



THE EU IN A CHANGING GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT: WHAT NEXT FOR EU'S NEIGHBOURS

International round table discussion with think-tank representatives in the framework of EU's Global Foreign Policy Strategy Review

Sofia, 23 July 2015, Hilton Sofia Hotel



BACKGROUND AND AIMS

The review of the European Security Strategy of 2003 has started a long-awaited process that has been called for by practitioners and analysts alike. Since 2003, the EU's strategic environment has changed dramatically. The challenges we face vary both geographically and in their nature, be them climate change, cyber security, scarcity of natural resources, hybrid wars, ethnic and religious conflicts or migration. With the launch of the EU's Global Foreign Policy Review, an even bigger challenge is still standing – to guide the process accordingly and avoid its derailment in the sense of an ever-widening scope (i.e. attempting to address all issues and as a result fail to focus on those of immediate and pressing significance). Indeed, in 2015 we face a Europe that is “more connected, more contested and more complex”, but the reality remains that Europe needs first and foremost to take care of its neighbourhood, not only for the sake of its own security, but also for the sake of paying its dues to the transatlantic partnership. Following this rationale, the Western Balkans, Turkey and the Eastern Neighbourhood should be in the core of the review. In order to contribute to the process, ECFR and Sofia Platform are jointly hosting think tanks from neighbouring regions, in order to feed into the review processes of the Global Foreign Policy Strategy and the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP).

Developments such as the anti-government protests in Macedonia from May 2015 and the dawning eruption of violence, testify to the EU's “sin of neglect”. Further external challenges that affect the region and might affect its stability are presented by the fractured regional order in the Middle East and North Africa (in terms of migration) and the broken post-Cold War security order (in respect to dwindling credibility of multilateral arrangements, including the EU). Given that presently there is no rival integrationist project for the Western Balkans, the EU should move fast before the competing economic and geopolitical interests of Russia and/or Turkey conceive a tempting alternative to EU membership.

The Eastern Partnership (EaP) countries – especially Ukraine – have become the scene where the core principles of the liberal European order are being challenged. Do these countries have the right to decide their own future? If so, who can enforce this against Russian opposition? The EU needs a strategy for this “grey zone” that did not exist during the Cold War. At the same time, although Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova have all signed Association Agreements with the EU, they struggle to enact reforms and remain vulnerable to Russian pressure. In addition, these countries still experience a massive disconnectedness between society and the elites on the issue of their European future which adds to their vulnerability.

Having in mind the described background, the review processes in place should show the reasons why the time to act is now and demonstrate how failure to do so will entail irreversible loss on the side of the EU. It is imperative to maintain the consensus that will bring member states and institutions together in a strategic framework with concrete implementable actions in relation to the Western Balkans and the Eastern Neighborhood. Energy is one of the crossing points for both regions as well as for the EU. In this respect, it is the important role of think tanks and NGOs to provide their input and to ensure a thorough and result-oriented strategic review when it comes to energy security and diversification.

PROGRAMME

Thursday, 23 July 2015

Mussala I&II, Hilton Sofia Hotel

12:00 – 13:00 **REGISTRATION**
Entrance hall, Hilton Sofia Hotel

13:00 – 14:30 **UNREWARDING CROSSROADS:
THE BLACK SEA REGION AMIDST THE EU AND RUSSIA**
Regional cooperation saw its boost in the early 1990s when out of the decades-long rivalry a new world order emerged, one that abandoned the zero-sum thinking and focused on partnership and trust-building measures. But in a world “more complex, connected and contested” the Black Sea saw the EU preoccupied with inter-EU problems, Turkey drawn towards its southern crisis and the US pivot to Asia. The idea of the Black Sea as a compact region never materialized but has instead morphed into what is perceived by many as “unrewarding crossroads”. Here most of the littoral countries are facing the difficult and costly dilemma between what now look like two irreconcilable projects – the European Union and the Eurasian Union. Meanwhile the region experiences a more assertive China. Amidst what many call a new post-Cold War world order in the making, it is important for the EU to realise what it wants from its neighbours to the east and what it is realistically ready to offer them?

The panel is dedicated to the launch of a publication by the same name with the support of the Black Sea Trust of the German Marshall Fund and the Robert Bosch Foundation.

Introductory remarks: **Georgi Pirinski**, Member of the European Parliament, ECFR Council Member (Bulgaria)

Andrey Makarychev, Visiting Professor at University of Tartu in Estonia (Russia)

Ghia Nodia, Chairman of the Caucasus Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development (Georgia)

Iryna Solonenko, DAAD/OSF Scholar at the European University Viadrina Frankfurt/Oder (Ukraine)

Richard Giragosian, Founding Director of Regional Studies Center (Armenia)

Moderator: **Louisa Slavkova**, ECFR/Sofia Platform (Bulgaria)

14:30 – 15:00 **Coffee break**

PROGRAMME

15:00 – 16:00

THE EUROPEAN FOREIGN POLICY AND THE BULGARIAN PERSPECTIVE

Daniel Mitov, Minister of Foreign Affairs (Bulgaria)

Federica Mogherini, High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-President of the European Commission

Meglana Kuneva, Deputy Prime Minister for European Policies Coordination and Institutional Affairs, ECFR Council Member (Bulgaria)

Moderator: **Vessela Tcherneva**, Programme Director and Head of ECFR Sofia Office (Bulgaria)

16:15 – 17:45

THE EU'S UNFINISHED BUSINESS: WHAT NEXT FOR THE WESTERN BALKANS AND TURKEY?

Amidst the various crises in Europe, of which the events in Greece are both a cause and a symptom, the recent anniversary of Srebrenica reminded us of how divided the Balkans are. This division can be attributed to a number of factors including the lack of a common narrative and the sweeping of problems under the carpet by promoting normalisation discourse in an attempt to attract investment. In this context, it is worth considering that Europe is no longer the only game in town. Both Turkey and Russia could offer an alternative to European integration for Balkan countries with uncertain membership prospects for the near future. In addition, the ever more proactive foreign policy of Gulf countries could have a role to play in the region. Therefore, instead of asking what is left for Europe to do in the Balkans, we should try to assess what the cost would be of continuing the current trajectory. The implication of the Greek crisis for EU enlargement should also be considered, as EU aid to accession countries for the current multiannual financial framework is almost eight times lower than the last package for Greece. However, the most pertinent question remains – what is the cost of not having the Western Balkans and Turkey in the EU?

Introductory remarks: **Dzhema Grozdanova**, Head of Foreign Affairs Committee, Bulgarian National Assembly, ECFR Council Member (Bulgaria)

Alida Vracic, Executive Director of the think tank Popolari (Bosnia and Herzegovina)

Hedvig Morvai, Executive Director of the European Fund for the Balkans, ECFR Council Member (Serbia)

Remzi Lani, Executive Director of the Albanian Media Institute (Albania)

Sinan Ülgen, Chairman of the Center for Economics and Foreign Policy Studies (Turkey)



Stevo Pendarovski, Assistant Professor, the University American College Skopje (Macedonia)

Moderator: **Tim Judah**, The Economist (UK)

17:45 – 18:00 Coffee break

18:00 – 19:30 **BEYOND THE PIPELINE KNOT: THE FUTURE OF THE ENERGY SECTOR IN THE WIDER EUROPE REGION**

International energy relations are often seen through the lens of gas and oil deliveries and the dependencies between exporting and importing countries. However, the nature of the energy sector is changing. With the advance of the climate change negotiations, energy has become a truly global policy subject. Both the energy market and governance failure have played a significant role in the Ukrainian crisis. Changing technologies as well as the sharp decline of renewables cost are taking international energy relations far beyond the concerns of the oil price and cross-border oil and gas pipelines.

The debate on energy security is now less focused on conventional supply routes and increasingly on interconnectedness, energy demand and energy markets; less on gas and oil and more on electricity, heating, cooling or research. The old division of energy exporters and energy importers is increasingly less defined and the role of gas corridors assigned to some countries is being challenged. The Southern Gas Corridor for instance is crossing countries with strong and growing energy demand and ambitions to become major players in energy generation. Such trends are affecting the evolving foreign energy policies of the EU. So what role is EU's neighbourhood going to play in determining the internal energy policies of the EU?

Introductory remarks: **Julian Popov**, Fellow of the European Climate Foundation (Bulgaria/UK)

Anca Mihalache, Senior Analyst at Energy Policy Group (Romania)

Chi Kong Chyong, Director of Energy Policy Forum at the University of Cambridge (UK/Ukraine)

Oktay Tanrisever, Editor, Energy and Diplomacy Journal, Professor at the Department of International Relations, Middle East Technical University (Turkey)

Moderator: **Adelina Marini**, Founder and Editor-in-chief of euinside (Bulgaria)

19:30 CLOSING REMARKS



Adelina Marini
 Founder and editor
 in chief of euinside
 (Bulgaria)

Adelina Marini is a Bulgarian journalist, founder of the www.euinside.eu website on EU politics and economy. She has followed the accession process of Bulgaria to the EU and has a special focus on the enlargement process of the countries from the region of the Western Balkans and Turkey. Currently, she is stationed in Zagreb, Croatia to monitor closely Croatia's EU accession and its impact on the region. Adelina Marini has been a journalist for most of her life, starting her career in the Bulgarian National Radio. She regularly teaches MAs of international journalism how to report on the EU at the Sofia University.



Alida Vracic
 Executive Director
 of think tank
 Populari
 (Bosnia and
 Herzegovina)

Alida Vracic is Director and a co-founder of Populari, a think tank based in Sarajevo, since 2007. Prior to founding Populari, Alida worked with the European Stability Initiative, a think tank based in Berlin, on projects related to judicial and economic issues. She has also led several Balkan-wide projects at the Human Rights Centre at Sarajevo University and at the Spanish Institutional Programme for institutional co-operation of judicial nature with the ombudsman, bar associations and associations of judges in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the region. Alida Vracic has also worked for the State Court prosecutor's team and at the Human Rights Commission within the Constitutional Court of Bosnia.



Anca Mihalache
 Senior Analyst
 at Energy Policy
 Group
 (Romania)

Anca Mihalache works as a Senior Analyst with the Energy Policy Group, a Romanian think tank specializing in energy security and as a Researcher for Wikistrat, a global crowd-sourced consultancy for geostrategic analysis and forecasting. Prior to this, she has worked for three years as an adviser in the Department for Strategic Affairs and International Security within the Romanian Presidential Administration, where she conducted research and analysis of political and economic issues, with focus on the European Union, the Wider Black Sea Region and Central Asia. She also worked as a researcher at the Centre for Conflict Prevention and Early Warning where she focused on energy security issues in Europe and its neighbourhood.



Andrey Makarychev
 Visiting Professor
 at University of Tartu
 in Estonia
 (Russia)

Andrey Makarychev is Guest Professor at the Institute of Government and Politics, University of Tartu, Senior Research Fellow at CIDOB in Barcelona and lecturer at the Institute for Global Politics at the Free University in Berlin. He is a former fellow of Alexander von Humboldt Foundation and the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies in Washington, DC. His previous employers were the Danish Institute for International Studies, Center for Conflict Studies and Peace Research at ETH in Zurich, and Nizhny Novgorod Linguistic University. Andrey Makarychev lectured at Universities of Malmo in Sweden, Regensburg in Germany and George Mason University in the United States. His current research projects focus on the role of soft power instruments in the Baltic Sea Region and the South Caucasus.



Chi Kong Chyong
 Director of Energy Policy Forum
 at the University of Cambridge
 (UK/Ukraine)

Chi Kong Chyong is Director of Energy Policy Forum at the University of Cambridge. He holds a PhD in Energy Economics and Policy from Cambridge Judge Business School and an MPhil in Technology Policy from Cambridge. Before coming to Cambridge, he worked as a researcher at the National Academy of Sciences in Ukraine. Since completing his PhD, Kong has been a research associate at EPRG working mostly on natural gas market modelling and Eurasian gas trade relations as well as on energy infrastructure investment.



Daniel Mitov
 Minister of Foreign Affairs
 (Bulgaria)

Daniel Mitov is Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria since 2014. Before that, since the autumn of 2010, he worked for the US National Democratic Institute (NDI) in Iraq, where he was Program Manager of the Political Party Development program. As an official NDI representative, he has also worked in Belgium, Libya, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ukraine, Yemen and Tunisia. In 2006, he became Executive Director of the Democracy foundation, and then Vice President of Democrats for Strong Bulgaria (DSB) party. He has participated in the establishment of Bulgaria for the Citizens political party. In 2002, Daniel Mitov worked at the Political Academy for Central and Southeast Europe as part of the Bulgarian School of Politics team and Razum magazine.



Dzhema Grozdanova
 Head of Foreign Affairs Committee,
 Bulgarian National Assembly, ECFR
 Council Member
 (Bulgaria)

Dzhema Grozdanova was elected a member of the 41st Bulgarian National Assembly in 2009 from the quota of the political party Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (GERB) and a President of the Parliamentary Committee on European Affairs and Oversight of European Funds. From 2009 to 2011 she was a vice President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) in Strasbourg, France. From 2011 to 2013 she was Head of the delegation of the 41st Bulgarian National Assembly to PACE. In 2013 she was elected a Member of the 42nd Bulgarian National Assembly from the GERB quota. During the early parliamentary elections in 2014 she was elected a Member of the 43rd Bulgarian National Assembly. She is the President of the Committee on Foreign Policy and Head of the delegation of the Bulgarian National Assembly to PACE.



Federica Mogherini
 High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-President of the European Commission

Federica Mogherini is High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-President of the Commission since 2014. Before that she was Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy and a Member of the Italian Parliament (Chamber of Deputies) where she was elected for the first time in 2008. In her parliamentary capacity, she has been the Head of the Italian Delegation to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly and Vice-President of its Political Committee in 2013-2014, member of the Italian Delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in 2008-2013, Secretary of the Defence Committee in 2008-2013 and member of the Foreign Affairs Committee. She has been in the leadership of the Italian Democratic Party since its foundation in 2007.



Georgi Pirinski
Member of the
European Parliament, ECFR Council
Member
(Bulgaria)

Georgi Pirinski is Member of the European Parliament since 2014. He is member of the Committee on Employment and Social Affairs and the Committee on Budgetary Control. Previously, he was Member of the Bulgarian National Assembly for the period 1990-2013 and a President of the 40th Bulgarian National Assembly. During the same period he was member of the Leaderships of the Bulgarian Socialist Party and of the Parliamentary Group of the Coalition for Bulgaria. From 2005 to 2009 he was Chairman of the Programme Commission of the Bulgarian Socialist Party. Georgi Pirinski was Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria in the period 1995-1996. He was also member of the VII Grand National Assembly in 1990-1991.



Ghia Nodia
Chairman of the
Caucasus Institute
for Peace, Democracy
and Development
(Georgia)

Ghia Nodia is Professor of Politics and Director of the International School of Caucasus Studies in Ilia State University in Tbilisi, Georgia. He is also a Founder and Leader of the Caucasus Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development (CIPDD), an independent public policy think tank in Tbilisi, Georgia. In 2008, he served as Minister of Education and Science of Georgia. His research is focused on the topics of democracy, security, state-building and nation-building in terms of both theory and analysis of on-going developments in Georgia and the post-Communist region.



Hedvig Morvai
Executive Director
of the European
Fund for the Balkans,
ECFR Council
Member
(Serbia)

Hedvig Morvai is Executive Director of the European Fund for the Balkans since 2007, an initiative aimed at strengthening democracy and fostering European integration of the Western Balkans. Prior to this she served as director of the Citizens' Pact for South Eastern Europe, she was coordinating the Novi Sad office of Partnership for Democratic Changes and she was engaged in the EXIT Festival team. In 1997 she was founder and vice president of the Hungarian Student Association of Vojvodina. She serves on the boards of: the Center for Advanced Studies in Rijeka; Council of the Serbia-Germany Forum; the Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence and the Share Foundation. Moreover she is member of the European Council on Foreign Relations, the Epos Network and the Serbian-American Women's Leadership Network. In 2006 she was laureate of the Maja Marsicevic-Tasic Foundation's "Conquering Freedom Award".



Iryna Solonenko
DAAD/OSF Scholar
at the European
University Viadrina
Frankfurt/Oder
(Ukraine)

Iryna Solonenko is a DAAD/OSF scholar at the European University Viadrina, Frankfurt/Oder and an associate fellow of the Robert Bosch Center for Central and Eastern Europe at the German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP). Between 2000 and 2012 she worked with the Open Society Foundations in Ukraine and with the EastWest Institute in Kyiv. In the period 2006-2007 she was a visiting research associate at the University of Birmingham, UK. Her research interests include European Neighbourhood Policy and Eastern Partnership, political economy of post-Soviet transformation, including the nexus between the political power and oligarchic control, and civil society development with a focus on Ukraine.



Julian Popov
Fellow of the
European Climate
Foundation
(Bulgaria/UK)

Julian Popov is a Fellow of the European Climate Foundation, Chairman of the Building Performance Institute Europe and Energy Security Adviser of the President of Bulgaria. He leads the South East Europe Grid Initiative which catalyses high level energy policy cooperation among countries in wider South East Europe, including Turkey and the Western Balkans. Julian is a former Minister of Environment of Bulgaria, founding Vice Chancellor and current Board Member of the New Bulgarian University, former Chairman and current Board Member of the Bulgarian School of Politics and co-founder of the Tunisian School of Politics. Julian is author of two books and writes regularly on current affairs and energy policy.



Louisa Slavkova
ECFR/Sofia Platform
(Bulgaria)

Louisa Slavkova is Executive Director and founding member of Sofia Platform. She is also Programme Coordinator at the European Council on Foreign Relations. She was political adviser to the interim Bulgarian Minister of Environment in 2013. She served as an adviser of the former Minister of Foreign Affairs Nickolay Mladenov (2010-2013), holding the public diplomacy portfolio, focusing on Bulgaria's role for countries in transition in the MENA and on the Balkans. Prior to that Louisa worked with the German Federal Agency for Civic Education on the development of a European Network for Civic Education (NECE).



Oktay Tanrisever
Editor, Energy and
Diplomacy Journal,
Chairperson at the
Area Studies PhD
Program, Middle
East Technical
University
(Turkey)

Oktay Tanrisever is an Associate Professor at the Department of International Relations of the Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey. He is also the Chairperson of the Area Studies PhD Program at the same university. After graduating from the BSc and MSc programs in International Relations of the Middle East Technical University, he received his PhD degree from the University of London. His publications in English, Turkish and Russian cover the following topics: Turkey's energy diplomacy, Turkey's relations with Russia and other post-Soviet states, regional politics in the Black Sea, the Caucasus and Central Asia, management of ethnic conflicts and theories of international relations.



Meglana Kuneva
Deputy Prime
Minister for
European Policies
Coordination and
Institutional Affairs,
ECFR Council
Member
(Bulgaria)

Meglana Kuneva is Deputy Prime Minister for European Policies Coordination and Institutional Affairs since November 2014 and a Chairman of Bulgaria for Citizens Movement political party. She was the first Bulgarian European Commissioner and the first Commissioner in charge of Protection of Consumer Rights in the European Commission. In 2008 Kuneva was awarded the Commissioner of the Year Award. In 2001 she was appointed Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Chief Negotiator on Bulgaria's accession to the European Union and in 2002 – Bulgaria's first Minister of European Affairs, a post which she held until her election as EU Commissioner in 2007. In 2005 she successfully completed the process of drafting the Treaty of Accession of Bulgaria to the EU, and in 2007 – the process of ratification of the document by the other 25 EU Member States.



Remzi Lani
Executive Director of
the Albanian media
institute
(Albania)

Remzi Lani is Executive Director of the Albanian Media Institute. Lani was the founder and the first President of the South East Network of Media Centers and Media Institutes, which brings together 15 Media Institutes/Media Centers from SEE. He is author of various articles on Balkan affairs for different local and foreign papers and magazines such as: *El Mundo* (Spain), *The Guardian* (UK), *The International Spectator* (Italy), *Vreme* (Serbia), *Oslobodjenje* (Bosnia and Herzegovina), *Monitor* (Montenegro), *Europe's world* (Belgium) etc. As an expert on the Balkans and security issues, Remzi Lani has worked on numerous projects with different international organizations and institutes.



Richard Giragosian
Founding Director
of Regional Studies
Center
(Armenia)

Richard Giragosian is the Founding Director of the Regional Studies Center (RSC), an independent think tank located in Yerevan, Armenia, and serves as a Visiting Professor and as a Senior Expert at the Yerevan State University's Center for European Studies (CES). He is also a contributing analyst for *Oxford Analytica*. Giragosian previously served as a guest lecturer for the U.S. Army Special Forces and as a Professional Staff Member of the Joint Economic Committee (JEC) of the U.S. Congress. He has also served as a consultant for the Asian Development Bank (ADB), the European Union Delegation to Armenia, the International Crisis Group (ICG), the French Ministry of Defence, as well as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the U.S. Departments of Defence and State.



Sinan Ülgen
Chairman of the
Center for Economics
and Foreign Policy
Studies
(Turkey)

Sinan Ülgen is the chairman of the Istanbul based think tank, Center for Economics and Foreign Policy Studies (EDAM) and a visiting scholar at Carnegie Europe in Brussels. His research and opinion pieces have been published by *Le Figaro*, *Financial Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *European Voice*, *Project Syndicate* and the *International New York Times*. He is also the co-author of a book on Turkey-EU relations with Kemal Dervis and a frequent commentator on Turkish affairs in the international press. Ülgen is academic advisory board member of the NATO Defence College in Rome and was a member of the international policy experts' group setup by the NATO Secretary General Rasmussen. Previously he was part of the Turkish Foreign Service as a career diplomat. In 1992, he was posted to the Turkish Permanent Delegation to the European Union in Brussels where he became part of the team that negotiated the Turkey-EU Customs Union.



Stevo Pendarovski
Assistant Professor,
the University
American College
Skopje
(Macedonia)

Stevo Pendarovski is Assistant Professor in International Security, Foreign Policy and Globalization at the University American College Skopje. In 2014 he was candidate in the Macedonian presidential elections of the Social Democratic Union of Macedonia. He was National Security and Chief Foreign Policy Adviser to President Boris Trajkovski from 2001 until 2004. After heading the State Election Commission in 2004–2005 he went on to serve again as National Security and Chief Foreign Policy Adviser to the following President, Branko Crvenkovski, from 2005 to 2009.



Tim Judah
The Economist
(UK)

Tim Judah is a journalist, covering predominantly the Balkans, for the Economist. He is the author of three books on the Balkans: “The Serbs: History, Myth and the Destruction of Yugoslavia”; “Kosovo: War & Revenge” and “Kosovo: What Everyone Needs to Know”. From 1990 to 1991 he lived in Bucharest and covered the aftermath of communism in Romania and Bulgaria for The Times and The Economist. After that he moved to Belgrade for both publications in order to cover the war in Yugoslavia. In 2009 he was a Senior Visiting Research Fellow at the South East European Research Unit of the European Institute at the London School of Economics, where he developed the concept of the “Yugosphere”. He is the president of the Board of the Balkan Investigative Reporting Network and a member of the board of the Kosovar Stability Initiative.



Vessela Tcherneva
Programme Director
and Head of ECFR
Sofia Office
(Bulgaria)

Vessela Tcherneva is Programme Director, Head of the ECFR Sofia Office and a senior policy fellow at ECFR. She is the co-founder of Sofia Platform. From 2010 to 2013 she was the spokesperson for the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a member of the political cabinet of Foreign Minister Nickolay Mladenov. She has been the head of the Sofia office of the European Council on Foreign Relations since 2008 and Programme Director for Foreign Policy Studies at the Centre for Liberal Strategies in Sofia since 2003. Between 2004 and 2006 she was secretary of the International Commission on the Balkans, chaired by former Italian Prime Minister Giuliano Amato. She has been a supervising editor for Foreign Policy - Bulgaria magazine since its launch in 2005.



Sofia Platform



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