



Security Jam
Brainstorming global security

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Spring

2015

Security Jam report

Reappraising global security



A Friends of Europe report

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Publisher: Geert Cami

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Year of publication: 2015

This publication has been financed by the European External Action Service

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The 10 recommendations were selected on the basis of their degree of innovation and pragmatism. They were not voted on.

Spring 2015 Security Jam report Reappraising global security



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Foreword



GILES MERRITT,
Secretary General
Friends of Europe

Time was when foreign policy and security doctrines were the preserve of a few, written and debated in tight-knit circles of power that excluded outsiders, however expert they might be. That was before the information revolution.

Now, digital communications are overhauling the ways policies are made, and the third Security Jam is a shining example of the value of widespread consultation as a way of establishing consensus.

Imagine a conversation in which several thousand minds grapple with the same set of problems within the space of a few days. That's what this year's Jam achieved; its participants from around the world and from a rich variety of professional backgrounds managed to find a great deal of common ground.

Security and defence decisions that are not rooted in consensus and public approval risk being overturned sooner or later – we have only to look back a few years to see that. And that's why the Jam is making an extremely positive contribution to European and transatlantic security policy thinking.

The 2014 Security Jam brought together almost 2 300 participants from 129 countries, showing that the global security community is engaged, and wishes to become more engaged than ever.

Our thanks go out to our partners, first and foremost to IBM and the U.S. European Command and the European External Action Service (EEAS), as well as to the governments of Turkey and Canada (through the Department of National Defence's Defence Engagement Program), for making this massive brainstorm possible. We are also grateful to the Jam's think tank partners, who through their moderation ensured that debates focused on practical solutions to real issues and integrated a wide range of different perspectives. In short, both thanks and congratulations to the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, the International Strategic Research Organisation (USAK), Gateway House: Indian Council on Global Relations, the George C. Marshall Center for European Security Studies, the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM) and the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI).

The Jam's top 10 recommendations offer participants' insights into how Jens Stoltenberg and Federica Mogherini might begin their respective mandates. We hope you enjoy this report and that it offers useful food for thought. The Security & Defence Agenda, now part of the Friends of Europe think tank, looks forward to tracking these issues throughout its programmes in the months ahead.



GEERT CAMI,
Co-Founder & Director
Friends of Europe

Introduction

This is the third time that the Security & Defence Agenda has organised its biennial Security Jam, yet already this unique open forum for discussing the world's most pressing security challenges has become a landmark for policymakers and experts around the world.

The 2014 edition comes at a time of heightened tension in the wake of the momentous events that have shaken the international security landscape in recent months, primarily Russia's confrontation with the West over Ukraine and the new threat posed by the so-called Islamic State organisation in the Middle East.

Early in the Jam, **Gen. Philip M. Breedlove**, NATO's Supreme Allied Commander Europe and VIP jammer, described the Ukraine crisis as an 'era-defining event.' It is forcing a fundamental rethink of geopolitical certainties in ways that were unthought of when the last Jam was held two years ago.

Russia's annexation of Crimea and its intervention in eastern Ukraine have rocked the post-Cold War order and pushed NATO's core territorial defence role to the fore after years when the alliance has focused on out-of-area operations, like those in Afghanistan, Libya and the Balkans. The European Union, which has long sought to deepen and expand its partnership and cooperation agreements, suddenly finds itself forced to impose sanctions on Moscow – and face Russian counter-sanctions. As **Anna Fotyga**, chairwoman of the European Parliament's Subcommittee on Security and Defence, put it, 'the era of dialogue with Russia is over.'

Ways in which NATO and the EU can best protect their members from the threat posed by Putin's Russia – from boosting conventional forces on the territory of eastern allies, to developing tactics against the type of 'hybrid' warfare tactics used so effectively by Moscow in Crimea, while securing Europe's energy supplies and countering Kremlin propaganda campaigns – all featured heavily in Jam discussions.

Of course, Russia's new revanchism was not the only new threat to emerge since 2012. The sudden conquests of the so-called Islamic State in Syria and Iraq took the West by surprise and threaten stability across the region. The U.S. and other Western nations have launched air strikes to counter the radical group's advance, but the success of the so-called Islamic State has raised deep questions about the effectiveness of a decade of Western attempts at nation-building in Iraq, rekindled debate on the future of the Kurds, and injected new urgency into the debate on regional cooperation in the Middle East.



The large numbers of foreign fighters recruited to the ranks of the so-called Islamic State have also blurred the lines between external and domestic threats, creating a whole range of new counter-terrorism challenges, not least the urgent need to answer the question of how the so-called Islamic State's ultra-violent message is able to win over so many young hearts and minds in the West.

The Ukraine crisis and the success of the so-called Islamic State were common threads running through much of the three-day Jam, throwing into relief other long-standing concerns, principally the agreement of NATO Allies to upgrade European defence budgets to the 2% of GDP target while nations struggle to pull out of the economic crisis.

The place of China in the new global security architecture, the prospects for Afghanistan as NATO's role morphs from combat into training and support, hopes for greater NATO-EU cooperation as new leaders take over at both organisations, the EU's role as a security player, and the post-Edward Snowden debate on security vs privacy in the cyber domain all helped to ensure that the Security Jam was more relevant than ever.

Top ten recommendations

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“Two things are urgent, a revision of the European Security Strategy and a yearly defence semester where member states inform each other about the state of their budgets and coordinate cooperation between their armed forces.”

Jaap de Hoop Scheffer
Member of the Praesidium, Friends of Europe, former NATO Secretary General and former Co-President of the Security & Defence Agenda

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recommendations

The new EU & NATO leaders should update their organisations' security strategies, coordinating more closely to ensure greater coherence and mutual reinforcement in shaping the security environment.

Former NATO Secretary General **Jaap de Hoop Scheffer** said it was high time for the EU to modernise its strategy and suggested other steps to raise the Union's security effectiveness. 'Two things are urgent,' he said. 'A revision of the European Security Strategy (dating back to 2003!) and a yearly defence semester where member states inform each other about the state of their budgets and coordinate, where possible, to strengthen the already existing cooperation between their armed forces.'

Differences among member states meant an attempt to update the strategy in 2008 made little progress, but Mogherini has said she will launch a 'process of strategic reflection' that could lead to a new European Strategy.

The arrival of new leaders at the helm of NATO and the European Union was seen by many jammers as an opportunity for both organisations to make progress on updating their security strategies, and to overcome long-standing obstacles to greater cooperation between them to provide more policy and planning coherence at a time of heightened international tensions.

'Common values make NATO and the European Union two crucial players on the international scene, whose mission and ambitions converge on many aspects,' wrote **Mariangela Zappia**, Italy's new Permanent Representative to NATO. 'NATO-EU cooperation has great potential, partially untapped. It can be developed in a pragmatic manner through an intensified political dialogue and the implementation of concrete initiatives between the two organisations, with a particular focus on capabilities. NATO's "smart defence" and the EU's "pooling and sharing" are the two faces of the same coin in this regard.'

NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg and Federica Mogherini, the new EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, have indicated a willingness to push cooperation forward.

One way to avoid overlap and ensure policies dovetail could be to start consultations in the early stages of work on drawing up strategic documents, for example the drafting of new Comprehensive Political Guidance for NATO, or an update of the EU's Security Strategy.

The need to respond to the current uncertain security situation in Europe should help focus the minds of member states this time, said **Lt Gen. (ret.) Ton van Osch**, former Director General of the EU's Military Staff. 'I think now the time is ripe,' he wrote. 'The new security environment around Europe and the change of security priority by the U.S. will give sufficient ground to the need to strengthen the crisis management role of the EU. This will include strengthening the role of the military as a part of a comprehensive approach.'

Jammers had plenty of ideas on what a new strategy might encompass. 'What would it mean if we broaden this to become a global strategy moving beyond a focus on security to focus also on development, human rights, economic interests, etc?,' asked **Lars-Erik Lundin**, Distinguished Associate Fellow at the European Security Programme of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. 'Should such concerns also be subsumed under an ever-widening security concept?'

Lukas Bittner, from the Department of Security Policy at the Austrian Defence Ministry, said the new strategy should address fundamental issues about Europe's defence role. 'A strategy needs to define who we are, what we want and how we get there! Those are the same questions we ask ourselves in terms of national states and sovereignty. Sovereignty is a very sensitive matter in many states and minds.'

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‘Our ideas are good: liberty, democracy, freedom of speech, gender equality, racial equality and so on – they trump anything our opponents offer’

*Adm. (ret.) James Stavridis
President of the Fletcher School, Tufts University and former NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe*

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EU & NATO governments’ strategic communications efforts must be made more coherent and effective so as to counter hostile narratives and underline universal values of democracy and self-determination.

Russia's intervention in Ukraine and the sweeping advance of the so-called Islamic State across Syria and Iraq have both been accompanied by information campaigns that have pushed Western democracies onto the back foot.

The Kremlin's firm hand on domestic media has perpetuated President Vladimir Putin's image as a defender of Crimea and eastern Ukraine from ultra-nationalists in Kyiv. At the same time, Moscow has managed to push its message internationally through well-funded foreign-language media, prominent advocates in the West and effective use of new media, including an online troll army.

The so-called Islamic State and other extremists have used online and word-of-mouth propaganda to recruit hundreds of foreign sympathisers – many of them young men from the West – to fight for them in Syria and Iraq, or to commit acts of terrorism, such as the recent deadly shootings in Ottawa and Paris.

To counter both threats, jammers said Western Allies must upgrade strategic communications to counter hostile propaganda and present credible alternatives to the narratives transmitted by Moscow and the extremist groups.

Alexander Vershbow, NATO's Deputy Secretary General, assured fellow jammers that stepping up the information campaign was now high on the Alliance's agenda. ‘The best counter-measure to Russian disinformation is the truth and the facts,’ he wrote. ‘NATO has improved its ability to get the

facts out via traditional and social media, but we can do better. This will be a priority in the years ahead.’

The theme was also picked up by **Adm. (ret.) James Stavridis**, President of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University and former NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe. ‘Our ideas are good: liberty, democracy, freedom of speech, gender equality, racial equality and so on – they trump anything our opponents offer,’ he said. ‘We need to aggressively push these ideas forward through effective strategic communications, backed up by military capability in the near term.’

There was widespread consensus among jammers that blocking hostile propaganda was not the answer.

‘We are committed to the principles of free speech, so we have to be careful not to suggest banishing or silencing all Russian media,’ said Brussels-based journalist **Leo Cendrowicz**. ‘That does not mean standing still. We need to wake up to these tactics. Western media and authorities need to call out the failings of the Russian media, the twisted coverage, and the villainous trolls that bombard us. This may seem new, but it is an update of the old Soviet playbook, and we should recall the responses we used a generation or two ago.’

Options put forward during the Jam included reviving funding for Western media broadcasting internationally in languages such as Russian and Arabic; developing domestic minority language media in countries such as the Baltic states, which have significant Russian-speaking minorities; and stepping up education and awareness for children and teenagers from minorities targeted by the so-called Islamic State propaganda.

‘In order to fight an ideology you need to do it on the same level, but at the same time present an attractive and alternative combination of both spiritual and material benefits,’ wrote **Alexandros Niklan** from Greece. ‘What is needed here is to form an anti-propaganda campaign, to project and present how a person of a different religion can succeed and enjoy a good life without forgetting his traditions/roots.’

NATO, the EU and the OSCE should stimulate the creation of an Organisation for Security and Cooperation in the Middle East with countries in the region.

'Saudi Arabia and Iran could put old rivalries aside and work together under the umbrella of an international coalition against ISIS as a means to serve their very own interests,' said **Antonia Dimou**, senior advisor at the Research Institute for European and American Studies (RIEAS) in Athens.

Among the ways of doing this, she suggested 'the development of an internationally-backed regional strategy to counter IS which should include both Saudi Arabia and Iran ... The strategy to be pursued by both countries should focus on confidence-building measures such as joint humanitarian missions and rescue operations as well as on the conduct of security discussions on tactics and operations against ISIS.'

NATO's Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Emerging Security Challenges **Jamie Shea** pointed out that regional organisations such as the Gulf Cooperation Council and the Arab League are taking on larger security roles. 'NATO can certainly work more closely with these organisations,' he said. However, Shea cautioned that the level of trust and solidarity among states in the region made it unlikely they would be ready to form any sort of 'Arab NATO' in the near future.

'For the time being, I think the more realistic approach is to help the Arab countries individually to be more resilient against the jihadist threats by helping to train their armed forces. This is the spirit behind the Defence Capacity Building initiative that NATO launched at its summit in Wales recently,' Shea wrote. 'My sense is that we have to overcome the immediate conflict in Syria and the regional crisis posed by the Islamic State and other jihadist organisations and have a period of great calm and stability before we can envisage new security structures for the region.'

With the so-called Islamic State and other radical groups threatening so many states in the Middle East, jammers asked if this fast-evolving danger could serve as a catalyst for nations in the region to put aside long-standing rivalries and develop new structures to reinforce mutual security and cooperation.

Some put forward the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) as a model. **Sergei Oudman**, from the Netherlands, went further, suggesting the creation of an 'Arab NATO'.

'NATO was formed due to a common threat, and I believe the same can be achieved with an Arab variant,' he stated. Oudman proposed that a core of dedicated members including Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar could come together in a regional security organisation, with NATO providing assistance and expertise based on its experience.

The European Union, OSCE and NATO could also offer support. Oudman also recommended Israeli participation, despite the problems its participation would create for some Arab nations.

'The pooling of resources and intelligence solely to combat ISIS can be used as a stepping stone for the next security issue and will help build trust,' Oudman wrote. 'It would take time to flourish, but the current crisis with ISIS is the pivotal moment.'

Several jammers took up the theme of greater regional cooperation against the so-called Islamic State. Many highlighted the positive role of Jordan. Some suggested even bitter rivals could be persuaded to cooperate against the common threat posed by IS, also known as Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS).

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'NATO was formed due to a common threat, and I believe the same can be achieved with an Arab variant'

Sergei Oudman
Political & Security Analyst, The Netherlands



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recommendations



“I am leading my team in ACT to enhance the NDPP to coordinate the framework nation initiatives aiming to achieve operational effectiveness as well as cost efficiency.”

Gen. Jean-Paul Paloméros
NATO Supreme Allied Commander Transformation

NATO's Defence Planning Process must be faster and more innovative to spur nations and industry to deal more effectively with rapidly changing threats.

The Framework Nation Concept could lead to a break with NATO's traditional defence planning procedure that apportions targeted requirements on a national basis. Instead, it would facilitate the development of regional clusters of nations sharing capabilities and maximising limited resources.

Leendert Van Bochoven, NATO and European Defence Leader for IBM, agreed that the NDPP should provide a level of governance for regional collaboration and ensure that regional initiatives address priority capability shortfalls. He added that the Planning Process also needs shorter update cycles.

'NDPP is one of the most strategic processes of NATO, yet it operates at a pace that does not allow it to include fast-paced developments. It includes cyber capabilities now, but still, the cycle times of the process are pretty long,' he wrote. 'Maybe we could increase the cadence of this process across nations in order to be more responsive to changes, whilst reducing the burden on the nations to manage the process.'

Amid the broad backing for the Framework Nation Concept, there were some who raised concerns.

'Is the Framework Nation Concept an answer? Will it not lead to the creation of uncoordinated regional clusters and, consequently, water down the Alliance's cohesion?' asked **Marcin Terlikowski**, Head of the European Security and Defence Economics project at the Polish Institute of International Affairs.

Several jammers highlighted the need to speed up NATO's Defence Planning and introduce more innovative ideas into the process. Proposals included stepping up cooperation with industry and taking forward an idea suggested by Germany last year, and adopted by the September NATO summit in Wales, to designate 'framework nations' as the leads for multinational initiatives to develop capabilities on a regional basis.

'It could be a model. A framework nation could facilitate and enable a group of nations to work multinationally on one or more specific initiatives,' said **Amleto Gabellone**, from the Italian Navy.

NATO's Supreme Allied Commander Transformation, **Gen. Jean-Paul Paloméros**, assured the Jam that framework nation initiatives would be brought into NATO's Defence Planning Process. 'I am leading my team in ACT to enhance the NDPP to coordinate the framework nation initiatives in order to emphasise support to multinational capability development, which also includes ACT's Smart Defence to Nations, aiming to achieve operational effectiveness as well as cost efficiency,' Paloméros said.

NATO should build resilience to absorb asymmetric threats and unconventional attacks by coordinating the work of its Centres of Excellence to this end.

Breedlove stressed that NATO's preparations to confront the hybrid threat must look beyond the military. 'Future strategies must have defined end-states that are politically, economically and socially cohesive. The effectiveness and sustainability of these strategies must be rooted in operative alliances and legitimate institutions invested in synchronised lines of effort,' he wrote.

Many jammers had specific proposals to help counter hybrid tactics.

Jesse Lehrke, research fellow at the German Research Institute for Public Administration in Speyer, proposed engaging online citizens to counter Russian 'hacktivists'; **Thane J. Thompson**, a soldier based in Germany, said NATO planning could be expanded to 'include other strategic goals in economics, governance, rule of law, and social well-being'; **Chad Briggs**, energy and environmental security strategist with GlobalInt LLC, suggested exporting traditional war-game exercises to non-military fora; Estonia's Foreign Minister **Urmas Paet** stressed the importance of education.

'The Wales Summit declaration also highlighted the principles of prevention, detection, resilience, recovery and defence more broadly,' Paet wrote. 'Accomplishing these tasks will require training, training and more training. In order to ensure the best defence, we must be able to provide the best education.'

However, **James Howcroft**, Director of the Programme in Terrorism and Security Studies at the George Marshall European Centre for Security Studies, cautioned that beyond capabilities, Western leaders had to show the resolve needed to face down Russian threats.

'Certainly, Russian use of asymmetric warfare and their skilful use of misinformation made it difficult to respond and played into the seams of Western capability, but in my opinion it was a matter of Western leadership preferring to look away and hope the situation would go away rather than have the courage to admit they have been naive and misled in their dealings with Russia,' he wrote. 'Easier to ignore an inconvenient truth, than admit failure and take a stand.'

Gen. Philip M. Breedlove, NATO's Supreme Allied Commander Europe, was among the first jammers to raise the pressing need for the Alliance to step up its response to the type of 'hybrid warfare' tactics used by Russia and its proxies to destabilise and then take over Crimea and parts of eastern Ukraine.

'The new Russian model of hybrid warfare challenges us in different ways. Now we collectively need to develop those capabilities that first and foremost can recognise hybrid warfare and then react to it. Our job, in what we call phase zero or non-conflict, is to develop capabilities within the nations to do that,' Breedlove wrote. 'We need to adjust our cultural mindset, in that we have to prepare well left of incidents/provocations by Russia. And this will be our task in the coming years.'

NATO's Centres of Excellence could play a significant role in helping nations build resilience against hybrid tactics like those used by Moscow, which included a propaganda blitz, cyberattacks, economic and diplomatic pressure, arming local militia and covert deployments of troops in unmarked uniforms.

Several of NATO's Centres of Excellence are working in areas that could help authorities develop the comprehensive civil and military defences required.

Their effectiveness could be boosted with increased cooperation among those best-equipped to strengthen resilience such as the Strategic Communications COE in Latvia, the Civil-Military Cooperation centre in the Netherlands, the Cooperative Cyber Defence COE in Estonia, the Defence Against Terrorism COE in Turkey, the Lithuania-based Energy Security centre, and the Human Intelligence centre in Romania.



5. “The new Russian model of hybrid warfare challenges us in different ways. Now we collectively need to develop those capabilities that first and foremost can recognise hybrid warfare and then react to it.”

Gen. Philip M. Breedlove
NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe

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recommendations

The EU should set up and maintain an up-to-date and public common picture of migration, asylum and human trafficking flows and operations to ensure an integrated, comprehensive and coherent approach, just as ReliefWeb does for disaster response.

Charlotte Isaksson, Gender Advisor to NATO's Supreme Allied Commander, stressed the importance of information sharing between the military and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in order to create a clear picture of the fight against human trafficking.

'To work effectively within the framework of a comprehensive approach ... we need to engage with CSOs and actors outside the military organisations, ensuring, for example, that the situational awareness we have is based on the full picture,' she told the Jam's chat on human trafficking. 'In terms of training and exercises there are examples of CSOs and NGOs taking part and supporting the capacity building.'

A clear, visible platform could keep public opinion informed of the facts and help coordinate the response of public authorities and NGOs from across the EU. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) could also be involved.

'Better synchronisation is indeed the challenge here and I think with a little more information sharing there could be great improvements in terms of cost and time efficiency,' wrote **Simon Molitor**, Project Assistant at the Security & Defence Agenda in Brussels.

There are limitations to the concept however, **Sara Tesorieri**, EU Conflict and Humanitarian Policy Advisor with Oxfam International, explained.

'I agree that ReliefWeb is excellent, but let's be clear: it's a platform for public information, and operational agencies absolutely do not share their sensitive information or even their internal planning and objectives,' she wrote. 'Perhaps a good platform for aggregating public information and thinking would be useful, but this won't translate to real coordination, let alone strategic alignment, any more than it does for the humanitarian sector.'

ReliefWeb is a digital service run by the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. Set up in 1996, it publishes round-the-clock disaster and crisis updates and analysis for humanitarian organisations, so they can make timely decisions and better plan and coordinate assistance.

During the course of the Jam, participants suggested that a similar 'common operating picture' be developed for other sectors, to show players what others are doing to avoid duplication and better coordinate responses.

'One of the major problems that's been made very clear in all the forums during this year's Security Jam is that we just don't know who is doing what,' said **Michael C. Ryan**, Director for Interagency Partnering at the United States European Command. 'Partnering is a great innovative way to leverage all the resources committed to a common cause, but to find partners one has to know who is doing what. A Common Operating Picture is needed. ReliefWeb is a great example of the power of knowing what's going on.'

Migration, asylum and human trafficking within the European Union were put forward as a perfect match for the ReliefWeb concept. Others said such a concept could also be used to create a common approach to organisations tracking infectious disease.



6. “To work effectively within the framework of a comprehensive approach ... we need to engage with CSOs and actors outside the military organisations ensuring, for example, that the situational awareness we have is based on the full picture”

Charlotte Isaksson
Gender Advisor to NATO's Supreme Allied Commander



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recommendations

“ ‘Encouraging greater gender equality is essential for any organisation to have a more balanced approach to certain issues’ ”



Claire Craanen
Women In International Security (WIIS) in Brussels

EU & NATO gender-inclusiveness efforts should, in the context of UNSCR 1325, be strengthened by substantial increases in the number of women in the forces on the ground engaged in intelligence and information operations.

Passed in 2000, UN Security Council Resolution 1325 reaffirms the role of women in conflict prevention and resolution, including through peace negotiations, peacekeeping and humanitarian response. It calls on all parties to increase the participation of women in peace and security efforts and to enact special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence in conflict situations.

Jam participants emphasised the key role of women in security organisations.

‘Encouraging greater gender equality is essential for any organisation to have a more balanced approach to certain issues,’ wrote **Claire Craanen**, from Women In International Security (WIIS) in Brussels.

Craanen and WIIS Brussels colleague **Gosia Lachut** hosted a Jam chat on gender equality in security and defence organisations. ‘It is commonly said that women have a different approach to hard security and defence issues,’ she added. ‘More equal gender representation not only strengthens an organisation’s understanding of certain issues but also makes it better equipped to adequately respond to its tasks.’

Jörg Barandat, a Hamburg-based Command and Staff College lecturer, argued that operations can be more effective with women’s participation

at all levels, improving situational awareness, information gathering, intelligence and engagement with local populations. ‘Scenarios, theatres, challenges have changed, women nowadays can offer missing links – because they are different,’ he wrote. ‘It’s in the interest of men to have women on board.’

Adam Dempsey, writing from Switzerland, suggested gender could be more frequently factored into PsyOps campaigns through the integration of more female officers at a command level, giving female fighters more visibility in the media and having more female-specific intelligence on the ground.

Female fighters engaged in the Kurdish struggle against the so-called Islamic State may be having a marked psychological impact on their foes, said **Simon Sinek**, author and adjunct staff member of the RAND Corporation. ‘My understanding is that the Islamic extremists believe that if they are killed in battle by a woman, they will not go to heaven,’ he wrote. ‘If this is indeed the case then it seems like good military strategy to, at least, send lots of female fighters into the conflict and pepper ISIL with leaflets letting them know the women are coming.’

Despite the broad consensus on the benefits of female participation, women remain a minority in the security field. WIIS President **Chantal de Jonge Oudraat** suggested quotas could serve as a ‘temporary measure to fix unequal representation.’

Over the longer term however, jammers said education, starting at an early stage, was needed to change mindsets and encourage women to seek careers in the sector. ‘Starting from universities and school can help to change perspectives and ensure a more active participation of women in the field,’ argued **Maria Cristina Mattei**, from the Security & Defence Agenda.

The UN Special Envoy to Syria and others engaged in mediation should reinforce the importance of UNSCR 1325, seeking to ensure that women, including female combatants fighting the so-called Islamic State, are fully represented at all stages of the peace and reconciliation process.

Syria at Sweden's Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation, which promotes the rights of women caught up in conflict.

'In order to contribute to an enabling environment where peace and freedom are guaranteed, the other under-represented 50% of the population must have its say at the negotiating table as well as claiming decision-making positions. If this does not happen, there is a great risk that women's human rights will be subjected to the country's pre-conflict legal framework. The EU, UN, Arab League and other international actors must therefore dialogue with women and grant them access to negotiation spaces.'

Nowzari was not alone in expressing caution over the recent focus on women combatants among the Kurdish Peshmerga fighters. 'There could be ways to help, with a particular focus on women. This should not be solely by glorifying female fighters, but a higher level of diplomacy to help the women on the ground,' wrote **Mehmet Yegin**, Head of the Center for American Studies at the International Strategic Research Organisation (USAK), in Turkey. 'Women working hard for peace should have a similar place in the media as women fighters.'

Other jammers insisted however that the female soldiers are sending a powerful message of change for women in the region.

'The fact that the YPG (Kurdish People's Protection Units) have entire battalions consisting of only women seems to be a good sign,' wrote **Ashwath Komath**, a political science graduate from India. 'If you have numbers within groups like this, it is only then that your demands are converted into rights. It seems to me that there are enough numbers of women to effect that change.'

Pauline Massart, Deputy Director of the Security & Defence Agenda in Brussels, agreed. 'Women who fight will never go back to their old roles in Kurdish society,' she said. 'There will be an evolution, albeit a forced one. Women on the frontline are the catalyst.'

The suffering inflicted upon women in Syria's civil war has reached unbearable levels. Reports of rape, mass abduction, murder and sexual slavery at the hands of the so-called Islamic State or other groups have become commonplace. Among the over 10 million people driven from their homes, women desperate to fend for their families have been forced into begging or prostitution.

Yet women are also battling for their rights and struggling to find a path to peace. Female-led civil society and relief organisations are working on the ground in Syria and among the refugee community, cutting across religious and ethnic divides. Recently, the role of female fighters joining the resistance against the regime and the so-called Islamic State, most recently during combat in Ayn Al-Arab/Kobani, has gained prominent media coverage.

During the Jam, there were repeated demands for the UN and other international bodies to ensure that Syria's women get a prominent seat at the negotiating table and are empowered to be part of the peace process.

'Staffan di Mastura, the UN Special Envoy, must meet with the women representatives and include them as a negotiating party in future peace processes, or create a sub-committee that can work as a catalyst for guaranteeing women's participation and the acknowledgement of their rights,' wrote **Saba Nowzari**, Policy Officer for



'Women working hard for peace should have a similar place in the media as women fighters.'

Mehmet Yegin
Head of the Center for American Studies at the International Strategic Research Organisation (USAK)

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recommendations

National and regional cybersecurity bodies should promote the creation of an international 'Cyberpol' cybersecurity agency supported by major international organisations such as the UN, EU, IMF, World Bank, NATO, and the OSCE.

The range, scale and complexity of cybercrime and cybersecurity threats is now so great that a dedicated international cybersecurity agency is urgently needed to coordinate the work of existing national and regional bodies, several jammers concluded. INTERPOL, the U.S. Center for Disease Control and the Financial Action Task Force were all cited as possible models.

'We need to set up a dedicated cybersecurity agency on the lines of INTERPOL which will take into consideration the regional diversities – in terms of technological development and the response to a cyberincident. This proposed agency can be aligned with the national Computer Emergency Response Team (CERT) units in each country for coordination and information sharing,' wrote Jam moderator **Sameer Patil**, Associate Fellow for National Security, Ethnic Conflict & Terrorism Studies at the Mumbai-based think tank Gateway House.

An important step in the right direction has already been taken with the creation of Interpol's new cybercrime centre in Singapore, said **Lea Hricikova**, Security Sector Trainee at the European Agency for the Operational Management of Large-Scale IT Systems in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (eu-LISA) in Tallinn.

Launched in September, INTERPOL's Global Complex for Innovation includes a Cyber Fusion Centre (CFC) that will serve as the police organisation's nerve centre for cyberthreat intelligence, information sharing and coordination of operations.

Hricikova said it was crucial that such international bodies take account of regional diversity, to make cooperation legally possible. 'Let's not forget that the assistance of civil society and the private sector (as the prime users) is equally, if not more, important than the cooperation of states,' she added.

Kevin Newmeyer, from the United States, suggested a future CYBERPOL could follow the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) in using regional bodies to tailor policy development, implementation and training. 'One size will not fit all but regional knowledge can make for a better fit,' he said.

Other aspects of the FATF could also be taken on board. 'The success of the FATF in anti-money laundering rests largely on its power to curtail access to international financial markets through blacklisting. While cutting off access to the internet by a country is not fully desirable, a naming and shaming regime may be of value,' Newmeyer wrote. 'Similarly, increased cyberinsurance rates for those in blacklisted countries could leverage private sector actors to bring more pressure.'

'Nations should agree to take responsibility for malicious cyberactivities taking place in their cyberspace jurisdictions or transiting through them', wrote **Vytautas Butrimas**, Chief Advisor for the Lithuanian Ministry of National Defence with a focus on cybersecurity policy.

'Cyberborders should be monitored just as physical borders are monitored today,' he stated, adding that states should also create a body to monitor and inform about compliance with the UN as the organisation best placed to take a lead since all the major cyberpowers are represented there.

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recommendations

'Nations should agree to take responsibility for malicious cyberactivities taking place in their cyberspace jurisdictions or transiting through them.'

Vytautas Butrimas
Chief Advisor for the Lithuanian Ministry of National Defence



The EU, NATO and governments should actively encourage and support universities in cybersecurity research and education.

to be able to process the vast flows of raw data emerging through the Internet. 'What is missing is not so much data but ways and people capable of processing and analysing this wealth of information,' he wrote. 'The key here is to transform raw data into actionable information or intelligence. For this, we need to train new types of analysts and scientists with skills that span across several disciplines.'

The agreement at NATO's September summit in Wales to launch a NATO Industry Cyber Partnership was welcomed, but Jam contributors said academia also needed to be included.

Frans Kleyheeg, from the Netherlands, said NATO members should evaluate existing cybercurricula at universities, awarding quality certificates to the best. He also suggested working with universities in workshops and experiments to test legal, technical and ethical issues; thirdly, he put forward the idea of multi-annual research programmes supported by NATO funding.

'All three have tangible results, are low-cost and, with the exception of the third, can start today. The third one will take time and political courage to explore new ways of doing business,' he wrote.

However counters to cyberthreats are developed, **Vice-Admiral Arnaud Coustillière**, general officer for cyberdefence at the French Ministry of Defence, said nations were also being obliged to look beyond a purely defensive stance. 'Capabilities to detect, react and recover from cyberattacks are hard to achieve for all sectors of critical importance. That is why, in addition to an increasing posture of cyberdefence, some states may be tempted to promote cyberdeterrence,' he wrote.

Are we getting the balance right in the development of our cyberdefence posture? Is there too much focus on the technical capacities needed to construct firewalls, antivirus and encryption programmes, while the human component is neglected? Are we training enough specialists with the knowledge and leadership to analyse, contextualise and respond to complex and fast-evolving threats?

The Jam threw up several ideas for harnessing the ability of academia and industry to boost the human element of cyberdefence.

'Governments, organisations like NATO, private businesses and universities all have a common goal related to cyberdefence, and we need to make sure that there is cooperation between them,' wrote **Doug Dykeman**, from IBM Research. 'This could be accomplished for example through government-sponsored research that universities can contribute to and government-sponsored Computer Emergency Response Teams (CERTs) where businesses and universities can contribute and benefit. Of course IT companies have an important role in helping protect their customers, so there will be big privately-funded initiatives too.'

Jean-Marc Rickli, Assistant Professor at the Department of Defence Studies, King's College London, stated it was imperative to train analysts

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“ ‘Governments, organisations like NATO, private businesses and universities all have a common goal related to cyberdefence, and we need to make sure that there is cooperation between them’

Doug Dykeman
IBM Research

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recommendations

Overarching themes

Jammers focused on a wide range of topics and themes. Across borders, age groups, professions and points of view, some common ideas and thoughts nonetheless emerged about the state of contemporary global security.

These overarching areas of discussions, and recommendations on how to proceed, are summarised below.

1. Proactive approaches to an increasingly complex and unpredictable security environment

The name of one political leader stands out from the cloud of most discussed themes in the Jam: Vladimir Putin. The Russian President's annexation of Crimea and intervention in eastern Ukraine has shaken the post-Cold War order in Europe, making the search for adequate Western responses a recurring message throughout the Jam.

As if the Ukraine crisis were not enough, the emergence of the so-called Islamic State and its lightning advance across Syria and Iraq to NATO's south-eastern borders has created a major threat to stability in the Middle East, and to internal security in Europe and beyond thanks to its recruitment of Western-raised jihadis.

These parallel threats caught the West unprepared. Many jammers said it was urgent to develop fast and flexible responses, but also to endow security institutions with adequate tools to better identify emerging dangers and develop proactive policies to prevent such threats from reaching critical level.

'The Ukraine crisis is an era-defining event, requiring answers to elusive and ill-defined questions,' NATO's Supreme Allied Commander Europe, **Gen. Philip M. Breedlove** said early on in the Jam.

In response, NATO has taken significant steps to deter future aggression and reassure its members, he said, notably with the creation of the Very High Readiness Joint Task Force. However, the General acknowledged military instruments alone are not enough.

'Future strategies must have defined end-states that are politically, economically and socially cohesive. The effectiveness and sustainability of these strategies must be rooted in operative alliances and legitimate institutions invested in synchronised lines of effort,' Breedlove wrote.

The theme was taken up by NATO's Deputy Secretary General **Alexander Vershbow**, who saw commonalities between the dangers posed by Russia and the so-called Islamic State.

'Mr. Putin neo-Soviet revisionism and ISIL's terrorism have their own distinctive characteristics. But they share similar means – intimidation and violence – to achieve a similar goal: rejecting democracy, tolerance, and the rule of law as the gold standard

for international relations. Together, they are part of what I call 'the rise of the rejectionists' – a trend that may dominate NATO's security environment for many years to come,' he said. 'With ISIL, there can be no talks. It cannot be tolerated. It must be defeated.'

In the short term, several jammers stressed the need to strengthen NATO's eastern defences in order to reassure Allies there, and deter any threat to their security. **Dominika Cosic**, European Correspondent with the Polish newspaper Dziennik Gazeta Prawna, said her country should be helped to play a cornerstone role.

'Due to the fact that Russia is not a predictable partner any more, NATO should reinforce its eastern border,' she wrote, adding that the 'best way is to support Poland militarily and financially as the biggest country in region. Poland should be able to defend herself and the eastern border of NATO at the same time.'

Lee Litzenberger, Deputy Permanent Representative at the U.S. Mission to NATO, underlined the importance of Allies following through on commitments made at the Alliance's September summit in Wales to ensure adequate forces will be available to react rapidly to any threat on the border.

'Allies agreed to reform the NATO Response Force so that it is better suited to today's threats. These reforms improve readiness timelines, so that the Alliance can respond with tailored forces more quickly and effectively to a potential crisis. Asking Allies that have already committed forces to the NRF at a specific level of readiness to raise that readiness is arguably going to be one of the most ambitious elements of the Readiness Action Plan (RAP). But it is absolutely essential for the NRF to be able to fulfil a potential first-responder role inside NATO and on its periphery,' Litzenberger wrote.

Beyond the need for conventional deterrence, the Jam examined the dangers posed by the hybrid warfare tactics used effectively by Russia in its take over of Crimea and destabilisation of eastern Ukraine – tactics that included deployments of covert forces in unmarked uniforms (the 'little green men'), arming local paramilitaries, domestic and international propaganda campaigns, cyberattacks, combined with diplomatic, economic and political pressure.

'There certainly needs to be a collaborative analysis of the Ukraine conflict, particularly among NATO Allies and Partners to identify a mechanism, at least at a political level, for responding to such non-conventional approaches. I am not convinced

that adding another layer of rapid response to NATO is the appropriate response to 'little green men' in a conflict being framed, artificially or not, as a local crisis,' wrote **Colin Sweet**, doctoral candidate at the University of Glasgow.

The need to improve intelligence in order to detect cases where problems that seem relatively minor and localised – the emergence of yet another radical group in the Middle East, civil unrest in peripheral regions of former Soviet states – could blow up into regional or global crises, was raised by several jammers.

Given the terrorist threat from so-called IS, **Adrián Rubio**, a postgraduate student at the College of Europe in Bruges, asked if EU members should consider creating a 'Common Intelligence Agency' along the lines of EUROPOL or EUROJUST. Such a body could build on the work of the EU Intelligence Analysis Centre (EU INTCEN) set up in 2012.

Improving the monitoring of social networks by intelligence agencies to provide early warnings of dangerous new phenomena such as IS's recruitment of foreign fighters was also highlighted by several jammers.

'More research has to be done on the process of influence on social media. Who are the influencers? How do they emerge? How can we influence the influencers?' asked **Jean-Marc Rickli**, Assistant Professor at the Department of Defence Studies, King's College London and the Joaan Bin Jassim Joint Command and Staff College in Doha. 'All this should feed into the development of a dynamic and proactive strategy of influence. Spotting trends and influencers while at the same time preparing the next step.'

Others pointed out that building mechanisms to predict and analyse threats was not enough and that Western Allies must also overcome a reticence to act proactively in the early stages of a crisis in order to prevent incipient threats from reaching critical levels.

'There seems to be a risk of what one expert called 'an atrophy of strategic thought' in terms of deterrence in Europe,' wrote **Jacek Durkalec**, Manager of the Non-Proliferation and Arms Control Project at the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM). 'It might be questionable to what extent NATO members' political leaders are prepared to jointly respond to scenarios that would involve deterrence-related decisions. For example, it seems that within NATO countries there are different understandings about what kind of responses would demonstrate a resolve and which would be too provocative.'

NATO's Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Emerging Security Challenges **Jamie Shea** agreed. 'We can and should do a better job in what the experts call strategic foresight analysis and we are actually trying to do this in NATO by setting up a strategic analysis capability which is producing regular analyses of possible future crises and identifying scenarios and triggers for how these crises could occur and evolve,' Shea wrote. 'We are pooling intelligence more effectively than we did in the past and getting more inputs for our capitals. But the key thing will be for NATO nations to discuss these analyses and draw conclusions in a timely way.'

With so many European nations dependent on Russia for oil and gas supplies, and most of the pipelines passing through Ukraine, the crisis has also given new urgency to the debate on energy security. Jammers pointed to the importance of developing greater diversity of energy supply and boosting cooperation among Western nations to build energy resilience.

'There is a need to make more efficient use of the energy that comes from other sources, and to make the investments in infrastructure that will allow greater efficiency,' wrote Jam moderator **Ian Anthony**, Director of the European Security Programme at the Stockholm International

Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). 'There is a need to develop trust and solidarity between EU states, so that they are willing to rely on each other for security of supply, and trust that the market mechanisms will actually deliver security of supply, as well as efficiency and cost reduction.'

Measures should include strengthening energy cooperation with the United States and Canada, whose recent development of unconventional oil and gas reserves has made them major fuel producers, and with countries in North Africa and the Middle East, including Iran, Anthony said.

Beyond the need to adapt to the new threats, jammers emphasised the importance of defending the core values underpinning NATO and the EU – including steadfast support for the principal of nations being able to choose their own destiny.

'There is no reason on earth why Russia should have a determining voice in the foreign policy orientation of independent countries which would like to become more European,' wrote **Ian Bond**, Director of Foreign Policy at the

Centre for European Reform. 'We should not be taken in by Putin's attempts to make us feel guilty that the countries of Central and Eastern Europe chose, freely and democratically, to join the EU and NATO, and that more countries in the former Soviet Union would like to choose the same course.'

Many participants in the Jam saw the immediate threats posed by Russia and the so-called Islamic State as symptomatic of the need for defence policy makers to look beyond geostrategic considerations to develop a more holistic approach to international security.

'The new global balance can no longer depend solely on geostrategic and defence considerations. Economics, trade and commerce must be factored into 21st century statecraft,' wrote **Elmira Bayrasli**, Co-Founder of Foreign Policy Interrupted, an initiative dedicated to amplifying female voices in foreign policy. 'That means more inclusion of global players – more listening and consulting on matters. The growth of Brazil, China, India, Nigeria and Turkey is good news. It is up to Western powers to ensure that it stays that way.'

Addressing future challenges

Europe's security environment is evolving significantly, rapidly and dramatically. The crises around us, such as those in our immediate and wider neighbourhood (Ukraine, Sahel, Syria, Iraq, Libya, CAR, etc.) are becoming more complex and more intense. These developments may have longer-term effects on European security and international peace and stability, demonstrating close links between internal and external security dimensions.

At the European Council in December 2013, European Heads of State and Government stressed that 'defence matters' and called on the EU and its Member States to exercise greater responsibilities in order to address the challenges of a rapidly evolving geopolitical environment. Protecting and promoting European interests and values increasingly requires the EU and its Member States to combine their efforts, underpinned by the necessary means and resources. Since then, the security situation has further deteriorated.

The common principles and objectives of the EU's external action are to 'preserve peace, prevent conflicts and strengthen international security'. In doing so, the EU follows a comprehensive approach by drawing on the full range of its instruments and resources, covering diplomatic, economic, security and development aspects. Over the past 15 years, the EU has developed structures, procedures and decision-making bodies in crisis management as well as gathered a wealth of operational experience through its 30 Common Security and Defence Policy operations and missions.

A comprehensive approach means working closely with partners. Addressing common challenges calls for shared responsibility with our partners, in particular the UN, NATO, the OSCE and the African Union, as well as strategic partners and other partner countries. Cooperation with partners who share the EU's common values and principles and are able and willing to support EU crisis management efforts has proven valuable and mutually beneficial and needs to be increased and enhanced.

In this respect, the strong transatlantic relationship remains of fundamental importance to Europe, perhaps now more than ever. The practical cooperation between the EU and NATO has expanded significantly in recent years, within the agreed framework of their strategic partnership and respecting the decision-making autonomy of each organisation. Apart from the ongoing cooperation and coordination in the areas of common engagement (e.g. Kosovo, Horn of Africa, Afghanistan), maritime security, defence and security capacity building and cybersecurity represent areas where both organisations are developing their respective activities and where greater interaction is encouraged on both sides. The 'intertwining summits' from 2013 until 2016 also bring additional dynamics in this respect, fostering further result-oriented, complementary and mutually reinforcing actions on the ground.

Maciej Popowski, Deputy Secretary General of the EEAS



With ISIL, there can be no talks. It cannot be tolerated. It must be defeated.



Alexander Vershbow
NATO Deputy
Secretary General



Smarter together

I would like to congratulate all those who took part in the Security Jam 2014. Once again we proved that all of us thinking together are smarter than any one of us thinking alone. We also once again demonstrated the value of cross-cultural and interorganisational collaboration. And we proved yet again that people from all over the world can come together quickly to address the challenges we all share. The more we work in this way, the sooner this type of collaboration will become our normal way of doing business, and that's a very good thing.

In an interconnected world in continuous dialogue, boundaries and barriers disappear, people become closer, and leaders become more accountable, and arguably more capable of leading – more capable because they get the best advice as fast as possible from those they serve. This is also a very good thing.

Ideas that are formed in a global crucible, debated openly, and that resonate both horizontally and vertically gain credibility, and more importantly, gain legitimacy. Too many ideas parading as truth in too many unchallenged forums undermine our global cohesion. Intellectual rigour, the kind applied to the issues discussed and the ideas put forth in the Security Jam 2014, strips away falsehood with reason. The ground truth which emerges becomes the foundation upon which we can build a peaceful, successful and secure global future.

Leaders must often compromise, organisations must find consensus, but individuals in open debate are free to examine issues, discuss ideas and pursue truths. This process is vital for democracy to flourish. This process supports both leaders and organisations as they strive to bring different sides together for the benefit of all. The Security Jam 2014 was an exercise in civic duty.

What next? This report contains a Road Map that strives to show the relationship in time and space of the main ideas put forward during the Jam. We simply can't do everything at once and we must put first things first. In space, some ideas relate to others, either in their content or in the aims they hope to achieve. The Road Map helps us to picture these ideas in relation to one another and to the major outcomes jammers hope to achieve. If all of us work generally to the same ends and our work pursues similar paths, we will carry the synergy of the Jam forward toward our collective ends. In this way, the NATO Secretary General and the EU's High Representative will feel the momentum we've created – an impetus that will help to push their organisations forward along the path the Jam laid out.

The world is a challenging place right now, but the Jam showed that bright people of all ages from 129 countries are committed to working together in the best interest of all. If jammers stay committed to the ideals we've demonstrated in the Jam and keep working collectively, then intellectual rigour, legitimacy, credibility and openness will take root in our international debates and the purveyors of falsehood, misdirection and bluster will find no quarter for their agendas.

I've participated in all three Security Jams. The 2014 Jam was by far the best and most impressive. I would expect it to be. We are learning from each other. We are growing in appreciation of one another. On such a path we can only succeed. See you at the next Jam!

Michael Ryan, Director for Interagency Partnering at the United States European Command



OP-ED

2. The importance of being inclusive

Inclusiveness emerged as a recurrent Jam theme in a wide variety of forms.

Examples ranged from the need to connect with vulnerable minorities in Western societies – such as disaffected Muslim youth or marginalised Russian-speaking communities – who might otherwise fall prey to hostile propaganda, to building stronger bonds with civil society and private business in the development and application of security and defence policies.

Jammers stressed the importance of gender-inclusiveness, both by integrating women into Western defence sectors at all levels and ensuring women in conflict and post-conflict situations get their rightful place in peace negotiations and societal rebuilding processes.

The success of the so-called Islamic State in recruiting young men, and sometimes, women to its ranks despite – or because of – its ultra-violent message was viewed as a major threat. Along with a general recognition that military solutions alone will not halt the so-called Islamic State, jammers said Western nations had to address the roots of the problem – such as the sense of resentment and exclusion among Muslim youths in Western countries which has led hundreds to join jihadi groups.

'Better results are achieved when law enforcement and security services work hand in hand with communities in order to prevent or disrupt possible terrorist activity,' wrote **Vihar Georgiev**, a researcher in Bulgaria. 'More integrative and discursive approaches to immigrant communities can and will accomplish more. Socially vulnerable youth, immigrants or not, should be at the heart of our efforts to maintain an atmosphere of dialogue and support in our societies. There is ample research supporting that social inclusion starts from the kindergarten. Education and inclusion go hand in hand; much more needs to be done.'

Similar ideas were put forward by **Antonia Dimou**, senior advisor at the Research Institute for European and American

Studies (RIEAS) in Athens. 'For an effective ISIS containment, the U.S. and European government entities need to work with local communities, local leaders and families towards the same goal which is to cease the killing of innocents. Educational reform and "people-to-people" contacts are keys for the de-radicalisation of people. These kinds of policies can prove effective.'

While there was much focus on the so-called Islamic State's European recruits and the potential terrorist threat, monitoring groups believe only about a quarter of the organisation's estimated 12 000 foreign fighters come from Western nations. The majority are believed to originate from Arab nations beyond Syria and Iraq, most prominently Tunisia, Saudi Arabia and Jordan.

That prompted calls for Western nations to work with Islamic scholars to elaborate a narrative that promotes the comparability of Islam and democracy, both in the West and in Muslim countries.

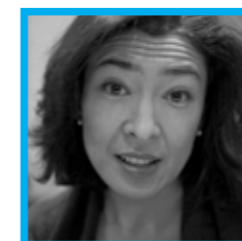
'If one wants to combat the undercurrents that exist in society, even with small groups, one should focus in this case on Islam and democracy,' said **Sergei Oudman**, from the Netherlands. 'The number of scientific articles in Arabic about Islam and democracy are staggeringly low. There is a large abyss that needs to be bridged, and many Muslims fear and confuse modernism with modernity.'

Islam and democracy are compatible, we just need to invest more into it.'

The plight of the more than 9 million Syrians forced from their homes by almost four years of civil war was also raised repeatedly during the Jam. Over 3 million have fled to neighbouring nations and an estimated 150 000 have reached the EU – mostly in Germany and Sweden. Forced to the margin of society, these refugees are reported to face economic and sexual exploitation. Many are making perilous clandestine journeys at the mercy of human traffickers in the hope of reaching Europe.

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It's important for NATO to start working with tech companies and engaging with the private sector. The answer to the next crisis will not come from the soldier holding a gun but from the soldier trained in coding, engineering, and engaged with technology and economic actors.



Elmira Bayrasli
Co-Founder, Foreign Policy Interrupted

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Defining concrete organising concepts for EU security policy

The problem, as illustrated by the EU discussion forum in the Jam, is not that a 'beloved child has many names.' It is rather that many concepts in the European security debate have over the years been contaminated and that we again risk starting a new conceptual debate leading nowhere.

Several senior military participants in the Jam – both former and current heads of the EU military staff – proposed in their contributions a strategy for the Comprehensive Approach with a stronger role for the military. But clearly the comprehensive approach has not become a mobilising concept generating much enthusiasm, although the new HR/VP has committed herself to continue efforts in this direction.

It was noteworthy that the case for a new European global or security strategy attracted more attention by Jam participants. This is interesting because of the recent controversy around this discussion. In particular, larger European member states have hesitated to enter into a new, potentially divisive, debate. The previous High Representative worried about the feasibility of such a project, and a similar attempt in 2008, just before the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, more or less failed.

The Jam, however, shows that whatever you call it, there is a need for more strategic reflection on EU security, and not only on soft power. The issue is not perhaps so much the outcome of such a process, but rather the process itself of operationalising clear European policies in various areas.

The new organisation of the Commission with the HR/VP joining ranks, with her office moving to the Commission Berlaymont building and coordinating a cluster of Commissioners, requires a new type of powerful organising concepts and – as several participants noted – a new type of initiative.

While American policies were severely criticised for a lack of perspective, Europe cannot claim great success either in terms of strategic foresight.

The foreseen resumption of a strategic debate in the EU will not happen without acrimony. But, as many noted, challenges not only in the EU's neighbourhood but worldwide require a new concerted effort.

Surely Europe can do better.

We also need, according to several participants, new initiatives by the European institutions in security policy. With very few exceptions, this has been a taboo notion in the development of the EU's common security and defence policy. Instead, EU member states have competed in micromanaging the EU institutions.

Such micromanagement is impossible however, not least if the Commission is at the same time asked to come on board with all its thematic expertise and resources. Ukraine and the Horn of Africa demonstrate the importance of the non-military vectors of security policy.

It is only once these are properly integrated into an overall approach that the EU can hope to play a role also on the military side in close cooperation with NATO, the OSCE and the United Nations.

It is not impossible that the current trend towards renationalisation in Europe will be reversed in the area of security policy as the number of overwhelming crises affecting Europe continues to accumulate.

Lars-Erik Lundin
Distinguished Associate Fellow, European Security Programme, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)

Jammers urged greater Western efforts to help the refugees, not only for humanitarian reasons, but also because the presence of so many people in long-term exile living a marginalised existence in their host countries risks becoming another source of instability and an incubator for radicalisation.

'The EU must ensure that a greater number of Syrian refugees can find protection in Europe either through enhanced resettlement policies or by providing legal and safe avenues to seek asylum in Europe,' wrote **Nicolas Beger**, Director of Amnesty International's European Institutions Office. 'This would not only support the protection needs of people displaced by conflict, but also contribute to global security by reducing the burden on Syria's neighbours.'

Russia's success in stoking unrest in Crimea and eastern Ukraine, and concerns that Moscow might attempt something similar among ethnic Russians in the Baltic states or other minorities in Europe, ensured that efforts to prevent such communities feeling excluded from wider society also featured prominently during the Jam. Several jammers suggested boosting Russian-language broadcasting and other media as an effective counter-measure to Kremlin propaganda.

U.S. academic **Thomas Briggs** had suggestions for a more inclusive approach. 'Russian irredentism is a very real threat in the wake of the Ukraine Crisis. The ethnolinguistic model of nationalism is the core idea that Russian propaganda is centred around,' he wrote. 'The best way to fight this is to promote a civic model of nationalism that is inclusive and removes the need to feel loyalty to another state. Media and education systems need to push the civil society as the primary identity group with ethnolinguistic identities being secondary. Look at the American model of national identity as an example, where an immigrant can identify as 'Russian-American' and maintain her cultural heritage in addition to primarily identifying with the state she is a citizen of.'

Greater engagement between security structures and civil society was presented as a means to counter minority perceptions of alienation, but jammers also suggested a range of further opportunities stemming from increased cooperation with NGOs.

Often, non-governmental organisations' presence on the ground can provide early-stage warnings of simmering tensions, while their local knowledge can be a key factor in defusing crises, helping with crisis management, or post-crisis society-building. In forging a comprehensive approach to security challenges by bringing together civilian and military solutions, cooperation between security organisations and civil society can bring huge benefits, jammers said.

There was also recognition that such cooperation isn't always easy. 'We should proceed cautiously, because many private/voluntary sector civilian organisations are still very wary about

talking to, let alone partnering with, military organisations. Sometimes for good reason, sometimes out of pure prejudice and misperception,' said **David Litt**, Executive Director of the Centre for Stabilisation and Economic Reconstruction of the Institute for Defence and Business, a non-profit education and research institute affiliated with the University of North Carolina.

Bringing business into the mix was another recurring theme. Such contacts were seen as vital for keeping military and civilian policymakers abreast of the latest technological developments – and allowing them to seek industry solutions to their economic or technical problems.

'A strong defence industry across the Alliance is essential to deliver the required capabilities and we work closely together with our industry partners to achieve this,' wrote **Gen. Jean-Paul Paloméros**, NATO's Supreme Allied Commander Transformation. 'Cooperation across Europe and North America, innovation and small- and medium-sized enterprises are some of the important focus areas in the perspective of the recognised need to halt the decline in defence budgets and to improve our effectiveness.'

That necessity to cooperate with industry will only grow as the security implications of the wired-up world become more apparent.

'It's important for NATO to start working with tech companies and engaging with the private sector. In our globalised, highly tech world, it's critical to engage with these actors. The answer to the next crisis will not come from the soldier holding a gun, but from the soldier trained in coding, engineering, and engaged with technology and economic actors,' contended **Elmira Bayrasli**, of Foreign Policy Interrupted.

While women are often portrayed only as victims of conflict, they are also increasingly becoming participants, as evidenced by the role of Kurdish women fighters in Syria, or the prominent part played by female activists in Kyiv's Maidan protests. Several jammers urged greater gender-inclusiveness both within Western security structures, and by insisting that local women play a full role in peace negotiations and post-conflict state building.

Saba Nowzari, Policy Officer for Syria at Sweden's Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation, said the outside world had neglected the more than 100 Syrian women's organisations and coalitions active inside and outside the country in areas ranging from relief aid to peace campaigning.

'Since the beginning of the war, women have been on the frontline demanding ceasefires and a peaceful end to the conflict. Women are mobilised through different coalitions

trying to take part in the official peace negotiations without being granted access to the processes. Unfortunately, the peaceful voices have not enjoyed attention as much as the female fighters, despite their over-representation in non-violent actions,' she said.

The Head of the EU's EUPOL police mission in Afghanistan, **Karl Åke Roghe**, explained how the 300-strong international mission was supporting efforts to improve the working environment and protection of female officers in the Afghan National Police. He insisted any assessment of such efforts had to look beyond mere head counts.

'EUPOL coordinates closely with other international and national actors involved in outreach and capacity building at the community level. EUPOL efforts are aimed at sustainable

recruitment of female police and ensuring that they have a safe environment in which they can reach their full potential. We do not see increasing numbers as the solution. We see quality over quantity as the key to sustainability, under Afghan ownership.'

Lieutenant General **Wolfgang Wosolsobe**, Director General of the EU Military Staff, emphasised the EU's efforts to take local cultural systems into account in all its security missions. 'The EU puts a particular focus – across the entire range of external action – on local or regional ownership,' he wrote. 'Both training and advisory roles fully take this into account, both in the military and the civilian action. Beyond this, our ever-stronger partnerships with UN and AU, as well as with regional organisations are prerequisite to improve our ability to embrace cultural differences, on all levels of action.'



Addressing the future of cybersecurity

The onset of the digital age – with the explosive growth of smart devices and mobile computing, the proliferation of social media and the appearance of the 'Internet of Things' – has benefited mankind. Yet there is a darker side to this cyber world which has opened up a plethora of security concerns spanning technology, business and legal domains. These cybersecurity challenges appear at multiple levels – government, industry and the individual user, as each of them fall victim to espionage, cybercrime, hacking and malware attacks.

While in the past few years, a majority of attacks have targeted personal and commercial cyber-infrastructure, their consequences are no longer restricted to these levels, as evident in the following examples:

- **Stuxnet:** The virus attacked Iran's nuclear plants at Bushehr and Natanz, affecting its reactors. Yet it also affected the SCADA systems of a host of manufacturing sites worldwide.
- **Target data breach:** In one of the worst data breaches, hackers gained unauthorised access to payment and card data from the online retailer Target – affecting approximately 40 million of its users.
- **Heartbleed:** A bug in the OpenSSL encryption software exposed vulnerabilities in two-thirds of the internet's web servers that allowed the theft of protected information including passwords and confidential email content.

Cybersecurity has become an important thrust area of national security as a growing number of countries acquire offensive cybercapabilities, seen in Edward Snowden's revelations and the repeated espionage accusations against China. And yet there is no global agreement on cybersecurity.

Jammers repeatedly pointed out that cyberspace cannot wait for its own 'Pearl Harbour' to prepare its response and that there was a pressing need to begin global cooperation on cybersecurity issues.

In this context, a major dilemma facing countries that possessed offensive cybercapabilities is how to secure something that was of more value to them unregulated. This dilemma is particularly evident in the debate on regulating 'deep web' and 'darknet' – the underground World Wide Web, which is the hub of illegal activities but is also used extensively by security agencies to pursue leads on cybercrime.

Perhaps the way forward is the same as in addressing terrorism – secure agreements on various facets of terrorism such as terrorist financing. Given the disagreements on cybersecurity, countries could begin by focusing on evolving sectoral agreements, such as critical infrastructure, before discussing a global cybersecurity treaty.

This needs to be accompanied by the creation of a dedicated cybersecurity organisation which will be the nodal point for coordination and information-sharing, and be aligned with the national units of the Computer Emergency Response Teams.

While countries undertake these efforts globally, businesses also need to forge initiatives amongst themselves to mutually share their risk perception and concerns, and also address the human component of cybersecurity by focusing on enhancing the pool of IT professionals and spreading employee awareness on IT issues.

Sameer Patil
Associate Fellow for National Security,
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on Global Relations

3. Territorial geopolitics vs global challenges

'One of the most important realities we face today is that we're seeing two kinds of international politics working alongside each other,' **Ivo Daalder**, President of the Chicago Council on Global Affairs and former U.S. Ambassador to NATO, told the Jam. 'In Europe and Asia, Russia and China continue to play a traditional geopolitical game – where power and influence derives from territorial control, be it Ukraine in the case of Russia or the South China Sea in the case of China. But we have also seen the emergence of global politics – where threats and challenges take on a global character rather than being geographically grounded. Ebola and pandemics; ISIS and terrorism; water shortages and climate change; weapons proliferation; the energy revolution – all are global phenomena with local impact.'

Throughout the Jam, contributors wrestled with ways of dealing with both types of challenges, asking how the right balance can be struck between the traditional power responses required for territorial geopolitics, and new forms of regional and international cooperation needed to manage the multiplicity of global political hazards.

Friends of Europe Secretary General **Giles Merritt** suggested the shared dangers from global threats could help geostrategic rivals overcome differences

and develop new forms of cooperation. 'Nobody I know here in Brussels doubts that Putin's actions are ill-advised, of dubious legality and contrary to Russia's economic interests. But the big picture surely is that Europe and Russia share very similar security concerns,' he wrote. 'Whether it's disruptive migratory flows, militant Islam or even the destabilising effects of the conflict in Syria, we in the West have to face much the same pressures and uncertainties as the Russians. What is the best way, then, to move away from Cold War-style sabre-rattling and create a more positive climate for talks that public opinion in Russia and in Europe and the U.S. would welcome?'

The West should also reach out to China, and even Iran, as counterbalances to Russia's efforts to reimpose itself in the former Soviet space, argued Brussels-based consultant **Philip Shetler-Jones**, despite Moscow's efforts to forge closer ties with Beijing since the outbreak of the Ukraine crisis.

'There is nothing inevitable about an axis between Asian entities such as Russia, China and Iran. On the contrary, there is ample reason for Western entities to expect benefits from relations with Asian allies to prevent the emergence of a hegemonic bloc that acts against our interests,' Shetler-Jones wrote. 'Historically this has been shown in the form of alliances such as the 1902 Anglo-Japanese alliance (formed against Tsarist Russia), the inclusion of China in the anti-Axis coalition in WWII and the breaking away of China from the USSR during

the Cold War. What is stopping us this time?'

Other jammers were adamant, however, that the West had to step up preparations to deal with the territorial ambitions of Russia and, one day, China.

'While I do not think China will be a global superpower anytime soon, it would be foolish to overlook them, because a regional super power can sometimes be just as deadly as a global super power,' cautioned **Samantha Amenn**, business analyst at the Refugee Processing Center in the United States.

In particular, jammers insisted that the consequences of renewed Russian revanchism

had to be fully taken on board by Western defence planners, and fast. 'Russian aggression against Ukraine has a profound impact on Euro-Atlantic security. The latest events proved that a military conflict on the periphery of NATO is not a theory anymore, but the reality,' wrote Hungary's Defence Minister **Csaba Hende**. 'The consequences of the crisis are unpredictable, but we can be sure of witnessing further tensions in the relations between Russia and the West, which pose significant challenges to Hungarian security and defence policy.'



Nobody I know here in Brussels doubts that Putin's actions are ill-advised, of dubious legality and contrary to Russia's economic interests. But the big picture surely is that Europe and Russia share very similar security concerns.



Giles Merritt
Secretary General,
Friends
of Europe



NATO 2025: bracing the Alliance for a matrix of threats

The 2014 edition of the Security Jam took place at a pivotal moment for the future of NATO. As SACEUR Gen. Breedlove – who participated in the debate as a VIP guest – put it, the Alliance faces multiple, growing and interdependent challenges in a shrinking global environment. These threats include 'era-defining' Russian aggression against Ukraine, the unprecedented rise of the biggest and richest terrorist organisation, ISIS, at the doorstep of the transatlantic alliance and blurring the threshold of war through 'hybrid warfare' tactics.

While we can hardly predict what other challenges NATO will have to face by 2025, one thing is certain: addressing such challenges will be even more difficult than it is now. Not only is the security environment rapidly evolving into a complex matrix of intertwined and interdependent threats, but the genuine cost of providing security is increasing, capability gaps are growing and societies no longer consider defence a necessity – and don't want to pay for it.

The 2014 Jam discussion was rich with thought-provoking recommendations on how to make NATO a 'trustworthy brand', an organisation that can effectively and simultaneously fulfil all of its three core tasks: collective defence, crisis management and cooperative security.

To begin with, NATO needs to improve its strategic communications so that the wider public has a better understanding of the Alliance's shared values and its unique purpose in defending them against belligerents who base their strength on authoritarianism or terror. In the long term, this should help the Alliance win popular support for adequate defence expenditures and make the public aware that everyday security always comes at a price. Investments in the European Allies' capabilities and fulfilment of NATO's 2% of GDP spending pledge are essential. Furthermore, the U.S. pivot to the Asia-Pacific should motivate Europe to take greater responsibility for its own security.

Next, to anticipate and prepare for emerging security threats, NATO should develop closer and sustained relations with its partner countries, other international organisations and non-traditional partners, including NGOs, conflict-research institutes, private military companies and even the corporate sector. To coordinate such cooperation, NATO could, for example, follow the recommendation of Admiral Stavridis – another VIP guest of the Security Jam 2014 – and provide each command with an 'innovation cell' responsible for collaborative development of responses to long-term challenges.

Moreover, it is a no-brainer that NATO should continue its efforts towards developing a more holistic approach to asymmetric or

non-military challenges. The most salient example relates to 'hybrid warfare', which cannot be effectively dealt with by traditional military means alone. Hence, NATO should review its capacity to employ a versatile set of military, civilian, political and economic tools together. Innovative operational concepts could be explored, for example a new Centre of Excellence focused strictly on hybrid warfare, while the work of the other Centres should be further streamlined to ensure synergy and result in guidance on how to build resilience to this specific threat. Additionally, NATO needs to rethink its stalled cooperation with the EU, which has over the years developed a toolbox of civilian capabilities, like the gendarmerie, police, or judicial trainers and experts, which may all come in handy in stopping crises like the one in Ukraine.

Last but not least, through 2025 and beyond, NATO needs to be prepared to tackle traditional security threats that would require typical military tools. The immediate test for NATO would be the implementation of decisions taken at the 2014 Wales Summit, including the Readiness Action Plan. Some wider adaptations are, however, needed as well. NATO's Defence Planning Process should be revised and reinforced by introducing shorter update cycles to account for dynamics in member countries and to include regional capability-building initiatives such as the Framework Nations Concept. Moreover, NATO should renew its long-term deterrence strategy in different dimensions and start working on a 2025 Deterrence Concept.

Given the pace of today's changes in the international and transatlantic security environment, no one can guarantee that NATO will remain by 2025 what it is now: the world's top security actor, a vehicle coalescing states and built on the principles of democratic government, rule of law and the free market. But if the Allies do not commit political will and resources to the constant process of adaptation of NATO, it will surely lose its position to rising powers like Russia or China, which question the current global governance model and want to alter it to fit their interests. The right questions have been already asked – through forums like the 2014 Security Jam – and many answers are hidden in the ongoing discussions of people concerned with security of the transatlantic community. Finding such answers is the true task of NATO in the coming decade.

J. Durkalec, Senior Research Fellow
A. Kacprzyk, Assistant
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Keep Your Allies Close: From the Battle on the Ground to the Battle of Ideas

Syria is one of two crises at the borders of NATO. The Security Jam's Syria forum was a timely one. As expected, the ideas on Syria were clustered around fighting ISIS (or IS) rather than with resolving the war in Syria as a whole. A solution in Syria was subordinate to a political solution in Iraq when tackling the problem of ISIS.

A broad spectrum of ideas was forged in the discussions, ranging from the actual fighting on the ground to the ideological confrontation with ISIS. Regarding the physical battlefield, the grievances of women and the position of female fighters on the frontlines was the subject of much debate by Jammers, who reached the conclusion that women must be empowered in Syria and that this can be done by making sure that their voices are heard and that they are involved in the peace process.

Looking at the broader picture of regional dynamics, jammers argued that proxy wars in Syria pursued by regional actors are a serious concern. Here they suggested that an inclusive government in Iraq and a political solution in Syria could help to halt these proxy wars. They also suggested that a regional security organisation should be established to deal with the problems in the Middle East. This may be difficult, but not impossible. The experiences of the Baghdad Pact of the 1950s should be taken into consideration to avert similar failures.

Another major area of concern revolved around countering extremism. The debate was fierce, especially when it came to

ideas on countering online ISIS propaganda. The heated tone of the debate stemmed from the general tendency of counter-terrorism procedures to relinquish freedoms and democracy, with some remaining silent about this in order to avoid bloody acts of terrorism. Yet jammers asserted a strong preference for freedom and argued for an open confrontation of ISIS ideology by providing appropriate content that refutes their arguments rather than banning ISIS-related websites. But the questions remain: who will provide such content, and who will be the champion of dealing with ISIS in ideological terms?

The last issue touched upon was how to increase awareness among key players in the community to stop and reverse the radicalisation process. In this sense, the role that parents play is especially important in helping their children evade radicalisation. Other measures to stop extremists from joining the ranks of ISIS were also mentioned, such as erecting barriers to physical journeys into places like Syria.

From the combat on the ground to the broader confrontation of ideologies, much could be done to counter ISIS. A close cooperation of countries is needed, beginning with NATO members. Only better understanding and mutual trust can help the parties to coordinate their efforts.

Mehmet Yegin
 Director of Center for American Studies, USAK
 (International Strategic Research Organisation)

Given the multifaceted nature of today's security challenges, setting clearly defined priorities has become an imperative to avoid dissipating limited resources. For the European Union, despite playing a global role in trade, development and humanitarian aid, there needs to be a foreign policy focus, contended **Gabor Iklody**, Director of the Crisis Management and Planning Directorate at the European External Action Service.

'It is important to set foreign policy priorities – which is the EU's larger neighbourhood. With the much discussed U.S. pivot to Asia, it is even more important to reflect these priorities in our actions,' Iklody wrote. 'Think globally – act regionally. We have to prioritise. We have to strike a balance between ambitions and resources. We cannot run around the world and put up the EU flag wherever there is a crisis.'

In the context of the EU's neighbourhood, Kosovo's then Foreign Minister and now Chairman of the Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee, **Enver Hoxhaj**, reminded the Jam that the Balkans remain a key security issue that should not be neglected as other regions grab public and media attention.

'The EU enlargement process in the Western Balkans should not be reduced to a purely technical process of endless negotiations. The EU and its member states should also see the political, economic and security benefits of making sure that the Western Balkans remain a Euro-Atlantic community of democratic states and clear up once and for all the geostrategic interests of Russia and other countries who want to keep the region in limbo,' he wrote.

For a number of participants, the lines between different categories of defence or security challenges have become blurred. Russia's use of 'little green men' and cyberattacks presents defence and internal security issues. The Western air operation in Syria and Iraq can be viewed as another out-of-area operation, yet the so-called Islamic State group poses a direct threat to NATO members through the terrorist potential of its foreign fighters and its presence on Turkey's border.

'Nowadays the distinction between security and defence is somewhat academic, since the impact of some major international security issues (terrorism, organised crime, etc.) is such that, if not properly addressed, it can jeopardise national and regional balances. Traumatic phenomena, such as Al Qaeda or ISIS, as well as sudden massive migrations, can undermine a state's sovereignty and equilibrium through multiple means,' wrote **Lt Gen. Pasquale Preziosa**, Chief of Staff of the Italian Air Force. 'Globalisation is not only an economic phenomenon, but has important consequences for defence and security matters. In this environment, single state strategies are mostly ineffective. States need to act collectively in order to try to address problems that are global in nature. In this perspective, the transatlantic link is even more important than in the past, because with its permanent structure, the Alliance can think

and act faster than any other international organisation.'

Can Dizdar, Acting Director General for Bilateral Political Affairs in the Turkish Foreign Ministry, insisted that the Syrian conflict must be viewed as a direct threat that needs an urgent and comprehensive solution.

'The continuation of the conflict is detrimental to our common interests,' he warned. 'For Turkey, the situation is even more pressing. The chaos and instability at our doorstep is a direct threat to our national security. The threats emanating from Syria already have an impact on Western societies as well. As long as stability is not reinstated in Syria, it will remain a breeding ground for extremism. Stability cannot be reinstated as long as Assad and his clan stay in Damascus. Without a genuine and inclusive political transition in Syria, international efforts at fighting extremism are bound to remain half-baked. There can be no military solution. We should unite in supporting efforts for a political solution in Syria.'

NATO's Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs **James Appathurai** concurred, proposing a regional approach to the Syrian crisis.

'We can't just sit on our hands, because people are being killed in large numbers already, because that can get much worse and because the problems are coming to us as well – foreign fighters, refugees, migrants, maybe more,' Appathurai wrote. 'I would propose, for everyone's consideration, three things we can do: 1. Help Iraq, as the Coalition is doing – but do more. 2. Help Libya, by stepping up diplomacy and in particular by scooping up loose weapons. 3. Enhancing support to Jordan as a priority, but also to Tunisia, Morocco and Mauritania – countries facing great challenges but still playing a constructive role. We need to help the good guys, even while we help fight the fires.'

Helping the good guys inside Syria was also put forward. 'We are dealing with a true conflict, a full-scale war on the EU borders,' stated **Anna Fotyga**, Chairwoman of the European Parliament's Subcommittee on Security and Defence. 'The opposition has proven its resilience by fighting a two-front war today: against Assad and against ISIL. Unless we provide support to the real owners of the revolution, there is a risk of extremism turning into a vicious cycle.'

In September, the United Nations Security Council – meeting at heads of government level for only the 6th time in the body's 68-year history – unanimously voted resolution 2178 calling for action against foreign fighters in the Syrian conflict. It urged all UN members to 'to cooperate in efforts to address the threat posed by foreign terrorist fighters, including by preventing the radicalisation to terrorism and recruitment of foreign terrorist fighters, including children, preventing foreign terrorist fighters from crossing their borders, disrupting and preventing financial support to foreign terrorist fighters, and developing

NATO and the EU at a crossroads

In 54 hours of digital conversation, the 2014 Security Jam painted a picture of NATO and the EU at a crossroads facing new types of threats and a new global balance of power even as the very definitions of power – and to what ends it should be used – have come into question.

Many of the participants, from governments, think tanks, non-governmental organisations and universities around the world, lamented that NATO and the EU are too inward-looking; reactive rather than proactive; focused on the short term rather than on strategy and long-term goals; vulnerable to blind spots – including threats that are right in front of them but remain poorly addressed; and too focused on the nature of power as a goal in and of itself, rather than a means to an end.

A consistent theme throughout the 'New Global Balance' thread was how to define power: especially China's economic power and the West's military power. In 2009 Dennis Blair, at the time U.S. Director of National Intelligence, called the economic crisis the single biggest threat to national security. The crisis has abated, but we still cannot talk about security without looking at the very real financial constraints on military power – which remains a significantly bigger commitment as a percentage of GDP for the U.S. than for other nations.

China's national security strategy includes resource security and a strong emphasis on development, cooperation and investment. Yet it also has a military element, as shown by ongoing territorial disputes and rising military spending as a percentage of the government's budget. Some participants expressed fears of China's growing military power, and others wanted China to 'do its fair share' of ensuring global security. But they couldn't come to consensus about what that should look like.

Traditional definitions of power also fall short when we talk about some of the new security threats that transcend national borders: pandemics, extreme weather events or extremism. For these we need a new set of priorities and parameters for global cooperation. The future belongs to the institutions with the ability to cooperate and to be agile in the face of rapidly changing threats. This may not be nation states, but instead cities and non-state actors.

Too often discussions about security focus on 'being a hegemon' or 'winning' the balance of power as a goal in and of itself, and utterly misses the point of what power should be for: the ability to solve problems. Do we measure power by the number of guns and bombs and soldiers or by the ability to achieve a goal by broader means, including media and the spread of values? Does power come from the ability to act alone, or from being able to persuade allies to join in service of a common goal?

Pursuing power merely for the sake of being the 'most powerful' is a mistake and detracts from the legitimacy of that power, thus undermining it. Any form of power is worthy of the name only insofar as it achieves constructive goals; a power focused only on destruction and conquest is doomed. In defining its strategy for the new global balance, NATO and the EU need to think in terms neither of hard nor soft, but instead of smart power.

Michele Wucker
Vice President, Studies
The Chicago Council on Global Affairs

and implementing prosecution, rehabilitation and reintegration strategies for returning foreign terrorist fighters.'

There were also reminders that the focus on the immediate threat from the so-called Islamic State should not mean other concerns in the region should be forgotten.

'Since radical groups have been taking root in the region, the image of Assad and the PKK/PYD has changed a lot,' said **Osman Bahadır Dinçer**, Researcher at Turkey's International Strategic Research Organisation (USAK). 'The perception of the Assad regime and PKK/PYD as the lesser evil vis-à-vis ISIS is perhaps among the greatest risks for Turkey in the long run.'

Several jammers raised the need to take a long-term approach to regional conflicts, way beyond any military intervention. The success of the so-called Islamic State in Iraq and the chaos in Libya served as a notice that fragile states must be supported over a much longer period than policymakers appreciate. Despite the drain on resources and public demands for quick fixes, a prolonged investment in state-building can prevent the emergence of future threats.

That point was put forcefully by **Karl Åke Roghe**, Head of Mission for the EU's Police Mission in Afghanistan: 'Sometimes the message about how, by building capacity in Afghanistan, we are protecting communities both in Europe and around the

world is lost,' he complained. 'By dealing with criminality here we can have a real impact on criminality back home. Whilst to some this might seem expensive, the investment has greater returns in terms of future safety and security globally.'

Sediq Sediqqi, the Afghan Interior Ministry's Director General for Public Diplomacy, also urged a continued engagement with his country after NATO's combat role comes to an end. 'Experts from Afghanistan and NATO should work together, building on the relationship. There is also a need for other actors to play a stronger role, such as the EU,' he wrote. 'Working with civil society organisations, the media, elected local community councils and government representatives across the country can further build trust.'

The example of Iraq should serve as a reminder of why Western nations needed to make a long-term commitment to building local security in post-conflict societies, said **Altay Cengizer**, Director General for Policy Planning at the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He blamed 'sectarian policies' of former Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki for undermining the country's armed forces, which lost crucial encounters with ISIS despite receiving Western training and equipment. 'The West should ... not put to tender this crucial work. Otherwise, you end up with huge abnormalities such as the so-called Iraqi Army fleeing ISIS entering the city in Toyota trucks! Unfinished jobs, eternal problems!'

4. Matching strategic objectives with capabilities

In the declaration issued by NATO leaders after their September summit in Wales, the words 'capability' or 'capabilities' are mentioned 62 times.

The 24 Allies who failed last year to meet the Alliance's target of spending at least 2% of gross domestic product on defence pledged to halt any decline and said they would aim to hit the target within a decade. Over the same timeframe, the Allies agreed to increase investments in major new equipment to 20% of defence spending.

'Our overall security and defence depend both on how much we spend and how we spend it. Increased investments should be directed towards meeting our capability priorities, and Allies also need to display the political will to provide required capabilities and deploy forces when they are needed,' the leaders declared.

Clearly the Kremlin's bellicose new stance – matched by a doubling in Russian military spending over the past 10 years to over 4% of GDP, according to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute – has injected new urgency into the long-running debate over declining defence spending among the European Allies.

How to maximise the impact of military budgets in tight economic times, the best ways to cut waste and avoid duplication through cooperation among the Allies, the imperative to build public support for defence spending, how to boost investment in innovation, and the need for streamlined planning and procedures to match strategic decisions all featured heavily in Jam discussions.

While stressing the importance of maintaining military strength, many jammers also called for investment in non-traditional security capabilities, especially in response to the hybrid warfare tactics deployed by Russia in Ukraine.

'The recent crisis in Ukraine clearly indicates that hard power still matters in international security,' wrote **Mehmet Kinaci**, project manager for NATO's Strategic Foresight Analysis 2017. 'In order to provide a timely response to hybrid threats, the West should maintain its military capabilities as well as its ability to influence its adversary's decision makers using its soft power.'

Emmanuel Jacob, President of the European Organisation of Military Associations (EUROMIL), put his finger on the problem when he pointed out that total defence expenditure in the 26 member nations of the European Defence Agency (EDA) fell by almost 10% from 2006 to 2011, and by a further almost 3% up

to 2012. 'The state of defence policy in Europe is critical,' Jacob warned, adding that several European nations had also suffered from a 'loss of will' to use military force.

Some pointed in particular to Germany, where a series of recent incidents have highlighted shortfalls in defence investments. 'Both NATO and the EU are weakened when a large and prosperous country like Germany is unwilling or unable to take on a more credible leading role,' wrote **Chris Kremidas**, a political advisor based in Germany. 'One immediate step which could be taken would be for the Bundestag to allow Germany's excellently trained forces to participate in more NATO and EU operations and for standby forces with fewer caveats. This would provide an immediate boost to both NATO and EU capabilities, and put Germany back into a more leading role.'

Questions were raised on the extent to which Russian belligerence and threats like the so-called Islamic State could be used to drum up more public support for beefing up defence spending in nations that have sharply reduced military budgets since the end of the Cold War

'Capabilities and operational effectiveness are more important. How therefore could we convince the German population of this?' asked Jam facilitator **Emma Scott**, a UK-based freelance Security and Defence Analyst with Business Monitor International. 'They do not necessarily see threats as more important than the money they have in their pocket. Would playing on a threats narrative not constitute building on a fear factor, and is it acceptable to manipulate public opinion in this manner?'

Maj. Gen. **Ştefan Dănilă**, Chief of General Staff of the Romanian Armed Forces, stressed the importance of building on the unity of purpose shown at NATO's September summit to push forward greater defence cooperation among the Allies.

'Obviously, the cohesion that NATO has shown in Wales was the most important message from the last NATO summit. In my opinion, this is the main point for all the future constructions. Cohesion in planning, cohesion in building defence capacity, cohesion in decision making and cohesion in actions,' Dănilă wrote. He added that the Alliance needed to answer questions on the level to which capabilities should be developed through multinational approaches using 'Smart Defence', or the 'framework nation' approach where one country takes a lead in building capabilities with regional partners.

Before the summit in Wales, European Union leaders had already agreed at their Council meeting in December that 'defence matters,' and that the EU had to do more 'to enhance the security of EU citizens and contribute to peace and stability in our neighbourhood and in the broader world.'

Russia-Ukraine: the way forward

The 2014 Security Jam proved an excellent opportunity for security professionals, scholars and journalists to come together for an intensive three-day brainstorming to explore current security challenges facing the West and to provide recommendations for dealing with these challenges.

Given that one of the main objectives of the 2014 Jam was 'to bring real solutions to real security problems,' this event falls right in line with our mission here at the Marshall Center, where our team was delighted to host a forum focused on the ongoing crisis between Russia and Ukraine. The forum's discussions aimed to understand and explain why Russia acted the way it did in Ukraine, the length of time it took the West to comprehend what was happening, how the West might look for ways to prevent similar situations in the future, and how Western and international actors might work with Ukraine and Russia to resolve the ongoing dispute. Although the threads of discussion were very wide-ranging, several general findings bubbled up to the surface during this extensive exchange of ideas.

Jammers aptly noted that Western actors must respect the fact that Ukraine is a sovereign nation and, as such, has to play a central role in any solution to the conflict on its territory. Only Ukraine's elected government has the right to determine the direction the country should go, after which Ukraine may seek assistance from the international community to work with Russia in moving forward. Although some Jam participants disagreed with this viewpoint, many were convinced that Russia cannot be left out of the dialogue. Nevertheless, Jammers agreed that all parties involved must work together to find ways to break down the misperceptions that played such an important, yet damaging, role during this crisis. Jammers also warned that Western actors should recognise that Russia will continue to exploit the inability of Western institutions to more rapidly come to a common understanding and to speak with a unified voice.

In this light, Jammers agreed that the West must seek ways to provide economic and military assistance to Ukraine without provoking Russia, but at the same time be fully prepared and willing to flex its economic and military muscles to respond to Russia's actions. NATO, and potentially the EU, should therefore continue to develop means for countering asymmetric and non-conventional warfare. One Jammer recommended that NATO and the EU develop a cohesive media strategy aimed at disseminating accurate and objective information in response to the flood of misinformation broadcast by Russian media outlets. Ultimately, the EU and NATO will need to find systems and processes for identifying and predicting future moves by hostile actors, based on the Ukrainian example, and to develop a more timely and adequate response or a more credible deterrent. Jammers also recommended that the West develop a more unified strategy for working with non-aligned countries to its east. Several participants proposed that the European Union develop a strategy for dealing with its eastern neighbours, a three-tiered approach with one strategy for Russia; one for Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia; and one for Armenia, Azerbaijan and Belarus. Jammers were united in their view that NATO and EU countries must rethink their roles, responsibilities and expectations for the next decade, especially with respect to the non-aligned countries along their borders.

Lt. Col. Kelly MacDonald
George C. Marshall European Center
for Security Studies

For that to happen, **Air Commodore Peter Round**, the EDA's Director for Capability, Armament and Technology, said a greater collaborative approach was needed to overcome capability shortfalls. 'If we want these words to be credible, we have to have the capabilities to match,' he told the Jam. 'Heads of state and government recognised this at the European Council. They endorsed four areas in which a collaborative approach was necessary to address key capability shortfalls: remotely piloted aircraft systems, air-to-air refuelling, satellite communications and cyberdefence. To develop the key capabilities we need, we must work together.'

Several jammers pointed out that the EU's Security Strategy is now over a decade old and needs updating. 'Surely the time has come for the EU's 2003 Security Strategy to be rewritten. A revised definition of Europe's security thinking could also be a blueprint for the long-overdue streamlining of EU member states' over-manned and largely non-combatant military forces,' wrote **Giles Merritt**, Secretary General of Friends of Europe.

The EU's new High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Federica Mogherini, has indicated she will launch a 'joint process of strategic reflection' that could lead the way to a new European Security Strategy (ESS), but differences among the member states meant that a previous exercise aimed at updating the ESS in 2008 made little progress.

Another way to boost the EU's security approach could be the establishment of a 'European Strategic Council,' suggested **Jolyon Howorth**, Visiting Professor of Political Science and International Affairs at Yale University. Such a body need not necessarily be along the lines of the U.S. NSC, he said, but it would help Mogherini 'to keep strategy front and centre at all times.'

With several jammers emphasising the benefits of well-defined cooperation between civil and military players, the head of the EUFOR Althea mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina offered an example of how the EU does it on the ground.

'What is special in the way we work in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the institutionalised double-hatted advisory function shared by the EU Special Representative/EU Delegation and the military operation,' explained **Maj. Gen. Dieter Heidecker**. 'This ensures a common assessment, harmonised reporting and also integrated policy approach. On the one hand, this ensures security expertise is available for the EUSR and EU Delegation and, on the other hand, a clear policy for the everyday military work. In this way, we, the military, function as a really well-integrated toolbox to the civilian component.'

That complementarity, Heidecker said, is extended to cooperation with NATO. 'In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the EU military operation and the NATO Headquarters present in this country work hand in hand. In supporting reforms that would bring Bosnia and Herzegovina forward on its Euro-Atlantic integration path, we work in close coordination, with a clear burden-sharing and using different instruments.'

Maciej Popowski, Deputy Secretary General of the European External Action Service (EEAS), recognised the success of such missions, but he insisted that, there too, member states must ensure they are equipped with adequate capabilities. 'The training effort cannot be sustainable

without providing the services concerned with the equipment they need – cars, communication systems, protective equipment. It's not about buying arms with EU money which is clearly off limits, but about credible investment in security,' he said.

One way suggested to improve capability development for both the EU and NATO was a greater focus on regional cooperation, including under the 'framework nation' concept that was backed by NATO leaders in Wales. **Velina Tchakarova**, Senior Research Fellow at the Austrian Institute for European and Security Policy (AIESS), suggested that regional cooperation among European nations could be developed through an assignment of tasks based on geographical criteria.



The recent crisis in Ukraine clearly indicates that hard power still matters in international security.

Mehmet Kinaci
Strategic analyst, NATO



'The limits of regional cooperation focused on developing capabilities are that we first need a clear geographical distribution of tasks, priorities and security-related goals in order to optimise the capability building within the EU and also with regard to the NATO partners,' she wrote. 'My proposal is a clear geographical distribution of distribution of Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) in several strategic areas. Each area of countries should deal with specific issues because they have the understanding, the know-how, the experience, etc.'

Among the examples she gave, the Nordic countries, together with the Netherlands and Poland, would deal with geopolitical challenges in the Arctic and Russia's military presence in the North Sea, or France would work with Spain, Italy and Portugal on the Middle East and North Africa.

'Geographic distribution of tasks, priorities and strategic objectives will help to overcome the reactive nature of the CSDP and introduce adequate measures in accordance with the urgency of each single situation,' Tchakarova concluded.





Conclusion

*By Leendert van Bochoven,
NATO and European Defence Leader,
Office of the Chairman, EMEA, IBM*

The third global Security Jam was held against the backdrop of significant turmoil along the eastern and southern borders of EU and NATO. Looking back to the 2010 and 2012 Security Jams, we can only conclude that the global security landscape is becoming increasingly complex, unpredictable and also more interconnected. This requires a continued dialogue amongst the key stakeholders and collaboration with partners beyond the 'usual suspects.' The world needs innovative thinking now more than ever.

The intent of the Security Jam is to do exactly that: facilitate a dialogue amongst a broad range of stakeholders and to come up with concrete and innovative recommendations.

Rising complexity and escalating competition have made partnering a core strategy for many companies. The security landscape today requires similar partnering, but among the wider ecosystem of governmental, non-governmental and private sector organisations. The sheer fact that both NATO and the EU have participated in all three Security Jams raises hope for a more integrated approach to security.

To enable sustained and fruitful innovation partnerships, however, organisations will need deeper and more integrated relationships. Technology is a key enabler and presents opportunities for much deeper connections with partners. These opportunities for innovation – both spontaneous and orchestrated – are rising in step with interconnectedness.

In light of the global security environment, defence investments seem to be on the rise, albeit in small steps. Some nations are bucking the cost-cutting trend and are now thinking about new defence investments. One key investment area for organisations to consider should be the capability to partner and collaborate.

During the Jam, cybersecurity stood out as one of the areas for investment by governments and industry together. Industry owns the vast majority of the critical cyber infrastructure, and so is a natural area for collaboration and exchange. This means that partnering organisations will have to share collaborative environments, cyber data and intelligence – and to a certain extent, share control.

Another good area for collaboration is NATO's Defence Planning Process. Early industry involvement in the process to determine required capabilities and to identify priority shortfall areas will help industry to make the right long-term investment decisions.

These are just two examples from the Security Jam that call for closer collaboration and more innovative partnerships. The Security Jam itself was again a good example of a different mode of collaboration. The quality of the content exceeded the previous Jams.

It falls on all of us jammers across the ecosystem to ask what we can do with the recommendations of the Security Jam 2014, and how we can form new partnerships to deal with the current and future security challenges.

Road map

Many interesting and constructive ideas emerged from the discussion throughout the course of the Security Jam, leading up to the final 10 recommendations. Below is a roadmap of the recommendations with some of the ideas that fed into them, laid out in what could be a possible timeline.

NATO & EU Strategic Communications

- Counter ISIS internet messaging, include emotional pull
- Reach out to populations targeted for radicalisation
- Send messaging through normal channels of Islamic discourse
- EU delegations should have more access to analysis of regional military factors at play
- Rehabilitation programme for foreign fighters
- Adopt a media strategy to aggressively counter/discredit false claims by Russian state-controlled media
- Support independent Russian-language media in Allied and vulnerable nations with Russian-speaking communities
- Increase financing for international broadcasters reaching Russian-speaking communities
- Boost countermeasures against hostile social media activities – trolling etc. used by state and para-state operators

Cyber research and education

- Expand NATO's Science for Peace programme
- Sustain networks between scientists, industry and NATO planners
- Set of criteria to evaluate existing cyber curricula at universities

Deploy more women

- Integrate more female officers into Information Operations
- Expand the female presence in the intelligence community, including on the operational side
- Work on the education and public awareness side to highlight military and security career options for women
- Open a discussion on the use of quotas/positive discrimination for female recruitment

EU website on migration and trafficking

- Eventually broaden this into an EU/NATO security perspective
- Collective defence of EU's border vs trafficking/migration
- Use Trackingterrorism.org as a tracking method
- Consider a similar system for infectious diseases
- Broaden cooperation with NGOs working in migration/trafficking

NATO Defence Planning Process

- Tools vs non-conventional and asymmetric warfare needed
- New industry partnership model needed to spur innovation
- Create frameworks w/regional actors for various types of crisis
- Use defence budgets that cost-effectively allocate resources
- Are there Article 5 threats other than military confrontation?

Women in peace and reconciliation process

- Post-conflict rehab should extend to family members
- More EU and U.S. support for female YPJ
- Give female fighters more visibility in the mainstream media
- Women fighters should be brought into leading roles
- Greater recognition for women's role in civil society organisations
- Insistence on adequate representation for women in peace processes, post-conflict development

Update EU and NATO strategies

- Strategy is rooted in culture so involve various actors to discuss
- Increase the scale and frequency of exercise VIKING
- Euro environment agency work with OSCE on climate security
- Synchronised lines of effort
- EU and NATO have important regional roles equal or superior to nations
- NATO should forge partnership w/ ASEAN
- Better integration like European Air Transport Command

CyberPol

- Internet Watch Foundation as international cooperation basis
- Cyber version of CDC; divide regions; main office at UN
- Cyber FATF: Senior policy test
- Blacklist/ name/ shame countries
- Create trust in the industry via a similar program to the U.S. Defense Industrial Base (DIB) Cyber Security/ Information Assurance (CS/IA) Program

NATO resilience

- Think like a disruptor & explore unconventional partnerships
- Improved education (offer more content) for NATO
- Guidelines and resources to assist countries against threats
- EU and U.S. assistance to strengthen sovereignty / economy of nations at risk
- Increase Civ-Mil partnerships
- Fight hybrid warfare with non-military tools (police, border guards, anti-terrorism)

Organisation for Security and Cooperation in the Middle East

- Establish confidence-building measures and regular dialogue
- Create education and job opportunities; work with Facebook et al to do so
- Use NATO/EU platforms to build contacts between military/security services of Middle East nations faced with common threat from ISIS
- NATO to deploy social science cells into conflict areas for better understanding

Live chats

Live chats are similar to break-out sessions at a conference. They had limited attendance with maximum 45 Jammers taking part for 45mn.

Trafficking in Human Beings – security measures and the community

Hosted by:
Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF)

Moderator:
Giji Gya, *Head, Asylum, Migration and Counter-THB Programme*

Summary by
Daria Hagemann,
Programme Associate, DCAF



Trafficking in human beings (THB) is a crime consisting of recruiting, transporting, transferring, harbouring or receiving persons by means of threat, use of force or other forms of coercion. The aim of this live chat was to discuss how the collaboration between security sector actors such as the police, border guards, the judiciary and the community can be strengthened to prevent THB and to improve victim identification and protection within the EU and Schengen area.

The Chat was attended by experts from national and international police services, research institutions, national anti-trafficking units, international security organisations and NGOs.

Participants emphasised the importance of good cooperation between origin and destination countries in the fight against trafficking in human beings (THB). Investigations often stop at national level due to limited collaboration between countries, although, data shows that victims and traffickers often originate from the same countries, and that traffickers have a hold over the victims in the country of origin. Therefore, to build an effective investigation, it was recommended to strengthen cooperation through well-informed liaison officers stationed at embassies in countries of origin. International police organisations such as EUROPOL and INTERPOL should further engage in facilitating information exchange between the different national law enforcement entities to effectively combat active criminal organisations.

At local level, efficient collaboration between the police and civil society – such as victim protection organisations, social services, the health sector, municipalities, employers of potential victims, victims themselves, etc. – is another important element. Traffickers might need a house, transportation or a work licence, and municipalities must be aware of their responsibilities to victims and of possible actions to counter THB. Two best practices mentioned were the creation of multidisciplinary teams consisting of police, social services and youth care funded by the municipalities, and the identification system of the Zurich police (MAK) aiming at building trust with potential victims by specialised police officers to increase the reporting of abuses and provide better victim protection.

Many jammers mentioned the importance of training and awareness-raising for the police and other involved organisations and authorities, such as judges and prosecution teams, as a key to effectively combat THB. There should also be increased assistance to victims during criminal proceedings and support to facilitate testifying in court, for example through organising the court hearing in a separate room with a camera connection. The use of cultural mediators from affected communities can further strengthen collaboration and build trust between law enforcement and communities.

How can defence and security organisations encourage gender equality?

Hosted by:
Women in International Security (WIIS) Brussels

Moderators:
Claire Craanen and
Gosia Lachut,
WIIS Brussels



Academics, NGOs, policymakers and interested parties debated the issue of gender equality in the field of security and defence in this 45-minute live online chat hosted by WIIS Brussels. Overall, participants agreed that more needs to be done to encourage gender equality in the still largely 'women-unfriendly' environment of security and defence, and that more equal gender representation not only strengthens an organisation's understanding of certain issues but also makes it better equipped to adequately carry out its tasks. It was specifically pointed out that NATO's command directive on how to integrate UNSCR 1325 in NATO operations recognises the importance of gender mainstreaming, and posits that gender perspectives increase operational effectiveness.

A range of ideas were brought forward on how to increase, in practical terms, the number of women working in the field of security and defence. Establishing quotas was one of the proposed solutions to achieve greater gender equality, with past examples of quotas in national parliaments having shown to be effective. But participants agreed that quotas were only a temporary measure to fix unequal representation. Quotas alone are not enough, nor should they be discriminatory towards males, which is a risk.

To truly make a difference in reaching greater gender equality in the mid- to longer-term, participants suggested that mindsets have to change, that the security and defence 'culture' and 'language' have to evolve – including when it comes to working hours for men and women, the balance between paternity and maternity leave, equal pay and career advancement, etc. Men must play a part in embracing and implementing gender equality, and at the same time, women need to lean in and speak up. Education, starting in schools and universities, mentoring and training to increase women's self-confidence and encourage them to lean in, is essential. The media should help promote a more positive image of women in senior positions in security and defence organisations, and should also stop portraying women only as victims in conflict, and instead show that they are full-on actors both during conflict and in post-conflict reconstruction.

It was also mentioned that gender equality should not only be about the number of women physically working in security and defence organisations, but also about incorporating feminine thinking into all levels of work, notably at the decision-making level.

To conclude, WIIS suggested that whilst the debate on gender equality is in full swing, much remains to be done in practical terms to create equal opportunities and access for men and women in security and defence organisations. The above suggestions should be seen as some of the recommendations that need to be taken forward. WIIS Global, WIIS Brussels and other WIIS chapters across the world will continue to proactively advance the debate on this important issue.

What skills, knowledge and networks will the foreign policy leader of 2030 need?

Hosted by: *Young Professionals in Foreign Policy (YFPF)*
Current and future leaders in the field of defence and security participated in YFPF's live chat looking ahead to the future foreign policy leaders of 2030. In this Jam Chat, YFPF volunteers and other interlocutors from across the world had the opportunity to tackle the question of skills, knowledge and networks for the 2030 foreign policy leader.

Moderator: **Katrina Murray**, *Executive Director, YFPF Brussels*
Political extremism, the growing influence of Africa, environmental changes, big data/cybersecurity, foreign policy hotspots and even the cultural powerhouse of the Eurovision song contest were just some of the key issues discussed. The aspiring foreign policy leaders of tomorrow must prepare for these challenges today, as well as for many threats and opportunities yet to emerge.



Participants had a lively debate on the role of Europe in 2030. Europe's unity was considered critical to its ability to project power. This unity was called into question when discussing the EU-U.S. Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP). Participants were divided on the transparency of the TTIP negotiations, but many hoped it would create growth, boost jobs and increase competitiveness across the global North.

Emerging powers in Asia, Africa and South America were considered key to strategic considerations for future foreign policy leaders. However, the international security issues facing these countries would continue to develop up until 2030. From bridging social disparities and building working democracies in African nations to calming tensions in the South China Sea, participants agreed that an appropriate security architecture is needed to deal with potential serious conflicts, and to prevent a destabilisation of the global order.

The use of digital diplomacy tools will increase from now to 2030, supported by continued innovation in social media and big data. As social media becomes the norm of communication, leaders will be expected to communicate more directly and clearly to their constituencies. However, this current generation of 'online natives' warned that in light of these advances in the digital world, careful consideration of privacy concerns and issues of cybersecurity would be needed.

YFPF's Jam Chat concluded with a look into the skills needed by a future foreign policy leader in 2030. They would need to first and foremost be plain-spoken and able to make policy relevant for a social media-savvy generation. A good leader in 2030 should be entrepreneurial, globally literate, multilingual, adaptable and flexible. YFPF's recommendation to the policymakers of today would be to support emerging leaders to develop their skills today, so they are ready for tomorrow.

VIP Jammers

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Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs, Secretary General's Special Representative for the Caucasus and Central Asia, NATO

Elmira Bayrasli

Co-Founder, Foreign Policy Interrupted

Nicolas Jonathan Beger

Director, Amnesty International European Institutions Office (AIEIO)

Brando Benifei

Member of the Committee on Employment and Social Affairs, European Parliament

Gen. Philip M. Breedlove

NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe and Commander of U.S. European Command

Amb. Altay Cengizer

Director General for Policy Planning, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey

Dominika Ćosić

European Correspondent, Dziennik Gazeta Prawna

Vice-Admiral Arnaud Coustillière

General Officer of Cyber Defence, Ministry of Defence, France

Lt. Gen. Ștefan Dănilă

Chief of General Staff, Romanian Armed Forces

Jaap de Hoop Scheffer

Praesidium member of Friends of Europe and former NATO Secretary General

Chantal de Jonge Oudraat

President, Women in International Security (WIIS)

Can Dizdar

Acting Director General for Bilateral Political Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey

Anna Elżbieta Fotyga

Chairwoman of the Subcommittee on Security and Defence, European Parliament

Maj. Gen. Dieter Heidecker

Head of Mission EUFOR Althea

Csaba Hende

Minister of Defence, Hungary

Jolyon Howorth

Visiting Professor of Political Science, Yale University

Enver Hoxhaj

Chairman of the Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kosovo

Amb. Gabor Iklody

Director of Crisis Management and Planning (CMPD), European External Action Service (EEAS)

Lee Litzenberger

Deputy Permanent Representative, United States Mission to NATO

Urmas Paet

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Estonia

Gen. Jean-Paul Paloméros

Supreme Allied Commander Transformation (SACT), NATO

Maciej Popowski

Deputy Secretary General, European External Action Service (EEAS)

Lt. Gen. Pasquale Preziosa

Lt. Gen. Chief of Staff, Italian Air Force

Karl Åke Roghe

Head of Mission EUPOL Afghanistan

Air Commodore Peter Round

Director Capability, Armament & Technology, European Defence Agency

Sediq Sediqqi

General Director Public Diplomacy, Ministry of Interior Affairs, Afghanistan

Jamie Shea

Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Emerging Security Challenges, NATO

Simon Sinek

Author, *Start With Why* and *Leaders Eat Last*

James Stavridis

President of the Fletcher School, Tufts University and former NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe

Alexander Vershbow

Deputy Secretary General, NATO

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Lt. Gen. of the EU Military Staff, European External Action Service (EEAS)

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Emma Scott, Freelance Security & Defence Analyst, Business Monitor International, United Kingdom

Peterson Ferreira da Silva, PhD candidate, University of São Paulo, Brazil

Jeffrey K. Smith, JD Candidate, NYU School of Law, United States

Nathalie Van Raemdonck, Assistant Manager, B-CENTRE Belgian cybercrime centre of excellence for training, research and education, Belgium

Yavuz Yener, Research Assistant, International Strategic Research Organisation (USAK), Turkey

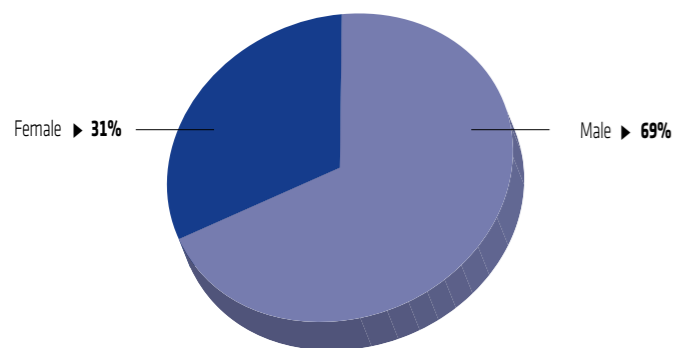
Sophie Zagato, Political Advisor, Mission of Switzerland to the United Nations, United States

Statistics

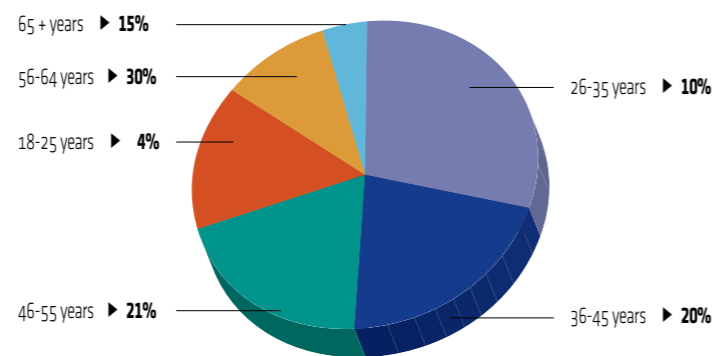
- Between 1 and 15 registrations
- Between 16 and 50 registrations
- Between 51 and 100 registrations
- More than 100 registrations

Participants took part in the Security Jam 2014 from 129 countries around the world

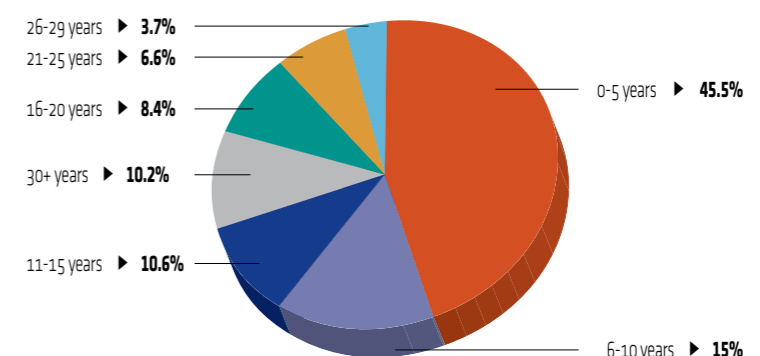
Jammers — by gender (%)



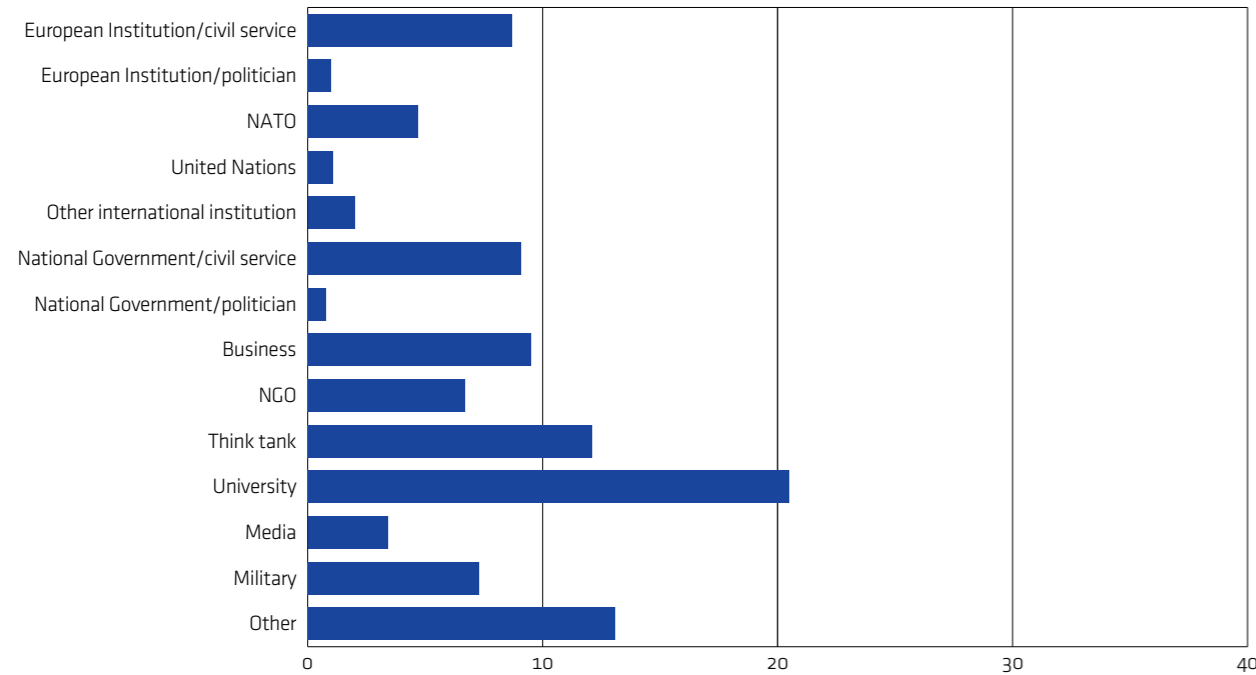
Jammers — by age range (%)



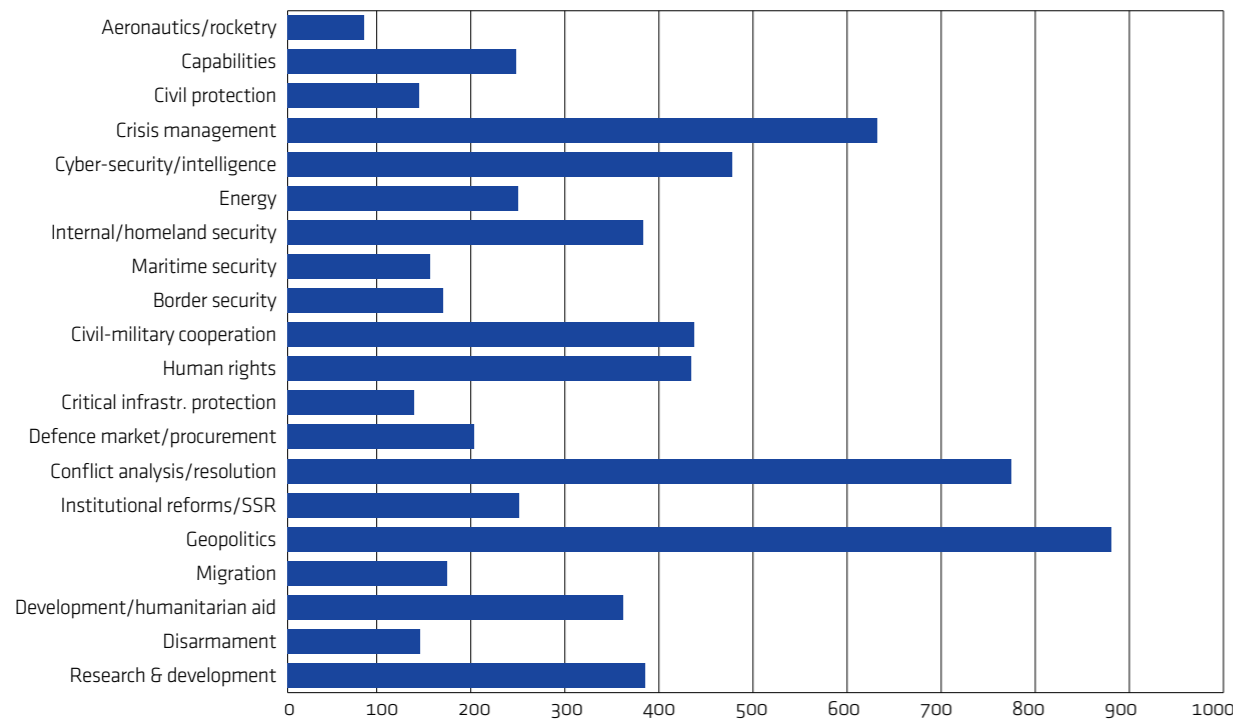
Jammers — by years of experience in security, defence or development issues (%)



Registration by affiliation (%)



Registration by expertise (numbers)



Posts by forum by affiliation

Affiliation	The new global balance	The EU as a global security broker	NATO's role 2025	Cybersecurity and cyberdefence	Case study: Ukraine & Russia	Case study: Syria
European Institution/civil service	17	48	4	18	29	32
European Institution/politician	1	2	0	1	8	0
NATO	5	5	44	0	3	0
United Nations	0	0	1	0	0	0
Other international institution	8	7	15	1	23	5
National Government/civil service	81	29	55	61	19	40
National Government/politician	0	3	0	2	2	0
Business	39	27	49	139	5	7
NGO	34	26	17	18	39	27
Think tank	211	186	171	77	90	190
University	111	161	76	90	56	152
Media	17	21	13	11	20	46
Military	33	50	27	15	47	7
Other	76	64	52	54	77	68

Representatives of national governments were most active in the Global Balance forum, while business people were most active in the Cybersecurity forum and the Syria forum attracted the most NGO representatives.

Posts by forum by age distribution

Age Range	Total Posts	Unique Posters	The new global balance	The EU as a global security broker	NATO's role 2025	Cybersecurity and cyberdefence	Case study: Ukraine & Russia	Case study: Syria
18-25 years	257	46	48	41	26	52	24	66
26-35 years	1150	125	185	210	172	132	192	259
36-45 years	613	94	129	112	101	76	71	124
46-55 years	645	91	204	131	112	95	62	41
56-64 years	475	57	52	80	104	118	53	68
65 + years	125	16	15	55	9	14	16	16

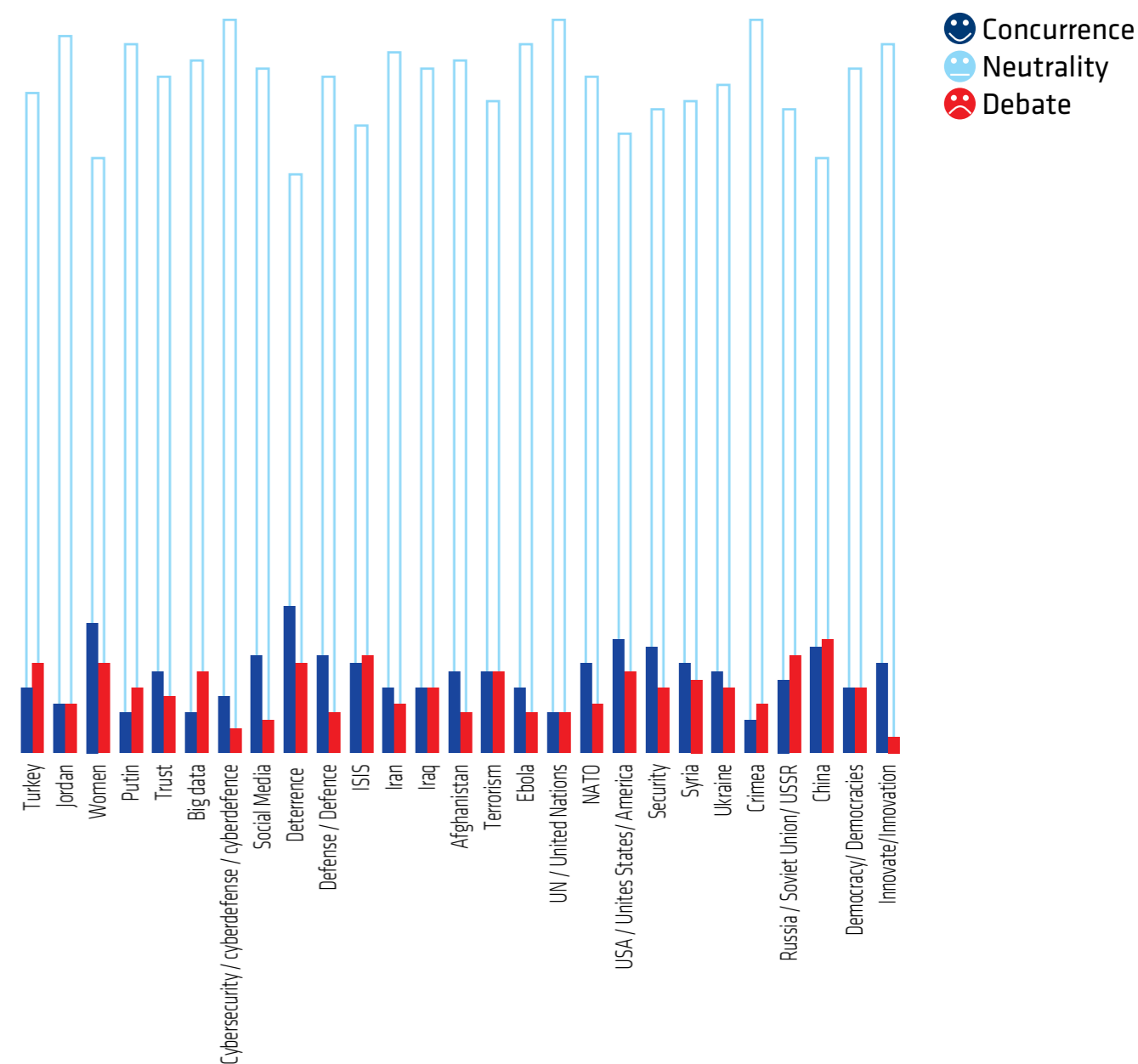
The Syria case study attracted the greatest share of people from the 18-25 and 26-35 age range, while the Global Balance forum was the most successful among the 36-45 and 46-55 age range. The preferred subject for the 56-64 age range was cybersecurity.

Posts by forum by gender

Gender	The new global balance	The EU as a global security broker	NATO's role 2025	Cybersecurity and cyberdefence	Case study: Ukraine & Russia	Case study: Syria
Male	452	433	437	376	255	342
Female	181	196	87	111	163	232

The forum where most female jammers posted was the Syrian case study, where the question of Kurdish female fighters was discussed.

Sentiment Analysis



This sentiment analysis identifies and explores opinions attached to some of the concepts that came up during the Security Jam. Using text analytics software, it assesses overall sentiment and how it changes over time, and identifies areas of sentiment, disagreement and neutrality around these concepts.

The Jam in the media

The Baltic Course

The BALTIC COURSE

Estonia, EU – Baltic States, Forum, Legislation, Security, Technology

International Internet Security, Baltic States news & analysis

Estonian MFA spoke about cyber security at online Security Jam conference

By: Tarmo, 14.10.2014

Foreign Minister Paet focused on the cyber defence sector in light of the outcome of the NATO Wales Summit, a sector for which Estonia has been a spokesperson in the alliance for years. Paet expressed his satisfaction that the Estonian Defence Forces cyber unit will be put to use as a cyber training ground for NATO cyber defence. "It is an important step in helping to develop the cyber defence capabilities of all the members of the alliance and their closest partners," he added. The purpose of the exercises is to test the resilience of the alliance and partner countries to resist various cyber attacks," Paet said.

The Estonian Defence cyber unit has already organized a number of international and high-level cyber training exercises, of which the most important was NATO's largest cyber security exercise, Cyber Coalition 2013 last year and the NATO Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre's exercise United Shields.

The Security Jam Conference is a major defence and security policy event occurring every two years in the form of online interactive discussion forums, bringing together thousands of researchers, military personnel, government representatives, and a number of other experts from around the world to discuss current developments in global security. During the 3-hour long event, participants have the opportunity to actively participate in several different forums. Among other things, this year's conference focuses on the future of NATO, the changing security situation in the world at large and the situation in Syria.

Sputnik News

US Secretary of Defense Says US Army Must Be Able to Deal with Terrorists, Russia

WASHINGTON, DC, October 13, 2014. Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel said that the US Army must be able to face threats coming from terrorists and insurgents as well as to "deal with" Russia's modern and capable army.

"Terrorists and the Army will only grow more diverse and complex going forward. Threats from terrorists and insurgents will remain with us for a long time. But we also must deal with a resurgent Russia with its modern and capable army on NATO's doorstep," Hagel said in Washington.

He is not the first official statement regarding Russia made by a Western leader in recent months.

On Wednesday, Deputy Secretary General of NATO Alexander Vershbow compared the actions of the Russian State Duma group with Russian politics, while speaking at the Security Jam conference.

In September, during his speech at the UN General Assembly, UN President Ban Ki-moon placed Russia second on a list of top global threats, with the first place given to the spread of Ebola, and the third place – to the Russian Fed. It was the first time that the UN Secretary-General explicitly named Russia as a global threat.

After Obama's address, Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov said that the "speech of a president" did not sound convincing. Lavrov added that Russia, on the contrary, is interested in de-escalating conflicts across the world through a dialogue based on

RIA Novosti

NATO-Vorherr Vershbow vergleicht Russland mit Islamischem Staat

BRUSSEL, 13. Oktober 2014 (RIA Novosti) - NATO-Vorherr Alexander Vershbow hat in Brüssel die Terrororganisationen Al-Qaida und den Islamischen Staat als die größten Bedrohungen für die Welt bezeichnet. Er hat auch Russland in diese Liste aufgenommen.

Während seiner Rede vor der Generalversammlung der Vereinten Nationen in New York am 27. September hat Vershbow die Terrororganisationen Al-Qaida und den Islamischen Staat als die größten Bedrohungen für die Welt bezeichnet. Er hat auch Russland in diese Liste aufgenommen.

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Stars and Stripes

STARS AND STRIPES

Online security forum focuses on Russia, Syria, other threats

By John Vaudner
Stars and Stripes
Published: October 15, 2014

STUTTGART, Germany — Describing the crisis in Ukraine as an "anti-defining" event, NATO supreme commander Gen. Philip Breedlove said the alliance used work sessions to a host of thorny questions as NATO transforms in the face of new, unconventional threats.

"Russia's actions challenge the fundamental assumption and principles which Europe's post-Cold War development was founded," Breedlove said during an online security forum. "These actions appear to illustrate a desire to set the rules not only in Ukraine, but potentially in other bordering countries — a direct threat to the international order upon which global stability depends."

During the three-day "Security Jam," military officials and defense experts debated key problems ranging from the war in Syria and the Islamic State militant group, to the implications of Russian actions around Ukraine.

The forum, an annual brain-storming session that aims to take on a complex range of

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Security Jam. Wielka debata o europejskim bezpieczeństwie

Wielka debata o europejskim bezpieczeństwie. W ramach Security Jam, największego międzynarodowego forum o bezpieczeństwie, odbyła się wielka debata o europejskim bezpieczeństwie. Wzięli w niej udział przedstawiciele państw NATO, eksperci wojskowi i politycy. Tematem przewodnim było zagrożenie ze strony Rosji i Iranu, a także kwestie bezpieczeństwa w Syrii i na Ukrainie.

polit.ru

ПОЛИТ.РУ

МИД РФ упрекнул партнеров по переговорам в искажении реальности

В Москве в среду состоялся очередной раунд переговоров по урегулированию конфликта в Сирии. Участники переговоров обвинили партнеров по переговорам в искажении реальности.

Deutsche Welle

DW

Security Jam: Ein paar Zeilen Sicherheit

Drei Tage lang clustern Politikexperten über die Gegenwart und Zukunft der NATO, Krisenreaktionen und Netzwerke. Der stellvertretende NATO-Generalsekretär Jeanne Siles legt sich auch an.

SDA a Rewire

EU in the US @EUintheUS · 17 oct
#SecurityJam14 is over! 94 hrs, 2,300 participants from 114 countries & 2,800 #SDA posts. [europe](#) [eurow](#) [you](#) [ok](#) [ya](#) [?!](#) [globe](#)

View our Internet: [www.securityjam.org](#)

Nicklas Gren/Youtube at 20 audio events

Karl Ake Rogha @karlroghe · 15 oct
Join me again today in the conversation for #SecurityJam14 at [t.me/SecurityJamLog](#)

Over

UK Delegation, NATO @UKNATO · 15 oct
@secdefagenda's #SecurityJam14 continues. Join the conversation here: [on.ly/IG28L](#), on 11/17/14

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The Security Jam
Posted by @SecurityJam14 on October 1 at 10:00 AM

Who will be the key influence of 21st security, China or India?

Tell us what YOU think on Oct. 14-15

Click and jam from the comfort of your own home or office as the Jam is entirely ONLINE. Register via your Facebook account it's free of charge and takes under a minute.

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Who will be the key influencer of 21st security, China or India?

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#SecurityJam14 Day 2: Discuss Cyber/Security w/ Gen. (Ret) NATO Dep Asst Sec-Gen for Emerging Security Challenges [t.me/ICGRTU](#)

The Security Jam
Posted by @SecurityJam14 on September 29 at 10:00 AM

How do we break down ISIS? YOU decide.

Your ideas matter. Register for the online debate and make sure you share them with world leaders.

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James Appathurai @JamesAppathurai · 15 oct
Global online brainstorm today! #SecurityJam14. Debate me, starting 15:00 CET

Friends of Europe at 3 audio a Rewire

EU External Action @eu_eas · 10 oct
#SecurityJam14 How can we act today to make the world safer? Join debate on global forum on Oct 14-15 [t.me/SecurityJam14](#) [@secdefagenda](#)

Friends of Europe @FriendsOfEurope · 9 oct
More and more relations between internal and external security - Jasp de Hoop Scherf @JaspdeHoop @SecurityJam14 @secdefagenda

ISN Zurich @ISN_Zurich · 24 oct
Get ready to join! Join us 14-16 Oct for @secdefagenda's #SecurityJam14 - a global #Security Brainstorming session over #SDA!

EU Delegation to UN @EUtoUN · 14 oct
The security and Defence Agenda #SecurityJam14 started today: grab this opportunity - voice your views on global. [t.me/ISNInfo](#)

EU Defence Agency @EUDefAgency · 14 oct
How can Europe develop the capabilities it needs? Discuss with EDA's Pete Round at #SecurityJam14 from 15:00 CET - [t.me/SecurityJam14](#) [@secdefagenda](#)

EU in the US @EUintheUS · 14 oct
#SecurityJam14 is now on! How ideas flow to make the world a safer place? Join the online discussion: [securitydefenceagenda.org/SecurityJam14](#)

The Security Jam
Posted by @SecurityJam14 on October 1 at 10:00 AM

How would YOU solve the Syrian crisis? YOUR ideas matter. Make sure you share them with world leaders.

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Security Jam
Brainstorming Global Security

14-16 October 2014

Mackey Popovsk speaking about the Security Jam 2014

The Security Jam
Posted by News Miller on October 1 at 10:00 AM

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The Jam fever is getting to Brussels' heart!

Click and jam from the comfort of your own home or office as the Jam is entirely online. Registration is free of charge and takes under a minute.

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European Delegation at 17 audio events

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Ivo Daalder @IvoDaalder · 15 oct
Time to join #SecurityJam14. It'll be discussing The New Global Balance starting now. [colaboracionjam.com/jam14security](#)

YFP Brussels @YFPBrussels · 10 oct
Security issues lend solutions. Join #SecurityJam14 to share your innovative ideas with VIP Jammers & experts [t.me/SecurityJam14](#)

Samuel Padi @samuelpadi · 16 oct
Trust remains a big challenge in mitigating cybersecurity threats. Give your ideas in [@secdefagenda](#)'s #SecurityJam14 [@t.me/SecurityJam14](#)

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Join the #SecurityJam14 - from today @ 12AM CET - it's unique, it's free, it's online - [t.me/SecurityJam14](#)

EUROPEAN MFA @EUinBrussels · 15 oct
FBI @Ultraspect spoke about cyber security & cyber defence @ the #SecurityJam14 think tank event organised by @secdefagenda in Brussels today.

The lighter side

The 2014 Security Jam spent three days dealing with weighty issues, but there were some lighter moments.

“

It's a great pleasure to "jam" about NATO and our new security environment. Back when I was a U.S. diplomat, I was a drummer in a rock band called "Coalition of the Willing". And as U.S. Ambassador in Moscow and Seoul, I often jammed with local rock musicians. The music wasn't the best, but it was great fun and promoted deeper cultural understanding. Unfortunately, the tunes we hear from Moscow these days recall one my band's favourite numbers, Back in the USSR.

Alexander Vershbow, NATO Deputy Secretary General and VIP Jammer.

”

“

If Britain left the EU, the cost of an imported bottle of wine would instantly jump by a third and you know how much Brits love to drink.

Researcher and Policy Analyst, London.

”

“

I meant VJTF ... NATO acronyms – that's also one of those things you guys need to fix.

Security & Defence Trainee, Global Progressive Forum, European Parliament.

”

“

Bless the Eurovision! It brings us all together!

Swedish jammer, on the song festival's ability to bring harmony to Europe.

”

“

You might have to live with the fact that, apart from a ridiculously small percentage of specialised techies, most of us are drunk clowns on a tightrope, and the concept of stability, security and balance is a thing of the past. Read some of the agreements you so carelessly accept, or maybe decide to learn how to keep some of your most precious data safe. Other than that you and everyone else will soon have had one or two embarrassing photos tagged and a page we wish would disappear when we Google ourselves. It's human.

Jammer from Sweden, who is developing a TV series on cybercrime, referring to most citizens' approach to cybersecurity.

”

“

Conchita for European Commission President, 2019.

Young Professional in Foreign Policy.

”

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EUROPEAN YOUNG ENTREPRENEURS
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THE GROUP FOR RESEARCH AND INFORMATION ON PEACE AND SECURITY (GRIP)
INSTITUTE FOR GLOBAL STUDIES
INSTITUTE FOR PEACE RESEARCH AND SECURITY POLICY (IFSH)
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THE SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND MANAGEMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINHO
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