

AUTUMN 2018

# DEBATING SECURITY PLUS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY  
& TOP 10 RECOMMENDATIONS



# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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The urgent need to find solutions to global security challenges has seldom seemed more pressing. Geopolitical certainties that have anchored the international order for decades are eroded tweet by tweet. From the ties of transatlantic unity to the irreversibility of European integration and the irresistible progress of liberal democracy, those certainties are now in doubt.

Against this anxious background, Friends of Europe hosted its sixth worldwide online security forum Debating Security Plus in June. An essential rendez-vous for experts and policymakers, the event drew over a thousand participants from every continent for two days of intense deliberation on the most demanding security issues of this age of unpredictability. Debating Security Plus is indeed truly global in its scope, with 1,200 participants from 86 countries – from Austria to Australia, Argentina to Azerbaijan.

'We have lived through difficult and dangerous times before, but arms control and disarmament measures have played a key role in conflict prevention and risk mitigation: in short, in keeping us safe and secure. Those institutions

appear to be now under threat,' cautioned [Izumi Nakamitsu](#), United Nations Under Secretary-General and High Representative for Disarmament Affairs. 'Today we face a new set of challenges and the return of Cold War-like tensions.'

As with previous years, the 2018 edition of Debating Security Plus focused on the search for concrete policy recommendations in response to fast-evolving contemporary security challenges. Ten top recommendations that emerged from the debate will be forwarded to key international bodies including the European Commission, the European Parliament, the European Council, the European External Action Service, NATO and Defence Ministries of EU, NATO member states and globally.

Recommendations from previous Debating Security Plus reports have found echoes in ongoing policy discussion, for example on strengthening Europe's legal migration options to counter human trafficking, recalibrating NATO defensive deployment on the eastern flank, or the rapidly growing role of women in key security roles. Last year's call to strengthen Europe's defence capabilities toolkit has

been reflected in the rapid development of the European Union's Permanent Structured Cooperation in defence (PESCO) and the European Intervention Initiative launched by France in June 2018 to foster a greater European expeditionary culture and provide rapid crisis response. Yet there is a clear need to do more and fast, given both the multiplicity of the threats and the uncertainty straining traditional bonds of alliance.

Europe's problems loomed large with the continent squeezed between Russian belligerence to the east, instability in the south and the unpredictability of Trump-era transatlantic relations. 'Europe is becoming bigger and bigger on defence and for a good reason, the demand is out there, and the world is not a safe place,' said [Maciej Popowski](#), European Commission Deputy Director-General for Neighbourhood and Enlargement Negotiations. 'When we look at Europe's neighbourhood to the south and to the east the situation is far from perfect. There are threats emanating from these regions and countries and we should be ready to respond.' Across the debate was a realisation that the scale and diversity of contemporary threats

know no borders and demand collaborative responses that run counter to the growing trend for unilateral actions. 'Many of the current and future security challenges cannot be addressed on a national level alone,' said [Stefanie Babst](#), Head of the Strategic Analysis Capability at NATO. 'How do we want to tackle terrorism if not collectively? Or how do we want to face the huge challenge of illegal migration if not collectively?'

The 36-hour brainstorm was structured around six topics: countering hybrid threats in the cyber age; Europe as a global security actor; regional approaches to global migration; fraying arms control regimes; realigning the crime-terror nexus; and building scenarios of the future relating to Russia, Europe and the US relations.

## DEBATING SECURITY PLUS IN NUMBERS



**1,200**  
registered participants



**Over 3,000**  
visits to the platform

FROM **86** COUNTRIES



**1,840**  
comments  
posted



**50+**  
sessions



**36 hours**  
of debating



**37 VIP**  
debaters





# THE TOP 10 RECOMMENDATIONS AND ROADMAPS

## 1. MOBILISE URBAN PLANNING AS A TOOL AGAINST EXCLUSION THAT BREEDS RADICALISATION

Local authorities can play a crucial role in promoting integration of immigrants to avoid the social exclusion that breeds marginalisation, criminality and radicalisation. This should be better recognised and enhanced. Urban planning, in particular, ought to be developed as a tool against radicalisation, and planning measures should be complemented with housing, education and social-service authorities to prevent the formation of ghetto areas and create spaces where communities and neighbours can mix. This would facilitate the emergence of productive and diverse urban areas. Local community leaders should be brought into discussions with police and city authorities to develop smart approaches to neighbourhood security. On a broader level, more powers should be

devolved to the city from national authorities on the management of migration and integration issues. The current infrastructure of European and global city networks should consider how urban planning can be incorporated in their activities, which involve sharing good practice, and they should engage in a focused exercise to produce a guiding framework on urban planning to promote inclusion and reduce disadvantage. The EU should combine forces with the OECD to create an index on how urban planning impacts integration, exclusion and economic disadvantage, the purpose of which would be to establish guidance and standards for municipalities on how to improve the use of urban planning to reduce exclusion and produce more balanced economic growth for all communities.

### THE ROADMAP

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#### Short term

Governments should grant greater powers to local authorities over migration and integration policies; municipalities should encourage more international exchanges between urban centres to share best practices and boost cultural understanding. European and global city networks should mainstream urban planning into their activities, focusing on how to promote inclusion and reduce disadvantage. The EU and the OECD could create an urban planning index to map its impact on integration, exclusion and economic disadvantage, the purpose of which would be to establish guidance and standards for municipalities on how to improve the use of urban planning to reduced exclusion and produce more balanced economic growth for all communities.



#### Medium term

Municipalities and local authorities should engage with citizens on the best ways to promote tolerance and cultural diversity. Mayors should take safety issues seriously by investing in police forces and in fighting crime, so that future generations do not grow up in a city where drug dealers and theft are the norm. They should develop spaces where communities can meet and intermingle. This could include making community centres like libraries, cinemas or parks more inviting in those areas that suffer from ghettoisation and recruit young interns over a space of time to be social workers in their neighbourhoods.



#### Long term

Local authorities can help build a resilient local civil society by mobilising the education, health, housing, social and youth services to develop urban planning standards that encourage diversity and counter ghettoisation. Mayors should mainstream diversity into city planning.

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## 2. CREATE AN INTERNATIONAL CODE OF CONDUCT ON THE MILITARY USE AND SECURITY IMPLICATIONS OF AI

Artificial Intelligence (AI) has enormous positive potential in the security area, from monitoring arms control agreements to crisis prediction, counter terrorism and thwarting cyber-attacks. Yet, there is clearly a dark side: amid fears of robot armies, drone air fleets, mass bot assaults and the increasingly computerised control over nuclear arsenals, there's a pressing need for an international agreement to regulate the military applications of AI. It is time to recognise AI's potential to develop as the "new nuclear" and work towards international AI arms control agreements. Steps must be taken

to build trust among rival powers, especially the United States and China so they can agree to limit AI's military applications, even as they race each other to harness the commercial and economic benefits. NATO needs to define its own position on the technical, ethical and political implications of the coming AI revolution. A crucial step in the short to medium term is for NATO to join forces with the EU and the UN to establish a commission to assess the impact of AI with a view to developing a code of conduct.

### THE ROADMAP



**Short  
term**

Educate policymakers on the potential impact – both positive and negative – of AI on security (such as defence, intelligence, diplomacy, surveillance, cybersecurity, information, etc.). Policymakers should establish an evaluation framework that would measure and track progress in AI capabilities internationally so as to reduce any future malicious use of AI by state or non-state actors. In parallel, companies should inform engineers and developers of AI of the political and ethical dimensions of their work. Increased awareness should allow NATO and other Western structures to clearly define their own standards and guidelines on AI use, act decisively to prepare for (mis)use by competitors and take advantage of the opportunities the application of AI presents.



**Medium  
term**

Build trust among world powers, including through cooperation on the positive use of AI for data classification, anomaly detection, prediction, or optimisation in areas of common security interest such as cybersecurity, counter-terrorism or disaster management.



**Long  
term**

Aim towards an international code of conduct or international agreement on regulating the military use of AI, based on those developed on nuclear or chemical weapons. A first step could be for the EU and NATO to create a formal Group of Governmental Experts (or a Commission) to study the issue and assess the impact of AI with a view to developing a code of conduct. European member states, China, Russia and the United States will need to develop clear national AI strategies that make clear the benefits of AI while mitigating its disruptive effects.

### 3. WORK TOWARDS EU STRATEGIC AUTONOMY AS A SERIOUS POLITICAL PROJECT

Europe is under pressure from all sides: Russia's military posture, interventions and meddling in Western elections cause concern; instability in the south fuels the migration fears that have shaken up European politics; the White House has cast doubt on transatlantic unity. Europe needs to speed up its steps towards strategic autonomy, including picking up pace on structures like PESCO and CARD and reviewing their impact to improve a joint strategy making process. The underpinning factors are more defence investment, increased sharing of diplomatic responsibilities and intensified outreach to allies such as Canada, Japan, ASEAN and Latin America. Europe should step forward with its own voice in the Middle East and forge a strong post-Brexit

security relationship with the UK. Thought should be given to replacing unanimity with majority-voting on some foreign and security policy issues. Given the unlikelihood for the EU to have a single seat on a reformed UN Security Council, the European Council, which understands the politics and trade-offs of this agenda, should undertake a significant policy review on how to strengthen a common strategic EU approach to defence and security, without ducking the issues of joint procurement and missions, the speed of decision-making and inaction. Pragmatism should prevail and this policy review should result in identifying two to three issues on which progress can be made and trust can be built.

#### THE ROADMAP



##### Short term

Trump is right – European nations need to boost defence spending at least to the NATO target of 2% of GDP. Yet they should not lose sight of the required increase in investments and keep in mind that spending more is not enough; how they spend their defence budgets is key. Meanwhile, Europeans should focus on pursuing their interests on Iran, the Middle East, international trade etc. even when that runs counter to ideas from the White House.



##### Medium term

European leaders must show greater efforts to boost the development of a common European security culture, notably through PESCO, the European Defence Fund and the new European Intervention Initiative. The harmonisation and standardisation of requirements to foster the pooling and sharing of European defence equipment is key. European leaders need to create the right framework and incentives for joint planning and procurement processes. There should be greater security cooperation with friendly powers apart from the US, and especially with post-Brexit Britain.



##### Long term

The EU needs more majority voting in foreign and security policy decisions, as well as more shared diplomacy. The European Council should undertake a significant policy review on how to strengthen a common EU strategic approach to defence and security by identifying issues on which progress can be made and trust can be built.

## 4. EXPAND REGULAR MIGRATION CORRIDORS

Migration should be viewed as a phenomenon of human mobility that is inevitable and unstoppable, to be regulated not repressed. Walls and externalised borders are not going to stop it. The best way to confront the horrors of human trafficking is to expand regular migration opportunities. Regional and cross-regional labour mobility should be facilitated through international and bilateral cooperation arrangements, such as free movement regimes, visa liberalisation or multiple country visas. Rather than rolling back its Schengen free movement initiative, the EU should be promoting it as a model for others, encouraging similar schemes being developed in Africa. Greater attention should be focused on the causes of migration, looking

at conflict prevention and resolution as well as the impact of climate change. Greater efforts must be made to facilitate job opportunities and local integration in countries of first asylum. More creative use could be made of current EU funding to develop pathfinder projects in these countries that can be the basis of future development. Sanctions should be used against oppressive regimes whose policies add to migratory push factors. Politicians need to step up honest narratives on migration, stressing the two-way benefits in host countries with ageing populations, countering populist critiques with facts – for example that just 8% of migration into Europe comes from Africa and that 80% of African migrants stay within the shores of their own continent.

### THE ROADMAP

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#### Short term

All governments need to impose tougher measures on human traffickers, including through extra-territorial prosecutions and greater international cooperation; introduce sanctions on regimes whose policies increase forced migration through conflict, human rights abuse, corruption etc.



#### Medium term

Politicians need to change the narrative on migration, recognising human mobility as an unstoppable and positive phenomenon and explaining its benefits to the electorate; Rather than threatening the Schengen agreement, they should present it as a major achievement that should be adopted as a model in Africa and other parts of the globe. They should also improve education for potential migrants about real conditions in their desired destination.



#### Long term

The expansion of legal migration opportunities should be accompanied by increased training and recruitment to match emigrant skills with job-market gaps; a greater focus should be placed on the idea of two-way migration making it easier for migrants to move across borders and back, depending on circumstances.

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## 5. BUILD A CREDIBLE AND EFFECTIVE CYBER-DETERRENCE FRAMEWORK

The cyber-defenders of NATO nations are in action against a constant bombardment. Cyber-attacks form an integral part of hybrid warfare operations and are often viewed as a low-cost, high-benefit operation by aggressors. Western powers need to build a credible and effective deterrence system by upping their game in assigning attribution for attacks and laying down clear sanctions for those who break them. Electoral systems must be given the same priority in defence from cyber-assaults as other critical infrastructure. Global agreements should be sought to commit nations not to attack elections and other civilian targets. The EU's Cyber Rapid Response Force initiative should be quickly put in place and expanded. The EU should facilitate a concordat between cities and

large private sector companies which aims to clarify roles and responsibilities ahead of an attack. The EU might consider establishing a prototype cyber deterrence framework trialled in two EU regions to understand how to better create a Europe-wide framework. Given the time and complications that would be involved in negotiating a comprehensive global cyber agreement, sectorial and regional approaches should be pursued and the existing legal frameworks should be used where possible. Such limited agreements could be expanded over time. More work should be done with the private sector to prevent attacks, identify perpetrators and build resilience. Care should be taken with launching pre-emptive or counter-attacks to avoid the risk of escalation.

### THE ROADMAP



**Short  
term**

Speed up work together with the private sector on the technical developments needed to identify the perpetrators of cyber-attacks so that they can be appropriately sanctioned. Processes that can cause delays (such as securing agreements amongst several countries) need to be streamlined. More member states should join the existing six countries in EU cyber rapid response teams. The EU should produce a heatmap of infrastructure and areas most prone to attack. It should also partner with NATO to facilitate simulation exercises that would address preparedness, responsiveness and post-crisis management in case a key agency or city is attacked.



**Medium  
term**

Establish clear legal definitions, rules and standards on cyber-attacks and the appropriate response. This means NATO needs to operationalise cyberspace into its defence policy and planning. NATO and the EU should work together in creating cybersecurity requirements and benchmarks, adopted by the European Defence Agency, that measure member states' capabilities in cyber defence. Such an agreement could be reached among allies and partners and gradually expanded to other countries.



**Long  
term**

Work towards an international agreement committing states not to attack civilian targets, especially critical infrastructure and electoral systems. For that, governments could elevate election infrastructure to the same status as critical infrastructure requiring priority cyber protection.

## 6. PROMOTE AN OSCE-TYPE BODY FOR THE MIDDLE EAST

An incremental approach to overcoming decades of strife in the Middle East could include plans for an entity similar to the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), which emerged in the 1970s as part of a drive to promote ties between the antagonistic Western and Soviet blocs. It could work on areas such as arms control, economic cooperation or the fight against human trafficking. Boosting cooperation among the growing number of MENA states that are developing nuclear energy could be a particular incentive, enhancing safety or developing monitoring regimes that would give

reassurances that atomic power programmes for ostensibly civilian purposes could not be weaponised. Despite the United States' decision to pull out of the Iran nuclear deal, its verification measures could still serve as a model for a wider agreement across the Middle East and North Africa. The EU should consider collaborating with NATO to establish a co-investment fund which both parties would provide initial seed funding to and to serve as an incentive for MENA states to contribute to establishing an OSCE-type structure for the needs of the region and its future challenges.

### THE ROADMAP



#### Short term

The EU should step up its diplomacy in the MENA region, filling the gap created by the uncertain US position, using its example and soft power to develop confidence-building measures among willing states. The EU should consider collaborating with NATO to establish a co-investment fund which both parties would provide initial seed funding to and to serve as an incentive for MENA states to contribute to establishing an OSCE-type structure for the needs of the region and its future challenges.



#### Medium term

Encourage cooperation in less contentious issues such as environment protection, economic development and human trafficking; use the growth of nuclear energy in the region to push for peaceful cooperation over safety and verification mechanisms to ensure nuclear power programmes are not fronts for the development of atomic weapons.



#### Long term

Help countries in the region build a new security architecture based on the OSCE model; provide international mentoring and monitoring, as required, for arms control and other agreements. The EU should step up its engagement especially on promoting arms control with countries such as Iran and Israel. The EU should use the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action regulating Iran's nuclear programme as an example for verification mechanisms that ensure other atomic energy plans are not used to develop weapons.

## 7. USE CRIMINAL REHABILITATION PROGRAMMES AS A MODEL FOR RE-INTEGRATING VIOLENT EXTREMISTS BACK INTO SOCIETY

In recognising the nexus between organised crime and terrorism, society should also look at applying successful solutions used against criminal gangs to combat violent extremism. Rehabilitation programmes designed to ease former gang members back into society could be adapted for use with repentant extremists. Judiciary and penitentiary systems should be reformed to ensure that rehabilitation and reinsertion work starts in prison. Prisons should work with families, schools, employer and social structures should be adapted to ensure former extremists who renounce violence can be re-integrated into society. Psychological

support structures must be strengthened. There should be a special focus on children and youths recruited by extremists to ensure their rehabilitation. Within wider communities, work is needed to build societal acceptance of the rehabilitated. The potential of reformed, former extremists in countering and preventing violent extremism has to be recognised. A distinct role the EU could play in this regard is to enable a review of rehabilitation programmes that have emerged and where this approach is being taken in order to be able to demonstrate the social and economic benefits of such programmes and promote these across the EU.

### THE ROADMAP



#### Short term

Government agencies, with the help and direction of the EU, should team up with think tanks or specialised centres of excellence to produce a study on criminal rehabilitation programmes successfully used to reform gang members to see how they can be adapted to violent extremists; they should look at those rehab programmes already used for terror group members, for example in Saudi Arabia. The study would demonstrate the social and economic benefits of such programmes and the EU could promote these across the continent. Prisons should set up psychological counselling for detained extremists, and in particular for any children that have been caught up with terror groups.



#### Medium term

The criminal justice sector should develop tools and approaches that would successfully dis-engage (ceasing an extremist's violent behaviour and activities) and de-radicalise (change beliefs and attitudes) violent extremists. A good starting point is to map previous dis-engagement and de-radicalisation programmes and look into what has worked and what has not. Individual "needs assessments" in order to develop a tailored approach should be conducted.



#### Long term

Rehabilitation centres should work with families, schools, employers and community groups during the extremist's rehabilitation process so as to prepare reformed extremists for a return to outside life and prepare society to accept them back. Rehabilitated extremists can also play a positive role to inspire or educate vulnerable individuals in their community susceptible to radicalisation or pass on information to social workers or security agencies before any real threat can develop.

## 8. BUILD A TRUSTED, TRANSNATIONAL PUBLIC SERVICE INFORMATION SYSTEM AS PART OF A STRATEGY TO COUNTER PROPAGANDA AND FAKE NEWS

During the Cold War, public service broadcasters were an effective tool to counter propaganda and promote democratic values, but funding for them has been in steady decline. That means Western powers have fallen behind in the information battle, leaving our societies open to hostile propaganda and the destabilising effects of fake news. A transnational, European public service information system could be set up to provide news with impartiality, accuracy and integrity, funded by – but independent of – the EU and its member states. An important consideration would be to involve social media companies and canvass the

views of consumers in order that the body has relevance and does not become another EU body. In more general terms, impartial state support for quality media should be expanded. Governments should support more proactive social media operations to engage and counter hostile narratives, with greater investment in initiatives such as the European External Action Service's East Stratcom Task Force. Social media companies and tech platforms should be engaged to counter extremism, propaganda and hate speech, and to call out fake news. All such initiatives should ensure full respect for freedom of speech.

### THE ROADMAP

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#### Short term

Governments should boost funding for existing public service broadcasters, especially those with international reach, and for other quality, fact-based media to provide a credible counterbalance to the propaganda operations run by Russia and others. Governments and their specialised agencies should work with tech companies and social media platforms to quickly spot and denounce fake news and block the work of hostile “troll farms”; provide further backing to operations such as the EU's East StratCom Task Force which work to debunk disinformation.



#### Medium term

Governments should establish better dialogue with its citizens to build awareness about threats. Think of creative ways to use media to build societal resilience, such as Norwegian television's fictional series *Okkupert* (Occupied) about a Russian takeover of the country or Sweden's information campaign on how citizens should prepare for invasion.



#### Long term

The EU and the Council could set up an independent, trans-national public service broadcaster in the shape of a European Public Service Information Bureau. It could be funded by, but independent of, the EU and its member states. The Bureau could be created through wide public-private consultations and be given the mission to reinstate the trust that has been lost in the information system.

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## 9. INCLUDE BOTH NUCLEAR AND NON-NUCLEAR STATES TO GUIDE THE PROCESS OF TANGIBLE DENUCLEARISATION

Non-nuclear weapon states can play a key role in nuclear arms control, notably through acting as intermediaries during the setting up and holding of negotiations, and in verification regimes once arms control agreements have been struck. Increased mediation from non-nuclear states could help guide the process of denuclearisation. Non-nuclear states should put pressure on the United States, Russia and other nuclear powers to reduce their weapon stockpiles; they could also help inject new vigour into dialogue on the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty and the New Start Treaty on compliance and extension. Other countries should support the United States in ensuring pressure is maintained on North Korea to guarantee its denuclearisation.

States and international organisations should be prepared to monitor the implementation of the Trump-Kim agreement. Greater scope ought to be given to the input of civil society in arms control processes. European nations must become more involved in talks around the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons to preserve the legitimacy of nuclear deterrence, even if they stop short of signing it. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty Organisation (CTBTO) should collaborate and host an international summit to iron out disagreements and establish cooperative arrangements for credible verification, surveillance and annual review mechanisms.

### THE ROADMAP

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#### Short term

A credible verification on North Korea's denuclearisation would require North Korea to relinquish all its nuclear capabilities, starting by freezing the testing and production of nuclear weapons. A second step is to ensure the production of enriched uranium is terminated and the country's nuclear complexes subsequently dismantled. A longer-term goal includes relinquishing ballistic missiles, chemical and biological weapons and any means to produce them. The EU should work to keep the Iran nuclear deal despite Washington pulling out of the agreement.



#### Medium term

European allies should join other nations in lobbying the US and Russia to tone down nuclear rhetoric, respect existing arms control commitments and work towards new agreements to limit nuclear stockpiles and weapons. Non-nuclear states can prompt discussions on the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty and the New Start Treaty. Europeans should join talks on the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, even without immediate plans to sign it.



#### Long term

Non-nuclear states should offer their services to initiate and mediate arms control negotiations among the nuclear-armed powers and to verify any agreement; civil society should be given a greater role in arms control processes.

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## 10. TAKE THE COMMUNITY POLICING APPROACH AS A BENCHMARK PRACTICE

Community policing can be a force for good in preventing tensions at a local level, building trust between communities and a source of intelligence on high risk individuals and communities. Key to making community policing successful is the effective training and support of police officers and for their role to be seen as legitimate and to have access to resources to enable them to facilitate community support. As a result, at times of terror attacks and crises in a city, community police officers could be a vital resource in de-escalating tensions but also

in sharing intelligence to improve the work of security agencies. A key element in the success of community policing is the trust in them by the communities they serve. Therefore, this requires bold and transparent measures to tackle abuse as well as improved accountability. Another ingredient in building trust locally can be achieved through events which take a bottom-up approach and which are determined by the communities that are being served. There should be a stronger focus on police, rather than military, responses to extremism.

### THE ROADMAP



**Short  
term**

Governments should re-think their policing strategies to have more neighbourhood police officers on the beat, presenting familiar faces who can become a trusted part of communities; city and commune mayors should hold social and sporting events between officers and the public they serve, to build confidence and mutual understanding. Helping members of a community feel a sense of belonging to a larger group can help people to bond.



**Medium  
term**

Police commissioners should step up monitoring of their staff to root out abusive behaviour and punish offenders whose actions add to public hostility and feed radicalisation among marginalised communities. Security agencies need to make it clear to the communities they are serving that they are there to build trust and are not spying on the communities in question. The police could be aided by a local CVE coordinator, who would act as a facilitator between law enforcement and security agencies by sharing information, though only when behaviour is deemed to be suspicious. CVE coordinator positions should be set up across different cities to act as information sharing hubs.



**Long  
term**

Governments need to invest more in police training and education to raise awareness of sensitive community issues. Governments should work with experienced practitioners to collaboratively develop and share guidelines on training local and regional police and intelligence forces. Law enforcement should recruit more minority officers to ensure the force reflects societal diversity; meanwhile, civil society organisations should adopt a less-antagonistic approach to law enforcement, including by hiring ex-officers.

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