

Nizami Ganjavi

Third Global Baku Forum 2015



Building Trust in the Emerging/ New World Order

28-29 April 2015

Meeting Report

Report and Facilitation by

mediateur 

European forum for
international mediation and dialogue



“We should use our intellectual potential to strengthen the international system and international laws, and to promote respect for international resolutions.

Otherwise, political interests and priorities enter in contradiction with international law, and double standards become a rule instead of an exception.”

Ilham Aliyev, President of Azerbaijan

“We are still not at the end of the road; democracy is work in progress.

We have to continue the fight through the realm of ideas to promote the democratic principles of civilisation, solidarity, empathy, and the respect for the sanctity of all human life.”

Vaira Vike-Freiberga,

President of Latvia (1999-2007) and Co-Chair
of the Nizami Ganjavi International Centre



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A Year of Uncertainty

Global stability and human security have suffered greatly in 2014. In a year where the number of refugees and internally displaced people reached its peak since the end of the Second World War, the world witnessed the continuation of armed conflict and violence. All regions of the world are undergoing upheavals and transformations. In Africa and the Middle East, the radicalisation of youth, the rise of extremist groups and the collapse of governments paint a bleak picture. As the war rages in Syria for the fourth consecutive year, conflict in Yemen, Iraq, and violent peaks in Somalia, Kenya and Nigeria highlight the pressing need for a coordinated effort for peace.

“Cooperation is no longer a matter of choice, but of necessity.”

Rosen Plevneliev, President of Bulgaria

In Europe and the us, the spectres of the Cold War, thought long gone two decades after the fall of the Berlin Wall, are coming back to life as the war in Ukraine enters its second year. The West and Russia have returned to a narrative of conflict and distrust unheard since the 1980s, and the cooperation built in the last years has slowed down, even come to a stall. Meanwhile, Central Asian countries are astir with tensions, Latin America continues to be shaken by criminal activity, and frozen conflicts in the Eastern Neighbourhood of the EU remind us of the consequences of a sustained lack of understanding. In the meantime, social unrest caused by the global economic crisis, the drama of migration, unemployment, inequality, and the ticking tune of climate change and global population growth continue to put the international order under pressure.

“Rules determine a universally accepted result and give legitimacy to such results, but rules are not impermeable to the test of times; people change, perspectives change, priorities change. International organisations sometimes struggle to see these changes and adapting to them.”

Joseph Muscat, Prime Minister of Malta

A new World Order is in creation. The order established with the dissolution of the Soviet Union is being called into question in the face of these developments, and international powers and organisations struggle to adapt to new international dynamics. The United Nations, the European Union and the United States attend to the rise of China, the distancing of Russia, and the ever-growing power of global social media. Perhaps now more than ever, world powers must seek to rebuild the trust among them, as expressed by Dr Ismail Serageldin, Director of the Library of Alexandria and Co-Chair of the Nizami International Centre, in order to accommodate current realities and find “an exquisite balance between idealism and pragmatism” that will help devise solutions for a future that presents itself sombre and cold. How can actors accommodate these new forces in the quest of maintaining a Global World Order? Two ingredients, all participants agree, are necessary: Trust and Cooperation.

Charting the Way for a Brighter Future

Enter the Third Global Baku Forum. At a junction between 'the East' and 'the West,' the capital of Azerbaijan, under the auspices of President Ilhem Aliyev, hosted the third edition of a truly international forum that seeks to generate ideas and options to respond to global threats. The Forum is organised by the Nizami Ganjavi International Centre, an organisation working to further learning, tolerance, dialogue and understanding in international affairs, in spirit with the work of its Patron.

“The third Global Baku Forum provides open space for a dialogue on some of the world’s most pressing challenges.”

Gjorge Ivanov, President of Macedonia

On 28-29 April 2015, over 400 participants from 60 countries, including President Aliyev, Rosen Plevneliev (President of Bulgaria), Gjorge Ivanov (President of Macedonia), and Joseph Muscat (Prime Minister of Malta), along with more than 40 former Heads of State, four Ministers and 18 Members of Parliament, gathered in Baku to discuss the challenges to the current world order and chart options for the international community. The title of this year's forum, "Building Trust in the Emerging/New World Order" condenses in a single line the titanic task the participants embarked on.

“This gathering brings together a host of distinguished world leaders with unrivaled experience in global affairs.

Tapping into this pool of experience and wisdom will be invaluable to developing new insights on the many difficult challenges facing the world today.”

Message from David Cameron, Prime Minister of the
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

In times of international distress, the Third Global Baku Forum explored challenges such as the need for urgent reform of the United Nations, the need for a more consistent application of international law, the lack of a united approach towards dealing with migration, or the need for a better understanding of the sources of radicalisation.



Baku: *A Bridge between Cultures*

Ever since it achieved independence, and especially in the last decade, Azerbaijan has developed strong ties of cooperation with international powers. As expressed by President Aliyev, Azerbaijan, with a rich history of multiculturalism, serves as a cultural bridge between Europe and the West. The country is indeed one of the few that is a member of both the Council of Europe and of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (along with Albania and Turkey), and is in a privileged position to serve as a connector between Eastern and Western cultures.

“For centuries, Azerbaijan has been a place where civilisations meet. It is a natural geographic bridge between Europe and Asia, and a cultural and political bridge between Europe and the Muslim world.”

Ilhem Aliyev, President of Azerbaijan

Through its twenty years of independence, as President Aliyev argued, Azerbaijan has undergone a profound process of transformation, achieving economic success through effective reforms and becoming one of the main alternatives for the provision of gas to European countries (most notably through their leadership role in the project for a Southern Gas Corridor). At the same time, Azerbaijan faces some of the main challenges addressed by the Forum, such as the prevalence of a frozen conflict, the question of territorial integrity, and the consolidation of social welfare through democracy.



Nizami Ganjavi Inter

3rd Global Bank

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28-29 April, 20



Agenda of the Third Baku Forum

27 April

20:00-22:00 Arrival of Participants
Dinner hosted by the Nizami Ganjavi International Centre

28 April

08:30-09:30 Registration and coffee
09:30-10:30 Opening Session
10:30-11:00 Coffee Break
11:00-12:30 **Introductory Session** Key Challenges for the Emerging World Order
13:30-15:00 Lunch
15:00-16:30 **Panel 1** Future of the Russia-West Relations
16:30-17:00 Coffee Break
17:00-18:30 **Panel 2** Parallel Panels
2-A Radicalization (Rast Ballroom)
2-B Reconciliation (Segah Ballroom)
19:30-22:00 Gala Dinner

29 April

09:30-10:30 **Panel 3** Snapshot — Assessing future scenarios for Ukraine
10:30-11:00 Coffee Break
11:00-12:30 **Panel 4** The European Union and its Neighbourhood
12:30-14:00 Lunch
14:00-15:30 **Panel 5** Parallel Panels
5-A Inter-Faith Dialogue as a Tool for Trust-Building (Shur Ballroom)
5-B Energy Security as a Tool for Cooperation in Peace (Segah Ballroom)
15:30-16:00 Coffee Break
16:00-17:30 **Panel 6** Parallel Panels
6-A The Role of Women in Peace Leadership (Shur Ballroom)
6-B Regional Organizations as a Security Enabler (Rast Ballroom)
17:30-18:30 Closing Session
20:00-22:00 Dinner

Key Insights

INTRODUCTION

Building Trust in the emerging World Order: this is the main task of the Third Global Baku Forum. How? Understanding the challenges facing our societies should be the first step before we can address them.

The third Global Baku Forum brought together past and present representatives of numerous nations for an exchange of insights and to develop ideas in addressing some of the main challenges to the world we live in. Here, former world leaders advise with that bit of extra hindsight that comes with the wisdom of no longer having to be in the political driving seat. It is these leaders who, in the words of the President of Azerbaijan, Ilham Aliyev, can "create a better environment for cooperation and international understanding".

Indeed, there is clear consensus on what kind of World Order is in the making. However, it is agreed that the current international order is facing serious challenges that require a deep understanding and a call for action to overcome them. As expressed by Rosen Plevneliev, President of Bulgaria, "sometimes even the wrong decision is better than no decision at all. A wrong decision could be repaired. Being indifferent is not an option today". Participants of the Third Global Baku Forum converge both on the importance of making decisions, but also to take care not to repeat mistakes from the past.

Thus the question of trust building in the emerging world order can be addressed within the frameworks of the following four questions:

- » *What is the state of the world today?*
- » *What are the driving forces of today's dynamics?*
- » *What are the connectors?*
- » *How can the world be governed today?*

THE STATE OF THE WORLD TODAY

Multipolarity

“We need a world order where each country, independently of its size, has a right to determine its future, just like in a democracy the people have the right to determine the future of their lives.”

Vaira Vike-Freiberga,

President of Latvia (1999-2007) and Co-Chair NGIC

The world is becoming ‘multipolar’; a new balance of power is developing. Danilo Turk, President of Slovenia (2007-2012), affirms that, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the world lived under the absence of a balance of Great Powers. From the beginning of the 21st century, however, there has been a shift to less strategic stability and, more recently, a re-balancing of power. China, for example, is gradually rising towards equaling the USA’s Superpower status. What could these new features of multipolarity be, and what is their impact in the international order? The many issues raised by Forum participants demonstrate the growing complexity of international relations today, significantly affected by globalisation and interdependence, and which cannot be encapsulated in paradigms like a ‘Clash of Civilizations’ or ‘Russia versus the West’. Already the Ukraine crisis shows that European countries can find it difficult to reach consensus on their approach to Russia. Multipolarity is also a reflection of the diversification of the European energy market, in which Azerbaijan, Turkey and other countries like Iran can play an increasingly major role. The rise of BRICS countries, especially China, signals a shift to international relations less dominated economically by the United States, and where many different fronts take shape. What makes it even more challenging is that unlike the cold war, today often different states have multiple allegiances to different poles of power, painting a complex picture that deserves further analysis and discussion in itself.

The changing role of the State

“We cannot oversee the fact that the role of states is being weakened. Today the world faces a situation in which up to 40 states are described as failing or failed, with great consequences not only to the UN but to the international order.”

Danilo Turk, President of Slovenia (2007-2012)

As a result of and a co-determinant to globalisation, the role of the State is changing. National borders are less significant today than in previous centuries as global trade, commerce, communication and travel have made nations much more interdependent. In turn, internal affairs of one State often become just as important for the well-being of neighbouring states (for example with migration or crime) or even have a global impact (for example with trans-national terrorism or climate change). The development of international norms like Human Rights Law and International Humanitarian Law entail an accepted common responsibility to ensure that States meet certain obligations in how they treat their citizens — in a way, they seek to build a joint global conscience, and give the international community an opportunity to intervene in what decades ago would have been considered the internal affairs of a country.

In parallel, citizens also seem to be transcending the State. Where national identity played a major role in social identification not long ago, today social media is connecting citizens of countries thousands of kilometers away, creating entirely new identities and importing/exporting culture and internal affairs at the speed of light. Similarly, new social movements and separatist groups continue to gather the attention of citizens and pose a challenge to State structures.

The Baku Forum highlights this changing role of the State in the New World Order and encourages a re-examination of long-standing principles of international relations. States and their leaders need to face up to these tantamount trials, which is a genuine challenge.

Self-determination, territorial integrity, separatism

Two core principles of international relations, self-determination and territorial integrity, have recently also been highlighted by the growing trend to separatism. The 17th Century doctrine of Westphalian sovereignty, a foundation for international relations since the Peace of Westphalia, focuses on non-interference in a sovereign State's domestic affairs. This principle has seen significant developments over the centuries and has raised challenging questions about its application. The minorities and independence movements around the world have shown an increased level of interventionism challenging the Westphalian doctrine, and deserve a substantial discussion.

There are numerous examples of the tension between self-determination and territorial integrity — East Timor, Kosovo, Abkhazia, South-Sudan, Transnistria and, most recently the fate of Crimea and the East of Ukraine. Not only do these examples demonstrate the complexity of the issues of self-determination and territorial integrity and separatism, but they also show division within the international community about their application.

“The right to self-determination should not violate the territorial integrity of a country.”

Ilhem Aliyev, President of Azerbaijan.

Often it is a matter of politics. This raises important questions about the treatment of minorities while balancing principles of self-determination, territorial integrity and political realities.

GEOPOLITICS

Many at the 2015 Baku Forum argue that it is Geopolitics which shape the Emerging/New World Order, and which are responsible for many, if not all, of the conflicts around the world, especially those that remain frozen. Issues of self-determination and territorial integrity exist in this, which makes it difficult to unravel the driving factors of conflicts and to determine the best ways of addressing their causes. At least since the destruction of the Twin Towers, Realism and Realpolitik seem to be the main choreographs on the world stage. As a result, the geopolitics of powerful nations have shaped the fates of smaller ones. As Peter Stoyanov, President of Bulgaria (1997-2002), pointed out, "it is not easy to be a small country and to have fully independent politics."

The Baku Forum highlights that one of the key challenges facing the Emerging World Order are conflicts that do not appear to be heading towards resolution and that threaten future global stability, development and cooperation. Within this context, Amr Moussa, Secretary-General of the Arab League (2001-2011), warns that

"Sweeping things under rugs, freezing issues and keeping things as they are, is a sign of the inability of super powers to deal with problems."

There are several examples of frozen conflicts today in the Balkans or those involving Georgia, Moldova, Armenia and Azerbaijan. Now Ukraine threatens to become a frozen conflict on the doorstep of the EU. The Baku Forum considers the localised factors that fuel these frozen conflicts — economic stagnation, inequality, lack of security and good governance — as well as the broader, geopolitical dynamics that have an overriding impact on the frozen conflicts. To address the challenge of frozen conflicts, the Baku Forum considers the main geopolitical actors in the European Neighbourhood — the EU, Russia and the US.

Deconstructing geopolitics — us/EU /Russia

The Baku Forum exemplifies a more thorough and nuanced discussion of the complex dynamics of geopolitics, including an examination of the relations amongst the us, EU member states and Russia. The recent warming of us-Cuba relations also points to a reassessment of ideological divides in favour of more practical and less polarised relations. Alexander Likhotal, President of Green Cross International, Moscow, points out that “in politics, we are consumed by immediate consequences, and see the world in terms of good-and-bad.” Instead of applying Cold War, polarised thinking to the Emerging/New World Order, Forum participants note the importance of considering the perspectives of all the actors. When it comes to understanding the relations involving the us, EU and Russia, it helps to ask how the Russian government views the current situation.

The Baku Forum highlights that, if we are to shift away from the current tensions and manage the current geopolitical challenges constructively, all sides need to effectively listen to each other. Participants voice a concern that Russia’s foreign policy is very difficult to predict, which reflects the need for dialogue. During these crucial times, effective listening and trying to understand Russian arguments is crucial for more effective dialogues and more cooperative relations in the European neighbourhood. Timofey Bordachev, Director of the Centre for Comprehensive International and European Studies and the Higher School of Economics, suggests that we should “analyse Russian foreign policy from a perspective of rationality”, and calls for a normalisation of relations to be able to speak frankly and openly.

The interdependence of European countries and Russia economically, financially and in the energy sector indicates that European geopolitics need to be analysed within the existing complexity and multipolarity of the New World Order. Furthermore, communication needs to shift from the form of adversarial and even antagonistic debate to more effective dialogue where participants truly listen to each other and try to thoroughly understand each other’s positions.

“There is not enough listening to the arguments of the others. We have to get rid of the Cold-War prejudices. We have to liberalise ourselves from our deeply-rooted prejudices. Dialogue doesn’t mean [just] making statements”.

Vaclav Klaus, President of the Czech Republic

Russia's Identity

Within this context, the search for Russia's identity within the international system is evident. According to Vaira Vike-Freiberga, President of Latvia (1999-2007) and Co-Chair of the Nizami Ganjavi International Centre, "Russia has a serious problem of identity since the collapse of the USSR, and the West also is not sure what Russia's new identity is." Mark Medish suggests that "there is a nostalgic feeling in Russia for Russia's superpower status." If this is truly a core motivator of Russian foreign policy, then perhaps the importance for the Russian government and the Russian people of Russia's status on the world stage has been underestimated.

And yet Russia is not that far from the West economically or historically, as expressed by President Klaus and Mr. Medish. Russia's history has been strongly influenced by Europe. Now it seems to be constructing a new image for itself, emphasizing more conservative, Orthodox values, criticizing the more liberal European values and perhaps crafting a new identity for itself more distant from Europe. Forum participants also raise the question of Russia's relationship with China and other non-European nations.

The problem with Russia, however, is that the image and rhetoric it puts forward of being an equal and constructive partner do not match Russia's recent actions. Vytautas Landsbergis, President of Lithuania (1990-1992) asks:

"Can Russia become a constructive partner?

Can it be trusted when constantly lying? The reality shows that it's not building but losing trust these days. The deeds on the ground are more significant, not the words."

Vytautas Landsbergis, President of Lithuania (1990-1992)

The dilemma is whether Russia's actions are a defensive reaction to the expansion of NATO, as it says, or whether the expansion of NATO is justified by Russia's actions. It is a dangerous loop that needs to be broken urgently and has had terrible consequences for yet another victim of geopolitics — Ukraine.

Ukraine

“The voice of this conference in Baku is important in showing international unity to resolving the conflict. Today Ukrainians understand their identity better than before; they are stronger and more resolved.”

Aleksander Kwaśniewski, President of Poland (1995-2005)

Uniting three former Presidents of Ukraine at the panel, as expressed by Aleksander Kwaśniewski, President of Poland (1995-2005) “is a sign that Ukraine is and will be united” This unity is an important foundation for Ukraine highlighted by the Forum, contrasting with the ideological “Pro-West” and “Pro-Russia” divisions that have been dividing the country and fuelling the conflict. It is the vital need to find and promote unity for all Ukrainians, regardless of their positions, ethnicity or spoken language that is a key lesson of the Baku Forum. As pointed out by Vaclav Klaus “giving Ukraine a choice between Russia and the West will end up destroying the country”.

And yet, as Viktor Yushchenko, President of Ukraine (2005-2010), emphasises, Ukraine’s conflict is geopolitically motivated and has geopolitical solutions.

Leonid Kravchuk, President of Ukraine between 1991 and 1994, reminds us that Ukraine is a big country with a population of 46 million people. As a multi-national country with a history strongly shaped and influenced by its neighbor, it has always struggled to maintain its own identity. Russia in turn seems to look at Ukraine as part of its strategic interests. This is another reminder of the geopolitical dynamics of the conflict and the crucial question of Russia’s new identity — a power interested in peaceful cooperation, or one inclined towards its imperial past and reliance on coercion. Whatever the answer, the reality is that Ukraine is currently suffering terribly as a result. Francis O’Donnell, former Resident Coordinator of the United Nations Development Programme in Ukraine, draws a powerful analogy:

“For far too many of us in Europe, Ukraine is a peripheral zone, yet it is the geographic heart of Europe. Europe is therefore bleeding at the heart.”

As well as shining the spotlight on the geopolitical drivers of the Ukraine crisis, the Baku Forum highlights the internal challenges Ukraine now faces. Mikheil Saakashvili, President of Georgia (2004-2013) and now advisor to the Ukrainian government, clearly and succinctly articulates the main reforms needed today in Ukraine: de-oligarchisation, de-bureaucratisation, de-regulation and de-centralisation. Ukraine faces problems common to Russia and post-Soviet States: corruption, inefficiency and an inability to make fast decisions.

Ukraine is facing many difficult reform challenges, balancing pressures from the Ukrainian people, oligarchs, international creditors like the IMF, influential nations like Russia, Germany and the us, all while it is dealing with an armed conflict in the East of the country. Viktor Yushchenko sounds optimistic, saying that

“Ukraine has a good package of reforms and is on the way to implementing them, the most difficult reforms being in the areas of security, economy and politics.”

It is also important to note that reforming Ukraine’s judiciary and dealing with corruption is a tremendous challenge and that the armed conflict in the country is making it difficult to focus on and implement effective reforms. Forum participants note once again that in order to start getting Ukraine back on track, the geopolitical drivers of the conflict must be addressed, putting an end to the violence first and foremost. Having considered the role of Russia in the Ukrainian crisis, we now consider the role of the us, both in the European neighbourhood and more globally.

The United States: an essential partner for trust building

In a discussion dominated by the tensions between Western Powers and Russia, the Forum also assesses the role of the United States and North America. Jean Chrétien, Prime Minister of Canada (1993-2003), picks up the theme that all countries, regardless of their influence and power, should maintain standards of trustworthiness and transparency as well as promoting the consistent application of international norms. He notes that

“American dynamism has been a driver of progress around the world, but recent changes beg the question as to how North America will continue cooperation with the rest of the world.”

According to the discussions, American foreign policy has shifted somewhat in recent years, from heavy military involvement around the world to a more diplomatic approach and a reluctance to get 'boots on the ground'. This was illustrated recently by American reluctance to become involved in the Syrian conflict and in Ukraine, opting for the use of economic sanctions and non-lethal support.

As the us is also rising in significance as an energy producer, with self-sufficient supply of natural gas by 2018 (according to Ariel Cohen, Director of the Centre for Energy, Natural Resources and Geopolitics), less reliance on imported energy means less interest in key energy regions like the Middle East, which will significantly affect global geopolitics as the us reduces its engagement, as Jean Chrétien notes.

DRIVERS OF CHANGE: ISSUES IMPACTING THE WORLD ORDER

Energy Security

In his opening address, President Aliyev reminds us that Azerbaijan used to produce more than 50% of world oil at the beginning of the 20th Century, more than 70% of USSR oil production, and yet enjoyed little of the wealth from these resources. Improper management of natural resources, corruption and a failure to re-invest the wealth can lead to inequality, social tensions and ultimately conflicts that can spill over into other States. This is why energy management and security are core elements of good governance and are crucial to the Emerging/New World Order. At the same time, the dependence between countries on the provision of energy greatly impacts their policy, shaping geopolitics and the international order.

Deep into the second decade of the 21st Century, the dynamics around energy security and cooperation continue to be key in the relationship between states, and reveal changes that will inevitably impact the current order. Ariel Cohen, Director of the Centre for Energy, Natural Resources and Geopolitics (CENRG) describes the current situation as an age of shifts: a shift to shale gas, a shift to LNG, a shift of transportation from petrol fuelled to electric cars. Notwithstanding the shifts, 27% of current natural gas consumption in Europe relies on Russia compared to 34% indigenous production. Considering recent conflicts and energy disagreements involving Russia and that this is significant leverage for Russia, a trend towards energy diversification is evident. In the meantime, President Aliyev explains that "Azerbaijan is playing an important role, implementing an oil strategy, connecting the Caspian Sea with the Black Sea, now implementing Europe's biggest infrastructure project – the Southern Gas Corridor.

Asia will be the biggest energy consumer in 2035. Turkey will continue to maintain a key role as an energy transit country. In order to manage these shifting dynamics, Hikmet Cetin, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey (1991-1994) makes a suggestion to develop a Convention on Energy Security, whereas Ariel Cohen suggests an Energy Union.

The lack of Rule of Law and Weak Governance as Dividing Factors

“Every crisis can be traced back to the moment someone violated the rule of law”

Rosen Plevneliyev, President of Bulgaria

Rosen Plevneliev, President of Bulgaria, reminds us about the importance of the rule of law and emphasises that “we need to establish efficient mechanisms to guarantee the rule of law”. However, the problem arises when the application of international norms is inconsistent with the political and personal goals of certain States or individuals. President Aliyev notes that “unfortunately not all countries respect international law. Leading countries sometimes violate it, undermining its effectiveness. Consistent application of international law is an important issue to be addressed.”

The (weak) application of international norms contributes to the lack of international confidence and trust. The unilateral military action by the us and its allies in Iraq without UN authorization or the recent disregard for the Budapest Memorandum relating to the territorial integrity of Ukraine, an issue highlighted by Viktor Yushchenko and Leonid Kuchma, are only two examples. The logical solution is “to create a collective sense of rules and directions: a rule of law instead of a rule of the powerful”, suggests George Papandreou, Prime Minister of Greece between 2009 and 2011.



Weak Governance

Likewise, challenges discussed by Baku Forum participants are connected to the need for Good Governance. Focusing specifically on the post-Soviet region, President Mikheil Saakashvili adds corruption, inefficiency, and the inability to make fast decisions to the list of barriers to good governance, which are also present in various degrees in countries around the world. It is not surprising that such problems can lead to dissatisfaction within the populations of States, failing to meet the needs of their citizens and, logically, causing people to seek change by whatever means are known to them, including violence. This is a core driver of many problems facing the Emerging/ New World Order today and requires global promotion of good governance beyond lip service if we are to manage such problems.

Prime Minister Papandreou gives several suggestions for the promotion of good governance around the world. He notes that “democracy is there to disrupt authoritarianism and the abuse of power.” This highlights the problem that there has been plenty of talk of democracy in the past but authoritarianism and the abuse of power still continue, even within democracies. Thus, it is important to delve deeper beyond rhetoric and to address the specific barriers to effective democracies and good governance around the world.

Radicalisation and Terrorism

Although terrorism is not a new phenomenon, it has gained notoriety in the more interconnected world of the 21st century. It is at the extreme end of the radicalisation spectrum where individuals choose violence and terror to achieve their aims. The Baku Forum considers its root causes: a lack of education, lack of employment opportunities or hopes for a better future, disillusionment (especially amongst the youth), discrimination and feelings of exclusion (especially amongst migrant communities) and others. Herman de Croo, Minister of State of Belgium, points out that “unemployed, unqualified youngsters are the main prey of radicalisation” and Taher Masri, Prime Minister of Jordan (1991), reminds us that the lack of good governance is one main cause of radicalization. In fact, the lack of good governance is a core problem mentioned by several Forum participants and is clearly a priority issue for addressing many of the challenges identified at the Forum.

“The ultimate defence against extremism is to ensure social justice and prosperity, respect for diversities of cultures of all people.”

Dalal Bint Al-Harbi,

Member of the Majlis Ash-Shura, Saudi Arabia

The radicalisation and terrorism rhetoric has been majorly skewed towards Islam, even though other religions have been responsible for extreme violence in the past. As a result, feelings of frustration and humiliation are particularly strong in many parts of the Islamic world. Massimo D'Alema, Prime Minister of Italy (1998-2000), suggests that the main victim of radicalisation of Islam is, in fact, the Islamic world itself. The responsibility of the West is to support Islamic countries to build their own response to extremism and to strengthen the influence of the moderates.

It should be noted that the West has contributed significantly to vast destabilisation, according to the Forum. With this in mind, it is important to consider the role of the media in radicalisation and the spread of terror. Peter Medgyessy, Prime Minister of Hungary (2002-2004) reminds us that “radicalism is not just about Islam, it is much wider.” It is important to assess the problems holistically, including assessing how the actions of Western countries have contributed to create the current situation. For example, Rangin Dadfar Spanta, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan (2006-2010), notes that the “radical element in Afghanistan was trained, equipped and financed by the West”, with the most infamous terrorist of our time – Osama Bin Laden – originally being a us ally. Furthermore, military interventions often have negative impacts on local populations and can actually promote further radicalisation and, in turn, terrorism. As Prime Minister D'Alema points out, “fighting extremism must be firstly done by political means and, secondly, to support the Islamic countries to fight it instead of going there ourselves on a crusade.”

The challenge of migration, nationalism and patriotism

Possibly due to the recent visible issue of the plight of 'boat people' arriving on the European shores, people who are fleeing violence and are seeking asylum, and the corresponding challenges and often outright rejection are considered crucial issues to the Emerging/New World Order by the Forum. Joseph Muscat, Prime Minister of Malta, warns that "there is a criminal network profiting from this modern day equivalent of slave-trade. Migratory trends are unprecedented. However, the global community is treating this challenge as though the situation is the same as last century."

"We live in a world where terrorism, conflict, under-development and the lack of a brighter future force people to flee their countries. Can we continue to live like this?"

Olusegun Obasanjo,

President of Nigeria (1976-1979; 1999-2007)

Such developments can only lead to further social divisions along ethnic or religious lines and have the potential to spark very destructive conflicts. As well as the good governance mentioned earlier, policies of social inclusion, social and economic integration as well as policies to prevent discrimination can all reduce divisions in our societies and promote a multi-cultural World Order where migrants can integrate with locals and still retain their cultural identities.

Xenophobia is often related to nationalism, which gets mixed up with patriotism. Prime Minister Papandreou (paraphrasing Jürgen Habermas) suggests that we need patriotism, but constitutional patriotism instead of nationalism, which upholds global values rather than exclusionary ones. President Plevneliev makes a further distinction by explaining that patriots love their country while nationalists hate the different. In order to constructively manage the growing economies, populations and movement of people, the Emerging/New World Order needs effective policies to address migration.

CONNECTORS FOR TRUST: BUILDING POSITIVE CHANGE

The primordial role of Women as co-deciders

Whilst men dominate the participation and presentations at the Baku Forum, the topic regarding the role of Women does not get lost. A major problem highlighted by the special panel on women's participation in peacebuilding is, in fact, the lack of women's participation in all fora of society. A key development for increasing women's participation has been the UN Resolution 1325. As Jean Omer Beriziky, Prime Minister of Madagascar (1996-2000), points out, not many positive changes have occurred since this resolution was proclaimed, and its implementation has been weak. However, some panel participants give examples of women becoming more active in the Emerging/New World Order. Katherina Yushchenko, First Lady of Ukraine (2005-2010) and President of the Ukraine 3000 Foundation, points out that in Ukraine, women have taken on many new roles and are becoming political actors. There is agreement that promoting women's participation in decision-making, especially at the highest levels would help to resolve existing conflicts and develop more inclusive politics overall. This point is fittingly made by the deputy speaker of the parliament of the Czech republic, occupied by a woman for the first time.

“If there could be more women in governments, there would be more peace in the world.”

Jaroslava Jermanova,

Deputy Speaker of the Parliament of the Czech Republic

However, how exactly can this be done? There needs to be better implementation of UN Resolution 1325, especially at the institutional level.

“It is necessary to introduce quotas for women's participation in peace negotiations. It is important to provide institutional mechanisms for women's participation in peace processes and building mechanisms for early warning and supporting local initiatives of women in non-violent conflict resolution.”

Dubrovka Phillipovski, Member of the Parliament of Serbia

Farida Allaghi, Libyan Representative to the European Union, points out that the challenge is not merely about attaining equal representation for women in various fields. The deeper message echoed by many Forum participants is that the characteristics typically attributed to males — competitiveness, machoism, bravado and so on — have had and continue to have a significant impact on national politics and international relations.

“When men talk about strength, they mean the military, security, business and power. Women talk about strength differently: courage, wisdom, using aggression constructively, taking men aside and away from aggression.”

Ruslana, former Member of the Parliament of Ukraine

Hence, the issue is not just a lack of equal representation but a shift from a male-dominated paradigm that is based on typically male behaviour. While there is agreement about the problems raised by the panel and support from those in the room, the importance of reaching a broader audience is also highlighted. This is an important message for increasing women’s participation in decision-making around the world but also for the Baku Forum more broadly. There needs to be follow-through with the messages and ideas put forward at the forum to ensure that they get traction and lead to the desired changes.

Reconciliation

While much attention today is focused on managing and resolving violent conflicts around the world, less attention is paid to reconciliation of schisms caused by conflict and the transformative work that needs to be carried out to build sustainable peace. The fact that violence has ended does not mean that normality and positive peace will return given enough time. Unless the process of reconciliation takes place, there is a high chance that conflicts will relapse into conflict.

Amine Gemayel, President of Lebanon (1982-1988), identifies two preconditions to reconciliation: recognition and responsibility. Many reconciliation efforts cannot gain traction because some or all of those involved refuse to even recognise victims of a conflict. Even if victims are recognised, offenders can be reluctant to accept responsibility in fear of retribution, by justifying their actions or by pointing out that they have also been wronged somehow. President Gemayel lists several obstacles to reconciliation including a culture of revenge, questions of honor, an omnipresence of religion and intransigence as well as foreign influences in some cases. Each obstacle requires its own specific approaches to overcome but a general shift from retributive justice (focusing on punishing the offender) to restorative justice (focusing on restoring the victim) can help motivate offenders and empower victims to participate in reconciliation processes.

“We need to look within and outside our environments to find the resolutions to our conflict. The process of reconciliation is inevitably impacted by not only the original causes, but also the factors beyond its borders.”

Hamid Karzai

The victim also plays an important role in reconciliation — that of forgiveness, without which there can be no reconciliation. Forgiveness is not about forgetting the trauma but about transcending it and moving on. Participants agree we must not confuse forgiveness with amnesia. Meanwhile, perpetrators need to be ready to engage in dialogue, and to recognise and take responsibility for their actions.

Inter-Faith Dialogue

Throughout history and especially in the recent decades, religious conflict has been in the spotlight of the world's attention. The most infamous event in the recent Western history has been the Terrorist Act on September 11th 2001, which began an extensive media and military campaign named The War on Terror. Incidentally, terrorism has now become associated with Islam in the media and, thus, in many people's psyche. Unfortunately, this is an extreme misrepresentation of the Islamic faith and an exaggeration of the level of extremism amongst Muslims worldwide. Emil Constantinescu, President of Romania (1996-2000) points out that the need for an important dialogue is evident, and must be based on a desire to explore the commonalities amongst all religions.

“The need for an important dialogue is evident, and must be based on a desire to explore the commonalities amongst all religions.”

Emil Constantinescu, President of Romania (1996-2000)

According to Ismail Serageldin, Director of the Library of Alexandria and Co-Chair of the Nizami Ganjavi International Centre, “very frequently, in what we call interreligious conflicts, the conflict is really between communities who simply chose to label themselves under the label of religion.” This is a crucial point highlighting the challenge for inter-faith dialogues — to give different groups opportunities to communicate constructively, to gain a better understanding of each other and to begin to appreciate that they have a lot in common. Such efforts can shift religious groups from using differences for inciting hatred and violence to seeing differences as part of the world's cultural diversity. Ismail Serageldin also notes that as well as inter-faith dialogue, there is also a need for intra-faith dialogue. The most violent religious conflict today is, after all, between Shia and Sunni Muslims. Inter-faith and intra-faith dialogues have the potential to build connections amongst communities, resolve tensions and address a major driver for violent conflicts in the Emerging / New World Order.

GOVERNING THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM: THE UNITED NATIONS

What can be the role of the UN in an order where states, the basis to its membership and existence, are changing or even losing their role? In the words of Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the “UN is an old organisation that requires something new”; a new approach to respond to the challenges faced by the current international order, and a rebuilding of the UN’s function to support peace and security around the world. The United Nations, as the single most important international organisation to preserve peace and enhance trust and cooperation, has to face up to the new challenges in today’s world.

“The lack of trust in the international system has contributed to the erosion of its credibility, and necessitates debates about what kind of system we need for the future.”

Amr Moussa,

former Secretary-General of the Arab League (2001-2011)

Replacing the League of Nations, the UN has been the main mechanism for international cooperation and casts doubts about how much of an improvement it has been compared to its predecessor. Focusing on the UN’s core, Petru Lucinschi, President of Moldova (1995-2005), gives a summary of the development of the UN Security Council and its history, outlining the inadequacy of the Security Council, in light of today’s challenges and global trends. The UN was created by states, but these are not anymore the only actors that matter. The problem is, as Luis Alberto Lacalle notes that “international organisations are not prepared to respond to the new dynamics presented by social networks and global interconnectedness. The pace of the development of technology in the 21st century clearly exceeds the slow pace of the evolution of international organisations and this must be factored in when considering the future of the UN and the UNSC.

That the UNSC should be more representative and democratic is also echoed by others at the Forum. Abdullah Gul, President of Turkey (2007-2014), cautions that the “dignity, credibility and influence of the UN and UNSC are gradually eroding away.” At the same time, Danilo Turk, President of Slovenia (2007-2012), warns that “we must avoid the idea of “omnipotence” of international institutions”. One suggestion made by Luis Alberto Lacalle, President of Uruguay (1990-1995), is that “there is an inverse relation between an organisation’s scope and its efficiency”, comparing the case of the UN as “a monster” and giving the example of Alianza del Pacifico as a small, efficient organisation. Indeed there is less faith in the potential to effectively reform UN mechanisms but on the other hand more attention is paid to regional integration as one effective alternative to international organisations. In this vein it may be more effective to establish regional agencies that could boost cooperation among neighbours and provide more effective and constructive mechanisms for addressing local and regional challenges, thereby curbing conflict and extremism.

CONCLUSIONS: CHARTING THE WAY AHEAD

The Third Baku Forum has provided the space for a deep review of the main challenges affecting the international order. Leaders from 60 countries met in a fertile ground to discuss and assist critical and constructive thinking, contributing to a global debate on the issues that drive or connect our volatile world order. The collective wisdom present here provides an alternative powerful voice of reason for peace and stability in the world. Whilst no final verdicts on these critical points were made, there are some key pointers for questions to be further explored, such as:

- » *How can states collaborate effectively within a multipolar world and on what issues?*
- » *What is the best multilateral solution for preserving peace and security in this world?*
- » *How can the new driving forces be accommodated in governance?
What kind of governance can be delivered in order to respond to the new dynamics in place?*

All of these questions again are big and bold in nature and require profound wisdom and advocacy as well as corresponding action. It is with anticipation that the fourth Baku Forum in 2016 will address them.



Detailed Account

Day 1 – 28 April

Introductory Session: Key Challenges for the Emerging/New World Order

A Challenged International Order

Questions

- » *What are the main challenges for trust in the current world order?*
- » *Are we experiencing a Clash of Civilisations as predicted by Samuel Huntington?*

Speakers

- » *Abdullah Gul, President of Turkey (2007-2014)*
- » *Jean Chrétien, Prime Minister of Canada (1993-2003)*
- » *Olusegun Obasanjo, President of Nigeria (1976-1979; 1999-2007)*
- » *George Papandreou, Prime Minister of Greece (2009-2011), Member NGIC*
- » *Danilo Turk, President of Slovenia (2007-2012)*
- » *Amr Moussa, Secretary-General of the Arab League (2001-2011)*
- » *Facilitated by: Jorge Quiroga, President of Bolivia (2001-2002)*

“In our contemporary world, natural, social, political or economic incidents in one part of the world may affect all others. More than ever, we need an awareness on our common interests, based on common values.”

Abdullah Gul, President of Turkey (2007-2014)

The introductory session built on the idea that the international order that resulted from the dissolution of the Soviet Union is being called into question, and expanded on the challenges for international actors. In a world where up to forty States are currently described as failing or failed, conflict, violent uprisings, increasing terrorism, and the recent visible drama of migration are the manifestation of deep-rooted challenges such as the lack of education, unemployment, and inequality. The case of the rise of Boko Haram in Nigeria was stressed as an example of how extremism and terrorism can feed off the lack of development and a brighter future for the youth. According to participants in the panel, the rise of such groups, along with the growing strength of global social media, have weakened the role of the state, which appears to no longer be the main unit of social identification.

“Good governance needs to be accompanied by development and prosperity. Democracy does not consist just of elections: good, free, fair, credible elections, need to lead to a system that improves your life.”

Olusegun Obasanjo,

President of Nigeria (1976-1979 and 1999-2007)

In particular, participants highlighted the pressing threat posed by migration and the lack of a coordinated response to it. Celebrated in a year where over 1,000 have lost their lives in the Mediterranean seas, the Forum stressed the importance of achieving a united response at the European Union and the United Nations to this drama, addressing not only its immediate triggers but also seeking to resolve its underlying causes.

“The lack of trust in the international system has contributed to the erosion of its credibility, and necessitates debates about what kind of system we need for the future.”

Amr Moussa, Secretary-General of the League of Arab States

The failure by international organisations to respond to international challenges and conflict, their strong dependence on their member states, and the lack of mechanisms to deal with the appearance of new social units such as separatist groups have seriously damaged their legitimacy and dignity. At the United Nations, this burden is particularly evident. Some participants questioned the model of the UN, especially that of the United Nations Security Council, and qualified it as undemocratic and unrepresentative; others argued that the increasing multi-polarity of the international order would render the UN incapable of generating consensus among its members. The rise of China, the apparent isolation of Russia, or the energetic independence of the United States (which may reduce the engagement of the US in the Middle East, as noted by Jean Chrétien, President of Canada between 1993 and 2003) all reveal a changing international arena to which organisations like the UN will have difficulties to respond.

“We are no longer isolated as islands; our problems are global. We can go back to the nightmare of fragmentation and retrenchment, or further global integration with rules, trust, cooperation, and creating global consciousness.”

George Papandreou, Prime Minister of Greece (2009-2011)

We are now seventy years after the construction of the UN and, as expressed by Boutros Boutros-Ghali in his video message to the Forum, the United Nations has become an “old organisation that needs something new”; this “new” component passes by generating a sense for global cooperation, as expressed by George Papandreou, Prime Minister of Greece (2009-2011).

“We cannot oversee the fact that the role of states is being weakened. Today the world faces a situation in which up to 40 states are described as failing or failed, with great consequences not only to the UN but to the international order.”

Daniilo Turk, President of Slovenia (2007-2012)

Participants identified three options when it comes to UN reform: 1) to design strong systems for regional cooperation, for instance in the Middle East and Mediterranean region; 2) to cooperate closely with global security actors (such as the OSCE) to build a global security compact with a special focus on Ukraine and African countries; 3) to boost the UN’s advisory function, so that it may increase its prevention component instead of being a reactive actor.

Panel 1: Future of Russia-West Relations

The Need for a 'Warmer' Peace

Questions

- » *Can Russia and the West become constructive partners in building a secure World Order?*
- » *What kind of world order can accommodate the needs of the West and East?*
- » *What specific measures could enhance cooperation and trust building between the East and West, between Russia and the West?*

Speakers

- » *Vaira Vike-Freiberga, President of Latvia (1999-2007) and Co-Chair NGIC.*
- » *Peter Stoyanov, President of Bulgaria (1997-2002)*
- » *Alexander Likhotal, President of Green Cross International, Moscow*
- » *Vaclav Klaus, President of the Czech Republic (2003-2013)*
- » *Timofey Bordachev, Director of the Centre for Comprehensive International and European Studies at the Higher School of Economics*
- » *Mark Medish, Visiting Scholar, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace — Special Assistant to President Clinton and Senior Director for Russian, Ukrainian and Eurasian Affairs at the National Security Council (2000-2001)*
- » *Facilitated by: Dusan Reljic, Director of SWP Brussels Office*

This panel explored the relationship between Russia and the West, one of the dominant topics in the Forum. Deep into the second year of war in Eastern Ukraine, the increasingly confrontational language between Russia, the United States and the European Union was characterised as a “Cold Peace”, with components of mistrust that remind of the period before the dissolution of the Soviet Union. This emerging “Cold Peace” requires a deep analysis of each party’s perspectives, and, as expressed by Timofey Bordachev (Director of the Centre for Comprehensive International and European Studies at the Higher School of Economics) so as to better understand the components that have brought the current situation about.

“Politicians succeed when they see the vector of the development of history.”

Alexander Likhotal,

President of Green Cross International, Moscow

When assessing Russia’s actions in the last decade (most notably its interventions in Georgia and more recently in Ukraine), speaking about trust building becomes a challenge. As expressed by Vaira Vike-Freiberga (President of Latvia between 1999 and 2007 and Co-Chair of the Nizami Ganjavi International Centre), the predictability of Russia’s foreign policy is hard to assess, and so are its motivations — “it is hard to predict what will happen in the next six months, let alone in the longer term.”

The panel agrees that the prevailing nostalgic feeling of Russia’s superpower status as it were before the Cold War has motivated Russia’s actions to keep the former Soviet region under its influence. The economic decline of Russia and its difficulties to find a ‘new Russian identity’ may be clear motivators for such nostalgia.

But Russia is not the only actor looking for an identity, as discussed by the panel. Before the fall of the Berlin Wall, as argued by Alexander Likhotal, Western countries presented a ‘beacon’ for Russia to follow — democratic governance and liberal economy presented an opportunity for Russia. However, with the decline of Western power (motivated by the global economic crisis and the rise of other powers, most notably China) and its intervention in different conflicts (most notably in the Middle East region), Russia’s perception of the European Union and the United States has become more negative.

“Democracy is disruptive, messy, and about debate. People look at the West and at our ‘mess’ and see it as a weakness, when it really is our strength:

the willingness of making mistakes and learning. I really hope Russia will be willing to become partners in our resilience.”

Mark Medish, Visiting Scholar, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Special Assistant to President Clinton and Senior Director for Russian, Ukrainian and Eurasian Affairs at the National Security Council (2000-2001)

At the same time, speakers discussed that the West's approach to the end of the Cold War obviated the internal dynamics that led to the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and instead portrayed themselves as 'winners' of the conflict, assuming a new 'normality' instead of making Russia participant in the generation of new, cooperative relations. According to Mr Bordachev, the result was an artificial normality that Russia never quite accepted. The latest developments in Ukraine seem to demonstrate this normality (whether real or assumed) has collapsed.

“The absence of normality during the last 20 years brought us to the situation we have now, and now Ukrainians suffer our inability to speak frankly and understand each other, in a conflict with a very high potential of escalation.”

Timofey Bordachev, Director of the Centre for Comprehensive International and European Studies and the Higher School of Economics

Perceptions, however, are not the only factor that has led to the current tensions between Russia and Western powers. In this respect, the protection of former soviet republics bordering with Russia under international law remains a challenge, as the elevated number of frozen conflicts demonstrates. President Freiberga reminded the panel that, in defining the new world order and securing sustainable peace, all countries must be made participant and given an opportunity to define their futures. Petar Stoyanov (President of Bulgaria, 1997-2002) illustrated this effort with the example of Bulgaria, which, despite being labelled as one of Russia's most loyal satellites in the past, has succeeded in cooperating with the European Union and NATO.

“We need a world order where each country, independently of its size, has a right to determine its future, just like in a democracy the people have the right to determine the future of their lives.”

Vaira Vike-Freiberga, President of Latvia (1999-2007)

On an optimistic note, Vaclav Klaus, President of the Czech Republic between 2003 and 2013, and Mark Medish noted that, twenty-five years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, Russia, the United States, and the European Union are not near as far today as they were during the Cold War. The similarities in their economic systems governance models bring them closer together, and provide an opportunity for dialogue. The consequences of a sustained lack of such dialogue are clear today — increasing tensions among world powers, and a dramatic impact on countries landlocked between them (such as Ukraine), which fall victim to geopolitics.



“There is not enough listening to the arguments of the others. We have to get rid of the Cold-War prejudices. We have to liberalize ourselves from our deeply-rooted prejudices. Dialogue doesn’t mean [just] making statements”.

Vaclav Klaus, President of the Czech Republic (2003-2013)

Finally, the panel reviewed the importance of China and its relationship with Russia. China’s open attitude to all world powers and its economic prosperity have helped the Asian superpower increase its influence in all regions and become a major player in the emerging world order, significantly modifying the international picture.

Panel 2-A: Radicalisation

Exploring Root Causes

Questions

- » *What is radicalisation?*
- » *What should be the measures to address growing insecurity?*
- » *What are the sources of radicalisation?*
- » *What new world order would accommodate the needs of the communities that are radicalised today?*
- » *Is there scope for dialogue on radicalisation and with radicals?*

Speakers

- » *Taher Masri, Prime Minister of Jordan (1991)*
- » *Herman de Croo, Minister of State of Belgium*
- » *Dalal Bint Al-Harbi, Member of the Majlis Ash-Shura, Saudi Arabia*
- » *Massimo D'Alema, Prime Minister of Italy (1998-2000)*
- » *Rangin Dadfar Spanta, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan (2006-2010)*
- » *Peter Medgyessy, Prime Minister of Hungary (2002-2004)*
- » *Sali Berisha, President of Albania (1992-1977), Prime Minister (2005-2013)*
- » *Ismail Serageldin, Director of the Library of Alexandria and Co-Chair of the Nizami Ganjavi International Centre*
- » *Facilitated by: Franco Frattini, MoFA of Italy (2002-2004; 2008-2011)*

After the Twin Towers terrorist attack on 11 September 2001, radicalisation gained a new significance in public discourse around the world. The War on Terror campaign was effective in spreading awareness of Islamic extremism but also spread a lot of fear and paranoia of the Islamic faith. This panel explored the topic of radicalisation and highlighted that radicalisation is not just limited to Islamic extremism.

“Accumulation of anger and rage is not necessarily connected to religion. It is a problem everywhere and radicalisers know how to capitalise on that.”

Ismail Serageldin, Director of the Library of Alexandria
and Co-Chair of the Nizami Ganjavi International Centre

The recent rise of nationalism in several European countries was highlighted, noting its potential for polarising communities and contributing to radicalisation. Nationalism is an important topic to discuss in the context of radicalisation, not just religion. After all, there are people of different religions with different values living peacefully together in many countries.

To investigate the topic further, the panel discussed the root causes of radicalisation that lead to a build-up of frustrations. Inequality, poverty, unemployment and a lack of opportunities are seen as factors that can generate dissatisfaction and make people vulnerable to radicalisation. This is especially relevant to youth, whose lack of opportunities and lack of hopes for the future are staggering in many countries. Youth, after all, are the most vulnerable to radical influence and recruitment by extremists. A practical and relevant solution is offered by one panel member:

“The ultimate defence against extremism is to ensure social justice and prosperity, respect for diversities of cultures of all people.”

Dalal Bint Al-Harbi,
Member of the Majlis Ash-Shura, Saudi Arabia

The panel took a broader look at radicalisation in the Middle East and questioned the contributing factors. The role of the West, and particularly the us, in contributing to destabilisation and anger in the Middle East was discussed by several panel members. The main suggestion that got support from the panel is that Islamic countries should be empowered to manage extremism themselves without the intrusive interventions of recent years, which arguably caused more harm than good. The Palestinian question was also noted by several speakers as a crucial challenge to be resolved in order to reduce the potential for radicalisation in the Middle East.

“The responsibility of the West is to support the Islamic countries to build their own response to extremism. The West has been the one who has contributed to vast destabilisation.”

Massimo D’Alema, Prime Minister of Italy (1998-2000)



Parallel Panel 2-B: Reconciliation

Laying the Foundations of Peace

Questions

- » *How can global leadership enhance efforts for reconciliation between formerly warring factions?*
- » *What is the time frame for reconciliation?*
- » *How can reconciliation remain part of a political culture, to avoid extremism?*

Speakers

- » *Keynote Speaker: Hamid Karzai, President of Afghanistan (2004-2014)*
- » *Zlatko Lagumdzija, former Prime Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2001-2002)*
- » *Amine Gemayel, President of Lebanon (1982-1988), Member NGIC*
- » *Ivo Josipovic, President of Croatia (2010-2015)*
- » *Bertie Ahern, Prime Minister of the Republic of Ireland (1997-2008)*
- » *Ali Hasanov, Head of the Presidential Administration Social and Political Department, Azerbaijan*
- » *Facilitated by: Andrés Pastrana, President of Colombia (1998-2002)*

“The capacity to reconcile is the precondition for the survival of any country.”

Ivo Josipovic, President of Croatia (2010-2015)

Using the experiences of Afghanistan, Lebanon, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Northern Irish conflict participants in this panel discussed the importance of reconciliation processes to build sustainable peace, and reviewed the principles they should follow as well as difficulties they may encounter. While each peace process is unique and must be addressed carefully, the panel identified political and social willingness to reconcile as perhaps the one basic principle to reconciliation. In this sense, creating space for recognition (of the conflict) and responsibility (over the actions undertaken in conflict) are a first step in the process for peace.

“Reconciliation is the roof above our heads, and political and individual willingness in leadership are the foundation. Denial is the precursor to the repetition of conflict.”

Zlatko Lagumdžija,

former Prime Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2001-2002)

These foundations of recognition, responsibility and willingness must be accompanied by substantial work on the justice, economy, institutional and education areas. These four pillars can sustain the reconciliation process, and their reform and reinforcement should be a priority for a society that seeks to reconcile. As expressed by Ivo Josipovic, President of Croatia (2010-2015), a strong judiciary that avoids impunity and applies to all perpetrators equally will prove a key task in the path to reconciliation. Similarly, strong institutions and economy will help promote development in the country while maintaining good governance, while education will serve as a safety net against the relapse into conflict, as well as a tool to support the recognition of the past and the building of hope for the future.

“There is no reconciliation without forgiveness, but we must not confuse forgiveness with amnesia. We cannot forget the past, but we must transcend it.”

Amine Gemayel,

President of Lebanon (1982-1988), Member NGIC

Bertie Ahern, Prime Minister of the Republic of Ireland (1997-2008), noted that the perspective of a brighter future will help parties engage in dialogue and help them leave behind a conflict that has taken a toll on their lives. Similarly, compromise and respect to all victims will support a process that can generate solutions acceptable and beneficial to all parties.

If a reconciliation process is to succeed, it must be designed for inclusiveness, bringing all parties to the table, including those who are not willing to reconcile. Inclusivity, as the experiences of Croatia and the Northern Irish Peace Process demonstrate, is a fundamental principle to sustainable peace.

Zlatko Ladumdzija, Prime Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2001-2002), reminded the Forum that “we are living in an environment where we are confronted by two forces: the force of societies and values, and the force of violence and extremism.” The obstacles to a reconciliation process are many, driven by internal dynamics (such as the prevalence of a culture of revenge, the lack of legitimacy of the process, or difficulties reaching common ground) as well as external dynamics (mainly through the influence of external actors) that can hinder the process and bring it back to zero. Hamid Karzai, President of Afghanistan from 2004 to 2014, noted that overcoming conflicts driven by internal dynamics is an easier task than resolving those influenced by external actors and interests. In his words, “the unseen hands in conflict make the most significant hurdle to resolution and reconciliation.” President Karzai also identified two key challenges for a reconciliation process: firstly, the creation of an illegal economy in times of conflict benefitting from the conflict and whose actors will resist entering a process of dialogue; secondly, the intervention of foreign interests that will hinder indigenous progress.

“Dialogue is the best way forward when you have profound differences. If you are to resolve your differences, you must talk to people.”

Bertie Ahern,

Prime Minister of the Republic of Ireland (1997-2008)

Thus, as Bertie Ahern and Ivo Josipovic reminded the Forum, the process for reconciliation and the negotiations towards a joint future must be sustained over a long period of time, even generations. Every agreement that can be achieved through the negotiations, no matter how small, will help take the process forward and make reconciliation a reality.

“We need to look within and outside our environments to find the resolutions to our conflict. The process of reconciliation is inevitably impacted by not only the original causes, but also the factors beyond its borders.”

Hamid Karzai, President of Afghanistan (2004-2014)

Day 2 – 29 April

Panel 3: Snapshot — Assessing future scenarios for Ukraine

External and Internal Challenges

Questions

- » *Why hasn't Ukraine been able to achieve what it sought?*
- » *What is Putin's position and interest? Can he change it?*
- » *What are key reforms Ukraine needs today?*
- » *Are there any signs of progress?*

Speakers

- » *Leonid Kravchuk, President of Ukraine (1991-1994), Member NGIC*
- » *Leonid Kuchma, President of Ukraine (1994-2005), Member NGIC*
- » *Viktor Yushchenko, President of Ukraine (2005-2010), Member NGIC*
- » *Facilitated by: Aleksander Kwaśniewski,
President of Poland (1995-2005)*

Not surprisingly, the Ukrainian crisis was a big focus of this Baku Forum as it represents the manifestation of some of the main geopolitical tensions in the Emerging/New World Order. This particular panel, dedicated specifically to 'Assessing future scenarios for Ukraine' gave an opportunity for an informed discussion and deeper examination of the crisis, identifying a very difficult combination of internal and external challenges facing the Ukrainian people. Uniting three former Presidents of Post Cold War Ukraine on these issues alone has significant symbolic value as Aleksander Kwaśniewski pointed out.

The role of Russia in the Ukrainian crisis has been a hot topic of debate amongst politicians, in the media and in the general public. Nevertheless, Russia's strategic interest in Ukraine is undeniable.

“Ukraine is a big country: 46 million people, multi-national, with a special history, constantly under Russia’s influence. Russia has stated that ‘Ukraine has always been and always will be in a system of Russia’s strategic interests’.”

Leonid Kravchuk, President of Ukraine (1991-1994)



The panel members noted that the Ukrainian conflict has been interpreted in different ways, and gave their own views of the situation. It was acknowledged that Ukraine is home to several ethnicities like Ukrainians, Russians and Tatar, speaking different languages and having a mix of values and views. However, the Russian government's portrayal of the conflict was criticised.

“Putin says that the conflict is an internal, local Ukrainian conflict. It is not a civil war, we’re a very tolerant nation, always able to find some common denominator.”

Victor Yushchenko, President of Ukraine (2005-2010)

The panel's discussions elaborated on the geopolitical dynamics driving the Ukraine conflict. The existence of other conflicts that erupted after the dissolution of the Soviet Union indicate that there are common influencing factors at play, which relate to Russia's national interests and broader, regional geopolitics.

“It’s clear that Russia wants to keep Ukraine on a leash. Karabakh, Transnistria, Abkhazia, South Ossetia and now Ukraine all have frozen conflicts and are in the post-Soviet space.”

Leonid Kuchma, President of Ukraine (1994-2005)

President Yushchenko explains that Ukraine has a good package of reforms and is on the way to implementing them, the most difficult reform being in the sectors of security, economy and politics. The main question is how to defeat Russian aggression.

On the topic of internal challenges, the speakers advocated the need for various reforms that are urgently needed in Ukraine. Its economy has been on the brink of bankruptcy and has relied on loans from the West, which come with tough conditions. In order to get the country back on track and to satisfy creditors, the Ukrainian government is trying to reform its Soviet-era systems and ways of doing things.

Reform is a crucial element of the current crisis and is being severely hampered by the armed conflict in Ukraine's East. Presidents Yushchenko and Kuchma also reminded the Forum of the Budapest Memorandum, which resulted in Ukraine giving up its nuclear arsenal in return for promises by the West and Russia to ensure its territorial integrity. Recent events indicate a failure by both the West and Russia to uphold this agreement, which erodes trust in international agreements and highlights again the importance of the consistent application of international law, regardless of politics.

Panel 4: The European Union and its Neighbourhood

Building a Tailored Approach

Questions

- » *What should be the focus of the ENP to increase trust in and within the region?*
- » *How can the interest of the EU and those of its neighbours be best addressed?*
- » *Can the Westphalian system be enforced in the European Neighbourhood?*

Speakers

- » *Keynote Speaker: Mohamed Dayri, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Libya*
- » *Vytautas Landsbergis, President of Lithuania (1990-1992)*
- » *Mikheil Saakashvili, President of Georgia (2004-2013)*
- » *Petru Lucinschi, President of Moldova (1995-2005)*
- » *Valdis Zatlers, President of Latvia (1997-2001)*
- » *David Merkel, Deputy Assistant Secretary General of European and Eurasian Affairs at the US Department of State*
- » *Novruz Mammadov, Head of International Affairs Department of Azerbaijan President's office*
- » *Facilitated by: Michel Foucher, Member of the Council of Foreign Affairs, Paris*

This panel assessed the state of the relations between the European Union and its neighbouring countries, and reviewed the developments on the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP). Since 2004 this policy is extended towards Algeria, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Egypt, Georgia, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Moldova, Morocco, Palestine, Syria, Tunisia and Ukraine, in two different programmes (East and South).

As keynote speaker, Mohamed Dayri, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Libya, reviewed the progress of the ENP in Libya, and identified a gradual disengagement from the European Union in his country. According to Minister Dayri, the trust between the EU and not only Libya, but other neighbours as well, has been weakened. In order to succeed in its efforts for good governance and against terrorism, Libya needs the strong, tangible and swift support of the EU, particularly but not exclusively in education and DDR measures.

“There are two parts to every programme: an idea, and a mechanism to implement that idea. Without good implementation mechanisms, great ideas cannot succeed — that is what is happening to the ENP.”

Petru Lucinschi, President of Moldova (1997-2001)



Minister Dayri's call for deeper and clearer engagement from the EU was echoed by the panel. Presenting the Moldovan experience, Petru Lucinschi (1995-2005), stressed the importance of building clear mechanisms for implementation, inspection and monitoring, without which the original idea of the ENP "cannot succeed."

"The role of the European Union is to make its partners better and promote prosperity, ultimately building peace."

Valdis Zatlers, President of Latvia (1997-2001)

Similarly, Valdis Zatlers, President of Latvia from 1997 to 2001, described the ENP as a "mark on the road towards a better partnership", and affirmed the EU should continue its efforts to support its neighbours on their way to prosperity. To succeed, the EU must understand that every region is different, and take a 'tabled approach' to every country within the Programme, avoiding putting one country before another.

David Merkel, Deputy Assistant Secretary General of European and Eurasian Affairs at the US Department of State, stressed the centrality of Europe and the role it played, along with the United States, as a 'bright light' after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. At this point in time, perhaps as a consequence of the global economic crisis and the consequences of war in the Middle East, that light has dimmed, and the lack of US leadership in international issues is apparent to Mr. Merkel. The EU and the US must reengage in addressing the most pressing international challenges, including support to former Soviet countries and other EU neighbours.

Particularly when addressing Europe's Eastern neighbours, the European Union should account for the influence of external actors. Here, the role of Russia and its relationship with the EU is crucial. As discussed by Vytautas Landsbergis, President of Lithuania from 1990 to 1992, the current climate of tensions with Russia, Russia's dismissal of the proposal to take part in the ENP, and its interventions in Georgia and Ukraine, may pose an obstacle in furthering the ENP. In this sense, a successful European Neighborhood Policy should be accompanied by a Russia Policy that can help improve the relations with Europe's biggest country.

In 2008, the war in Georgia shook the European Neighborhood Policy and motivated a deep process of review — similarly, the war in Ukraine continues to highlight the challenges for the ENP. As presented by Mikheil Saakashvili, President of Georgia during the conflict of 2008 and currently Chair of the Ukraine International Reform Platform, countries in the post-Soviet region share similar challenges that they must support each other to overcome. Corruption, inefficiency, and the inability to make fast decisions are a hindrance for the development of countries in the former Soviet region. To overcome

these difficulties, particularly in the case of Ukraine, President Saakashvili proposed a four-pronged approach. Firstly, a process of de-oligarchisation would see oligarchs removed from decision-making positions, building a more democratic system. Secondly, removing excessive bureaucracy from the state administration should accelerate economic and political reforms. Thirdly, excessive regulations suppose a hindrance for private activity, and should be reduced. Finally, Ukraine's rich diversity requires a de-centralised government system. Admittedly, these reforms may challenge the methods of the European Union, and reflect again the need for a country-specific perspective on the ENP.

The panel also addressed the role of Azerbaijan in the ENP and as a partner to the EU. With the Caspian region as one of the main alternatives in the provision of gas for Europe, members of the panel agreed that the EU should develop partnerships in the region, particularly with Azerbaijan. Novruz Mammadov, Head of the International Affairs Department at the Office of the President of Azerbaijan, requested the support of the EU in addressing the frozen conflict of Nagorno-Karabakh and the human rights situation in the region, a support he characterised as a condition for Azerbaijan to believe in the genuine willingness of the West and Europe to develop partnership with the country.



Panel 5-A: Inter-Faith Dialogue as a Tool for Trust-Building

Better Understanding for a Peaceful Coexistence

Questions

- » *How can we arrive to a peaceful coexistence of religions?*
- » *How could religious be included in the shaping of the World Order?*
- » *How can international policy-makers accommodate Inter-Faith Dialogue as a contributor to international peace?*

Speakers

- » *Keynote Speaker: Abdulaziz Altwajiri, Director General of UNESCO*
- » *Rexhep Meidani, President of Albania (1997-2002), Member NGIC*
- » *Emil Constantinescu,
President of Romania (1996-2000), Member NGIC*
- » *Norman Graham, Professor and Director,
Centre for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies*
- » *Facilitated by: Ismail Serageldin,
Director of the Library of Alexandria
and Co-Chair of the Nizami Ganjavi International Centre*

The world has been shaken by faith-based conflict and attacks on civilians all around the world. This panel discussed the possibilities to generate inter-faith dialogue as a measure to help reduce such instances and prevent radicalisation.

There was consensus among the panel that, as a basic reality in many regions of the world, a better understanding of religions (by those that profess them and by those outside them) will help improve coexistence. Abdulaziz Altwaijri, Director General of UNESCO, called it an 'alliance of civilisations', which would begin with a simple premise: accepting the other without negation. In shaping a peaceful world order, religion and inter-faith dialogue can prove useful in promoting understanding between cultures and heritages.

“Success in interfaith dialogue is only possible if we avoid condemnation and promote acceptance.”

Abdulaziz Altwaijri, Director General of UNESCO

In a similar vein, Ismail Serageldin, Director of the Library of Alexandria and Co-Chair of the Nizami Ganjavi International Centre, pointed out that, very frequently, conflicts labelled as religious are in reality community conflicts between groups that choose to carry the name of a particular religion. Determining whether conflict is indeed faith-based or whether there are other interests in play remains a challenge, and inter-faith dialogue can help identify and prevent the religious dimension of conflict.



Dr. Serageldin also noted that some of the world's most violent conflicts in the last century have been (and continue to be) between different groups of the same religion. The conflict between Shia and Sunni in the Middle East, or conflicts in Europe between Christian Catholics and Protestants, reveal a need not only for inter-faith dialogue, but also for intra-faith dialogue.

Paraphrasing the Azeri poet Nizami Ganjavi, Dr. Serageldin noted that those who seek to learn from the other must break themselves into dust and 'get under the feet' of those they wish to understand. A first step in this endeavour is to realise — and accept — that what we say may not be correct, and to adopt an attitude of acceptance. The panel noted the importance of changing the religious discourse from those who preach religion, in order to tone down intolerance and seek greater understanding. Here, suggestions from the panel included giving consideration to the certification of religious preachers in a fashion similar to that of the certification for schoolteachers.

Speakers in the panel also presented their experience of inter-faith dialogue and coexistence. Cases at a national level such as Albania and Romania, presented by former President of Albania Rexhep Meidani (1997-2002) and former President of Romania Emil Constantinescu (1996-2000), or at a community-level with exchange between students, as presented by Norman Graham (Director of the Centre for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies at the University of Michigan) demonstrate that inter-faith dialogue can play a role in the promotion of peace at all levels of society. In the case of Albania, President Meidani reminded of the importance played by the existence of a common language in bringing all communities together and facilitating coexistence — in this regards, language served as the bridge between communities. Today, Catholic, Orthodox and Muslim families cooperate in Albania under a common Albanian national identity.

In Romania, finding common ground between communities has allowed for the peaceful coexistence of beliefs. In the words of President Constantinescu, finding such common ground "is only possible if we avoid condemnation and promote acceptance. The human being is the common denominator behind all religions." Here, the role of education and media in promoting a message of understanding and tolerance plays a crucial role.

"The need for an important dialogue is evident, and must be based on a desire to explore the commonalities between all religions."

Emil Constantinescu, President of Romania (1996-2000)

Finally, a spirited discussion reviewed the relationship between state and religious structures, and suggested inter-faith dialogue can help national actors promote a culture of peace, not seeking to 'convince the other', but simply to dialogue and gain a deeper understanding and, ultimately, building trust between communities.

Parallel Panel 5-B: Energy Security as a Tool for Cooperation in Peace

A Shifting Energy Market

Questions

- » *How can a safe international system be synchronised with the need for energy security?*
- » *What actions do we need in order to accommodate needs for energy security but at the same time ensure the maintenance of normative values, such as basic human rights?*

Speakers

- » *Natig Aliyev, Minister of Industry and Energy of Azerbaijan*
- » *Hikmet Cetin, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey (1991-1994)*
- » *Dalia Itzik, President of Israel (2007)*
- » *Mirko Cvetkovic, Prime Minister of Serbia (2008-2012)*

The panel on Energy Security put energy in the Caspian into a European perspective. It focused primarily on oil and gas and the current energy market dynamics in Europe and the Middle East. Europe currently obtains 27% of its natural gas from Russia, compared to 34% indigenous production. The major reliance of some European countries on Russian energy has meant that Russia has a strong geopolitical and economic bargaining power. For example, Serbia doesn't have sufficient energy production, mostly relying on fossil fuels. 80% of its oil and 85% of its gas is imported.

“Serbia has a major dependency on Russian gas.”

Mirko Cvetkovic, Prime Minister of Serbia (2008-2012)

Considering the recent relations with Russia, efforts to diversify the European energy market are an expected consequence. The panel discussion began in the context of several key shifts in the energy market: a shift from natural gas to liquefied natural gas as a commodity, a shift of transportation from petrol-powered to electric cars, potentially a shift to the politically controversial shale gas. More broadly, it was also noted that Asia will be the biggest energy consumer in 2035, potentially leading to noticeable shifts in the energy markets.

Energy market diversification and the shift to a more multipolar Emerging/New World Order mean that countries like Azerbaijan and Turkey will be playing a more significant energy role in the near future. Azerbaijan was noted as the main alternative to Russian energy, which naturally poses challenges.

“Energy security of Azerbaijan depends on how it can diversify the sources and routes of the energy.”

Natig Aliyev, Minister of Industry and Energy of Azerbaijan

Turkey has a vital role as a transit country, which it will aim to continue developing. The fact that energy transits through several countries demonstrates that energy security requires a certain level of trust, stability and cooperation. Past conflicts that resulted in significant fluctuations in the energy market are evidence of this. For this reason, the panel made calls for an increased level of cooperation in the energy market in order to minimize the detrimental effects of political disagreements and conflicts.

“We could develop a Convention on Energy Security. We must divorce energy from political conflicts.”

Hikmet Cetin, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey (1991-1994)

Finally, the discussion expanded more broadly from oil and gas towards the management of natural resource wealth. Dalia Itzik, President of Israel (2007) noted that Israel has recently found gas deposits and is in the process of figuring out the best ways to utilise them. President Itzik pointed out that wealth from natural resources should be used to achieve aims that promote our values.

“If we want to solve our problems, everything starts with education.”

Dalia Itzik, President of Israel (2007)



Panel 6-A: The Role of Women in Peace Leadership

Be Elected or Be Neglected

Questions

- » *What can be done to address the persistent asymmetry of gender representation in peace leadership?*

Speakers

- » *Bodosh Mamirova, Member of the Supreme Council, Kyrgyzstan*
- » *Ruslana, former MP of Ukraine*
- » *Katherina Yushchenko, First Lady of Ukraine (2005-2010), President of Ukraine 3000 Foundation*
- » *Brou Kuha Marguerite, Member of Parliament, Cote D'Ivoire*
- » *Jean Omer Beriziky, Prime Minister of Madagascar (1996-2000)*
- » *Jaroslava Jermanova, Deputy Speaker of the Parliament of the Czech Republic*
- » *Dubrovka Phillipovski, Member of the Parliament of Serbia*
- » *Facilitator: Farida Allaghi,*

Lybian Representative to the European Union

The panel facilitator, Farida Allaghi, Lybian Representative to the European Union, was highly enthusiastic to lead a discussion about the role of women in all spheres of life, especially politics, international relations and peace leadership. She noted that so far 79 men had been speakers at the Baku Forum about the New World Order, while very few women had appeared in front of the audience. Similarly, around 90% of peace negotiations are led by men.

“Here we are celebrating the great Nizami, the man who since the 12th Century who spoke so highly as a Muslim man about the greatness of women.”

Farida Allaghi, Lybian Representative to the European Union

Two of the panel members from Ukraine gave examples of how women took opportunities during Ukraine's recent crisis to play active roles in supporting fellow Ukrainians and in working towards a better future for the country.

“Women have taken on many new roles and have become political actors in our country.”

Katherina Yushchenko, First Lady of Ukraine (2005-2010)
and President of Ukraine 3000 Foundation

Mrs Yushchenko also points out that the head of Ukraine's National Bank, the head of Ministry of Finance, the Deputy Minister of the Interior (police) as well as the commissioner for the peaceful settlement in East Ukraine are now all women. While this is only 12% of the Ukrainian Parliament, the quality of their work is a positive sign for further inclusivity and equality in Ukraine. Brou Kuha Marguerite pointed out that the minimum level of participation in Cote D'Ivoire has been set at 30%, but that it does not exist in practice. Jean Omer Beriziky continued this theme of good intentions versus reality, noting the UN Resolution 1325 and lamenting that in the last 10 years almost nothing has changed as a result of it, with even regression in some countries. The gap between good intentions and the reality on the ground is highlighted at the Baku Forum for not the first time.

“We need a revolution to revive the dead resolutions”

Farida Allaghi, Lybian Representative to the EU

Dubrovka Phillipovski, Member of the Parliament of Serbia, picked up on the message that it's important to provide institutional mechanisms for women's participation in peace processes. Apart from institutional and political change, there is also a need to empower women to strive for positions of influence. Jaroslava Jermanova, Deputy Speaker of the Parliament of the Czech Republic, reflects that women in her country are afraid to go into politics, especially high politics.

“If there were more women in governments, there would be more peace.”

Jaroslava Jermanova,

Deputy Speaker of the Parliament of the Czech Republic

Ms Jermanova also cited a Czech “Women's Forum” NGO slogan, which succinctly summarises her sentiment: “Be elected or be neglected”. This is perhaps controversial as it shifts the responsibility for equality on women, but it does highlight the need to empower women to strive for better access to opportunities and fair treatment. Someone who demonstrates these qualities of being proactive is Ruslana — a Ukrainian activist who was personally involved in the Euromaidan protest, Ukraine's UNICEF Goodwill Ambassador, and Member of the Ukrainian Parliament. She participated in the panel and gave her view on a crucial theme relating to gender — strength.

“Men talk about strength in terms of business, army and security. Women should talk about strength differently: courage, wisdom, using aggression constructively, taking men aside and away from aggression at the crucial moments.”

Ruslana, former Ukraine's UNICEF Goodwill Ambassador
and former Member of the Ukrainian Parliament

This highlights the problem of machoism in national and international politics, which is potentially a major driver of many of the conflicts threatening the Emerging/New World Order. By increasing women's participation in politics and key decision-making, it may be possible to start changing the macho culture, to empower women and to benefit from the increased diversity of views and approaches to human relationships. Farida Allaghi closed the session by urging the NGIC board to provide 50/50 male/female representation at the next Baku Forum.



Panel 6-B: Regional Organisations as a Security Enabler

Regional, focused, and efficient cooperation

Questions

- » *Is the present institutional architecture of regional and international organisations adequate for addressing the challenges of the new world order?*
- » *How can these organisations be further empowered?*
- » *What alternatives exist?*

Speakers

- » *Philipp Dimitrov, President of Bulgaria (1991-1992)*
- » *Luis Alberto Lacalle, President of Uruguay (1990-1995)*
- » *Arnold Ruutel, President of Estonia (2001-2006)*
- » *Iveta Radicova, Prime Minister of Slovakia (2010-2012)*
- » *Yukio Hatoyama, Prime Minister of Japan (2010-2011)*
- » *Facilitated by: Amr Moussa, Secretary-General of the Arab League (2001-2011)*

“Every great historical happening began as a utopia and ended as a reality”

Yukio Hatoyama, Prime Minister of Japan (2010-2011)

With references to the changing role of the state and the difficulties international organisations are facing to adapt to new realities, this panel dug deeper into the challenges for the UN and the EU, assessed possible alternatives to the current system of international organisations, and drew options for enhanced international and regional cooperation. Philip Dimitrov, President of Bulgaria between 1991 and 1992, reminded the Forum to keep in mind the importance of international actors who are not ready to cooperate with international organisations. Similarly, he called the Forum’s attention to a tendency to create too many organisations and institutions, a thought echoed by Luis Alberto Lacalle, President of Uruguay (1990 and 1995).

President Lacalle used the example of Latin America to illustrate how country-to-country cooperation can be more efficient than international organisations in generating prosperity. In this context, renewed relations between the United States of America and Cuba can be a game changer for international actors and organisations, and must be taken into account when charting the way ahead.

“There is an inverse relation between an organisation’s scope and its efficiency.”

Luis Alberto Lacalle, President of Uruguay (1990-1995)

President Lacalle also referred to the importance of a ‘common language’ that can lead the work of international organisations and help their members further their interests together, as well as that of maintaining a clear, limited scope in their mandate. Thus, organisations like the World Trade Organisation, which speaks “the universal language of trade”, or the Pacific Alliance, which limits its scope to a region, also under the language of trade, have proven to be more efficient than organisations with too broad a scope like the United Nations.

International organisations are facing pressing challenges. Prime Minister of Slovakia, Iveta Radicova (2010-2012) pointed out four main changes taking place that posed a threat to organisations like the United Nations and the European Union. The first change, going on for several decades now, is that of globalisation. Second is the change from income-based social stratification to one based on information management, separating society between those with the power to manage information and those who consume it. The third change is the growing medialisation of social relations, or the fact that, in today's hyper-connected world, over one billion people have their own media, with varying degrees of influence, and in many cases running them anonymously. Lastly, Prime Minister Radicova highlighted the strong expectation from citizens of the state and a dependence on social redistribution as a result of the global economic crisis. In failing to meet such expectations, the state and its political parties are losing support from the citizens, who are looking for other social movements that can respond to their needs.

The panel also reviewed the role of regional cooperation for security and in development. Building on previous discussions, Yukio Hatoyama, Prime Minister of Japan from 2010 to 2011, affirmed that launching new international organisations to respond to the emerging world order would not be practical; instead, Prime Minister Hatoyama proposed furthering regional integration through the establishment of regional agencies. Such a model would be constructive in curbing conflict and extremism, and promote exchange between countries. Particularly, Prime Minister Hatoyama argued that an East Asia Community would promote better relations between Japan, China and South Korea, and foster cooperation in the region.

Third Global Baku Forum:
Building Trust in the Emerging/New World Order Meeting Report

This meeting report was written by mediateUR.
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