

**Nizami Ganjavi International Center**



# **The Future of International Relations: Power and Interests**

**March 2017**

**Report on the 5th Global Baku Forum**

**Organised by the Nizami Ganjavi International Center on 16-17 March in Baku**

This meeting report was written by Peace My Way.





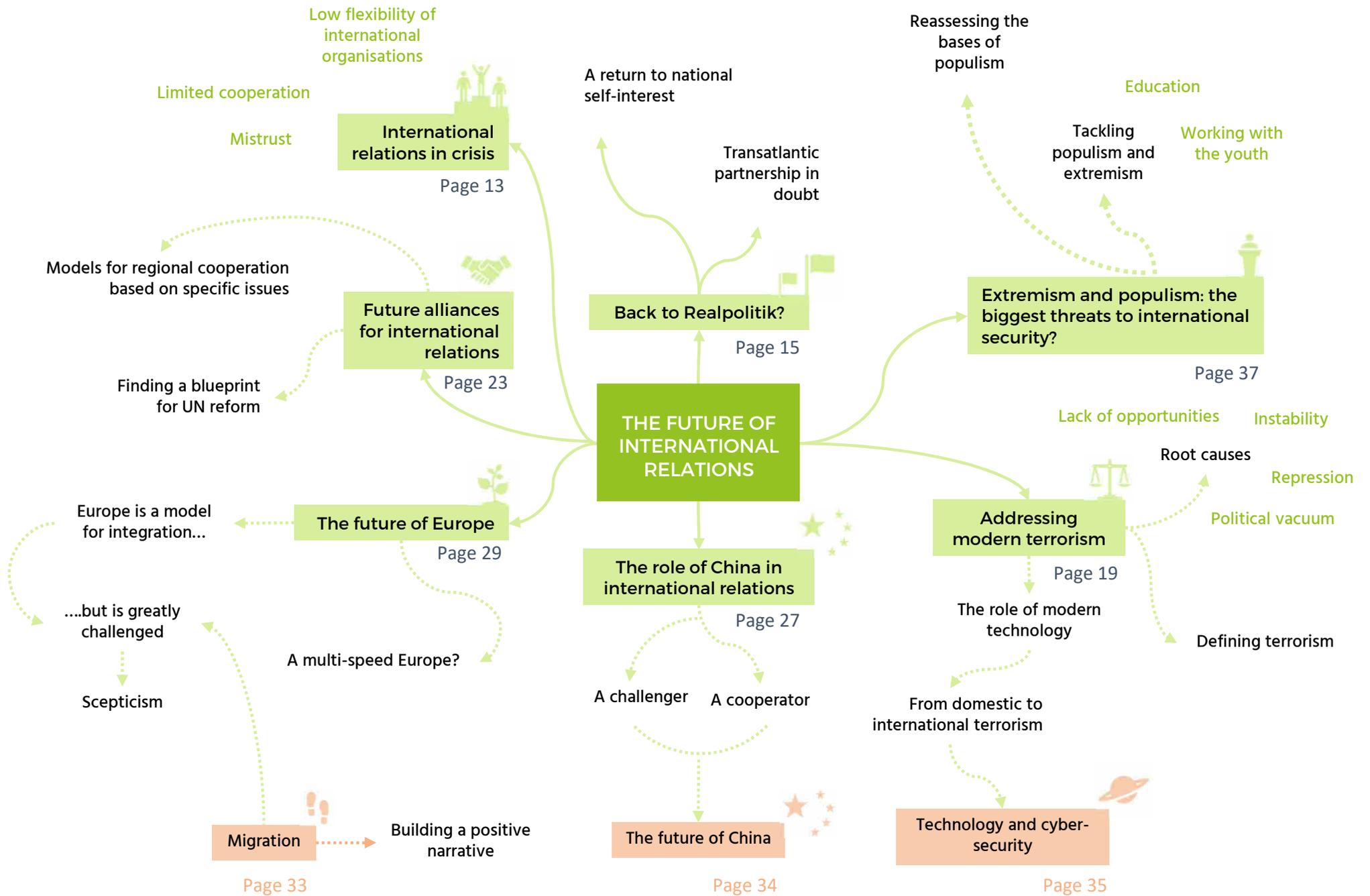
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This meeting report was written by Peace My Way.  
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Current and former leaders gathered in Baku to discuss the state of international relations.

# Introduction

Baku: on 16 -17 March, over 44 former and acting global leaders convened to discuss the provocative subject of the “New International Relations: Power and interests”. A remarkable presence of 6 elected PMs and 15 former presidents, next to experts and diplomats, discussed primarily the following questions:

- Are current international relations in a crisis?
- What are the future alliances in International Relations?
- What is the future of Europe?
- Are we back in Realpolitik?
- What is the role of China in International Relations?
- How does modern terrorism manifest itself?
- How to work with extremism and populism in new International Relations?

Current times have put the present world order in disarray; the structure of international relations that seemed to have consolidated by the end of the Cold War in 1989-1991 is changing—in which direction, we are yet to experience.

The Forum recognises that globalisation has brought about political and economic impact, experiencing a backlash. Democracy is in a growing crisis, where citizens have lost the appreciation of European and Western values of integration, both economically and politically. Brexit and the US presidential elections have revealed the alienation of the public from the political elite.

The old World Order, produced by the victors of the Second World War, supported primarily by the US and the Europeans, was acquiesced into the rest of the world, who did not participate in its creation. A New World Order, participants affirmed, will have to involve all the parties in its construction, a tantamount task, as agreed by the Forum.

Russia, drawing on its history, its size, and its military, seeks to reaffirm its global role.

China, already the second largest economy in the world, and growing, is now a prime participant in the design of the emerging world order. How China expresses its interest in the international system will be decisive, as it is filling a void left by a United States which is retracting from foreign policy priorities and reverting to a more defensive, America-first

policy. Common morality and principles, not national self-interests should be the foundations of the new system, as expressed by the participants of the V Global Baku Forum.

In building this new system, a comprehensive response to the challenge of terrorism must be sought. For one, a policy of exclusion fuels rather than eliminates terror; politics of inclusion, as demonstrated by the case of Libya, brings also its challenges. Participants of the Global Baku Forum do not exclude the option of military confrontation to combat terrorism in theatres where they have a presence. Many concur on the need for a security response within societies, as well as for the need for a cultural response, with education being a prime force. The rejuvenation of Islam could very well prove instrumental in this global effort to fight terrorism.

In the last 50 years, international relations have experienced the construction of a rich tapestry of international and multilateral alliances, and selective partnerships have begun to proliferate, possibly against the interest of regional arrangements. It is clear, as in the previous Baku Forums, that a blueprint for reform for the United Nations has to be urgently found and defined as a foundation for reinvigorated multilateralism—a multilateralism that might very well be affected by domestic politics.

The most pressing political challenge for the next 5-15 years are issues of populism and immigration, which are well interrelated. These challenges require not only deft political handling, but vision and leadership that goes beyond domestic national interests.

The demographic realities of an aging Europe and declining populations in many countries of the West, and the continuing demographic rise in the developing countries, especially in Africa (a continent expected to expand its population in 1.4 billion in only three decades, as reflected by the UN World Population Prospects of 2015), will make the inflow of migrants into Europe a needed reality. Clearly what is needed is to improve the living conditions in the south to avoid the uncontrollable influx of migrants. These trends confirm that a new system of international relations oriented towards a peaceful and equitable world must recognise the differences between societies, and to make room for them.

As NGIC co-chairman Ismail Serageldin points out in his closing remarks: “We learned again what in our hearts we already knew.” In all the discussions, the voice for a value-based defense against ignorance and power-driven egocentric politics is dominant. There are calls for civility and pluralism, humanism and liberty, security and freedom for the benefit of all, and against the threats from extremists and populists—values that are close to the spirit of the name patron poet and humanist Nizami Ganjavi. The challenge of world leadership is to

take collective responsibility of the new emerging world order to avoid the emergency of anarchy and vacuum.

In all of the Panels, the role of the media has been addressed, a role that is changing beyond comprehension. As argued by many, it is to be used wisely to promote universal values espoused by responsible political leaders. We cannot ignore that the new technologies and the evolution of ICTs have opened new avenues for both the promotion of terrorism and for the fight against it. Finding a balance between expression and radicalisation or 'democratic security' is a substantial challenge to be addressed.

Hence, this moment in world history is one at a crossroads of democratic values. The role of leaders, and that of Global Baku Forum participants, is to be able to design a new world order in a framework of mutual respect. This framework is, so Ismael Serelgadin notes, is one

*“where the rich and the poor, the weak and the powerful, all work hand in hand to design the instruments of the future for the benefit of all... so let us each go back to our societies and as we return to our regular lives, let us think of the unborn, remember the forgotten, give hope to the forlorn, include the excluded, reach out to the unreached, and by our actions from this day onwards lay the foundation for better tomorrows.”*

**Ismael Serageldin**

Forum

FORUM

s: Power and Interest



*“We talk about dialogue, but we see alienation, we talk about tolerance, but we see hatred, which is growing, which is a danger for all of us and for those in whose countries it happened, for those who suffer physically from that.”*

*One of the most important issues on the global agenda is to reverse this tendency backwards and more towards cooperation, mutual understanding, and mutual respect, rather than alienation, political confrontation and lack of dialogue of civilizations.”*

**Ilham Aliyev**

*“We are not in a clash of civilisations, but rather a struggle for civilisation.”*

HRH Turki AlFaisal



# Detailed Report

*16th of March*

## *The Future of International Relations*

**Moderator: Ismail Serageldin**, Co-Chair NGIC, Director Library of Alexandria

**Filip Vujanovic**, President of Montenegro

**Gjorge Ivanov**, President of the Republic of Macedonia

**Bujar Nishani**, President of Albania

**Giorgi Margvelashvili**, President of the Republic of Georgia

**Raimonds Vejonis**, President of the Republic of Latvia

**HRH Turki AlFaisal**, Chairman of the King Faisal Center for Research & Islamic Center

From the ongoing tragedy of the Syrian civil war to increasingly urgent environmental challenges, many of the “big issues” facing the international community today are being exacerbated by waning faith in global institutions and inter-state cooperation. The very practice of international relations as we understand it is at a crossroads, with post-Cold War optimism giving way to fundamental concerns about the efficiency and stability of the global political order. How, in less than thirty years, has the practice of international relations experienced such a paradigm shift? And how can a spirit of cooperation between states be reinvigorated?

In seeking to understand the current crisis of confidence in international relations, speakers struck a consensus that at least part of the problem stems from globalisation. The promise of peace and perpetual growth, underpinned by free trade and deregulation, has failed to materialise for so many states – particularly those which emerged following the fall of the Soviet Union and embraced these systems in a spirit of hope. At the same time, citizens in established democracies have entered a period of profound doubt over the very structure of their societies, as traditional economic models increasingly benefit a privileged few at the expense of the broader middle classes. Filip Vujanovic argued that an economic model which continues to leave so many people behind would inevitably foster an “economic populism” which would, in turn, feed the political protectionism we see now.

At the same time, the international Institutions set up following World War II to discourage such isolationism are now showing fundamental limitations. Despite their immense theoretical value, Gjorge Ivanov argued that value-based international organs like the UN and the EU are increasingly impotent in the face of forces such as globalisation and neoliberalism. If market economics – rather than societal values or political cooperation – now determine the global order, then traditional international relations face an existential crisis. This challenge is compounded by a lack of reform: bodies such as the UN Security Council continue to represent a rigid, outdated world order which is both unfit for the multipolarity of the 21st century and at risk of abuse by the “legacy powers” which dominate them. According to Giorgi Margvelashvili, international relations will continue to face a crisis of confidence as long as the US and Russia continue to control the global cooperation framework yet refuse to play by the rules in their own foreign policies.

However, neither international institutions nor global economic models exist in a vacuum – they result from national policies, created by successive governments who may no longer fully control them. Indeed, the inflexibility of bodies such as the UN is often coupled with poor national leadership, whose embrace of globalisation and short-termism now fuels the protectionism and populism which threatens the fabric of international cooperation. According to HRH Turki AlFaisal, the pressing lack of leadership in response to these challenges represents “thirty years of political failure to live up to the principles of good governance” at the national level.

Despite these concerns, the panel was optimistic for the future of inter-state relations, defining the current malaise as a period of flux rather than an irreversible decline. Ivanov quoted the Italian political thinker Antonio Gramsci, declaring that “the old world has died, but the new world has not yet been born.” Like Gramsci, he warned that this major transition would pose multiple threats to the global order, and that the international community’s ability to weather the storm would depend on its collective responsibility to this “new world.” HRH Turki AlFaisal warned that – without institutional restructuring and visionary leadership – the next decades would be defined by the dual threats of “anarchy and vacuum.”

*“We thought the end of the Cold War would bring much more peace and prosperity, but our optimistic hopes have not all been fulfilled.”*

Giorgi Margvelashvili

## *The Future of Transatlantic Relations: Back to Realpolitik?*

**Moderator: Vaira Vike-Freiberga**, Co-Chair NGIC, President of Latvia 1999-2007

**Rosen Plevneliev**, President of Bulgaria 2012-2017

**Amre Moussa**, Secretary General, Arab League 2001-2011

**Boris Tadic**, President of Serbia 2004-2012

**Julio César Cobos**, Vice President of Argentina 2007-2011

**Rosalía Arteaga**, President of Ecuador 1997

**Kateryna Yushchenko**, First Lady of Ukraine 2005-2010

**Edward Luttwak**, Senior Associate CSIS Washington DC, Consultant US Government

In the wake of Brexit, continuing fallout from the 2008 economic crisis, terrorism and mass migration, Europe is under immense strain. Meanwhile, in the United States, uncertainty over the direction and priorities of the new administration have put the future of transatlantic relations in doubt. The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership agreement has all but collapsed, and populism and demagoguery have been on the rise on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. Looking at the world today, several of the panelists questioned whether this is a moment of great change in the international order. The challenges facing Europe and the USA may be symptomatic of a larger transformation in international politics.

Against this background, this panel assessed the role and future of transatlantic relations, particularly between the United States and the European Union, and the implications of such dynamics for Europe, the US, and the entire world. They strove to answer the question of whether this relationship, which had been based on common values and cooperation, was experiencing a return to the pragmatism of *Realpolitik*. The panel recognised that the conditions were in place for a return to *Realpolitik*, but underlined that this posed a real threat to international peace and security. Rosen Plevneliev and Julio César Cobos agreed that recapturing the principles of *Realpolitik* would bring back the ghosts of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries, an era of war and dictatorship.

*“Realpolitik” is connected to a lack of values, a lack of morality... it helped dictators and motivated wars.”*

Rosen Plevneliev

The danger of a return to relations guided by the principles of *Realpolitik* is quite evident in Ukraine, where the lack of cooperation and the confrontation between the EU, the US and Russia has arguably fuelled a war that today marks its third year in full effect. Kateryna Yushchenko noted that Ukrainians were “allergic” to the term *Realpolitik*, which for Ukraine meant they would be thrown “to the wolves for the sake of expediency.” An international order governed by *Realpolitik* may mean that two or three countries decide the fate of everyone else, leaving countries like Ukraine as casualties of larger geopolitical struggles.

This begs the question, what role does the relationship between Europe and the United States play in the international order and what is at stake if it were to change? The panellists stated that what they were ultimately speaking to defend was global values, western culture, or civilisation itself. Amre Moussa noted the importance of the EU as a stabilising influence and a check on the actions of superpowers. The panel agreed that the EU, as a political project that promotes peace and humanitarianism, must persist and serve as a model for regional cooperation. The future of the transatlantic relationship, then, relies on a commitment to common morality and principles, not national self-interest. Institutions and rules enshrined in international law that apply to everyone are the best way to secure peace, most of the panelists agreed, whether it be the UN, the EU, or other regional organisations.

*“We need to build bridges that unite, instead of walls that divide.”*

Julio Cesar Cobos

In this period of change that the world is experiencing, it is difficult to guess what transatlantic relations will look like years, or even months, from now. It may ultimately be determined by the direction and future actions the new US administration goes in and how the European Union responds to its numerous crises. On this point, the last speaker in the panel, Dr. Luttwak, countered the assertion that the new US administration did not have a plan, laying out Trump’s 8-year plan for the country, focusing on infrastructure and immigration. Although the USA would also give a lower level of attention to foreign policy in general, Dr. Luttwak made clear that addressing China’s rise would be a priority.

While the future of this relationship may seem uncertain, several of the panelists found reason to be optimistic that the legacy and future of the transatlantic relationship would be preserved. They were hopeful that the fruits of decades of cooperation in the form of international institutions, common principles and international law would be strong enough to resist a return to *Realpolitik*.



Vaira Vike-Freiberga, Rosen Plevneliev and Boris Tadic.

*“Europe must find a way to better communicate its values and why it was created.”*

Kateryna Yushchenko

*“Donald Trump’s main goal is to make Ivanka the first woman President.”*

Edward Luttwak



Franco Frattini and Manouchehr Mottaki.

## ***Parallel Panel A: The Challenges of Addressing Modern Terrorism: Tools, Tactics, and Strategies?***

**Moderator: Ismail Serageldin**, Co-Chair NGIC, Director Library of Alexandria

**Faisal El-Fayez**, President of the Senate, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

**Ziyad Abu Amr**, deputy Prime Minister of Palestine

**Mohamed Dayri**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Libya

**Franco Frattini**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy 2002-2004; 2008-2011

**Rexhep Meidani**, President of Albania 1997-2002

**Manouchehr Mottaki**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iran 2005-2010

**Karim Khalili**, Vice President of Afghanistan 2004-2014

Terrorism has been a defining feature of international relations in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, yet there is still no international consensus on how to define it. Deliberately targeting civilians with violence and inspiring fear in a population to accomplish political objectives are the common elements of terrorism, but there is no consensus about the exact line of demarcation between what does and does not constitute a terrorist. For example, Ziyad Abu Amr argued that any definition should be broad enough to include state actors. In any case, the panelists agreed that the lack of a common definition has hampered efforts to combat terrorism, and raises the issue of whether it is even possible to come to a consensus on defining it.

The root causes of extremism are complex and multi-faceted, but learning from history can help to make the picture clearer, said Faisal El-Fayez. Imperialism, foreign interventions, and persistent political unrest have created a state of poverty, despair and alienation in which extremism has flourished. Manouchehr Mottaki also ventured that globalisation has weakened the authority of many nation-states and that it “has turned terrorism into an international phenomenon with international consequences.” Against this complex background, Franco Frattini called for a “holistic” strategy to combat terrorism. Policies that only react to terrorism with military means have not worked; to be effective, counter-terrorism activities must try to address the root causes and take preventative measures to stop extremism before it takes hold.

*“The arsenal of modern terrorism is not only guns and bombs, also laptops, internet, and social media”*

Rexhep Meidani

However, giving the Libyan experience of combatting terrorism, Mahamed Dayri made clear that this was easier said than done. Policies aimed at promoting greater public participation and making the political process more inclusive have turned out to be a double-edged sword. More politically-inclusive systems risk giving more power and legitimacy to extremist views, but can also dilute the feelings of alienation which create them. In Libya, this policy of inclusion worked formally, but radical political groups have also destabilised the Libyan political system and led to a proliferation of militias in the country.

*“If you want a holistic vision against terrorism we don’t need more weapons, but more political leadership”*

Franco Frattini

Given the global nature of modern terrorism, Franco Frattini said it was crucial for the international community to also assist in building institutions in countries affected by civil strife or terrorism. By building strong and inclusive institutions, power vacuums in these affected countries can be filled and extremist views would not find political space to prosper. Regional and international organisations must then play a more proactive role to facilitate this cooperation and to foster lasting partnerships.

*“Through education, through enlightenment we have to struggle against these ideas”*

Faisal El-Fayez

The international community also needs more investment and research into modern technology to combat terrorism. Social media platforms have been used to recruit followers and to disseminate extremist ideas. Increased communication has also enabled sympathisers of terrorist groups to access information to organise and carry out attacks. This presents a new frontier for terrorist action that does not respect national boundaries. A cyber-attack could be launched from anywhere in the world. As Rexhep Meidani put it, “the modern terrorist arsenal is not only guns and bombs, also laptops, internet, social media.” Extremist groups are constantly changing and developing new tactics as technological developments present new opportunities. Meidani stressed that it is imperative that states take this seriously and work consistently to diversify their security strategies, invest in digital counter-terrorism strategies, and to account for and address new terrorist tactics and strategies as they arise.

The future of combatting terrorism ultimately lies with the youth. Education, not military action, is the key to defeating terrorism in the long term. The youth must be taught that extremist ideas and terrorist actions are wrong. This also involves rejuvenating religious

discourse in Islam to delegitimise extremist views. In addition, creating political and economic opportunities is crucial to take away the incentives and attractiveness of extremism, and to give hope. The Arab Spring was a symbol of hope for many of the panelists, but its aftermath showed that the spectre of terrorism remains and that the loss of hope represents a significant challenge.



*“We cannot overcome terrorism only by force, this power can contain, but it does not successfully address the root causes”*

Karim Khalili



Eka Tkeshelashvili.

## ***Parallel Panel B: What alliances will be built in the forging of modern international relations?***

*Moderator: Eka Tkeshelashvili, Deputy Prime Minister of Georgia 2010-2012*

**Petar Stoyanov**, President of Bulgaria 1997-2002

**Rosalía Arteaga**, President of Ecuador 1997

**Ivo Josipovic**, President of Croatia 2010-2015

**Edmund Alphandery**, Minister of Finance of France 1993-1995

**Petre Roman**, Prime Minister of Romania 1989-1991

**Nicholas Logothetis**, Co-Founder & Chairman, Concordia

**Ali Hasanov**, Head of public-political issues Department of the President's office of the Republic of Azerbaijan

In this challenging period for international cooperation, the ties which bind states together are under strain. Whether they be codified alliances like the EU, or cultural bonds such as Balkan identity, how can leaders reinforce international ties which are at risk of breaking? Does a changing world order necessitate new alliances?

Petar Stoyanov kicked off the conversation by exploring the history of alliances in Europe, and raised the fundamental question of whether any alliance can function without a common adversary. This was essentially the basis for NATO, which consequently lost its purpose after 1991. Can the Transatlantic alliance craft a future for itself at the same time as American enthusiasm for the project is waning? Some panelists suggested that NATO should refocus to engage in conflict management on Europe's periphery, while noting that EU defence cooperation might be better-placed and more politically capable of undertaking this delicate task. Nevertheless, according to Stoyanov, "Europeans have no alternative to NATO" for the time being.

Despite current tensions in Ukraine, problems on "Europe's frontier" are not limited to Crimea and Donbass. The fragile peace in the Balkans remains a fundamental challenge for European leaders: important and widespread political tensions are re-emerging, often implicitly linked to the process of European integration. For some, the EU has been too assertive in seeking to integrate the Balkans; others feel it has not offered enough support. Ivo Josipovic described the EU as both the prism and the scapegoat through which all Balkan tensions now tend to be viewed. Broad support for the project remained strong among the speakers, although Edmund Alphandery noted that the EU's myriad current problems meant that its role as a model for cooperation will inevitably be questioned both now and in the future.

Despite the EU's current issues, similar regional integration organisations like Mercosur and ASEAN are becoming increasingly prominent actors from Latin America to South East Asia. Are these the alliances for the 21<sup>st</sup> century? Some speakers felt that these new methods of cooperation were not living up to their promises. Rosalia Arteaga observed that the much-vaunted BRICS countries are beginning to show the limitations of their seemingly rapid progress, with Brazil in particular dogged by internal problems which are hampering its growth as a regional power. The G77 group of countries, although important symbolically, also remains weak in terms of economic and political power compared to established democracies.

According to Petre Roman, the "three simultaneous global accelerations" of globalisation, technology and climate change should make it easier and more necessary than ever to reach international consensus, yet sustainable alliances seem increasingly unachievable. Ivo Josipovic argued that the traditional concept of alliances was fading, with ad hoc, issue-selective cooperation becoming the norm – particularly so in relation to Syria and other geopolitical flashpoints. Taken together, these trends suggest an increasingly self-serving style of international relations.

However, the panel ended by reiterating support for the United Nations, which – despite its increasingly-apparent flaws – remains a "global alliance" which underpins all other forms of cooperation. As in the opening panel, there were prominent calls for its reform, but also defence of its principles: Nicholas Logothetis stated that established international institutions are more important than ever in the face of the current US administration's "frightening worldview." In the debate following the panel, it was clear that the audience shared the speakers' faith in the UN, whilst noting that a "blueprint for reform" needed to be found which would allow it to fulfil its potential as a more inclusive global arbiter of power.

*"America's unipolar moment is over."*

Petar Stoyanov

*"Alliances are no longer defined by 'east and west' or 'capitalism or communism,' but rather ad-hoc relationships depending on the issue – even bringing together countries which are sometimes friends and sometimes foes. The great powers' relations, as seen through the lens of Syria, are a good example of this."*

Ivo Josipovic



*“When you see the aftermath of Brexit, the aftermath of the Eurozone crisis and the lack of success with migration, you wonder whether the EU really can be a model for regional integration.” –*

Edmond Alphandery

*“Whatever the project, whoever the partner, China’s three principles are openness, market-based operation and mutual benefit.”*

David Qingzhong Pan



Antonio Zanardi Landi, Apas Jumagulov, Peter Medgyessy and David Qingzhong Pan.

*17th of March*

## *China's role in International Relations: Challenging Old Rules?*

*Moderator: Gautam Mukunda*, Assistant Professor, Organisational Behaviour Unit, HBS

**Boris Tadic**, President of Serbia 2004-2012

**Shaukat Aziz**, Prime Minister of Pakistan 2004-2007

**Antonio Zanardi Landi**, former Diplomatic adviser to the Italian President

**Apas Jumagulov**, Prime Minister of Kyrgyzstan 1993-1998

**Peter Medgyessy**, Prime Minister of Hungary 2002-2004

**David Qingzhong Pan**, Executive Dean of Schwarzman College, Tsinghua University

"No country has benefited as much from the liberal international order as China," according to Gautam Mukunda. Its rise has been spectacular, with a rapidly growing economy, a sharp reduction in poverty and growing power and importance on the world stage. With the current international order in a significant period of change, China's rise and its role in global politics become even more important. The United States is arguably declining, leaving space for others to shape the rules and institutions that have been the foundation of international relations for decades. Is China now ready to assume its position as a global leader? If so, what is China's position as regards to the current structure of international relations or will it make changes which conform to its world view and interests?

Whenever a rising power challenges an existing order, it may cause instability and increase the potential for conflict. In the same way that, historically, Germany's relationship with the other major powers dictated the course of events, China's relationship with the United States will be the defining factor of China's rise. Many of the panellists were optimistic in their assessment that there was room enough for both countries in international relations and that a multipolar world would be a better world and a source of strength for the international community.

Furthermore, the rhetoric and actions of the US administration have provided space to assume a greater leadership role on issues such as climate change and free trade. The extent to which China takes advantage of these opportunities and what it chooses to do with its leadership position can give the international community a good indication of the type of world power China will grow into. Many of the panelists pointed out that China now finds itself in the position as the major proponent and beneficiary of free trade, while domestically its economy

is largely based on government subsidies. To truly step into a leadership role in world finance, so *Antonio Zanardi Landi* noted, China must address its own domestic situation first, including its banking system as well as its currency. These are, at their core, difficult political questions for China, and how it handles itself domestically will also have ramifications on its positions internationally.

*“International relations are moving towards a new normal involving Russia, China and the United States. How we adapt to this changing environment will be one of the great challenges of our time.”*

Shaukat Aziz

Panelists agreed that China intended to operate within the current system of international order that has served it so well in the recent past. A key point, they noted, is that they believe that China is not motivated by ideology or morality, but by pragmatism. *Shaukat Aziz* and *Apas Jumagulov* spoke highly of dealing with China in their capacities as leaders, stating that their countries' trade relationships with China had been mutually beneficial. Its economy has been a stabilising influence on the region and its investment projects, such as the *One Belt, One Road policy*, look set to revolutionise infrastructure and trade across Asia.

If China truly wants a peaceful rise, a total overhaul of the international political structure would seem to be counterproductive, as it may lead to great uncertainty, upheaval, and conflict. So far, it appears China is content to work within the international order where its interests are met. It has insisted on the importance of the UN Security Council as necessary in maintaining global peace and it has ascended to a leadership position on tackling climate change, after the US has stated its intention to withdraw from the Paris agreement. However, the panelists noted that China has also created several parallel regional organisations, challenging the status quo of regional alliances and international relations. The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation were mentioned by the panelists as examples of China's growing role as a regional leader. *Shaukat Aziz* asserted that this provided a useful counterpoint to the international institutional structure which needs reform, like the Breton-Woods institutions. It remains to be seen, therefore, whether China will limit this institution-building power to its neighbourhood.

*“China is insisting on multilateral institutions, but the question mark remains over whether they will seek to change the global order.”*

Boris Tadic

## *The Future of Europe*

**Moderator: Zlatko Lagumdžija**, Prime Minister of Bosnia & Herzegovina 2001-2002

**Keynote: Mladen Ivanic**, Chairman of the Presidency of Bosnia & Herzegovina

**Alexander Kwasniewski**, President of Poland 1995-2005

**Yves Leterme**, Prime Minister of Belgium 2008; 2009-2011

**Danilo Turk**, President of Slovenia 2007-2012

**Wim Kok**, Prime Minister of the Netherlands 1994-2002

**Valdis Zatlers**, President of Latvia 2007-2011

**Jan Fischer**, Prime Minister of the Czech Republic 2009-2010

**Franco Frattini**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy 2002-2004; 2008-2011

Speaking in the wake of the Dutch elections and the run-up to the 60th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome, this panel had one overarching message: the European Union is still alive, and still relevant. Shaken by Brexit and a more general rise in Euroscepticism, as well as a range of crises which it seems ill-equipped to handle, the EU is facing difficult days. However, despite perceptions that the bloc is facing an existential challenge, many on the panel agreed that its symbolic and political importance makes its model of peaceful cooperation more necessary than ever.

Keynote speaker Mladen Ivanic began by stating his faith in the EU's future, arguing that the bloc's economic and security problems are largely superficial and would prove inconsequential. Given that its individual members are less able to handle these challenges alone, necessity will hold them together if nothing else. Even the EU's slow decision-making process is not a fundamental flaw; rather, a nuisance. In short, practical concerns will not tear the Union apart. According to Ivanic, the real challenge is that "sometimes people take illogical decisions, even elites," and that an ideology of Euroscepticism would become established against the self-interest of European citizens.

*"Russia is not an alien and hostile power to be contained, but a potential partner."*

Danilo Turk

Ivanic also reiterated the EU's fundamental importance for the Balkans, both as a symbol of a European future and as a guarantor of stability. Noting that he "could not imagine the Balkans without the EU," he nevertheless echoed other speakers in suggesting that the EU needs to rethink its neighbourhood policy to serve as a bridge to Russia rather than a *cordon sanitaire*.

The panel acknowledged that this would require a substantial reworking of Europe's current security architecture, and Danilo Turk suggested that Brexit represented a window of opportunity for major reform such as this.

With Brexit and its implications in mind, the 60th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome calls for a reflection on the future direction of Europe, with Yves Leterme proposing key steps which leaders could take to rejuvenate public faith in their political systems. Firstly, addressing nepotism and the role of money in politics would build integrity. Secondly, rethinking electoral cycles to minimise the temptations of short-termism and "impossible promises" would help to manage voters' expectations. And finally, making space for legitimate differences of opinion – instead of marginalising dissent at the extremes – would help to build political bridges in a time of polarisation. Addressing these issues would not only rein in the more concerning political trends of our time, but restore confidence in politics more generally, including the EU.

*“People want more democracy, but a different kind. We are still using 19th century institutions and 20th century ideologies – the “consumers” are looking at politics and feeling frustrated.”*

Yves Leterme

Other panellists were somewhat more pessimistic, arguing that the crisis of confidence in European politics was more profound. Wim Kok argued that, despite a media discourse which framed the recent Dutch elections in terms of Euroscepticism, the real debate was about the place of Islam in European societies – an issue which, according to him, will continue to grow in the years to come. The Euro crisis is far from over: the future of the European project will depend on the outcome of the forthcoming elections in France, so argues Wim Kok.

*“Europe for too long has been a project for the elite and not a project for the people”*

Wim Kok

The concept of a “multi-speed Europe” as a solution to these tensions seems to be back on the agenda – most recently suggested by the European Commission itself in a white paper this March. Franco Frattini effectively argued that a purely intergovernmental approach to European cooperation would be a step backwards. Instead, he argued that greater burden-sharing – particularly over migration – would be necessary, noting that “Malta and Italy can no longer be the coastguards of Europe.” Other panelists noted that a multi-speed Europe already exists in practice, and that the legal basis for such arrangements had existed since the

Amsterdam Treaty of 1997. What was needed, it was argued, was not more flexibility but greater leadership and vision at a time when democracy seems cumbersome and populists' easy answers hold ever greater sway.



*“The UK is not just exiting from an economic structure, but from a project”*

Jan Fischer



The V Global Baku Forum Young Leaders.

## Youth Speaks, We Listen

The youth of today will be the decision-makers of tomorrow, and the responsibility for tackling the challenges raised during the Baku Forum will ultimately fall on their shoulders. As such, their voices are of vital importance to the current debate. The Nizami Ganjavi International Center, in recognition of this fact, invited fifteen “Young Leaders” drawn from across the world to speak at the Baku Forum on some of today’s most pressing issues. This is what they had to say.

### Panel I: Migration

*Moderator:* **Daniel Gjokjeski** (Macedonia)

**Yamini Bhandari** (USA)

**Isaac Todd** (USA)

**Magdalena Kortas** (Poland)

**Ivana Popchev** (Macedonia)

**Khaoula Morchid** (Morocco)

**Zumrud Jalilova** (Azerbaijan)

**Mubariz Shahbazov** (Azerbaijan)

World leaders continue to meet and discuss how best to address the migration crisis, but a clear solution has not been found. The 2017 Global Baku Forum gave the young leaders a platform to look at this situation from a different perspective, to find new solutions.

Have the international community and global media been approaching this issue from a wrong and counter-productive perspective? The young leaders suggested that a change of perspective in how the situation is framed can make all the difference. This entails shifting the paradigm of migration from being a “crisis” to being an “opportunity.” Rather than viewing refugees and migrants as a burden on society, their potential and humanity should be viewed as assets to society. If migration is viewed as a crisis to manage, it results in a collective action problem of who will bear the burden, as was the case in Europe. If the narrative was shifted to the positive aspects of migration and humanitarian responsibility, states and communities could avoid this problem and the inherent tension and anger that comes along with it. The young leaders reminded those in attendance that immigration leads to long term economic growth and can help to ease the effects of an aging population.

The young leaders stressed that this vision of optimism must be turned into concrete action. Education was the key factor put forward, to allow migrants to fully realise their potential. Most migrants in Europe are under 18, but many do not have access to schooling. Offering

different trainings to migrants and facilitating dialogue with host communities is essential to further integrating migrants into society and making best use of their skills and entrepreneurial spirit. Supporting local youth initiatives inside of Syria was very important to keep the youth engaged and to help solve the problems that forced people to migrate at their source.

Ultimately, strong leadership is needed to make the most of migration to improve the lives of migrants and the citizens of host countries. The young leaders concluded the panel by appealing to the leaders in attendance to listen to their words and take concrete action.

## *Panel II: The Future of China*

Perhaps indicative of its growing importance

*Moderator:* **Beba Cibralic** (Australia)  
**Savitri Restrepo** (Colombia)

**Jan Van Berkel** (The Netherlands)  
**Zachary Kay** (USA)

in international relations, China was discussed for the second time at the 2017 Global Baku Forum. This time, it was the turn of the young leaders to voice their opinions on the role and future of China in international relations.

Above all, the speakers questioned how China will use its position as a global power on the world stage, especially in relation to values and governance. Will China use its growing influence to undermine Western values in favour of its own? Or will it content itself with economic power? Although Chinese President Xi Jinping has rhetorically positioned China as a defender of the liberal world order, the speakers saw little evidence of this in practice. The Chinese economy remains protectionist in many domains, from intellectual property to pharmaceuticals, and its politics remain local, determined largely by internal factors to please the broad church of the Chinese Communist Party. It was argued that the President's main priority is to balance factional differences while he is waiting for the chance to make new appointments in the Chinese government.

Indeed, while China is obtaining wealth, urbanisation, industrialisation, and education, it is not yet enjoying democratisation. Its economic success has given the one-party regime legitimacy among its citizens, but autocracy may lead to conflict if China continues down the path towards liberalisation. In the experience of one speaker, this tension is already being felt: while the youth in China are grateful to their leaders, they are more outspoken and liberal

than previous generations. The young leaders remained cautiously optimistic that the country's leadership would rise to meet the hopes of its people, as well as the potential of its economy.

## ***Panel III: Technology***

*Moderator:* **Mahammad Ibrahimov** (Azerbaijan)

**Khaydar Ismailov** (Russia)

**Mostafa Abdelmonim** (Egypt)

**Octavio Miranda** (Portugal)

Technological change has contributed to an improvement in welfare for many people across the world, and has dramatically altered society. The rapid advance in technology, and our relationship to it, was discussed in the third and final panel of young leaders.

The digital world has irreversibly reshaped relationships, finance, and even international politics, to the extent that we have arguably become dependent upon it – this fundamental societal change must be accounted for and acknowledged by those in power. As the first generation of “digital natives,” the voices of today's youth are uniquely relevant, and governments risk becoming further disconnected from society if they fail to address these new realities. Indeed, understanding *every* generation's differing experiences of technology would be vital in properly addressing the challenges which it can provoke.

First, in this regard, is the internet's role in enabling and spreading terrorism and extremist views. It was noted that the internet has dramatically influenced terrorism and has made recruitment very easy for terrorist organisations. Increased cyber-security could not be the only response, however, with speakers emphasising that education was the key to limiting extremist groups – both online and in the real world.

Indeed, the young leaders questioned whether reshaping old institutions, so that they may better conform to modern society, would be the most appropriate response to technological change. The framework that underpins the international order was formed at a time that was very different than our contemporary world, with rules, structures and operations which are no longer fit for purpose in an era of major technological and social revolution.

Our modern technology, particularly the internet, has changed the way we relate to each other. Social relations are quicker, more nebulous, and harder to control than ever before.



Ismail Serageldin speaks next to Boris Tadic.

## *Is extremism and populism the biggest threat to international security?*

*Moderator: Kateryna Yushchenko*, First Lady of Ukraine 2005-2010

**Emil Constantinescu**, President of Romania 1996-2000

**Laimdota Straujuma**, Prime Minister of Latvia 2014-2016

**Hikmet Cetin**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey 1991-1994

**Scilla Elworthy**, founder Oxford Research Group

**Alexander Likhotal**, President Green Cross International

**Amb. Francis O'Donnell**, Institute of International and European Affairs, Ireland

For over a decade, extremism has dominated the international security discourse in one form or another. However, as populist rhetoric gains ground once again, political upheaval at home is now challenging elites just as much as radicalism abroad. In this panel, speakers sought to explore the role of fear and mistrust at the heart of both challenges – and how to address them effectively.

At least when it came to the root of the problem, there was some disagreement among the panel. Emil Constantinescu argued that modern populism has its roots in political correctness, which has limited the window of acceptable public discourse and hid tensions in the shadows instead of allowing them to be aired. Despite its noble intentions, Constantinescu felt that political correctness represents a “utopian doctrine” which merely curtails freedom of speech. The refugee crisis in Europe can therefore be seen as a “pressure valve” for these long-hidden sentiments, as well as the ideal platform for populists to build upon.

However, not all speakers agreed: rather than being spontaneous, grassroots movements, some argued that populism and extremism represent calculated manipulations of public sentiment. Laimdota Straujuma claimed that the figureheads of these movements are just a different elite, channelling citizens’ anger and resentment for their own ends. This is particularly true in the US and UK, where wealthy establishment figures like Donald Trump and Nigel Farage have enjoyed political success on the back of an “everyman” image.

Kateryna Yushchenko echoed this point, noting that “populism is more a tactic than an ideology,” deployed by elites of all colours as a potent way of rallying support. In Ukraine, the populists of the 1990s were left-wing, draping themselves in the flag while objecting to market reforms; today, the right-wing engages in the same nationalist rhetoric to whip up

public anger against Russia. In each case, the message was clear: making extraordinary promises to ordinary people and using identity politics to consolidate faith in the cause. What works for political fringe groups also works for extremist ideologies, and an irrational fear of the “other” can be used to promote terrorism just as much as xenophobic policies at the ballot box.

*“Globalisation, deregulation and regulatory capture are just as much of a threat to democracy as populism, and also a cause of it. What should the role of the state be?”*

Francis O’Donnell

How can such polarising forces be tackled? The panel agreed that education is important, as well as inclusion, especially of women. Scilla Elworthy referred to the example of Rwanda, whose elected MPs have been 64% women since the genocide in 1994. In Ireland, two female Presidents have been instrumental in healing religious tensions and building a national identity which rises above historical grievances. Inclusion, with its reparative effect on social bonds, may yet be the key to greater faith in the political process – as well as an “insurance policy” against extremism. Answers can also come from hyper-local conflict prevention mechanisms: over 1,400 such examples have been identified throughout the world, including a counter-radicalisation programme in Pakistan’s Swat Valley which has led hundreds of young men away from radicalism.

It may not be quite that simple. Populism and extremism arise from fear and exclusion, but addressing them fears may be outside the control of politicians and governments. Globalisation and neoliberalism, as well as centuries of scientific and cultural change, have slowly eroded the traditional social structures and religious authorities which served as a kind of societal “glue.” Although these influences have been largely positive, the global community has yet to address the feelings of alienation and mistrust which feed populist narratives. This is evidenced most recently in the current concerns over “fake news” – symptomatic of people seeking comfort and familiarity in a changing world. These challenges rise beyond all policy, and speak instead to our fundamental humanity. In such a case, populism and extremism will be perennial threats to stability until we can reach a new collective dynamic between individuals and the global order.

*“People whose skills are inadequate or outdated for modern jobs are the support base for populism.”*

Laimdota Straujuma



*“We are responding to the sum of fears, as opposed to the sum of facts.”*

Alexander Likhotal

## *Side meeting: Building a Baltic/Black Sea Security Community: Towards an Action Plan*

**Genadiy Burbulis**, first deputy Prime Minister of Russia 1991-1992, Secretary of State

**Petar Stoyanov**, President of Bulgaria 1999-2002

**Petru Lucinschi**, President of Moldova 1997-2001

**Valdis Zatlers**, President of Latvia 2007-2011

**Iryna Vereshchuk**, President of the Black Sea Baltic Sea Center, Ukraine

**Aleksander Kwasniewski**, President of Poland 1995-2005

A meeting composed of former leaders from states around the Black and Baltic Sea presented joint initiative called the Black Sea Baltic Sea Research Centre. The Centre is to be used as a vehicle to use the experience and soft power of former statesmen of the region to further cooperation and dialogue to address the problems and tensions facing the region. The Centre is based on the common values of its members and a commitment to peace and common security. It will function by coordinating dialogues on the pressing issues of today and would provide former leaders, intellectuals and students a platform to impart their ideas and experiences, to lead to a better future for their countries and the region as a whole.

Genadiy Burbulis introduced the initiative noting its flexibility, knowledge and experience afforded former leaders them with the opportunity to discuss issues in the region without constraints and to reach a consensus more easily. The experience of former leaders is to be used as a tool for positive change and greater peace. He emphasised the voice of the youth was equally important to the initiative's success. The Centre will work with local universities to foster dialogue to facilitate an inter-generational dialogue, combining the wisdom and experience of former leaders with the energy and perspective of the region's youth. Petar Stoyanov then expressed his solidarity with the initiative: "when we stop talking to each other it means failure" he said.

Petru Lucinschi noted the Black Sea Baltic Sea Research Centre should be independent and provide an apolitical platform for dialogue between former leaders from Russia and the countries around the Baltic and Black Seas to address tensions in the region.

Valdis Zatlers challenged the categorisation of Baltic and Black Sea countries as "Buffer States" – defined by geopolitical struggles between world powers – and reminded the participants of the many frozen and hot conflicts that exist in the region. The Centre offered the possibility for these nations to discuss solutions to these conflicts.

Aleksander Kwasniewski made it clear that the most important factor would be the involvement of Russian voices. Relations with Russia are frozen, he noted, and more dialogue is needed because the status quo was not working.

Iryna Vereshchuk, Director of the Centre, gave the participants additional information on the goals and plans of the Centre. The main goal of Centre was to use the unique political and developmental experiences of its members to share best practices and devise common solutions. The centre would strive to give a wider platform for peace and dialogue, to develop the region economically and to guarantee security.



Valdis Zatlers and Iryna Vereshchuk.

# Meeting Agenda

## March 16

### 10:00 – 11:00      **Opening Ceremony**

Ilham Aliyev, President of the Republic of Azerbaijan

Vaira Vike-Freiberga, Co-Chair NGIC, President of Latvia 1999-2007

Sergio Mattarella, President of the Italian Republic (message)

Theresa May, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (message)

Ismail Serageldin, Co-Chair NGIC, Director Library of Alexandria

### 11:00 – 11:30      **Coffee break**

### 11:30 – 13:00      **The Future of International Relations**

*Moderator:* Ismail Serageldin, Co-Chair NGIC, Director Library of Alexandria

Filip Vujanovic, President of Montenegro

Gjorge Ivanov, President of the Republic of Macedonia

Bujar Nishani, President of Albania

Giorgi Margvelashvili, President of the Republic of Georgia

Raimonds Vejonis, President of the Republic of Latvia

HRH Turki AlFaisal, Chairman of the King Faisal Center for Research & Islamic Center

### 13:00 – 14:30      **Lunch**

### 14:30 – 16:00      **The Future of Transatlantic Relations: Back to Realpolitik?**

*Moderator:* Vaira Vike-Freiberga, Co-Chair NGIC, President of Latvia 1999-2007

Rosen Plevneliev, President of Bulgaria 2012-2017

Amre Moussa, Secretary General, Arab League 2001-2011

Boris Tadic, President of Serbia 2004-2012

Julio Cesar Cobos, Vice President of Argentina 2007-2011

Rosalia Arteaga, President of Ecuador 1997

Kateryna Yushchenko, First Lady of Ukraine 2005-2010

### 16:00 – 16:30      **Coffee Break**

**16:30 – 18:00      Parallel Panels****A: The Challenges of Addressing Modern Terrorism: Tools, Tactics and Strategies?**

*Moderator:* Ismail Serageldin, Co-Chair NGIC, Director Library of Alexandria

Faisal El-Fayez, President of the Senate, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

Ziyad Abu Amr, deputy Prime Minister of Palestine

Mohamed Dayri, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Libya

Franco Frattini, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy 2002-2004; 2008-2011

Rexhep Meidani, President of Albania 1997-2002

Manouchehr Mottaki, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iran 2005-2010

Karim Khalili, Vice President of Afghanistan 2004-2014

Novruz Mammadov, Deputy Head of the Administration of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan

**B: What Alliances will be Built in The Forging of Modern International Relations?**

*Moderator:* Eka Tkeshelashvili, Deputy Prime Minister of Georgia 2010-2012

Petar Stoyanov, President of Bulgaria 1997-2002

Rosalia Arteaga, President of Ecuador 1997

Ivo Josipovic, President of Croatia 2010-2015

Edmund Alphandery, Minister of Finance of France 1993-1995

Petre Roman, Prime Minister of Romania 1989-1991

Nicholas Logothetis, Co-Founder & Chairman, Concordia

Ali Hasanov, Head of public-political issues Department of the President's office of the Republic of Azerbaijan

## March 17

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### **09:30 – 11:00 China's role in International Relations: Challenging Old Rules?**

*Moderator:* Gautam Mukunda, assistant Professor Organizational Behavior Unit, HBS

Boris Tadic, President of Serbia 2004-2012

Shaukat Aziz, Prime Minister of Pakistan 2004-2007

Antonio Zanardi Landi, former Diplomatic adviser to the Italian President

Apas Jumagulov, Prime Minister of Kyrgyzstan 1993-1998

Peter Medgyessy, Prime Minister of Hungary 2002-2004

David Qingzhong Pan, Executive Dean of Schwarzman College, Tsinghua University

Edward Luttwak, Senior Associate CSIS Washington DC, Consultant US Government

### **11:00 – 11:30 Coffee Break**

### **11:30 – 13:00 The Future of Europe**

*Keynote:* Mladen Ivanic, Chairman of the Presidency of Bosnia & Herzegovina

*Moderator:* Zlatko Lagumdžija, Prime Minister of Bosnia & Herzegovina 2001-2002

Alexander Kwasniewski, President of Poland 1995-2005

Yves Leterme, Prime Minister of Belgium 2008; 2009-2011

Daniilo Turk, President of Slovenia 2007-2012

Wim Kok, Prime Minister of the Netherlands 1994-2002

Valdis Zatlers, President of Latvia 2007-2011

Jan Fischer, Prime Minister of the Czech Republic 2009-2010

Franco Frattini, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy 2002-2004; 2008-2011

### **13:00 – 14:30 Lunch**

### **14:30 – 16:00 Youth Speaks, We Listen**

Selected 16 finalist of the Young Leaders program will address the modern world's challenges from the young generation's perspective and share their insights with the participants of the Forum.

### **16:00 – 16:30 Coffee Break**

**16:30 – 18:00      Parallel Panels:****A: Is Extremism and Populism the Biggest Threat to International Security?**

*Moderator:* Kateryna Yushchenko, First Lady of Ukraine 2005-2010

Emil Constantinescu, President of Romania 1996-2000

Laimdota Straujuma, Prime Minister of Latvia 2014-2016

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

Scilla Elworthy, founder Oxford Research Group

Alexander Likhotal, President Green Cross International

Amb. Francis O'Donnel, Institute of International and European Affairs, Ireland

**B: Building a Baltic/Black Sea Security Community: Towards an Action Plan**

*Moderator:* Genadiy Burbulis, first deputy Prime Minister of Russia 1991-1992, Secretary of State

Petar Stoyanov, President of Bulgaria 1999-2002

Petru Lucinschi, President of Moldova 1997-2001

Valdis Zatlers, President of Latvia 2007-2011

Iryna Vereshchuk, President of the Black Sea Baltic Sea Center, Ukraine

**20:00      Closing ceremony (followed by closing dinner)**

Vaira Vike-Freiberga, Co-Chair NGIC, President of Latvia 1999-2007

Mladen Ivanic, Chairman of the Presidency of Bosnia & Herzegovina

Bujar Nishani, President of Albania

Raimonds Vejonis, President of the Republic of Latvia

Filip Vujanovic, President of Montenegro

Ismail Serageldin, Co-Chair NGIC, Director Library of Alexandria

# List of Participants

## **Ilham Aliyev**

President of the Republic of Azerbaijan

## **Gjorge Ivanov**

President of the Republic of Macedonia

## **Maja Ivanova**

First Lady of the Republic of Macedonia

## **Ivan Ivanov**

Son of President

## **Mladen Ivanic**

Chairman of the Presidency of Bosnia & Herzegovina

## **Giorgi Margvelashvili**

President of Georgia

## **Bujar Nishani**

President of the Republic of Albania

## **Odeta Nishani**

First Lady of the Republic of Albania

## **Raimonds Vejonis**

President of the Republic of Latvia

## **Filip Vujanovic**

President of Montenegro

## **Ziad Abu Amr**

Deputy Prime Minister of Palestine

## **Faisal El-Fayez**

President of the Senate, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

## **HRH Turki Al Faisal**

Chairman of the Board, King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies

## **Vaira Vike-Freiberga**

President of Latvia 1999-2007, Co-Chair NGIC

## **Ismail Serageldin**

Director Library of Alexandria, Co-Chair NGIC

## **Fareed Zakaria**

Host of CNN's Fareed Zakaria GPS

## **Shaukat Aziz**

Prime Minister of Pakistan 2004-2007

## **Sali Berisha**

President of Albania 1992-1997

## **Dumitru Braghis**

Prime Minister of Moldova 1999-2001

## **Jean Omer Beriziky**

Prime Minister of Madagascar 2011-2014

## **Julio Cobos**

Vice President of Argentina 2007-2011

## **Emil Constantinescu**

President of Romania 1996-2000

## **Mirko Cvetkovic**

Prime Minister of Serbia 2008-2014

## **Mohamed Dayri**

Minister of Foreign Affairs of Libya

## **Jan Fischer**

Prime Minister of the Czech Republic 2009-2010

## **HRH Asharaje Gaekwad**

Princess of Baroda

## **Dalia Itzik**

President of Israel 2007, Knesset 2006-2009

## **Ivo Josipovic**

President of Croatia 2010-2015

## **Karim Khalili**

Vice President of Afghanistan 2004-2014

## **Wim Kok**

Prime Minister of the Netherlands 1994-2002

## **Aleksander Kwasniewski**

President of Poland 1995-2005

## **Zlatko Lagumdzija**

Prime Minister Bosnia & Herzegovina 2001-2002

## **Vytautas Landsbergis**

President of Lithuania 1990-1992

## **Yves Leterme**

Prime Minister of Belgium 2008; 2009-2011

## **Petru Lucinschi**

President of Moldova 1997-2001

## **Abdelsalam Majali**

Prime Minister of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan 1993-95; 97-98

## **Lothar de Maiziere**

Prime Minister of East Germany 1990

## **Rexhep Meidani**

President of Albania 1997-2002

## **Stjepan Mesic**

President of Croatia 2000-2010

## **Peter Medgyessy**

Prime Minister of Hungary 2002-2004

## **Taher Masri**

Prime Minister of Jordan 1991

## **Abdiweli Mohamed Ali**

Prime Minister of Somalia 2011-2012

## **Amre Moussa**

Secretary-General of the Arab League 2001-2011

## **Punsalmaagiin Ochirbat**

President of Mongolia 1990-1997

## **Rosen Plevneliev**

President of the Republic of Bulgaria 2012-2017

## **Rodi Kratsa**

MEP 1999-2014 & Vice-President European Parliament 2007-2012

**Abdelraouf Al-Rawabdeh**

Prime Minister of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan 199-2001

**Oscar Ribas Reig**

Prime Minister of Andorra 1982-84; 1990-94

**Aldo Rebelo**

Chief of Staff Brazil

**Petre Roman**

Prime Minister of Romania 1989-1991

**Petar Stoyanov**

President of Bulgaria 1997-2002

**Laimdota Straujuma**

Prime Minister of Latvia 2014-2016

**Rosalía Arteaga Serrano**

President of Ecuador 1997

**Boris Tadic**

President of Serbia 2004-2012

**Danilo Turk**

President of Republic of Slovenia 2007-2012

**Marianna Vardinoyannis**

Goodwill Ambassador of UNESCO, BoT Member NGIC

**Valdis Zatlers**

President of Latvia 2007-2011

**Gennady Burbulis**

First Deputy Prime Minister to the Russian Federation 1991-

**Apas Dzhumagulov**

Prime Minister of Kyrgyzstan 1993-1998

**Edmond Alphandery**

Minister of Economy of France 1993-1995

**Abdulaziz Altwajri**

Director General ISESCO

**Luka Bebic**

Speaker of the Croatian Parliament 2008-11, Minister of De-

**Hikmet Cetin**

Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey 1991-1994

**Franco Frattini**

Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy 2002-2004; 2008-2011

**Kazem Jalali**

Member of the Parliament of Iran and President of the Majlis

**Antonio Zanardi Landi**

Former diplomatic advisor to the President of Italy

**David Merkel**

Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European

**Manouchehr Mottaki**

Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iran 2005-2010

**Eka Tkeshelashvili**

Deputy Prime Minister of Georgia (2010-2012)

**Vyacheslav Trubnikov**

Former First Deputy of Foreign Minister of Russia

**Thomas Axworthy**

Secretary General, Interaction Council

**Almazbek Baatyrbekov**

Member of the Parliament, Kyrgyzstan

**Juan de Dios Cincunegui**

DG of International Relations in the Honorable Chamber of

**Scilla Elworthy**

Founder, Oxford Research Group

**Enrico Fardella**

Associate Professor, History Department, Peking University

**Wang Fusheng**

President of Gansu Academy of Social Sciences

**Aira Kalela**

Senior Advisor to President Tarja Halonen

**Alexander Likhotal**

President, Green Cross International

**Nicholas Logothetis**

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Senior associate, Center for Strategic and International Stud-

**Gautam Mukunda**

Assistant Professor, Organizational Behavior Unit, Harvard

**Ahmad Naseem Shah**

Dean Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Kashmir, India

**Hans Peter Semneby**

Ambassador of Sweden to Afghanistan

**Ezzat Yussef**

Managing Editor of Al-Ahram newspaper

**Ivo Slaus**

Honorary President World Academy of Art and Sciences

**Bakhadyr Suleimanov**

Committee on International Affairs, Defense and Security,  
Parliament of Kyrgyzstan

**Matthew Swift**

Co-Founder, Chairman and CEO, Concordia

**Akkan Suver**

President of the Marmara Group Foundation

**Shamil Ayrim**

Vice President of the Marmara Group Foundation and former  
Member of Parliament

**Francis O'Donnell**

Ambassador (ret.), Institute of International & European Af-  
fairs (Ireland)

**David Qingzhong Pan**

Executive Dean of Schwarzman College, Tsinghua University

**Harry Wall**

CEO, Wall and Associates International Strategy and Public  
Policy

**Elena Skomorokhina****Jerome Noulens****Abdullah Alenezi****Wassim Alrasamni****Akylbek Zhamangulov**

Member of the Parliament, Kyrgyzstan

**Quan Yuan**

Chief Producer and Director CCTV, China

**Ragnhild Thori****DIPLOMATIC CORPUS****Giampaolo Cutillo**

Ambassador, Italy

**Umberto Boeri**

Deputy Head of Mission, Italy

**Juris Maklakovs**

Ambassador, Latvia

**Malena Mard**

EU Ambassador

**Rodrigo Labardini**

Ambassador, Mexico

**Vladimir Dorokhin**

Ambassador, Russia

**Teimuraz Sharashenidze**

Ambassador, Georgia

**George Loria**

Counselor, Georgia

**Aleksandre Sakvarelidze**

Protocol, Georgia

**Abdul Rahman Roslan**

Ambassador, Malaysia

**Philipp Stalder**

Ambassador, Switzerland

**Marek Calka**

Ambassador, Poland

**Marta Galindo**

Ambassador, Colombia

**Ibrahim Al-Jaafari**

Ambassador, Iraq

**Gheorghe Leuca**

Ambassador, Moldova

**Bard Ivar Svendsen**

Ambassador, Norway

**Theresa Schönfeld**

Chargé d'Affaires, Germany

**Gennady Akhramovich**

Ambassador, Belarus

**Suzanne Gamil Nouh**

Ambassador, Egypt

**Bert Schoofs**

Ambassador, Belgium

**Dragana Filipovic**

Ambassador, Council of Europe

**Yevhen Yankovskyi**

First Secretary, Ukraine

**Husnan Bey Fananie**

Ambassador, Indonesia

**Sanjay Rana**

Ambassador, India

**Dimitrios G. Tsoungas**

Ambassador, Greece

**Sherzod Fayziev**

Ambassador, Uzbekistan

**Maya Hristova**

Ambassador, Bulgaria

**Carlos Dante Riva**

Ambassador, Argentina

**Javanshir Akhundov**

Azerbaijan Ambassador to Latvia

**Jose Luis Diez Juerez**

Ambassador, Spain

**Dan Iancu**

Ambassador of Romania in Azerbaijan

**Cristian Coroma**

Deputy Head of Mission, Romania

**Ciprian Mirica**

Consul, Romania

**Bauyrzhan Dosmanbetov**

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This meeting report was written by Peace My Way.  
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