as a paradise and a solution. People want to join to be able to discuss things democratically, transparently and efficiently.

**Jasmina Trajkoska, Teaching Assistant at the Faculty of Political Sciences, Diplomacy and Journalism, FON University, Macedonia**, mentioned the 20th anniversary of Macedonian independence. All countries in Europe want to be an EU Member State; however, not

all are doing all they can to achieve this objective. Trajkoska talked about the Macedonian approach to the EU. In addition to the 'name issue' with Greece, the problem also lies in an unstable government that must continuously work with EU institutions. Trajkoska added that the Western Balkan countries need to develop respect for one another.

**Ivan Vejvoda, Student at the Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Belgrade, Serbia** said that today, the focus is on the path towards the EU. However, Serbia's past is like heading into the future with no awareness of the past. There is a great need for a stronger democratic government, keeping in mind the rule of law and human rights issues. Serbia actually opted for EU sanctions. However, the EU is the only goal that needs to be achieved. Vejvoda said that with more positive environment and incentives, both the country and the region will advance to the next step.

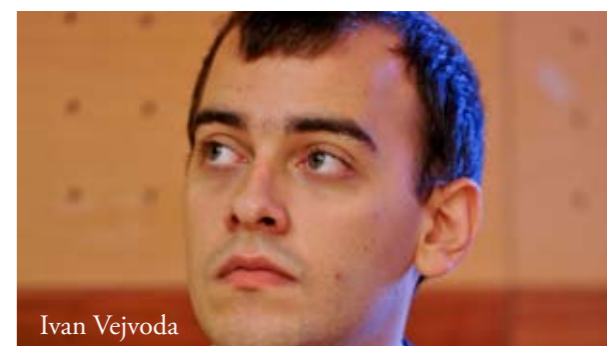
Vejvoda said that several years ago, there were no flights between Belgrade and Zagreb; now, one can fly freely across the former Yugoslavia. As to minorities, the situation is quite positive in the Western Balkans; however, sexual minorities are still regarded as behaving unnaturally. "This needs to be changed". Some people are engaged in politics because it pays well, which brings stability. This also needs to be changed.



Bardhyl Hasanpapaj



Jasmina Trajkoska



Ivan Vejvoda



## THE POWER OF THE FUTURE Round Table B

Who are the new global power brokers? According to Professor Joseph S. Nye, two important power shifts are occurring in this century – a power transition and power diffusion. Power transitions from one dominant state to another are widely known historical events, while power diffusion is a more novel process.

Some observers believe that the Western-oriented world order is being replaced by one increasingly dominated by the East. Jim O'Neill of Goldman Sachs predicts that the new Growth 8 (the Brics plus Korea, Indonesia, Turkey and Mexico) will grow four to five times as quickly as the United States by the end of the decade. China alone will account for half this growth.

To cope with the transnational challenges that characterise a global information age, the international community will need to continue to develop a series of complementary networks and institutions. The UN plays a crucial role in legitimisation, crisis diplomacy, peacekeeping, and humanitarian missions. The main dilemma that the international community faces is how to include everyone and still be able to act.

The panel was moderated by **Maja Dragović, Business Editor at The Slovenia Times, Slovenia**, who opened the panel with a question about intergenerational differences. **Žiga Vavpotič, Programme Director of the Ypsilon Institute, Slovenia**, observed that we are in the midst of the greatest revolution or evolution of humankind. The de-

velopment of new technologies is changing the way that societies operate. Humanity is being engulfed in a tidal wave of change which is leading to a transition from an information society to a creative society. The shift will bring about important changes, a major feature of which will be that each individual will hold the key to their own success. Extremely talented and competent individuals will be the drivers of change. Vavpotič mentioned the importance of taking greater responsibility for society as a whole. Sooner or later, young people will have to show their faces. In Vavpotič's opinion, the quality of an individual's life depends on the quality of life of all people. The world is moving from competition to cooperation. This means that we should not ignore problems in other parts of the world. It is essential that the world stops competing for resources and enters a phase of creation and participation. Young people, the so-called Y generation, should make the first move. Vavpotič wondered if this generation is strong enough to cope with the future. Intergenerational dialogue had changed considerably. It is a two-way process in which the old and young benefit from each other.

**Lenart J. Kučič, Journalist at Delo, Slovenia**, tackled the issues of convergence in communication and changes in the media sector. In Kučič's opinion, the changes are not as great as they seem, since a small number of big players dominate most of the platforms. Kučič pointed out that the potential of technology for social progress



Maja Dragović



Žiga Vavpotič



Lenart J. Kučič





Iva Basarić

is great, but we tend to take this potential for granted. It is not enough merely to install a new technology – it is people who make the real difference. Young people as users of new platforms are usually not aware of what lies behind them. Kučić believes, therefore, that it would be better to consider new technologies more as tools rather than things that will change our future.

**Iva Basarić, Associate at Babić & Partners Law Firm, Croatia,** spoke about economic globalisation and trade regionalisation. Basarić said that globalisation and the opening of global markets had created great differences between advanced and less developed countries, as the latter had entered the process unprepared. Basarić pointed out that trade regionalisation can be beneficial to those countries which took a backseat in the global process of trade liberalisation. The bargaining power of small countries also depends on their people’s mentality and the preparedness of their people to compete in global markets rather than to barter.



Ben Judah

**Ben Judah, Policy Fellow at the European Council on Foreign Relations, United Kingdom,** talked about the power of social media, i.e. the ‘Twitter revolution’. In Judah’s opinion, authoritarian governments expected that the Internet and social media would be confined to elites, and obviously underestimated the influence of the Internet as a mass medium. Judah raised the question of whether the Internet was the only wave sweeping away authoritarian governments or if other forces were also at

work. Judah said that the Internet and social media have different roles in different societies, pointing out that the Internet can be considered as a source of both activism and escapism. Judah compared the influence of the Internet in Tunisia and Russia, given the social composition of each society: Tunisia has a cohesive younger generation which has little to gain or lose, whereas Russian society is much more fragmented, with many losers and winners, and cannot reach critical mass to a point where the Internet could help connect people. In Judah’s opinion, by creating special groups, the use of the Internet in Russia is more divisive. Therefore, the Internet provides an escape from everyday problems. Furthermore, Judah explored the influence of social media in Europe. The Internet and social media in the EU serve more as a source of escapism and a link between specific sectors than a platform allowing young activists to connect with one another.

**Bao Jie, Teacher of Slovenian at Beijing Foreign Studies University, China,** highlighted the importance of culture. Culture is the soft weapon of all countries, regardless of their level of development. To be able to reach a new level of communication, we must learn about other cultures. Bao pointed out that a culture can never be isolated or taken as a standard. People should be more tolerant of differences in cultures and policies, and should have more respect for each other. In that sense, one culture should not be imposed as a yardstick for others, he warned.



Bao Jie



## SELECTED KEYNOTE SPEAKERS



## Welcome Address

**Samuel Žbogar**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia

**Samuel Žbogar, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia**, first thanked all the panellists and prominent guests, particularly the ministers from the old, the new and the soft powers, mentioning that Slovenia considers itself as a soft power. Žbogar pointed out that the Forum will mostly focus on the future, emphasising that in times of economic and political instabilities in international relations, it is good to take a look at where we are, what the future holds, what power is, its future role and distribution. Žbogar also underlined power shifts as the leading topic of the 2011 Bled Strategic Forum. The Forum discussed the Mediterranean and the changes in the region, the future of Afghanistan and the Balkans, the role of small states, innovation as a crisis exit strategy, and EU-China relations.



## Address by the Guest of Honour

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

**Dr Danilo Türk, President of the Republic of Slovenia**, pointed out that power is the central concept in international relations and politics in general. To learn about the future of power, we must address it in its entirety, including the less discussed aspects. Only through intellectual openness and fairness will we better understand the policies the modern world requires.

Türk believes that power is a daunting concept; it may be described as everything basically human, including duality. In his famous Oxford speech of 1958, Isaiah Berlin mentioned two concepts of liberty. On the one hand, there is negative liberty, which protects a person or another agent of liberty from outside intervention and coercion. Positive liberty, on the other hand, offers an artist the freedom to strive towards something good, self-control, and the definition of his own capabilities.

The discussion also touched upon the concept of sovereignty. After World War II, sovereignty was largely understood as freedom from the use of force and intervention; it was regarded as something worth protecting. At the turn of the century, a different explanation of sovereignty emerged – sovereignty as a responsibility. It therefore exists to ensure the protection of citizens. Responsibility to protect is closely linked with the dual concept of sovereignty.

When discussing power, Türk emphasised, we cannot avoid its dual nature. The traditional difference be-

tween soft and hard powers is omnipresent. A closer look at the concept of soft power may also reveal duality. External soft power can be projected onto the international community. In international relations power takes on different forms: the power of culture, ideas, the power of understanding, and the power of messages of civil society. These elements of soft power have a powerful impact on how the international community functions.

There is also an internal dimension to soft power, Türk went on to explain, which deserves special attention. The world has no clear and sensible solutions to problems. However, the search for yet unformulated answers continues. With regard to changes in societies which could be seen as bearers of power attention should be paid to something in particular. The US has seen a lively debate on how to resolve the financial crisis, and the necessary social and economic policies. With rapid growth in China in recent decades the issue of social cohesion, transition to a consumer society, and control over these changes re-emerged. All the above is related to soft power in certain countries. Russia aspires towards modernisation beyond merely technological aspects, extending to the rule of law, and changes in the society, including all other social aspects that might be seen as connected with soft power in the country.

Turning to the European Union, which is today regarded as a large system placed at the centre of all serious debates, some would say, at the centre of serious trouble, Türk argued that most debates address financial, but also political issues, which are essential for finding solutions and success in overcoming financial problems.

How is this done today in the EU? In all EU Member States, the media focuses on budgetary discipline, balanced public budgets, financial stability, and other stability requirements which the EU needs to preserve its largely soft power, so it could apply it in the international community. Those who talk of change and the legal arrangements to facilitate it very frequently argue that we need new institutions. However, today's Europe is not only in need of new institutions, but requires the will and the awareness of Europeans that change cannot be avoided. Change always comes from within, which was manifested in the Arab world. The EU also expects a change of a somewhat different nature, which will nevertheless have to originate from within. The change relates to the soft power of civil society, of political ideas and the sense of responsibility. This requires each Member State and every society to openly and seriously adhere to the ideas of financial stability, balanced budgets and public debt reduction. Only so can the EU organise and implement its internal power and positive freedom in international relations.



## Speech by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Slovenia

**Borut Pahor**, Prime Minister of the Republic  
of Slovenia

**Borut Pahor, Prime Minister of the Republic of Slovenia**, presented his personal view of Europe's future. A staunch advocate of European ideas, Pahor believes that the future of the European Union and the euro zone lies in the United States of Europe. Once again, faced with a crossroads, we must decide on which course to take. One path leads to United States of Europe, and the other to maintaining the status quo – eventually, a decline of the European idea, a guarantee of lasting and effective peace and stability on the old continent, will ensue. The Convention on the Future of Europe gave rise to the idea of a European constitution, which was not upheld by all participants. Not everyone was in favour of a strong political, economic and social union. According to Pahor, this is the appropriate moment to reconsider the concept. There is no long-term future for a successful and strong euro zone with seventeen different fiscal policies. Aware of the political sensitivity of this issue, Pahor nevertheless believes that the current euro zone crisis must be adequately addressed by the European leaders. This issue should be discussed, Pahor believes, and politicians should have sufficient political power not to debate only the coordination of fiscal policies at the level of heads of state and government. This suffices for the time being, but will not in the future. We must open a debate on a new treaty with strong commitments of the European Member States. If a consensus can be

reached on a common EU fiscal policy, our currency could prove powerful and play an important role at the global level.

Optimism or pessimism about the future depends primarily on whether we are willing to see the real dimensions of the difficulties Europe is currently facing. Apart from financial, economic and social, Europe is also hit by an institutional crisis. In Pahor's opinion, the leaders of larger countries will trigger these processes. Pahor is convinced that it is crucial for small states to be involved in this process from the very beginning.

After three years of crisis, everyone in Europe is aware of its magnitude. We all know that the way in which the EU is organised is no longer adequate. Slovenia supports the proposal that the euro zone heads of state and government meet twice a year. This is proof that the idea of a stronger political union has already emerged. If we want to reach political consensus in the EU Member States, open public debate on the future of the European Union and on the United States of Europe must begin at once.

Slovenia celebrated twenty years of independence, and a debate on renouncing part of its sovereign rights was not easy. If we ask ourselves do we want financial, economic and social stability, most people will now understand this question. Five or six years ago, a stronger European Union was not a topic to inspire public debate. How-

ever, the situation has changed and perhaps we are at a moment when the long-term future of the European Union will be outlined. If we want to preserve the EU, we must strengthen the euro zone as one of its strongest pillars. A strong currency requires a stronger political, economic and social union.

Europeans need to decide on the future path. For those who strongly believe in the European idea of peace, stability and prosperity, it is time to start considering the idea of a United States of Europe and undertake a debate on this topic passionately and courageously as the United States of Europe can deliver not only financial stability but also security and welfare to the present and the future generations.



## Keynote speaker at dinner

**Valentine Rugwabiza**, Deputy Director-General of the World Trade Organization

**Valentine Rugwabiza, Deputy Director-General of the World Trade Organization**, dedicated her address to trade liberalisation, highlighting protectionism, the fragmentation of global value chains and preferential trade agreements as key challenges that the multilateral trading system is facing.

Rugwabiza said that after the 2010 recovery, the global economy shrunk again, painting a gloomy picture of widespread unemployment.

The natural reflex of governments and the people is to turn inwards, protect themselves and close borders in search of protection. However, past experience has shown this only leads into a disaster.

Rugwabiza acknowledged that, for governments, there was no quick fix for the high unemployment situation.

The past six months have seen some warning signals in terms of protectionism, and this will be a challenge for the WTO.

Meanwhile, the fragmentation of global value chains is something that will have to be factored in future global trade agreements by introducing new methodologies.

The reality of trade is that products are no longer produced in one single country. Value is added in different countries, and yet products are assembled in a final destination, Rugwabiza pointed out, highlighting that this is for instance important when calculating trade

deficits and balances and drawing up necessary policies.

A third challenge is related to an increase in preferential trade agreements, with tariffs – agriculture being an exception – becoming barriers of the past. However, new barriers have emerged. Different regulations and standards apply in different countries and markets, posing a risk of regulatory regime segmentation. This is another challenge we will have to face in the future multilateral trading system.

Turning to the Doha Development Agenda, Rugwabiza said it addressed many key challenges, including the agricultural reform. Rugwabiza stressed that negotiations were paralysed by the lack of government ability to make tough decisions, necessary to secure a safe tomorrow.



## Keynote address at lunch

**Thorbjørn Jagland**, Secretary General of the Council of Europe

**Thorbjørn Jagland, Secretary General of the Council of Europe**, stressed that the world we live in today is not easily understood and future not easily predicted. Comparing the Arab world to spring flowers which always blossom in the winter, he noted that the young people on the streets are not demonstrating for radical Islam or violence, but for universal human rights. They simply want to live like others, particularly Europeans. Women empowerment is another important element seen in Africa, the Arab world and the Middle East. The root cause of all the problems is the lack of freedom. The demand for the participation of women, now visible in Africa and in the Middle East, is a powerful transformation force.

Jagland pointed out that until 1945, the world order had been based on the logic of Westphalia – on the sovereignty of the nation state. The French Revolution and the Declaration of Independence by the United States added the sovereignty of the people. The down side was the rise of nationalism. Today, we moved away from nationalism towards internationalism. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international institutions are a result of nationalism witnessed by Europe before the wars. In 1989, the Berlin Wall fell. The quest for freedom prevailed also in Eastern Europe. The rise of globalisation and technological revolution undermined the communist regimes.

The same happened again only a few months ago in our South Mediterranean neighbourhood. People wanted the same freedom and they could no longer tolerate the way their countries were governed. The revolution is in making, again by the power of the people and their quest for freedom.

Jagland also mentioned the notion of Westphalia-plus, which limits the sovereignty of nation states by human rights. No nation state has the right to do what it pleases, for it is constrained by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Jagland also urged us to go beyond Westphalia-plus in the face of growing diversity within nation states. Europe's main problem today is its obsession with identity, leaving little room for understanding multiple identities of the majority.



## Closing remarks

**Samuel Žbogar**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia

In his closing address, **Samuel Žbogar, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia**, highlighted that the conference provided insight into many different aspects of power, its shifts and new actors. Žbogar thanked all the guests from different countries from Angola, Chile, China, Brazil, and Russia to Liechtenstein, Kosovo, Sweden and many more.

Žbogar's closing remark summarised all the panels of the Forum. The novelty of the sixth Bled Strategic Forum, the Young BSF, brought together younger generations from the Western Balkans. It was a pleasure to note that they believe in cooperation, peaceful relations and the European future of the region.

The main panel discussed the diffusion of power, not only between states but also between different actors, including the civil society. The power shifts are happening right now also in the Mediterranean. As the new regional order is still fragile, the panellists agreed that mutually beneficial cooperation between the south and the north of the region can contribute effectively to its consolidation. The night-owl session addressed the importance of innovation for economic recovery. While Lithuania was hosting the European basketball championship and we witnessed the fighting spirit of different European teams, one panellist's remark was very timely and appropriate: "Europeans should apply their winning sports mentality also to business."

Time was dedicated also to cooperation between the EU and China as well as to the power of small states in the international arena. Generally good EU-China relations could be improved through more trust, effective dialogue and mutual understanding. Panel on small states reaffirmed that their role in global affairs is not as marginal as it might seem, while the panellist on Afghanistan agreed that the hope of the Afghan people must be strengthened. The Balkans panel stressed the necessity of the EU's role in the progress and development of the region. Food security was a burning issue in recent months, particularly in the Horn of Africa. Panellists agreed that the food issue is not surprising given the exponential growth of the world population. Food price fluctuations of the recent decade demonstrate that we cannot continue with business-as-usual strategies. Traditionally, the Bled Strategic Forum also placed attention on energy topics. To strengthen energy security, we must increase development and the use of new technologies.



## PROGRAMME

### Day 1 – Friday, 9 September

**8.00–20.00** Registration (Hotel Golf)

**9.00–12.00** Young BSF (Best Western Premier Hotel Lovec)

**9.00–10.30** Round Table A: *The Western Balkans in 2020 – In the Eyes of Twenty-Year-Olds*

**10.30–12.00** Round Table B: *The Power of the Future*

**12.30–13.30** Gathering and Reception (Festival Hall)

**13.30–14.15** Opening of the Bled Strategic Forum (Festival Hall)

Moderated by:

**Miriam Možgan**, Secretary General of the Bled Strategic Forum

Welcome address:

**Samuel Žbogar**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia

Mayor's welcome:

**Janez Fajfar**, Mayor of Bled

Address by the guest of honour:

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

Speech by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Slovenia:

**Borut Pahor**, Prime Minister of the Republic of Slovenia

**14.15–16.15** Main Panel: *The Power of the Future* (Festival Hall)

Moderated by:

**Nik Gowing**, International Broadcaster and Journalist, United Kingdom

Panellists:

**Samuel Žbogar**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia

**Igor Olegovich Shchegolev**, Minister of Telecommunications and Mass Communications of the Russian Federation

**Fu Ying**, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China

**Ambassador Richard A. Boucher**, Deputy Secretary-General of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

**Mahmoud Salem**, Blogger, Activist, Writer and an Investment Banker, Egypt

**16.15–18.15** Special Panel: *Search for a New "World Order" in the Mediterranean* (Festival Hall)

Moderated by:

**Edward Mortimer**, Senior Vice-President and Chief Programme Officer at the Salzburg Global Seminar, Austria

Panellists:

**Thorbjørn Jagland**, Secretary General of the Council of Europe

**Přemysl Sobotka**, First Vice-President of the Senate of the Parliament of the Czech Republic

**Ambassador Khemaies Jhinaoui**, State Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Tunisia

**Wadie Abunassar**, Director of the International Center for Consultations, Israel



**20.00–22.00 Networking Reception (Grand Hotel Toplice)**  
Keynote speaker: **Valentine Rugwabiza**, Deputy Director-General of the World Trade Organization

**22.15–00.00 Night Owl Session: *The Power of Innovation* (Hotel Golf)**

Moderated by:  
**Maja Grgič**, Journalist at Delo, Slovenia

Panellists:  
**Ambassador Richard A. Boucher**, Deputy Secretary-General of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development  
**Dr Andrea Castronovo**, President BMW Group Central and Eastern Europe, Austria  
**Jan Mühlfeit**, Chairman Europe Microsoft Corporation, Czech Republic  
**Peter Jungen**, President of the European Enterprise Institute, Belgium

**Day 2 – Saturday, 10 September**

**9.00–11.00 Parallel Panels A/B (Hotel Golf)**

**Panel A: *The EU and China: Strategic Partners and Competitors***

Moderated by:  
**Dr Gustaaf Geeraerts**, Director of the Brussels Institute of Contemporary China Studies, Belgium

Panellists:  
**Fu Ying**, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China  
**Dr Francis Gurry**, Director General of the World Intellectual Property Organization  
**Ambassador Viorel Isticioaia Budura**, Managing Director for Asia and Pacific, European External Action Service  
**Prof Zhou Hong**, General Director of the Institute of European Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China

**Panel B: *The Power of Smaller States in Global Affairs***

Moderated by:  
**Pia Hansson**, Director of the Institute of International Affairs and Centre for Small States Studies, Iceland

Panellists:  
**Dr Aurelia Frick**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Principality of Liechtenstein  
**Alfredo Moreno Charme**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Chile  
**José Luis Rocha**, State Secretary at the Ministry of External Relations of Cape Verde

**11.15–13.15 Parallel Panels C/D (Hotel Golf)**

**Panel C: *Restoring Afghanistan***

Moderated by:  
**Mjuša Sever**, Director of Regional Dialogue, Slovenia

Panellists:  
**Dr Ljubica Jelušič**, Minister of Defence of the Republic of Slovenia  
**Prof Dr Sarfraz Khan**, Director of the Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar, Pakistan  
**Mahbouba Seraj**, Women's Rights Advocate, Member of the Afghan Women Network Working Committee and Director of Soraya Mashal Consulting, Afghanistan  
**Ambassador Francesc Vendrell**, Former UN and EU Special Representative for Afghanistan

**Panel D: *What Is Next for the Balkans? Responsibility, Power to Progress, Perspectives***

Moderated by:  
**Tim Judah**, Balkans Correspondent for The Economist, United Kingdom

Panellists:  
**Vuk Jeremić**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia  
**Milan Roćen**, Minister of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of Montenegro  
**Dr Valentin Inzko**, High Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina

**Jan Fischer**, Vice President Operational Policies, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development  
**Prof Dr Aleš Debeljak**, Professor at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

**13.30–15.00 Lunch (Hotel Golf)**  
Keynote address: **Thorbjørn Jagland**, Secretary General of the Council of Europe

**15.30–17.30 Parallel Panels E/F (Hotel Golf)**

**Panel E: *Food Security – A Reflection of International Society***

Moderated by:  
**Dr Nadya Zhexembayeva**, Coca-Cola Chair of Sustainable Development at the IEDC-Bled School Management and Vice-President of the UN Global Compact Slovenia, Slovenia

Panellists:  
**Valentine Rugwabiza**, Deputy Director-General of the World Trade Organization  
**Ambassador Manuel Domingos Augusto**, State Secretary at the Ministry of External Relations of the Republic of Angola  
**Jerome C. Glenn**, Executive Director of the Millennium Project, United States of America  
**Dr José Humberto de Brito Cruz**, Senior Advisor at the Policy Planning Unit at the Ministry of External Relations of the Federative Republic of Brazil

**Panel F: *What Will Power the Future?***

Moderated by:

**Miroslav Gregorič**, Consultant, Former Section Head in the Office of Nuclear Security at the International Atomic Energy Agency and Former Director of Slovenian Nuclear Safety Administration, Slovenia

Panellists:

**Ambassador Richard H. Jones**, Deputy Executive Director of the International Energy Agency

**Dr Doug Arent**, Executive Director of the Joint Institute for Strategic Energy Analysis, United States of America

**Dr Plinio Nastari**, President and Founder of DATAGRO, Brazil

**17.30–17.45 Closing of the Bled Strategic Forum (Hotel Golf)**

Closing remarks by: **Samuel Žbogar**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia



PARTICIPANTS

**Wadie Abunassar**, Director of the International Center for Consultations, Israel; **Adedotun Adepoju**, Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to the Republic of Slovenia in Budapest, Hungary; **Mark Boris Adrijanič**, Institute dr. Jože Pučnik, Slovenia; **Mohammad Rahim Aghaeipour**, Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the Republic of Slovenia in Ljubljana, Slovenia; **Dr Khalid Mohamed A. Al-Attayah**, State Minister for International Cooperation of the State of Qatar; **Elmasa Aldžić**, Student of the Wood Industry Faculty, University of Bihać, Bosna and Herzegovina; **Enis Alić**, Student at the Faculty of Economics, University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina; **Bakhtyar Aljaf**, Director of the International Institute for Middle-East and Balkan Studies, Slovenia; **Abdulrahman M. S. Al-Khulaifi**, Ambassador of the State of Qatar to the Republic of Slovenia in Berlin, Germany; **Mark Boris Andrijanič**, Executive Board member, Dr. Jože Pučnik Institute, Slovenia; **Dr Doug Arent**, Executive Director of the Joint Institute for Strategic Energy Analysis, United States of America; **Emir Aščerić**, Student at the Faculty of Architecture, University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina; **Ambassador Manuel Domingos Augusto**, State Secretary at the Ministry of External Relations of the Republic of Angola; **Orhan Hikmet Azizoglu**, Founder and President of the International Universities Council, Turkey; **Miha Ažman**, General Manager of the BMW Group Slovenia, Slovenia; **Nemanja Babić**, Student at the Faculty of Law, University of Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina; **Gordan Balaban**, Student at the Faculty of Law, University of Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina; **Boris Balant**, State Secretary at the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Slovenia; **Clive Baldwin**, Senior Legal Adviser, Human Rights Watch, Serbia; **Bao Jie**, Teacher of Slovenian at Beijing Foreign Studies University, China; **Dr Murilo Francisco Barella**, Director of the Department of Coordination and

Control of State Owned Enterprises at the Ministry of Planning and Budget of the Federative Republic of Brazil, Brazil; **Iva Basaric**, Attorney at Law, Associate at Babic & Partners law firm, Croatia; **Jasna Basaric-Keys**, IRD Chief of Program Operations at International Relief and Development, United States of America; **Dr Anton Bebler**, President of the Euroatlantic Council of Slovenia, Slovenia; **Zijad Bećirović**, Director of the International Institute for Middle-East and Balkan Studies, Slovenia; **Tom Begovič**, Co-founder Keter Group, Slovenia; **Frank Belfrage**, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Sweden; **Andrej Beloglavec**, Acting Head of European Commission Representation in Slovenia; **Rachid Bencherif**, Senior Planning Analyst at the OPEC Fund for International Development; **Dragoljuba Benčina**, State Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia; **Damjan Bergant**, Permanent Representative of the Republic of Slovenia to the Council of Europe; **Dr Svjetlan Berković**, Ambassador of the Republic of Croatia to the Republic of Slovenia in Ljubljana, Slovenia; **Štefan Bertoncej**, Director of Director of Domel Holding, d.d., Slovenia; **Samo Bobek**, Dean of the Faculty of Economics and Businesses, University of Maribor, Slovenia; **Philip Georgiev Bokov**, Ambassador of the Republic of Bulgaria to the Republic of Slovenia in Ljubljana, Slovenia; **Denis Bolčina**, Co-founder of Keter Group, Slovenia; **Anatolij Bondarenko**, Honorary Consul of Republic of Slovenia in Harkov, Ukraine; **David Bongard**, Director of Regional office for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie, France; **Emma Bonino**, Vice President of Italian Senate, Italy; **Ambassador Richard A. Boucher**, Deputy Secretary-General of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development; **Thomas Brady**, Ambassador of Ireland to the Republic of Slovenia in Ljubljana, Slovenia; **Nastja Bratoš**, Member

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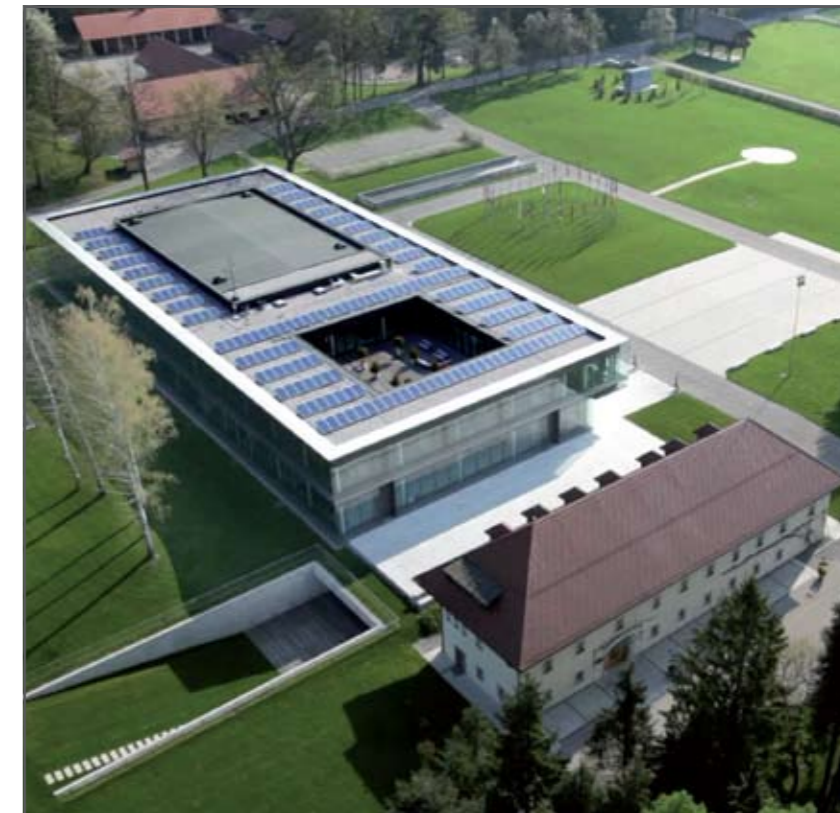
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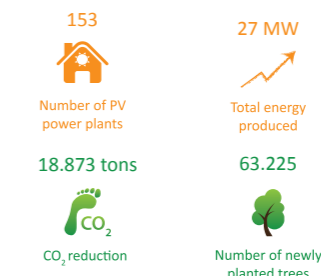
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