

**2BS (To Be Secure) Forum 2013**  
**“FUTURE OF NATO’S PARTNERSHIPS”**  
**Budva, Montenegro**  
**June, 6-8, 2013**

---

**SUMMARY**



## Table of Contents

ATLANTIC COUNCIL OF MONTENEGRO .....	4
WELCOME MESSAGES.....	5
INTRODUCTION .....	7
YOUTH ATLANTIC SEMINAR.....	8
SESSION I: HOW TO END SYRIA’S CIVIL WAR AND SHAPE A NEW MIDDLE EAST? NATO’S ROLE IN THE CONFLICT?.....	8
SESSION II: REGIONAL COOPERATION AND COMMON SECURITY CHALLENGES.....	8
NIGHT OWL SESSION: “COOPERATION AND PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN CIVILIAN AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SERVICES” .....	9
OFFICIAL OPENING.....	10
PANEL DISCUSSION I: “NATO’S OPEN DOOR POLICY” .....	11
PANEL DISCUSSION II: “POST-AFGHANISTAN PARTNERSHIPS” .....	13
PANEL DISCUSSION III: “NEW MOMENTUM FOR SERBIA AND KOSOVO*-REGIONAL IMPLICATIONS” .....	15
PANEL DISCUSSION IV: “THE RISE OF TURKEY IN THE BALKANS” .....	17
PANEL DISCUSSION V: “US-RUSSIA RELATIONS: RIVALRY OR PATNERSHIP?” .....	17
CLOSING REMARKS .....	19
MEDIA COVERAGE.....	19

## **ATLANTIC COUNCIL OF MONTENEGRO**

The Atlantic Council of Montenegro was founded in 2006 and since then has been a preeminent institution devoted to promoting Euro-Atlantic values and international security. The Atlantic Council of Montenegro was admitted into membership of the Atlantic Treaty Association at the General Assembly held in Athens in 2006.

Since we are facing a turning point in our history, the Atlantic Council provides an essential forum for navigating effective shifts in political and security-related influences. The Atlantic Council established the 2BS Forum as a leading security forum in the region, with its main purpose to become one of the main brainstorming events at the international scene.

The Atlantic Council promotes constructive leadership and engagement in international affairs based on the central role of the Atlantic community in meeting the international challenges of the 21st century.

The Atlantic Council stimulates dialogue and discussion about critical international issues with a view to enriching public debate and promoting consensus on appropriate responses in Government, the corporate and non-profit sectors, and the media in Montenegro and among leaders in Europe and the USA.

At the same time, important contributions by the Atlantic Council include identifying and shaping responses to major issues facing NATO and transatlantic relations as well as building consensus among political parties towards NATO and Euro-Atlantic integration.

The Youth Atlantic Treaty Association (YATA) is definitely a very important pillar of the Atlantic Council, with its young members who participate in many activities in the country and abroad, including various visits to relevant institutions, meetings with ambassadors, attending schools and seminars, and participating in international conferences as well as NATO summits.

## WELCOME MESSAGES

**Dr. Savo Kentera**  
**President of the Atlantic Council of Montenegro**

Dear friends and colleagues,

I would like to welcome each of you to the third To Be Secure Forum.

In 2011 we organized the Forum for the very first time. At that time, our goal was for the 2BS Forum to become a landmark gathering in Montenegro as well as an internationally-recognized event. I believe that we achieved that goal. With hard work and 2BS Team motivation and persistence we managed to create very valuable and recognizable event that is known throughout Europe and Trans-Atlantic Region.

I really hope that 2BS Forum will remain in nice memory of all participants, both as regards the quality of panels and panelists selected carefully and in consultation with our partners, as well as in terms of the organization which is critical for the successful running of any event.

This year event title “The Future of NATO’s Partnerships” is most welcome as it supports a very timely and valuable debate. Partners are essential for NATO. They share burden in NATO-led operations. They are working with NATO to address global challenges that require global responses. Moreover, partners pool and share resources in order to build a strong defense system thru out the Alliance. Altogether, NATO’s partnerships have successfully contributed to preserving peace and reinforcing stability across the Euro-Atlantic region and beyond. Well-chosen topics and large number of participants are guarantee for a fruitful discussion.

Before I close, I would like to thank each of your for attending the third 2BS Forum and for bringing your expertise your vision, the knowledge, and the experience to our gathering.

I wish you a very pleasant stay and constructive discussion during your stay at the beautiful setting of the Montenegrin coastline.

**Dr. Igor Lukšić**  
**Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of Montenegro**

Dear guests,

It gives me pleasure to welcome you to 2BS Forum, organized third time in a row, thus establishing its position in the calendar of important security events in the region and in Europe. I am convinced the Forum represents an excellent framework for exchange of opinion on key regional and global challenges in the area of policy, economy and security, as well as on mechanisms for their countering and, more importantly, their prevention.

This year's Forum is particularly important in the light of Montenegro's expectations to have enlargement as a topic on the agenda of the next NATO Summit. Our expectations are based on progress and results achieved in the process of Euro Atlantic integration, which was recognized in Chicago Summit final declaration. Our efforts are additionally supported with the fact that Montenegro, as an EU candidate country, launched accession negotiations with the Union in June 2012. Our activities and goals in this process are complementary to our Euro Atlantic aspirations.

The complexity of conventional security challenges, growing impact of asymmetric threats and the need for new approach in addressing them puts NATO Partnerships in focus and gives them a strategic dimension in today’s multipolar world. They therefore represent an added value to the Alliance and indispensable and reliable security actor.

Sharing the values and goals of the Euro Atlantic community, Montenegro, although still in partnership relations with NATO, is already acting as an ally through its participation in ISAF Mission. We are assuming higher level of responsibility by sending the seventh contingent of the Army of Montenegro under new, wider caveats, which confirms our readiness to formally become one.

Fostering and strengthening of good neighborly relations, which is our top foreign policy priority and a precondition of European and Euro Atlantic

integration has resulted in regional approach in building and maintaining global security. During its US-Adriatic Charter Chairmanship (A5) in second half of 2013, Montenegro will strive to encourage constructive efforts aimed at reaffirming regional initiative in resolving wider security challenges. In this way, as a country and as a region, we will further strengthen our role as reliable partner to the Alliance, which is in the spotlight of this year's Forum.

I wish you a successful and fruitful debate and a pleasant stay in Montenegro.

## INTRODUCTION

We are very proud to announce that the third 2BS Forum successfully ended and this year's Forum was very impressive and well attended. The number and variety of participants at the third 2BS Forum has surpassed our expectations and is a testimony to the importance of this event and its growing recognition at the international level. The number of policy decision makers, senior officials, ambassadors, senior diplomats, experts and analysts, and a combined audience of over 350 guests say much about the significance of this event in both quality and quantity.

Under the title "**FUTURE OF NATO'S PARTNERSHIPS**" the third 2BS Forum addressed some of the major issues of international relations and security. The third 2BS Forums' main focus was on partnerships all around the globe. Main topics that were discussed are: Cooperation and Partnership Between Civilian and Military Intelligence Services, NATO's Open Door Policy, Russia-U.S. Relations, Post-Afghanistan Partnerships , New Momentum for Serbia and Kosovo\* - Regional Implications, The Rise of Turkey in the Balkans, How to end Syria's Civil War and Shape New Middle East, Regional Cooperation and Common Security Challenges etc. These topics and overall title of this year's event was very welcomed and timely having in mind that partners are essential for NATO especially in those times of austerity and growing global security challenges. NATO's Strategic Concept identifies "cooperative security" as one of NATO's three essential core tasks. It states that the promotion of Euro-Atlantic security is best assured through a wide network of partner relationships with countries and organizations around the globe. These partnerships make a concrete and valued contribution to the success of NATO's fundamental tasks.

This year's forum was held under the auspices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration and Ministry of Defense of Montenegro, while partners in the project were: NATO, the U.S. Embassy in Podgorica, Balkan Trust for Democracy and Municipality of Budva.

Lastly, we are grateful for those who supported and cooperated for this Forum. We would like to thank to our partners: Guard Popovic Security, Atlas Group, Atlas TV, ND Vijesti, RTCG, Tara Group, Aqua Monta, Montenegro Airlines and Montenegro Stars Hotel Group and Splendid Hotel.

## YOUTH ATLANTIC SEMINAR

Youth Atlantic Seminar held on June 6, 2013 gathered around 50 participants from more than 15 countries: Canada, the United States of America, Armenia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Italy, Romania, and Portugal etc. Young atlantists discussed Syria's Civil War and NATO's Role in the Conflict as well as Regional Cooperation and Common Security Challenges. This was an insightful Seminar, filled with well-spoken experts that provided useful in-depth analysis of the issues at hand.

### SESSION I: HOW TO END SYRIA'S CIVIL WAR AND SHAPE A NEW MIDDLE EAST? NATO'S ROLE IN THE CONFLICT?

The first session of the Youth Atlantic Seminar, attested the constructive discussion on the ongoing civil war in Syria brought by the extensive remarks by High Excellency Mr. Jean-Daniel Ruch, the Ambassador of Switzerland to Serbia, Mr. Jason Wiseman, Program Manager of the Atlantic Treaty Association, Mr. Alexander Corbeil, Senior Middle East Security Analyst from the Atlantic Council of Canada and Mr. Emiliano Stornelli, Senior Researcher from the Italian Atlantic Committee. The panelists concurred that Syria matters to everybody for the enduring flow of refugees to the West, the regional destabilization it creates and the export of the terrorist cells in the Middle Eastern region and elsewhere. The participants touched upon the upcoming negotiations in Geneva and furthermore analyzed the implications of the civil war regionally, particularly into Lebanon and Jordan. In addition, Mr. Wiseman gave a brief overview of the repercussions the Syrian conflict can have in the South Eastern European region. This session was moderated by Mr. Vidak Latkovic, Executive Director of the Political Capital South East Europe.

### SESSION II: REGIONAL COOPERATION AND COMMON SECURITY CHALLENGES

The second panel of the Youth Atlantic Seminar at the 2BS Forum 2013 titled Regional cooperation and common security challenges hosted **Ms. Barbora Maronkova**, Information Officer for Western Balkans, Public Diplomacy Division at NATO Headquarters, **Mr. Konstantin Samofalov**, MP of the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia, **Mr. Dan Petre**, General Director of Romanian Diplomatic Institute and **Mr. Ilija Djugumanov**, President of YATA Macedonia.

All of the panelists agreed that prioritization of the security challenges means great deal for the way forward. Furthermore, discussion was based on the current SEE initiatives and their assessment as well as on enrooted problems like the lack of trust, solidarity and prioritization. This session was moderated by **Dr. Tanja Mišević**, Professor, Faculty of Political Science in Belgrade and former State Secretary for Defense Policy of the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Serbia.

## NIGHT OWL SESSION: “COOPERATION AND PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN CIVILIAN AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SERVICES”

It has become customary with the 2BS Forum to start with evening informal sessions in a relaxed atmosphere held under Chatham House Rule that allows discussants to hold a vigorous and open debate. The informal atmosphere and served refreshments guarantee the interactivity of the sessions. This year’s night owl session dealt with the issue of cooperation and partnership between civilian and military intelligence services, having in mind the fact that partnership and mutual cooperation between intelligence services is very important in today’s globalized world. Participants of this session were **Col. Ilirjan Balliu**, Director of the Military Intelligence Service, Ministry of Defense of Albania, **Mr. Marinko Šiljegović**, Assistant Minister for Security and Intelligence Affairs, Ministry of Defense of Bosnia and Herzegovina, **Dr. Ferdinand Odžakov**, Director of the Military Intelligence and Security Service, Ministry of Defense of Macedonia , **Ms. Ljiljana Ivanović**, National Security Agency of Montenegro, **Mr. Goran Poleksić**, Head of the Military Intelligence Service, Ministry of Defense of Montenegro, **Brig. Gen. Dragan Vladislavljević**, Director of the Military Intelligence Agency, Ministry of Defense of Serbia, and **Mr. Boštjan Perne**, Director of the Intelligence and Security Service, Ministry of Defense of Slovenia. What was designated formally as “Night-Owl Session: Cooperation and Partnership between Civilian and Military Intelligence Services” kicked off with remarks by moderator Mr. **Henry Plater-Zyberk**, Senior Research Fellow at the Prague Security Studies Institute. Mr. Plater-Zyberk asked a question isn’t it absolutely clear that defense and civilian intelligence services should work together all the time? All panelists took some time to answer this question and present situation in their own countries. Common conclusion of this session is that there are a few common prerequisites to successful cooperation between civilian and military intelligence services: mutual trust and understanding, an effort that must be made to avoid a negative competition and clear legislation.

**“There must be a trust at national level but there must be a trust at regional and international level among counterpart intelligence institutions, since without this trust security of a country is not possible.”**

The session fostered an important arena for discussion of how the international community can rise above barriers such as differences produced by conflict and ethnic tensions in the past to cooperate on the important need to share intelligence, especially considering the nature of security threats today. Panelists referenced specific agencies of the Western Balkan Regions and the newly created Montenegrin Military Intelligence service.

## OFFICIAL OPENING

The official opening of the third 2BS Forum was Friday 7 June with welcoming remarks by Mr. Lazar Rađenović, Mayor of the Municipality of Budva, Dr. Savo Kentera, President of the Atlantic Council of Montenegro, H.E. Mrs. Sue K. Brown, U.S. Ambassador to Montenegro, and H.E. Dr. Igor Lukšić, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of Montenegro. The speakers thanked all those in attendance and the panel participants while acknowledging the value of holding such a forum in consideration of international cooperation.

**Mr. Lazar Rađenović** stressed the importance of Montenegrin membership into NATO and the EU and said that 2BS Forum is an excellent opportunity for promotion of Budva which is metropolis of Montenegrin as well as regional tourism.

**Dr. Savo Kentera**, President of the Atlantic Council of Montenegro – the organization which runs 2BS Forum – welcomed the participants. In his speech Mr. Kentera commented partnerships having in mind the overall theme of 2BS Forum 2013. Dr. Kentera said that partnerships are very important for NATO having in mind the fact that NATO with its PARTNERS managed to preserve peace in Euro-Atlantic region and beyond. Partnerships need trust. This trust must be mutual and sincere, Kentera said. Dr. Kentera pointed out the fact that Montenegro has genuine, honest and sincere partners and friends in NATO and the United States of America. “As we were passing through a very difficult period in recent history, they were with us and gave us generous support. They believed that even the smallest country in the region can be a key lever that could be the locomotive of the entire region”, Kentera said.

***Kentera: We must believe that the strengthening of this partnership is the key to the future of our country and its road to NATO and the EU. In this sense, we must do everything in our power so anyone do not doubt in our partnership and commitment to which we aspire.***

The U.S. Embassy in Podgorica has been a true partner of the Atlantic Council of Montenegro, as well as of 2BS Forum throughout the years. **H.E. Mrs. Sue K. Brown**, the U.S. Ambassador to Montenegro said that the third 2BS Forum’s theme “Future of NATO’s partnerships” is a very important one as many of the threats we are facing today from terrorism to drug trafficking, cyber attacks transcend geographical boundaries.

***Brown: Isolationism may be a conforming idea but it cannot work in reality and in our interconnected world. Montenegro stands as an important example of a country working with its partners to promote peace and stability.***

Ambassador Brown said that regionally Montenegro’s strong relations with its neighbors has positioned it to be a valuable influence in efforts to achieve full reconciliation of the countries of the Western Balkans.

***Brown: The U.S. welcomes Montenegro’s decision to pursue NATO membership. However, decision to pursue NATO membership is on Montenegrins alone. As Montenegro moves forward in security reforms it will have a strong partner in the U.S.***

Ambassador Brown pointed out that NATO remains the world's most successful security Alliance. NATO will guarantee country long term prosperity, stability and security.

Montenegrin Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs and European Integration **Dr. Igor Lukšić**, opened the Forum. Dr. Lukšić started with a powerful statement that NATO is Montenegro's insurance policy.

***Lukšić: NATO is a guarantee of a lasting security and stability within this region, which is both interest of the Region as well as of the Euro-Atlantic community. Therefore, Montenegro supports other countries aspirations of becoming NATO members, if they wish and when they fulfill necessary requirements.***

Dr. Lukšić said that Montenegro believes that in today's world we cannot individually deal with modern challenges, particularly in the security arena. Partner relationships, cooperation and shared responsibility for common security goals are the only way of achieving long-term peace and prosperity. Therefore, Montenegro actively contributes to global peacekeeping missions. Montenegro already operates as an ally through participation in ISAF mission. We are aware that security and development of Afghanistan is a long-term process, and Montenegro will be guided by the principle "together in Afghanistan, together from Afghanistan" which means that Montenegro shall, in accordance with its capabilities and structure continue to contribute to peace and prosperity in this country and beyond 2014.

Deputy Prime Minister stressed importance of regional cooperation and good-neighborly relations which are preconditions for European and Euro-Atlantic integration processes. Montenegro will continue to work with regional countries on strengthening the position of the Western Balkans as a reliable partner of the Alliance.

## **PANEL DISCUSSION I: "NATO'S OPEN DOOR POLICY"**

Having in mind overall topic of the third forum it was therefore appropriate that the first session of the Forum should deal directly with NATO and its Open Door Policy. Moderated by Dr. Savo Kentera, the panel comprised of **H.E. Dr. Milica Pejanović-Đurišić**, Minister of Defense of Montenegro; **Dr. Božo Cerar**, State Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Slovenia; **Mrs. Ana Trišić-Babić**, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina; **Mr. Zoran Petrov**, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Macedonia; **Dr. Matthew Rhodes**, Professor of National Security Studies, the College of International and Security Studies, Marshall Center.

Dr. Savo Kentera gave a short introduction into the topic, and asked Minister of Defense of Montenegro can we expect invitation for membership in NATO any time soon, is Montenegro ready to become a member state and is NATO willing to see Montenegro as a member country?

Minister Pejanović-Đurišić said that throughout history characteristic of NATO has been Open Door Policy. She said that NATO member countries will continue to support this policy. Minister referred to the words of the Secretary General Rasmussen that NATO is speaking about open door policy however this door will not open automatically for any country. That door will open when certain criteria has been

accomplished. In order to become a member of a family or Alliance we need to share same values, to have trust in each other and to know that we are working on the same projects.

I believe that processes of the EU and NATO integrations are complementary however these processes have the role of catalyst when we talk about internal reforms, minister stressed. It is very important that reform processes have their dynamic. This dynamic affects to a large extent success in implementing necessary reforms, minister pointed out.

Dr. Cerar underlined a few things which are very important. He said that Open Door Policy is a policy of today - current policy. He said that he has an impression that member countries do not want to see NATO enlargement to happen soon. However, he sent message to Montenegro: „***Do not rest on doors***“. He stressed importance of willing public which is as important as an active engagement in military actions.

Mrs. Trišić-Babić spoke about Bosnia and Herzegovina path towards NATO and how they will overcome current obstacles on that path. Unresolved question of military assets in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a primary obstacle for this country and a reason for obtaining a conditional Membership Action Plan (MAP). According to Mrs. Trišić-Babić this is a political issue, not an issue for controlling Euro-Atlantic integration and keeping BIH away from NATO Alliance – this is an internal issue. However, in Bosnia and Herzegovina there is an appetite for NATO membership, therefore BIH Government perceives NATO as a primarily foreign policy goal, and not the EU, Trišić-Babić pointed out. Mrs. Trišić-Babić said that she believes that NATO wants BIH and other regional countries integrated in its structures; however NATO wants secure, stable and determined countries.

Mr. Zoran Petrov from Macedonia spoke about Macedonian example and its unique situation. He stressed some of the reasons why Macedonia still is not member of NATO Alliance. Mr. Petrov stressed that Macedonia has just one unresolved issue - issue related to its name. What currently Macedonia experiences is a historical precedent in practice, Petrov pointed out. On NATO Summit in Bucharest in 2008, despite the announcement of the U.S. president George W. Bush that all three countries of the Adriatic group called A3 should join NATO (Albania, Croatia and Macedonia) Macedonia got a veto from the southern neighbor country, Petrov said. All these years we hear that we need to solve name issue and Macedonia will become NATO member country, which means that Macedonia doesn't need to wait for an enlargement summit or ministerial meeting to become a member, deputy minister said. Mr. Petrov concluded with the question what Macedonia will do if they cannot solve this problem and resolve name issue with Greece?

Professor Rhodes said that there is a consensus among current members that bilateral issues shouldn't be obstacles to moving membership; however member states do not want to change procedures for decision making. In the context of NATO enlargement the requirement that is written into the original Washington Treaty of 1949, that decisions on enlargement should be unanimous is not something that members want to revisit, Professor Rhodes pointed out.

For the first time we have heard publicly that Ministry of Defense of Montenegro doesn't have concrete support for loud promotion of NATO membership. Minister Pejanović Djurisić during panel discussion NATO's open door policy said that the reason is political. In addition minister has criticized activities related to the promotion of membership in the Alliance that were implemented to date. Minister stressed importance of dialogue at all levels, with citizens, political parties in the Parliament etc. Dr.

Cerar said that the issue of public support is not just the responsibility of the government but of all parties in the society.

Prof. Rhodes stressed that the U.S. has been very strong advocate of the Open Door Policy. He said that the U.S. remains very interested in further steps of enlargement. There is a strong interest and support for enlargement but there is no a sense of urgency for enlargement, Prof. Rhodes pointed out.

The panel benefited from its focused nature in consideration of NATO's Open Door Policy by allowing for a concrete discussion of an important component of international policies of the Western Balkan region. An issue of interest to the transatlantic community as a whole, the panel took an important critical analysis of Balkan entry into NATO and its reflection of the state of NATO body as a whole, along with implications of Balkan membership for the future.

## **PANEL DISCUSSION II: "POST-AFGHANISTAN PARTNERSHIPS"**

Panel II: Post Afghanistan Partnerships was held with the goal of discussing new NATO partners and how to maintain these partners post-Afghanistan. Moderated by **Dr. Tanja Mišćević**, Professor of the Faculty of Political Science in Belgrade and former State Secretary for Defense Policy of the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Serbia, panelists included **VADM Dragan Samardžić**, Chief of the General Staff of the Army of Montenegro, **Gen. George W. Casey**, former Chief of Staff of the United States Army (2007-2011), and **RADM Giorgio Lazio**, Chief of Staff of the NATO Maritime Command (NATO HQ MARCOM).

At this panel speakers discussed several topics such as ISAF mission which influenced that NATO acquire lot of new partners such as Australia, Mongolia, and South Korea, and how can NATO keep these partnerships alive beyond the Afghanistan mission. Iraq mission and public opinion in the US, new partnerships networks, future of Montenegrin troops and aviation, how to deal with negative public opinion regarding NATO and engagement in international peace-keeping missions, regional engagement in Afghanistan after 2014 etc, were just few of discussed issues.

Vice Admiral Samardžić started with the strong statement that 90% of Montenegrin population does not know what NATO is and why Montenegro should become a member of this Alliance. He stressed that Montenegro with very limited capacities cannot deal alone with security threats and said that we can do that just as a part of a strong Alliance.

***Vice Admiral Samardžić: "I can honestly say that our participation in the ISAF mission in Afghanistan was the best decision for several reasons".***

First benefit from Montenegrin participation in ISAF, is that by participating in this mission many doors were opened, stressed Admiral Samardžić. Admiral continued with statement that vast majority of Montenegrin population doesn't know why Montenegro participated at NATO summits in Lisbon and Chicago, and the answer is only because we are participating in ISAF mission. According to Admiral's words other benefits are regarding country's security, as well as extraordinary benefits for the reform of the Army of Montenegro.

General Casey made a brief introduction and retrospective of his career in which he gave a good example of how NATO has changed and adapted over the past 60 years. He said that NATO is able to transform and adapt and NATO will continue to change and resist the new security challenges. General

said that the U.S. Army transformed over last seven years, however when transformation have finished with new experiences from Iraq and Afghanistan it was obvious that a lot more has to be done due to the changing security environment where continuous and significant changes happen very frequently. General said that NATO learnt a lot from the past but there is always more to do.

Admiral Lazio pointed out that NATO will change in terms that there will be less land focus and more environment focus such as cyber and maritime theaters. He said that in his point of view there is no eras, but there is continuous transformation, so there is no a perfect organization. Whenever organization considers itself as a perfect and reaches some point becomes old because in the mean time the changes have going on. Admiral stressed that there is continuous adaptation and transformation process; he said that we need to be agile and to pick up changes throughout the world and adapt ourselves in order to achieve goals. Admiral said that ISAF will over in 2014 but there will be other operation by NATO which will help local authorities in their further control of a country. In additional Admiral Lazio pointed out that maritime arena will be much more in focus in time to go than before.

Admiral Samardžić stressed that the biggest improvement in ISAF and NATO is made in terms of trust between partners. For the first time we will have situation when partners are engaged in a mission from the very beginning, from decision making to operation planning. This is the case with NATO operation “Resolute Support” which will be obtained in Afghanistan after 2014. In this mission partners were involved in procedure making and they will participate in adoption of the operational plan, Admiral pointed out.

***General Casey: Everyone in partner programs share common interests and values with NATO. While the emphasis might be shifted away from values in favor of interoperability I still believe that it shouldn't be a core of any partnership program. Due to expand partnerships beyond NATO region values should be in focus.***

U number of questions has been asked by the audience, one of them was for General Casey, how U.S. Government overcame low and even negative public support towards war in Iraq?

General Casey said that is a challenge for any deployed commander when the public opinion in their home country doesn't support efforts that commander is conducting. He said that public opinion regarding war in Iraq was negative and it was even increased by the fact that US didn't find weapons of mass destruction when they got there. General said that it was a significant mistake of the U.S. intelligence community. However, over time, the U.S. managed to sustain public opinion at the enough level in order to complete mission. This was a significant accomplishment of the leadership of the country – primarily President Bush and later president Obama. General said that this example can be applied for Montenegro, because in his opinion public opinion has to be led by the leaders of the country.

General Casey answered a question regarding U.S.-Asia relations and possible turn back from Europe. However General pointed out that the U.S. has two oceans at two sides and our military is very capable to deal with challenges on both sides. So, general said that he do not see the U.S. turning back on Europe and on NATO, largely because of common values and common interests which U.S. and Europe share.

**Admiral Lazio: NATO has very deep linkages with many other countries which are not a part of traditional set of partners, for example Brazil is one of them. So NATO is going in direction of widening network of partners all around the globe.**

Conclusion of this panel is that NATO will obviously more and more rely on partners. Security environment is changing with much higher speed than it was in the past, and the only way to cope with it is in a more networked way.

### **PANEL DISCUSSION III: “NEW MOMENTUM FOR SERBIA AND KOSOVO\* - REGIONAL IMPLICATIONS”**

The unresolved question regarding the dialogue between Serbia and Kosovo\* has for the past decade remained a key question not just for the countries concerned, but also for the region as a whole, including key areas of policy such as EU accession, regional economic development, human security and so on. At this panel panelist discussed several issues such as: what implications does the outcome from the recent Belgrade - Pristine negotiation process have on these policy areas, and especially the EU integration process, how has the negotiation process impacted neighboring countries or is it still too early to tell, can the EU expect to see an improvement in security and development, which is a key concern for most, etc. Panelists of the panel were: **Amb. Philip T. Reeker**, Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, Department of State, USA, **Mr. Vladimir Božović**, State Secretary in the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Serbia, **Dr. Janusz Bugajski**, Senior Associate in the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Washington and **H.E. Mr. Agim Çeku**, Minister of Security Forces of the Republic of Kosovo\*. Panel was moderated by **Ms. Marina Komad**, Deutsche Welle Correspondent.

This panel was in focus of media attention having in mind the fact that for the first time in Montenegro, participated Serbia and Kosovo representatives at the same conference. We remind that Serbia until recently boycotted all meetings attended by the leaders of Pristine.

Regardless of the fact that one of the things that Pristine and Belgrade managed to agree upon and that is that they will not negotiate on the status of Kosovo\*, the officials of the two countries panel began with that very topic.

Mr. Božović pointed out that Republic of Serbia and Serbian Government does not recognize and will not ever recognize the independence of Kosovo\*, bearing in mind the fact that for Serbia Kosovo and Metohija is an integral part of the Republic of Serbia, Božović stressed. Serbia and Kosovo\* need to talk and to try to find solutions for a number of problems. However, Mr. Božović believes that one issue cannot be discussed and that is an issue of status of Kosovo\*. The state of Serbia, Kosovo Serbs and all Serbs wherever they live in the world consider Kosovo\* their heart, soul and part of its state of Serbia. Kosovo Albanians and Albanians in general consider Kosovo\* an independent country. So diametrically opposed and different points of view cannot be easy or quickly moved closer. Bearing in mind this I think that that issue should be put aside and all other relevant questions should be discussed such as:

---

\* This name does not prejudice the status, and it is in accordance with the UN Security Council Resolution 1244 and opinion of the International Court of Justice on the Kosovo's declaration of independence.

organized crime and corruption, economy problems, human rights and other issues important for better life of citizens at Kosovo and Metohija, Božović said.

Ambassador Reeker said that Washington embrace process of negotiations between Serbia and Kosovo\* and is very supportive towards Catherine Ashton and her efforts in the fostering dialogue and normalization of relations between Kosovo\* and Serbia. It is very important to move Kosovo\* and Serbia from stagnate point in order to improve lives of citizens of Kosovo\*, Reeker said. Ambassador Reeker said that the U.S. welcomes this new approach in relations between two countries and that State Department and the U.S. will continue to provide full support to Ashton to continue with these efforts. However, this agreement and whole process has weak point and that is its implementation, Reeker pointed out. According to his words, agreement is good and very important, but implementation is going to make differences, however there is a lot of work to be done, Ambassador emphasized.

Dr. Bugajski said that Brussels Agreement put a new light on problem between Serbia and Kosovo\*. Agreement has been signed, however devil is in details, Bugajski said. He said that there is a lot of lacks in this process, according to his words different interpretations of an agreement by Serbia and Kosovo\* sides is a problem, than other issues such as Kosovo\* side pushing the issue of civil rights for Albanians in Serbian Presevo valley etc. Other problem and even bigger danger is lack of concrete prospects for the EU membership, Bugajski pointed out. Mr. Bugajski said that Croatia is next EU member but problem which occurs is who is going to be next EU member and when. Montenegro is on good path towards the EU, but after that he is not sure about European perspectives of other Balkan countries. Bugajski said that there are two reasons for this point of view. First reason is commitment to the reform program, and second reason is future of the EU, having in mind that we do not know how the EU will look like in five or ten years, whether the euro zone will fracture or whether UK will leave, or is there going to be an appetite for absorption of a new member states.

Minister Ceku said that from his and Kosovo\* point of view Brussels Agreement is historical one and represents a new momentum for the entire region. Kosovo\* and Serbia issues for many years obstruct cooperation within the region so now this could be changed, minister pointed out. Minister said that this is a political problem and according to his words Kosovo\* is very committed in solving it. Minister said that the biggest achievement of this Agreement is the fact that Serbia and Kosovo\* are talking now and showing commitment and courage to cooperate and discuss different problems. However, Minister said that there are different interpretations of the Agreement. For Kosovo\* point of view this agreement has two important things. First, this agreement means peaceful reintegration of the north in the constitutional and legal system of the Republic of Kosovo\* and secondly, this agreement means normalization of relations between Kosovo\* and Serbia as a two neighboring countries, minister said.

***Ceku: Activation of military forces in the Northern Kosovo has never been an option and will never be an option.***

Dr. Bugajski commented on the growing economic and political influence of Russia in the region, stating that he sees Russia not as a returner at the Balkans but as a country which try to prevent Balkans moving into joint NATO-EU block. Dr. Bugajski also stressed that he does not think that there is enough commitment to further enlargement of NATO. He said that he would personally like to Montenegro gets a call at the next summit, but he doesn't see that American leadership is committed to this, perhaps this will change.

In the following of the panel discussion minister Ceku confirmed that Kosovo\* is transforming the Armed forces and the goal of this process according to minister's words is the establishment of defense capabilities.

## **PANEL DISCUSSION IV: "THE RISE OF TURKEY IN THE BALKANS"**

What is behind Turkey's new assertiveness in the western Balkans; is it an example of "neo-Ottoman" imperial dreams, economic interests or strategic goals, are just a few of questions that this panel tried to answer. Moderated by an experienced moderator Dr. Amadeo Watkins, Director of INNDEGO this panel provided in depth analyzes of growing Turkey political and economic influence in the Balkans. Panelists were: **Amb. Murat Karagöz**, Minister Counselor, Deputy Director General for the Balkans and Central Europe in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, **Dr. Mustafa Aydin**, Professor and Rector of the Kadir Has University in Istanbul, **Mr. Greg Ohannessian**, Analyst and Project Manager at the Institute for Near East and Gulf Military Analysis, INEGMA, Dubai, and **Dr. Craig R. Nation**, Director of the Russian and Eurasian Studies in the U.S. Army War College. Panelist discussed how much of this story is a myth and how much of it is a reality. Prof. Aydin said that Turkey's foreign policy in general as well as in particular in Balkans is much of the myth than reality, because he doesn't see evidences of the imperial policy. Prof. Aydin stressed that Turkey support NATO and the EU membership of the Balkan countries, thus according to professor's words Turkey's intention is to pacify the region and create stability zone. The reason for this is because whatever happens within the neighboring region it will inevitably affects Turkey. Active involvement of Turkey in the neighborhood is a reflection of Turkey's growing self confidence, increased international standing and increased economic power. Mr. Karagoz as a state official emphasized couple of reasons for Turkey's increased involvement in the Balkans. He said that historical relations with region, geographically closeness, and economic trade routes which go through Balkan countries influence growing Turkey's engagement within the region. Panelists spoke about possible membership of Turkey in the EU as well as in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. They discussed broader Turkey's engagement and tried to find reasons for this foreign policy way. Panel provoked a lot of questions by audience.

One of the panel conclusions were that the interest of Turkey is beyond Balkan region and goes to many other places.

## **PANEL DISCUSSION V: "US-RUSSIA RELATIONS: RIVALRY OR PARTNERSHIP?"**

The final session looked at the issues of the U.S. – Russia relations. It was moderated by Dr. **Sharyl Cross**, Professor at The College of International and Security Studies, Marshall Center. The panel was comprised of **Mr. Scott W. Roenicke**, Senior Politico-Military Advisor (Russia) Joint Chiefs of Staff, Pentagon, **Dr. Nadia Arbatova**, Professor Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Russia, **Amb. Robert S. Gelbard**, Atlantic Council of the U.S., and **Mr. Gennady Sysoev**, Editor in Chief of Foreign Policy, "Komersant", Russia. Panel kicked off with Dr. Cross short overview of the panel. Prof. Cross stressed importance of addressing issues of cooperation between these two countries in different

arenas, from arms control and proliferation to Afghanistan cooperation, Syria issues, cooperation with China, relations with NATO etc.

Moderator Cross started with direct question to Mr. Roenicke what are the major challenges in the U.S.-Russia relations. Mr. Roenicke pointed out mistrust which defines relationship between two countries throughout the years. Mr. Roenicke said that despite the good military to military cooperation between these two countries there is a lot of distrust. The reason for this is insecurity and cold war legacy, Roenicke stressed. However, Mr. Roenicke said that President Obama is willing to change nature of this relationship and that this will be noticeable at two next meetings between Russia and the U.S. presidents to be held in Ireland and Russia which will be the first summit since Bush administration.

Dr. Arbatova said that the U.S. – Russia relations did not start with presidential term of Vladimir Putin and many problems of distrust are rooted in the two last decades of collapse of USSR and cold war end, U.S. interference in the economic reforms, Bush administration arrogant policy etc. Russia did not find proper place in the Euro-Atlantic space of cooperation and that is why Russia is finding new partners and allies in foreign policy in some other destinations such as Euroasia, China etc., Arbatova stressed. Dr. Arbatova said that in 2013 the prospects of the U.S.-Russia relations look dubious as never before. The reason for this according to Dr. Arbatova words is not as much complexity of the problems that the U.S. and Russia have to address but rather the general political background in two countries which is mostly domestic. Liberal Obama's administration faces a strong conservative Republican opposition. Obama's domestic economic and foreign policy, including relations with Moscow opposition challenged. But this situation is not new, what is new is the impact of Russian national progress in Russian foreign policy, Arbatova stressed. She said that for Putin surprise were not the reactions of the West when he came back but strong protest movement in Russia. The Liberals were not the biggest part of the protest movement, however Putin has the most disagreement with them, and liberals receive the greatest moral and political support from the West, so they are considered as a creation of the West. Having in mind all above mentioned west is considered as an external threat to Russian security, Arbatova pointed out. However, although the U.S. and Russia have deep differences their cooperation in many areas functions, so it would be wrong to say that these two countries coming back in the Cold War times, Arbatova emphasized.

Ambassador Gelbard said that Russia really has no history of democracy; it is a new democracy and a young market economy. Amb. Gelbard said that these kinds of transformations do not happen overnight, and that developing strong democratic institutions takes time. In order to attract large investors country has to have strong institutions of the rule of law, and legal certainty. Ambassador said that is inevitable that the majority of these processes will have ups and downs, and this is currently happening in Russia, but at the moment this is one of the down periods. There is a little interest for investing in Russia at the moment because of the lack of legal certainty and the combination of the political and economic environment. Gelbard said that he is very optimistic about the future of Russia; it is a great power and as such will continue to exist, however when it comes to bilateral relations these two countries going through critical times. 2013 will be extremely important, particularly because of two summit meetings between our presidents, Gelbard said. According to Ambassador's words the issue of missile defense will be critical. He said that he was very active in Obama presidential campaign, so his views on this issue are clear. Ambassador said that he believes that America has made significant concessions when it comes to missile defense. The U.S. and Russia have a very good cooperation with a number of geopolitical areas such as North Korea and a lot of others, however the complicated areas such as Iran, Syria and other countries require better cooperation, Ambassador stressed.

Furthermore, panelists discussed different aspects of the U.S.-Russia relations such as involvement in Syrian civil war, Russia-NATO relations, the role of media in creating different views in these two countries etc.

Mr. Roenicke answered directly on a question if he thinks that Russia can become a NATO member. His answer was that Russia should be an integrated and coherent member of European security architecture.

## CLOSING REMARKS

After a lively and informative debate, the Forum was closed with expressions of thanks to all the participants as well as partners and organizers from Dr. Savo Kentera, President of the Atlantic Council of Montenegro and Founder of 2BS (To Be Secure) Forum.

## MEDIA COVERAGE

2BS Forum 2013 was tremendously well broadcasted in Montenegro and abroad. 40 media crews were following this year's event. 2BS Forum media coverage this year started with announcement of the



event in Daily Press Vijesti, Portal Vijesti, Atlas Television and Radio Television of Montenegro from June 4 to June 8, 2013.

Official Opening of the Forum as well as panel discussion on Serbia and Kosovo\* issues were broadcasted in Montenegro as well as in the SEE region at all influential media outlets (TV, radio, online portals, daily press, etc.). 2BS Forum 2013 media partners Radio Television of Montenegro, Atlas TV and Daily Press Vijesti had continuous reports from the spot. 2BS

Media Partners had two special primetime broadcasted TV shows devoted to 2BS Forum. RTCG had show devoted to 2BS Forum 2013 lasting 30 minutes and ATLAS TV devoted one hour show to this event. A number of journalists conducted interviews at the Forum with influential figures and participants of the Forum. Regional media outlets that broadcasted from the event were: Radio Television of Serbia, PINK Serbia, PRVA Serbia, B92 Serbia, MHC Serbia, INFOBIRO Belgrade, Duga Novi Sad, Voice of America etc, Anadolu Agency, Aljazeera Balkans, Deutsche Welle etc.

## Organizer



## Under the Auspices



## Strategic Partners



## Partners



## General Sponsors



## Friend of the Forum



## Media Partners



## With Support of





**ATLANTIC COUNCIL OF MONTENEGRO**

Cetinjski put  
City Kwart I-4/21  
81000 Podgorica  
Montenegro

Phone/Fax: +382 (0) 20 510 806/807;

Email: [2bs@cir.org.me](mailto:2bs@cir.org.me)

[www.2bs.me](http://www.2bs.me) | [www.atacg.org](http://www.atacg.org)