

**Nizami Ganjavi International Center**



# Towards a Multipolar World

## March 2016

**Meeting Report Fourth Global Baku Forum 2016**

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*“We come to the conclusion that we would like to live in a world where rights are respected and people protected. If we had that we would have trust, development, and peace.”*

**Vaira Vike-Freiberga**



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## Foreword

This fourth Baku Forum was very special. It addressed the truly global issue of our times. What kind of world are we going to live in for much of the 21st century? And the vision that emerges from the many distinguished interventions is one of a multi-polar world. And yet, the reality of tensions and conflicts shows that this multi-polarity is not one of structured cooperation and mutual support. Far from it. It is one of competition and strife. Indeed, since global leaders last convened in Baku, the world has become less stable, there is continued weakness at the UN, while Globalization continues to have profound impact in country after country.

### Four pressing cases

Our Global Baku Forum was unique for having a first part where present sitting leaders spoke about the global challenges of today's world. But we also organized four plenary panels to benefit from the experience and wisdom of many former leaders and get their insights on the world's most pressing cases, beginning with Syria, Ukraine, Iran and Afghanistan. Each of these four cases represents a complex and different configuration of direct actors and the sponsors behind them and what they hope to achieve.

Syria is an all-out war where hundreds of thousands have died and more are falling every day. The conflict there is also pushing hundreds of thousands of refugees to breach European borders in search of asylum. Regional and global powers are



*Ismail Serageldin, Co-Chair of the Nizami Ganjavi International Center, opens the 4<sup>th</sup> Global Baku Forum.*

behind every faction, and crafting peace there would take into account many contextual factors and many complex historical narratives.

Ukraine is testing the limits of the authority of signed agreements in changing times, and the continuity of interplay of regional interests in the face of weak national structures. In retrospect, was giving up the nuclear weapons a wise decision?

Iran raises the issue of a nation that wants to acquire nuclear weapons in a fairly volatile region. It was part of radical Islamic nation wanting its role as a true regional power in the face of Israeli military power and asserting its Persian Shia identity confronting predominantly Sunni Arab states of varying degrees of solidity and secularism. But the whole region is locked in various inter-related conflicts exacerbated by the Iraq war and the collapse of many governments in the wake of the revolutions and popular uprisings of the Arab Spring of 2011.

Afghanistan. That is where Islamic extremism first reared its ugly head in the modern era. Initially nurtured by the USA to counter the soviet invasion forces, the Mujahideen would soon spawn the Taliban and Al-Qaidah, one which took over power in Afghanistan and the other launching the deadliest terrorist attack in the world on 9/11 of 2001. The long war that involved NATO forces in Afghanistan itself is winding down, but the democratic elections and the efforts at building the foundations of a modern nation remain fragile till now.

But these cases were just a few from the many that could have been analyzed. Here our thematic panels looked at the issues that crossed geographic boundaries and unleashed different sorts of profound forces onto the world scene.

## Broader Thematic Considerations

If we look at the results of the unstoppable drive for globalization of communications, capital movements and trade, we will have to acknowledge that it has been accompanied by increasing inequality within countries and widening gaps between the poorest countries and the rest of the world. How countries can capture the benefits that are offered by globalization without having to suffer the rising inequalities that tend to undermine social cohesion and political stability in countries around the world.

So the conference went much further, and looked beyond the individual country cases to address the broad thematic issues of our time. We looked at

1. Radicalization and migration
2. Energy security
3. Global inequality
4. Human rights and women's empowerment
5. Interfaith dialogue
6. Multi-culturalism and integration

I believe that each of these themes deserves a major conference of its own. But I will limit my observations at this point to two of the big issues.

## The Muslim World: Radicalization and cleavages

Most important of the many cleavages that exist at present is the split between the Muslim world and the non-Muslim world. Here within the large Muslim world that covers Muslim-majority countries stretching from Morocco to Indonesia and from central Asia to the heart of Africa, there are major conflicts. These lands have become fertile ground for extremist and violent political movements that try to provide legitimacy for their barbaric ideologies by proclaiming a bigoted and distorted pseudo-Islamic religious discourse as they play upon the problems of inequity and frustrated national dreams of youth in many of these societies. These intolerant currents blame the west generally and the US specifically for the failures of their societies and attack non-Muslims as well as moderate liberal Muslims who do not agree with their dogmatic, intolerant versions of Islam. These increasingly strident and bigoted groups are waging war on all who disagree with them, and have carried out campaigns of terror in their vicinity and beyond, into the heart of the western countries themselves.

But beyond the ferocity of the intra-Muslim fighting and the endless conflicts that have destroyed any semblance of the authority of the state in many places, the extremist, violent part of the Muslim Ummah is being challenged by more learned and moderate groups who want to change the prevalent religious discourse and who believe that if military and security measures are necessary to re-establish the rule of law and the authority of the state, ideas are only ultimately destroyed by ideas.

So, Intra-faith and inter-faith dialogue is badly needed and should be intensified where it already exists. Yet there are some considerable obstacles to be overcome, including the recognition of the universality of human rights and the absolute centrality of women's empowerment and that the world's great religions all need to find their own paths to acknowledge the critical importance of these issues.

## Inequalities

So if we go back from that set of issues to the problems of inequalities globally, regionally and locally, we must also acknowledge the multi-dimensional reality of the notions of inequality.

We must also acknowledge the multi-dimensional reality of inequality, which is not just about income. Rather, it is that the people concerned consider the whole process is fundamentally unfair. The weak feel disenfranchised, marginalized, excluded and always living on the edge without firm prospects to look forward to. If we are to address that rising inequality we need to understand the mechanisms through which multiple inequalities interact and are created, maintained, and reproduced. We need to go way beyond the statistical aspects of income and jobs, and attend to culture, social norms and values, and religion, as well as to material economy, politics and resources.

If new political programs are to be effective in addressing the issues of rising inequalities they need to be designed to address the insights that emerge from the applications of the insights generated by new techniques of social sciences. We must complement statistical measurement with subjective assessments of people's relative well-being across a range of indicators (social acceptance, personal safety, health, education, housing, employment, financial stability, community influence, etc.), disaggregated by characteristics relevant to discrimination. Anthropological and participatory approaches go further, encouraging even key concepts, criteria and meanings to be defined by people themselves, according to local language, experience, history and identity. If we do not combine the standard global statistical analysis with these more local in depth realities, the anger will continue to build up among the disadvantaged, and the policies and programs that are being designed will be ineffective in addressing the socio-economic and cultural dimensions of inequality.

Effective programs based on insightful analysis will be needed to develop truly inclusive societies. Business as usual cannot be allowed to continue. The revolt of the masses is already on the march: witness the unfolding American election, witness the rise of the right wing protest parties in Europe.

## Envoi

Finally, a salute to the youth who will fashion the future and bend it to their dreams. I was therefore delighted that in this distinguished meeting at Baku the organizers made room for a group of "Young Leaders" to present their view on the current state of the world and to sketch out their potential solutions to key challenges.

So, on the whole, our conference was profound and instructive, but it still raised important questions that deserve more in depth discussion. The delineation of the program for Baku 5 is beginning to emerge from these valuable questions left only partially answered. So let us get ready to meet again in 2017 and carry this thoughtful discussion further to an effective vision of a future where human values are respected, where our common humanity is celebrated and where gender balance is achieved and where sharing inclusive societies become the norm not the exception.

**Ismail Serageldin**

Co-Chair of the Nizami Ganjavi International Center



## Executive Summary

On 10-11 March 2016, key figures in global politics, invited by the Nizami Ganjavi International Center, discussed the challenges to a multipolar world. Attended by 51 current and former Presidents and Prime Ministers and over 300 ambassadors, government officials, members of civil society, and leading scholars.

Building on the findings of the 2015 Baku Forum, dedicated to building trust in the emerging world order, this year’s event addressed high-priority issues such as the crises in Syria and Ukraine, the threats of radicalisation and energy insecurity, as well as the promises of reconciliation, inclusion and a more equitable global economy. Speakers explored these questions through the prism of multipolarity, with the resurgence of Russia and the rehabilitation of Iran’s role in the region. This year’s Baku Forum also focused on human rights, economic empowerment and inter-faith dialogue as keys to peaceful co-existence, and highlighted the growing interconnectedness among peoples and countries through technology.

The Global Baku Forum was divided into two main parts. Firstly, present leaders spoke about the global challenges of today’s world; from there on, four plenary panels and six parallel panels assessed the most pressing cases, beginning with Syria, Ukraine, Iran and Afghanistan, and continuing with thematic issues: radicalisation and migration; energy security; global inequality; human rights and women’s empowerment; interfaith dialogue; and multiculturalism and integration. A group of “Young Leaders” also presented their view on the current state of the world and potential solutions to key challenges in a plenary session.



The location for the 4<sup>th</sup> Global Baku Forum – The Four Seasons Hotel in Baku.



## Outcomes

Since global leaders last convened in Baku, the world has become less stable. The war in Syria – like the conflict in Ukraine – represents the weakness of the international community in this regard: foreign interventions driven by individual rather than coherent international strategic interests, the lack of dialogue between religious and political actors, and impotent global governance. A result of, and compounding the problem, are the millions of refugees who have fled conflict to Europe, Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan, arousing xenophobia and political unrest in a European Union already weakened by resurgent nationalism, and impacting the economy and stability of host countries. The lack of union of all international actors have stymied peace talks, condemning Syria to further humanitarian catastrophe.

Participants highlighted that Europe's reluctance to shoulder its responsibility in hosting Syrian refugees has only heightened since last year's terrorist attacks in Paris, which exacerbated existing fears over religious extremism in European Muslim communities. It also results from wider socio-economic inequalities, with immigrants an easy target in the face of widespread unemployment and dispossession. Leaders recognised that as long as globalisation continues to disproportionately benefit a small elite to the detriment of all others, such tensions will continue – and may yet have global repercussions. Overcoming the challenges faced by today's world therefore requires economic empowerment, inter-cultural and interfaith dialogue and a more responsible global politics, all of which all play a role in the construction of a more peaceful world.

As discussed during the two days, the world is thus becoming increasingly multipolar, a theme that emerged on subjects such as energy security and multiculturalism. Speakers affirmed that there must be a better and more frank dialogue between people, governments and cultures about mutual ambitions and shared values. New technologies make such communication easier than ever, and they must be harnessed to this effect.

Given its position as the leading organ of international relations, the UN is reasonably expected to serve as a primary forum for dialogue, as well as a conflict mediator. Participants of the Forum voiced repeatedly that the UN system is falling short in its obligations as a global guarantor of peace and security, and that reform is necessary. This feeds into a wider trend identified by speakers in Baku; namely, the perception that politics as a whole is distant and unresponsive in the face of global politics, and new solutions are needed. Therefore, leaders need to collectively rebuild the authority of global institutions in the name of peace and security, and engage all of humanity in the process.

## Young Leaders

Sustainable solutions to global issues require wisdom and fresh thinking. Conscious of this fact, the Nizami Ganjavi International Center sought to include the voices of the next generation of policy-makers at the 4th Global Baku Forum, inviting 16 "Young Leaders" from around the world to address the Forum. They offered their own perspectives on issues as diverse as food security, tolerance and the sharing economy, and explored what today's challenges could mean for tomorrow's world in an engaging and thought-provoking panel discussion. One of the highlights of the conference, the NGIC will seek to develop the role of the Young Leaders at future Baku Fora.

## Retrospective and Next Steps

The 4th Global Baku Forum successfully brought together key thinkers from across the world, and stimulated dialogue on some of the key challenges facing an increasingly multipolar world. Of still greater significance are the concrete proposals which the Forum produced for the international community to work towards – the so-called Baku 20. Such action points represent a vital contribution to today's leaders, and reaffirm the value and efficacy of dialogue as a means to a better world. In this spirit, the 5th Global Baku Forum is already in the planning stages, and is scheduled to take place in April 2017.

# The Challenges of Today's World

1. The conflict in this world, including the war in Syria, have exposed the divisions and impotence of the international community, and drawn major powers with competing ambitions into armed conflict.
2. The brutality of terrorist organisations like the self-proclaimed Islamic State seems to know no bounds and no solutions.
3. The refugee crisis in Europe represents the world's largest humanitarian challenge in decades, and yet the continent is paralysed by inaction and intolerance.
4. At a time when global leadership is sorely needed, the United Nations seems to have lost its authority as an arbiter of international peace and dialogue, and international legal norms seem to have lost their relevance.
5. The COP21 deal has proven humanity's capability to act as one in the face of climate change, but this maturity has yet to be seen in the face of other global issues.
6. Technology offers us new and unprecedented opportunities, but its potential as a means for dialogue and governance have yet to be realised.

## The Baku 20

1. For the International Community; to act in responsible ways to resolve the Syria crisis, in full respect of the Geneva Convention and international legal frameworks. Overcome geopolitical interests and stay focused on reducing the plight of all people in Syria.
2. Negotiators need to engage with Russia, acknowledging its role on the world stage and its regional influence, but also to insist on the need for responsible action in conflict resolution.
3. Stop, condemn and sanction selfish and short-sighted foreign interventions in Syria and beyond which destabilise societies and sow the seeds of future conflicts.
4. Foster the emergence of multicultural, integration-based societies, which will be of human, political, cultural but also economic benefit.
5. Invest in and support Iran's economic reform and development to avoid the collapse of the economy and its negative impact in the country's development but to further its integration in the international economic system.
6. Invest in and support Afghanistan's basic economic infrastructure to ensure the development of areas such as agriculture and provide its population with alternatives to shadow economy.
7. That the international community respects the views of all parties to the Ukrainian conflict but also acknowledges their own role and involvement and responsibility in the resolution. This includes Ukrainian and Russian actors, but also the European Union, maintaining Ukrainian sovereignty.
8. Design and promote reforms that support Ukraine's transition to a more transparent political sector, without the interference of oligarchic structures, and for economic reforms.
9. Include more women leaders as speakers and moderators in the panels of the 5th Global Baku Forum, planned for 2017.
10. Promote the political participation of women not as a matter of quotas, but by supporting their active engagement in political institutions and systems. Establish a clear definition of women's empowerment at the political level and actively address the issue of still existing machismo in the public sphere and actively bring cases to court that have an evidence of discrimination.
11. Unify all oil-producing countries under a single international hydrocarbon regime to ensure a stable oil price which benefits both producers and importers of energy.
12. Create energy policies which emphasize development and cooperation rather than exploitation only. Support developing countries in the exploitation of their renewable resources, and improve the attractiveness of investing in green energy.
13. Hold leaders responsible for economic and political inequalities, and the disillusionment which they create, through public advocacy and sanctions.
14. Allow ZERO tolerance of corruption at all levels in order to restore faith in the political process, fostering a new generation of political leadership.
15. Include the voices of developing countries in global decision-making processes that have an impact on their wealth and development.
16. Engage in honest, transparent and inclusive dialogue about what our common ambitions for human equality are in the 21st century.
17. Decisively fight against the people-traffickers who exploit refugees in their hour of need.
18. Create a proper infrastructure for migration, and provide the necessary training and logistical resources in order allow dignified migratory flows. Allow citizens to participate more in that infrastructure.
19. Promote and change the migration narrative in Europe, avoiding sensationalism in the media and promoting human values on all sides.
20. Respect the established cultural norms of host countries whilst avoiding aggressive attempted assimilation.



## Introduction

Since the Baku Forum that was held in April 2015, we have seen an intensification of the numerous security and humanitarian challenges facing the international community. Perhaps more than ever, regional crises have provoked global repercussions. 2015 was affected by unique dynamics that showed the interconnectedness of our world, and our helplessness in the face of complex crises, causing millions to suffer. From Syria to Ukraine, global leaders have attested to the growing complexity of international security. At the same time, this complexity has brought radicalisation and violence, and an unprecedented migration flow that has divided even stable continents such as the European Union. The world lives in increasing inequality; much power is no longer in the control of democratic states, but lies elsewhere. Clearly, 2015 reveals the shift to a multipolar world which we have yet to understand.

*"Since we met last year, the world has become a more dangerous place. Our region changed dramatically, with new conflicts and threats. Our main goal is to play our role to reduce tensions; otherwise, the situation will continue to deteriorate in the future."*

Ilham Aliyev

In Ukraine, where no resolution to its conflict appears to be in sight in the short term, the prospect of a de facto Iron Curtain running through the east of the country seems a real possibility. Entering its second year of war, Ukraine highlights the growing gap between Eastern and Western powers.

*Ilham Aliyev, President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, welcomes the participants to his country.*

Similarly, in Syria, competing foreign interventions have compounded a conflict which was already fiendishly complex, further deepening the gulf between Russia and the West in the process.

Following the signature of its nuclear deal last year, Iran – one of the Syrian government's closest allies, and a significant regional power – may yet play a key role in the resolution of Syria's war. What will Iran's return to the world stage mean for the political and economic balance of the region?

Will it be a sufficient impulse for a region underpinned by sectarian loyalties? Leaders should address the role that inter and intra-religious dialogue could play in the region's geopolitics and, furthermore, in the work towards a resolution of the crisis.

Much like the conflict itself, any resolution to the Syrian war will have global dimensions, but the international responsibility to Syria does not end with peace talks. Europe continues to struggle with the arrival of great numbers of migrants from the war-torn region, and humanitarian empathy is losing ground to reactionary xenophobia. At the same time, a common international response is stumbling amid popular scepticism. What does this reluctance – and, at times, hostility – towards migrants mean in the long-term for our values, and what are the prospects for integration in an era of mass migration?

In the wake of numerous terrorist attacks (Paris, Bamako, Beirut or Brussels are just some examples), migration and security policies are increasingly intertwined with profound questions of religion and culture, and – especially in Western countries – existing underlying tensions are returning to the fore. Extreme right-wing movements are on the rise, while it is becoming increasingly clear that "home-grown" religious fundamentalism is a significant problem. As communities divide

along traditional lines of identity in times of uncertainty, can interfaith dialogue help build bridges between them? And, given the increasingly-clear link between socio-economic exclusion and extremism of all kinds, what does it take to create more equal, inclusive societies that can serve as a foundation for a more peaceful, more equitable world?

If economic inclusion is an answer to social division, then the empowerment of women must be a top priority. Encouraging progress can be seen across the world in this area, but there remains a long way to go. As the global balance of power shifts, the international narratives of human rights and gender equality may be at risk of diverging, with states less willing to be bound by "Western" conventions. Can new, innovative power structures be the means to create a more performant global rights regime, or do they pose a risk to the established values of global governance? More broadly, who holds normative power in such uncertain times?

While the challenges abound, the last year has also seen several significant breakthroughs which underscore the continued importance of diplomacy and dialogue, from the Paris climate deal to the international agreement on Iran's nuclear programme. As post-1989 orthodoxies give way to a multipolar world in which nuclear superpowers share the security agenda with religious extremists and armed rebels, it is clear that the world is as distant as ever from the "end of history". But what concrete lessons can the international community draw from current challenges and breakthroughs? In the face of increasing division among peoples and governments, can meaningful cooperation fulfil its promise of peace?

*"Multiculturalism is alive and has a future, but the role of media must be more positive; if all we see are pictures of hatred and confrontation, it leads to alienation, and that is something that cannot be accepted: we are all interconnected and part of one planet. Focusing on the positive examples of multiculturalism will help all of us."*

**Ilham Aliyev**

These are complex questions for challenging times, and competing agendas naturally lead to very different answers. Yet a multipolar world need not be a divided one – it can be an opportunity for positive change, so long as we can achieve greater inclusion, genuine tolerance and a fairer balance of power between rich and poor, women and men, and between faiths.

### The 4th global Baku Forum: A space to explore challenges and solutions for our multipolar world

On 10-11 March 2016, leading figures in global politics gathered in Baku to discuss current cutting edge trends in international relations and human security. Characterised as a "bridge" between East and West, between Europe and Asia, Azerbaijan represents a key for current and former heads of state to meet and discuss the challenges of our time.

Hosted by the President of Azerbaijan, Ilham Aliyev, and organised by the Nizami Ganjavi International Centre (NGIC), the meeting provided a forum for current and former Presidents, Prime Ministers, Ministers and leading experts in the field to assess the current state of the world, the most pressing threats to international security, and potential routes to their resolution, and allowed for the identification of necessary steps to boost trust and joint work among global powers, so that the path to a multipolar world may be one of peace and cooperation.

President Aliyev provided a message of optimism by reminding that "multiculturalism is alive, and has a future"; he encouraged the Forum to concentrate on the positive examples of cooperation around the world, and look for ways to boost the potential of global cooperation based on them. The President reminded all present that no problem in today's world is isolated, but instead has an impact in other regions - as such, global powers must show the willingness to work together towards a peaceful, stable future.

*"It is easy to destabilise and to win a war; but it is much more difficult to win the peace. Broken societies can only be repaired by people, not by great powers."*

**Rosen Plevneliev**

Rosen Plevneliev, President of Bulgaria, encouraged participants to reflect on the implications of the increasingly interconnectedness in our world. The President put the spotlight on Europe's crises: migration, growing racism and terror are putting Europe's traditional power to the test. In his view, "2016 will be a year of uncertainty as we move into a more unstable world", one which can only be address through a principle- and value-based reform of global institutions.

Based on the teachings of Nizami Ganjavi, the great 12th Century poet, the Baku Forum seeks to promote good leadership, equality, tolerance and respect. This report captures the main discussions and outcomes from the different panels, and collects the action points proposed by the Forum. As we prepare for a next edition in 2017, the leaders present, the organisers and the facilitators will look for venues to expand the lessons from this important gathering in order to build a safe, peaceful world.



## Detailed Report

10th of March

### The state of the world today and what we need for tomorrow to tackle the most pressing issues

*Moderator* **James Bolger**  
Prime Minister of  
New Zealand (1990-1997)

**Mladen Ivanic**  
Member of the Presidency  
of Bosnia and Herzegovina

**Bujar Nishani**  
President of the  
Republic of Albania

**Filip Vujanovic**  
President of Montenegro

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

**Giorgi Margvelashvili**  
President of Georgia

**Gro Harlem Brundtland**  
Prime Minister of Norway  
(1981; 1986-89; 1990-96)

**Ehud Barak**  
Prime Minister of Israel (1999-2001)

**Tarja Halonen**  
President of Finland (2000-2012)

In difficult times such as ours, it can be easy to forget that the challenges of war and migration are nothing new; that previous generations have successfully navigated a course to peace and stability through crises perceived as intractable. What lessons can we draw from our common experience of dialogue and conflict resolution? Could the solutions to today's global issues be built on past wisdom?

An apt example of such historical inspiration is to be found carved in stone – literally – in New York City. Moderating the discussions, James Bolger cited "The New Colossus," the poem famously inscribed beneath the Statue of Liberty.



The "family photo" of the 4th Global Baku Forum.

Noting the monument's symbolic role in welcoming immigrants to the United States, he suggested that humanity needs to rediscover its ability to welcome the "tired, poor, huddled masses yearning to breathe free," contrasting this humanitarian impulse with the hostility towards refugees seen today.

The panel also presented their own countries' experiences of war and migration, with lessons of dialogue, tolerance and conflict resolution from recent history promulgated as potential models for the crisis of today. Bosnia-Herzegovina's rapid shift from ethnic conflict to stability and growth was cited as proof of the power of compromise, and Albania's handling of a million Kosovar refugees in the 1990s – despite substantial economic difficulties – seemed to echo Chancellor Merkel's current pragmatic approach. Filip Vujanovic agreed on the need to draw guidance from past successes, giving the post-WWII peace settlement as proof that global cooperation can respond effectively to global crises.

The key to such cooperation is communication. Giorgi Margvelashvili observed that building meaningful relationships, built on rational language and understanding, are they key to progress, and Mr. Vujanovic observed that modern technologies theoretically make this easier than ever. However, this depends on our intelligent use of such technologies, and Gjorge Ivanov noted that terrorists and criminals have adapted much more quickly to these new channels than states. In short, the internet cannot solve our problems in a void – instead, we need to change the content of our discussions, not merely the context.

Given the myriad challenges facing the international community, the speakers struck a note of cautious optimism, with Mr. Ivanov remarking that a crisis can also represent an opportunity. Gro Harlem Brundtland gave the example of the groundbreaking COP21 climate agreement in Paris, which was

built on the failure of previous talks and the subsequent focusing of minds towards a concrete solution. She believes that the COP21 deal marked a turning point for the "maturity" of global cooperation – a point echoed by Ehud Barak, who felt that the global nature of the climate change threat facilitated a successful global response. Tarja Halonen drew similar parallels with the Millennium Development Goals, which – when agreed – represented the most significant social justice agreement of our time.

### **The current challenges for today's world**

- » *The war in Syria has exposed the divisions and impotence of the international community, and drawn major powers with competing ambitions into armed conflict. At the same time, the brutality of ISIS seems to know no bounds.*
- » *The refugee crisis in Europe represents the world's largest humanitarian challenge in decades, and yet the continent is paralysed by inaction and intolerance.*
- » *At a time when global leadership is sorely needed, the UN seems to have lost its authority as an arbiter of international peace and dialogue.*
- » *The COP21 climate deal has proven humanity's capability to act as one, but this maturity has yet to be seen in the face of other global issues.*
- » *Technology offers us new and unprecedented opportunities, but its potential as a means for dialogue and governance have yet to be realised.*

*"We still haven't learned that democracy cannot simply be imported. We continue trying to bring democracy from the outside when there is no press freedom, no NGOs, no rule of law. It is simply not possible to build democracy overnight."*

Hikmet Cetin



*Stjepan Mesic, former President of Croatia, discusses the Syria crisis.*

## Taking Global Responsibility for Syria: Towards an action plan

*Moderator* **Peter Semneby**  
Swedish Ambassador to Syria

**Franco Frattini**  
MFA of Italy  
(2002-2004; 2008-2011)  
President SIOI

**Jean Chretien**  
Prime Minister of Canada  
(1993-2003)

**Stjepan Mesic**  
President of Croatia (2000-2010)

**Amine Gemayel**  
President of Lebanon (1982-1988)

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

The tragedy of the war in Syria, as well as the resultant humanitarian catastrophe deriving from the massive migration flows that have caused a refugee crisis, represents the most seemingly-intractable challenge facing the international community today. Major powers find themselves at loggerheads among Syria's ruined cities, and Europe is struggling to respond to the logistical and cultural shockwaves of mass migration. Suggestions on how to put an end to the conflict are as numerous as the factions within it; in addition to the Syrians' own bloody divisions over the future of their nation, third states have proved themselves equally willing to forcefully defend their strategic interests in Syria. Recent peace talks have offered a glimmer of hope, but the situation remains tense, and a fragile ceasefire seems more likely than a stable resolution at this stage. In this panel, speakers addressed the underlying tensions and errors which led to the war in Syria, as well as the lessons we can learn from them on the long route to peace.



Syria's former status as a multi-cultural state was acknowledged, incorporating with relative success the full spectrum of ethnic and religious identities from across the Middle East. Hikmet Cetin, former Foreign Minister of Turkey, and Jean Chretien, former Prime Minister of Canada both observed that – although arguably not a democracy – Assad's secular rule at least provided balance, ensuring that no group felt marginalised or persecuted. This delicate balance was upset by both the Arab Spring and international meddling, with Stjepan Mesic (President of Croatia between 2000 and 2010) noting that the West's preference for democracy over stability led to a dangerously dogmatic opposition to Assad's rule among decision-makers. Indeed, Franco Frattini, former Foreign Minister of Italy, spoke out against missteps from several major powers, criticising American and EU disengagement as a blow to their "soft power." Conversely, others were critical of over-activity on the part of third states, with Mr. Mesic observing that previous Western intervention in Iraq had laid the ground for the eventual formation of ISIS. In any case, it was clear that the international community had misjudged the situation in Syria, believing that Assad would quickly lose power during the Arab Spring and underestimating Russia's commitment to his regime.

The panel were also agreed that the Syrian crisis has been aggravated by sectarian tensions, with Amine Gemayel, former Prime Minister of Lebanon, referring to a new schism among Syrians, reinforced by the respective religious alignments of third-party actors such as Iran and Saudi Arabia. This mirrors an increasing Sunni-Shia divide across the Middle East as a whole – notably in Yemen – which risks engulfing the Middle

East. In addition to this religious context, there is also a geopolitical layer to the war, with regional stakeholders divided according to their allegiances with either the United States or Russia. In any case, Syria represents – or has become – a proxy war for competing religious, political and strategic ambitions.

Given the international community's key role in the conflict, dialogue between these major players is a crucial step to resolving the crisis. Peace talks in Geneva are a key first step, but Russia must be increasingly involved in finding a long-term settlement. Mr. Gemayel observed that including Moscow could break the US-Russia deadlock over a variety of issues, as it would give a resurgent Russia the credibility and influence which it desires on the world stage. Furthermore, President Putin's leverage over Assad could prove useful in the creation of a future Syrian government.

All panellists agreed that the UN must play a greater role, with the Geneva conventions seen as a vital blueprint for international cooperation. The future of Syria itself, on the other hand, remains less clear – will it be possible to maintain the "added value" that a culturally-diverse Syria once brought to the region? Stjepan Mesic, drawing parallels with Yugoslavia, felt that progress could only be made by acknowledging that the former state of affairs is no longer viable; others were more confident. Hikmet Cetin summed up the current mood observing that the question of "what's next?" has failed to summon any workable proposal for over five years.

### Action points from the panel:

- ✓ *Adhere to and respect the UN and Geneva Convention's role in maintaining international order, and work at this level to resolve the Syria crisis.*
- ✓ *Engage fully with Russia, acknowledging its role on the world stage and its regional influence as potential means to reach a resolution.*
- ✓ *Recognise the consequences that both international intervention and disengagement can create for stability and peace at a regional level.*

*"Europe has been absent, not only reluctant, from contributing to solving Syria's crisis from the origin. What is at stake is the traditional, European soft power, of which we used to be so proud, and which has completely failed in addressing Syria's war and managing the migrant flows strategically."*

Franco Frattini



*The delegates discuss pressing global issues.*

*"Minsk is just a foundation to a deeper process that requires commitment and political will. There is a need to improve the economy and security sectors while establishing a stronger, more transparent political sector."*

Daniel Ionita



Vaira-Vike Freiberga, Co-Chair of the Nizami Ganjavi International Center, and Viktor Yushchenko.

## Ukraine as a watershed for regional security

*Moderator* **Francis O'Donnell**  
Ambassador, Irish Institute of International & European Affairs (2007-2008)

**Bronislaw Komorowski**  
President of Poland (2010-2015)

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

**Daniel Ionita**  
Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Romania

**Viktor Zubkov**  
Prime Minister of Russia (2007-2008)

**Viktor Yushchenko**  
President of Ukraine (2005-2010)

**Bertie Ahern**  
Prime Minister of Ireland (1997-2008)

More than two years after the protests in Maidan and the beginning of the armed conflict in Eastern Ukraine, a resolution to Europe's most urgent conflict in the last twenty years is still out of sight. The panel on "Ukraine as a watershed for regional security" looked into the options available for Ukraine, Russia, the European Union and the international community to address a conflict that has taken the lives of more than 10,000 people, left more than one and a half million people as refugees or internally displaced, and crippled the economy and institutions of one of the biggest, most productive countries in the European continent.

The panel was an opportunity for an exchange of views on the options for Ukraine's most pressing challenges, the role of its neighbouring countries, and the prospects for a resolution. Special attention was given to finding a clear definition of the conflict, and to the role of the Russian Federation.

*"The way to wisdom begins with clear and honest definitions; in order for our discussion to be meaningful we have to understand the key notions of Ukraine's conflict."*

Viktor Yushchenko



Ukraine’s conflict has received different interpretations, from a conflict driven by internal factors to a purely geopolitical struggle with Russia. In the view of Viktor Yushchenko, President of Ukraine between 2005 and 2010, Ukraine’s conflict responds to a dynamic similar to that of other frozen conflicts in Eastern Europe such as Moldova, or in Georgia, all of which share the common denominator of Russian aggression. According to the former President of Ukraine, Russia’s foreign policy would be hampering the resolution of Ukraine’s conflict and in fact represent the key divisive factor for Europe nowadays. Mr Yushchenko called for a stronger European presence at the Minsk negotiations, and reminded the Forum of the commitment made by France, the United Kingdom, the United States, Germany and the Russian Federation to protect Ukraine’s territorial integrity through their signature of the Budapest Memorandum of 1994.

To the West, Ukraine’s neighbors look at the situation with distress. Bronislaw Komorowski, President of Poland (2010-2015) warned that the conflict in Ukraine highlights a broader phenomenon, a struggle between European and Russian perspectives and principles. In this sense, the future of Ukraine would be a test for Europe, Russian, and the world. In particular for Poland, good relations with Russia represent a rational choice as much as a matter of caution given the two countries’ history, but the support to Ukraine represents the defence of European integration.

*“Ukraine’s solution must come from inside, with solid reforms. Ukrainians must release their own energy to reform their country.”*

**Bronislaw Komorowski**

Despite the weight of geopolitics in Ukraine’s context, there was agreement among panellists that Ukraine is in need for internal reforms, especially economic reforms that allow for the removal of oligarchic structures and a more transparent administration. This would require a commitment by Ukrainian leadership, but also a guarantee for Ukraine’s sovereignty and the protection from external aggression, so that it may undertake the necessary steps with long-term security. Viktor Zubkov, Prime Minister of Russia (2007-2008) affirmed that the Russian Federation is ready to engage in a constructive manner, as demonstrated by the proposals made by Russia on Minsk process and roadmap to peace. He encouraged the Ukrainian leadership to establish an honest dialogue between Kyiv and Donetsk to look for a Ukraine-driven solution to the conflict.

At the same time, speakers called for the goodwill from all parties involved to stop the war, including Ukraine’s neighbours. Respecting each other’s perspectives, acknowledging each party’s involvement, and showing the necessary commitment to compromise were highlighted as fundamental steps towards the resolution of the conflict.

On the role of international organisations, Vaira Vike-Freiberga, President of Latvia (1999-2007) and Co-Chair of the NGIC, as well as a member of the Panel of Eminent Persons on European Security as a Common Project launched by the OSCE highlighted the difficulties faced by the OSCE in its work in Eastern Ukraine, hampered by lack of access to areas affected by conflicts. Further, in Ms Freiberga’s view, the United Nations requires reform to allow all of its members to be represented and protected from the interested of superpowers. She also called on all parties to respect treaties, memoranda and agreements, as well as the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Ukraine.



### Action points from the panel:

- ✓ *Respect all party's views and acknowledge their own role and involvement in the conflict.*
- ✓ *Seek the constructive engagement of the European Union and Russia in the Ukraine negotiations, but also in a broader dialogue on Russian and European principles to overcome current rifts.*
- ✓ *Show willingness to have Russian leadership be a constructive partner in the search for a resolution to the conflict Ukrainian conflict, where it does not interfere with Ukrainian sovereignty.*
- ✓ *Design and promote reforms that support Ukraine's transition to a more transparent political sector, without the interference of oligarchic structures, and for economic reforms.*

*"Russia has formulated proposals to solve the issue of constitutional reform in Ukraine. I believe a direct dialogue is needed, and measures should be taken as fast as possible to implement the Minsk Agreement."*

Viktor Zubkov



The panel discusses Ukraine.

*"Unlike what we see in the Middle East, Iran and Russia could become subtle competitors in the Caucasus, rather than allies. But if we play it smart, the deal could bring a good convergence."*

**Eka Tkeshelashvili**



*From left: Franco Frattini, Shaukat Aziz and Fouad Siniora.*

11th of March

## Iran and Afghanistan: Keys to regional Caspian and Central Asian security and prosperity. What's next?

**Moderator Franco Frattini**  
MFA of Italy  
(2002-2004; 2008-2011)  
President SIOI

**Fouad Siniora**  
Prime Minister of Lebanon  
(2005-2009)

**Eka Tkeshelashvili**  
Deputy Prime Minister  
of Georgia (2010-2012)

**Shaukat Aziz**  
Prime Minister of Pakistan  
(2004-2007)

Throughout the Forum, panelists and participants characterized the recent deal between Iran and the United States, the United Kingdom, China, France, Russia and Germany as a breakthrough or a "game changer". While the deal opens up a number of possibilities for enhanced cooperation in the region, it also raises a number of questions: will Iran's renewed role be a sufficient impulse for a region underpinned by sectarian loyalties? What will Iran's role be in the Syrian conflict? How will its relations with Russia and the United States develop?

The panel on "Iran and Afghanistan: keys to regional Caspian and Central Asian security and prosperity" looked at this and other questions regarding the future prospects for European-Asian development and for the stabilization of a region deeply affected by conflict. Using the nuclear deal as a starting point, panelists assessed the opportunities for regional economic and security cooperation, in particular with regards to the Syrian war, the Arab-Iranian struggle, and the establishment of partnerships in the Caucasus and Central Asian regions.

Eka Tkeshelashvili, former Deputy Prime Minister of Georgia, offered an analysis of the two main areas of concern for the Caucasus region in light of the deal: economy and security. On the economy, Ms Tkeshelashvili highlighted that the deal represents an opportunity for increasing openness and for Iran's inclusion into the global market, potentially allowing for new trade routes to connect Europe, Central Asia and the Middle East. For this to be possible, Ms Tkeshelashvili described two conditions: one, that Russia shows goodwill to support a win-win situation in the region; two, for Afghanistan to achieve security and stability, and to avoid the spill over of violence into Iran and the rest of the Central Asian countries.

Speaking about security, Ms Tkeshelashvili noted that institutional development would provide the necessary resilience to Afghanistan, while the deterioration of security in Iran's neighboring country would have a tremendous impact in the region. Furthermore, recent tensions between Russia and Turkey and Russia's involvement in Syria's conflict bring Russia's interest in the region to the spotlight.

Iran and Afghanistan hold some of the answers for a region that has been underpinned with conflict for the past decades. Fouad Siniora, Prime Minister of Lebanon from 2005 to 2009, noted that the long-standing Arab-Iranian conflict has reached an unsustainable plateau, for Iran, for the Arab countries, but also for international partners. The continuation of the conflict, according to Mr Siniora, has resulted in chaos in the region, threatening the way of life not only for the Middle East, but also for Europe. Mr Siniora also brought to light the involvement of international powers in exacerbating tensions, particularly through the Soviet invasion of Iran, the invasion of Iraq and Kuwait during the Gulf War, and the second invasion of Iraq later in 2003.

*"This region of over 500m people carries with it a great potential for cooperation, but can no longer leave things to chance without expecting further deterioration."*

**Fouad Siniora**

While the deal represents an external opportunity for Iran, the country still faces a number of internal challenges, the most immediate being the economy. Shaukat Aziz, Prime Minister of Pakistan between 2004 and 2007, noted that Iran is confronted by a push for progress and development in the communities, and that the country must develop a clear economic reform agenda that helps address the needs of its population. In this sense, Mr Aziz explained that there are two channels working at the same time in Iran: the first one, a democratic system, "possibly one of the best functioning in the region"; the second one, a theocratic system. The two come together at a very high level, impacting decision-making. Recognizing that fact and addressing the two channels at every level will allow Iran's partners to gain a better understanding of the country.

On Afghanistan, Mr Aziz highlighted the importance of focusing on the country's social and economic development: unless Afghanistan can provide its population with alternative economic solutions, instability, shadow economy and the production of drugs will continue. This requires direct action, from Afghanistan's leadership but also from international partners, to address basic areas of economic development, such as agriculture.



Ultimately, the proper development of the region will be impacted by all party's capacities to address their problems at the heart – literally. For the last four decades, the response to the Arab-Iranian conflict, the Arab-Israeli struggle, and the challenges of the Middle East has focused on security and military solutions. Panelists agreed that, while security responses are necessary, a deeper exploration of the core of the issues is necessary.

*"This battle will not be won through war, but through hearts and minds. Leadership must address people's concerns and discuss what is good and not good for them. The issue with addressing hearts and minds with weapons is that you end up with what we are seeing today: conflict and instability."*

Shaukat Aziz

#### **Action points from the panel:**

- ✓ *Appeal to the mind and hearts of the people, refraining from seeking only military solutions to what is a deep social and cultural conflict.*
- ✓ *Actively support Iran's economic reform and development to avoid the collapse of the economy and its negative impact in the country's development.*
- ✓ *Engage constructively and actively in supporting Afghanistan's reforms for stability.*
- ✓ *Invest in Afghanistan's basic economic infrastructure to ensure the development of areas such as agriculture and provide its population with alternatives to shadow economy.*
- ✓ *Avoid interference in engaging with Iran, and look for win-win cooperation in the Caucasus and Central Asian regions, so that Iran's new role can enable positive development.*



*The delegates listen carefully, including former Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman, right.*



*"We have completely forgotten the word 'peace'.  
We do not take enough action to make sure war does not happen."*

Petru Lucinschi



*Petru Lucinschi, left, discusses the issue of radicalisation together with Zlatko Lagumdžija.*

## Radicalization and migration as a global security challenge: how to progress to committed joint action?

*Moderator* **Zlatko Lagumdžija**

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

**Petru Lucinschi**

President of Moldova (1997-2001)

**Petre Roman**

Prime Minister of Romania (1989-1991)

**Peter Medgyessy**

Prime Minister of Hungary  
(2002-2004)

**Tzipi Livni**

Foreign Minister of Israel (2006-2009)

"Migration is the biggest challenge of our time." A motto repeated by panellists and participants throughout the two days of discussions, this sentence captures the essence of the message furthered by the Baku Forum on radicalisation and migration: that they are urgent and deep challenges that require an immediate, coordinated response, both for the short term and for the long term. As the world is witnessing the highest number of refugees and Internally Displaced Persons since the Second World War, the challenge of migration and integration are now coupled with the threat of radical groups feeding off deprivation, poverty, and discrimination.

The panel on "Radicalization and migration as a global security challenge" addressed two of the most complicated trends of our times. Looking at the experience from the Balkans and the Middle East, panellists explored the prospects for an enhanced global response to this issue, and assessed the response given by Western powers.

Petre Roman, Prime Minister of Romania from 1989 to 1991, laid out the four areas of inequality impacting migration and radicalisation: economic inequality, inequality on the access to democracy, and demographic and geographic inequali-

ties all have a direct impact on migration. At the same time, a number of accelerators are at play in today's world: the rise of technology, which makes it possible to amplify voices and connect regions; climate change, which increases the pressure on economically challenged countries; and globalisation, which has reached a point where the virtual majority of countries are dependent on another country. Based on the successful agreement of the COP 21 in Paris in December 2015, Mr Roman called for international powers to address the global challenge of migration the same way we now treat environmental issues: as an urgent, worldwide issue that affects all of us.

In a similar line, Petru Lucinschi, President of Moldova (1997-2001) pointed to economic redistribution as a factor that could help reduce radicalisation. Proper development projects, investment, and a solid coordination structure would help today's multipolar world tackle this threat collectively. Mr Lucinschi also reminded the Forum that the two key priorities for international action should be to prevent hunger and secure peace, and called for global leaders to give more attention to peace and the prevention of war.

Tzipi Livni, Foreign Minister of Israel between 2006 and 2009, called on the international community to take a proactive role, instead of its current reactive position, towards radicalisation and terror. In her view, this would require a global value-based leadership, as well as the reform of the United Nations structure to allow for a value-driven response to migration. She reminded the Forum that leaders should work together not only towards a response to the global threat of terror, but towards the creation of a set of principles and values that allow for better cooperation.

The call for the reform of international institutions was a recurrent topic at the Forum, but was given special attention in this panel. Speakers pointed that there is a need for a more responsive structure within the United Nations, especially at the UNSC, so that global powers may address the growing flows of migrants in a constructive manner.

*"As a free world, we need to understand that terror does not just happen "elsewhere"; nothing does.*

*It is all connected; terror is a global threat."*

Tzipi Livni

#### **Action points from the panel:**

- ✓ *Apply lessons of Europe's own integration process to build bridges with migrants instead of building walls to keep them out.*
- ✓ *Use social media and traditional media to promote a message of acceptance and understanding towards migrants.*
- ✓ *Reform the United Nations leadership and structures, with a view to a value-driven model that turns the UN into a cohesive group seeking the protection of global values instead of the promotion of the interests of individual superpowers.*
- ✓ *Recapture the meaning of peace and its importance for global stability.*
- ✓ *Foster the emergence of multicultural, integration-based societies.*

*"Energy is the determining factor of progress and development, and is also an indicator of development."*

Olusegun Obasanjo



Olusegun Obasanjo, left, prepares to speak on energy and global governance.

## The future of energy, the future of global governance?

**Moderator Friedbert Pflüger**

German Deputy Minister of Defense; Director, European Centre for Energy and Resource Security (EUCERS), King's College London

**Valdis Zatlers**

President of Latvia (2007-2011)

**Natig Aliyev**

Minister of Industry and Energy of Azerbaijan Republic

**Mirko Cvetkovic**

Prime Minister of Serbia (2008-2012)

**Olusegun Obasanjo**

President of Nigeria (1976-79; 1999-2007)

As oil prices fall to their lowest levels in years, the economic side-effects for both producers and consumers are beginning to be felt, underlining the vital role that energy plays in geopolitics. As the global South asserts itself as a major centre of hydrocarbon production, the current downward trend may have significant consequences for developing countries, and – in the wake of the COP21 climate agreement – the temptation of cheap oil may prove challenging for the environment as well. This panel explored what falling prices mean for producers, consumers and the planet.

*"Predictable prices would be ideal."*

Natig Aliyev

With its considerable influence in determining oil and gas prices, OPEC has "not done enough" to stem the current downturn, according to Olusegun Obasanjo, who cites structural issues with the organisation as partly to blame. However, the so-called "shale revolution" is also a major factor, with massive and often unregulated production driving oil prices down. What may appear to be a boon for the West's energy security may have unforeseen consequences in the long-term, with sufficiently low oil prices threatening investment in shale and risking a sudden,



unsustainable price spike as consumers return to traditional hydrocarbons. Valdis Zatlers noted that European energy security hinges above all on stable energy prices, given their importance in determining investments and supply contracts, and so any such fluctuation would have political consequences.

Indeed, such knock-on effects are already starting to be seen. The current affordability of hydrocarbons – though challenging for producers – represents an opportunity for energy-hungry developing countries, and is influencing both their choice of energy mix and their budgets. Mirko Cvetkovic noted that Serbia is currently enjoying savings of up to 1% of GDP thanks to low oil prices – a factor which is discouraging investment in "expensive, unreliable" renewables in a country which imports up to 70% of its energy. This poses a challenge to the post-COP21 consensus on carbon emissions, but also raises questions about the potential conflict between environmental issues and global development. Reinforcing this point, Valdis Zatlers commented that consumers are always the drivers of change, with the energy policies of large developing countries pushing legacy producers to adapt, rather than the other way round.

But what of energy production in those same developing countries? With its vast geographic diversity and abundant mineral resources, Africa represents a major potential source of energy production. However, through under-investment and mismanagement, much of this potential remains untapped, and energy supply remains a serious issue across the continent. According to Mr. Obasanjo, Nigeria produces less than 5000 megawatts annually, despite its own significant hydrocarbon resources, and he ascribes this shortcoming to the compartmentalisation of the African energy industry. In his view, in order to "give light to Africa," the continent's resources must be better managed, with trans-national cooperation on production and distribution; such collectivisation could eventually provide for over 50% of Africa's energy needs.

*"In the future, technology and energy will be the geopolitical deciders, not military."*

Valdis Zatlers

With energy and governance being so clearly intertwined, it is not surprising that a falling oil price has provoked significant political reflection. Old orthodoxies are being challenged, with Valdis Zatlers and Natig Aliyev dismissing as an "illusion" the idea that hydrocarbon reserves are close to depletion. Green technologies are still perceived as the difficult option for many developing countries, although African leaders still consider renewable projects such as the Inga Dams as vital to their future energy security. And OPEC's failure to fulfil its remit of price stability has thrown the institutional politics of energy into question.

#### **Action points from the panel:**

- ✓ *Acknowledge that a stable oil price provides balanced benefits to both producers and importers of energy, and maximises the potential diversification of the energy mix.*
- ✓ *Encourage an energy policy which emphasizes development as well as profit.*
- ✓ *Include all key producers in the international hydrocarbon regime.*
- ✓ *Assist developing countries in the exploitation of their renewable resources, and improve the attractiveness of investing in green energy.*



*"The 21<sup>st</sup> century  
will either be one of total synthesis, or none at all."*

Emil Constantinescu



*Emil Constantinescu, former President of Romania.*

## Shifting from an unequal, divided world to a sharing society: how?

*Moderator* **Alexander Likhotal**  
President of  
Green Cross International

**Noeleen Heyzer**  
Under Secretary General  
of the United Nations  
(2007-2015)

**Ivo Josipovic**  
President of Croatia (2010-2015)

**Benjamin Mkapa**  
President of Tanzania (1995-2005)

**Emil Constantinescu**  
President of Romania (1996-2000)

Although globalisation has created a world of unprecedented connectivity and wealth, it is becoming clear that these benefits are only being felt by all. While an emerging global elite – the one percent of the population – amasses an ever-increasing proportion of the world's riches, and a huge proportion of the world's population finds itself left behind by neoliberalism, disenfranchised and disadvantaged by the rapid pace of change. This panel provided an opportunity to explore the state of affairs in an increasingly unequal world, and to address the fragmentation which occurs when globalisation produces so much yet excludes so many.

*"Equality is the legitimate expectation of individuals,  
nations and States."*

*Ivo Josipovic*

The paradoxes of the modern world – corruption in democracies, poverty in wealthy countries – are a symptom of this fragmentation, and underline how our definition of equality has shifted in the past century. According to Ivo Josipovic, the standard is no longer limited to the necessities of life such as food or lodging; rather, modern equality includes fairness and inclusivity in justice, politics and society. Survival is no longer sufficient when wealth is in such abundance – instead, people

expect a more equitable distribution of the world’s resources. Noeleen Heyzer, however, believes that we increasingly live in “twin peak societies,” with a powerful elite and burgeoning middle class rising above a “valley of the despondent” – a growing number of people dependent on informal, low-paid work with few prospects and a sense of powerlessness in the face of the changing world around them.

History has shown that a dispossessed and desperate society is vulnerable to criminality, desperation and revolution; the panel noted that the terrorism, xenophobia and unrest in the world today all have roots in financial insecurity and a frustration with elites. According to Ms. Heyzer, political institutions and even democracy itself have been tarnished by their association with neoliberalism, creating wealth but stripping away human dignity in the process. In this context, Alexander Likhotal hinted at a return to the Europe of the 1930s, riven by nationalism and turbulence, as a consequence of globalisation’s more dehumanising side effects.

*“We have never got to sit down and contribute to the formation of the international order on our terms.”*

**Benjamin Mkapa**

If globalisation is affecting the social fabric between individuals, how is its impact being felt on the international political stage? As a phenomenon with essentially Anglo-Saxon roots, the irresistible gravity of modern capitalism is experienced as particularly alien to traditionally non-Western societies – does globalisation represent merely another stage of imperialism? Benjamin Mkapa noted that decolonisation in Africa left behind an extensive structure of foreign land ownership, leaving the continent particularly susceptible to the consequences of globalisation. In his view, African territory is a question of business rather than sovereignty, and that “Africans [...] do not

own the land they were born on.” Compounding the problem is the fact that colonies were largely absent during the negotiation of the post-wwii international order, resulting in a system that remains – for the most part – rigged against them. Even now, developing countries’ efforts to reform the wto are being resisted, with free trade being imposed from above by countries who once had the luxury of protectionism.

Going forward, trust and confidence in power structures must be reinforced, with a new “global compact” for cooperation and governance, including women and young people – but above all, so the speakers agree, the fruits of globalisation must be shared more evenly. The UN and its structures could be a catalyst for this. As a priority, the international community must tackle hunger and sanitation before we can think about a more modern concept of equality, according to Ms. Heyzer – although we need to consider what 21st century equality mean in detail. Emil Constantinescu believes that we must first establish what our universal values actually are, given that the notions of “good,” “bad” and “fair” vary between cultures. In his view, being realistic about what we can achieve increases our likelihood of success, and establishing which ambitions we truly share is vital before we attempt to solve our problems.

### Action points from the panel:

- ✓ *Encourage inclusive growth in order to help all of society benefit from wealth creation and to minimise the disillusionment caused by economic exclusion.*
- ✓ *Restore faith in the political process at all levels with concrete measures aimed at tackling corruption, encouraging participation and reducing influence from special interests.*
- ✓ *Ensure a truly global governance by better use of existing frameworks such as the UN, and by including the voices of developing countries in the decision-making process.*
- ✓ *Engage in honest, inclusive dialogue about what our common ambitions for human equality are in the 21st century.*
- ✓ *Hold leaders responsible for global inequality*

*"Even in some of the functioning democracies, power has been concentrated and captured to respond to specific interests, and people feel they cannot use the democratic process to express their grievances."*

Noeleen Heyzer



*Noeleen Heyzer addresses the Forum on the subject of inequality.*



*"One must consider the concept of power in defining empowerment, and in the end, politics is all about power: power to change, power to love, power to cherish, and power to struggle against oppression in search of emancipation."*

Andrés Pastrana



Andrés Pastrana, former President of Columbia, speaks to the press.

## Global promotion of human rights and raising awareness on gender issues

*Moderator*

**Kateryna Yushchenko**

First Lady of Ukraine  
(2005-2010)

**Jean Omer Beriziky**

Prime Minister  
of Madagascar (2011-2014)

**Farida Allaghi**

Libyan Ambassador to EU

**Stanislav Shushkevich**

President of Belarus (1991-1994)

**Andres Pastrana**

President of Colombia (1998-2002)

The rise of terror attacks all around the Globe and the continuation of war in Syria or Ukraine are putting the human rights framework to the test proving a need for reform. Widespread violations call for a thorough assessment of the prospects for the defence of fundamental rights by international and national institutions. The panel on the "Global promotion of human rights and rising awareness on gender issues". Special attention was given to the need for women's empowerment in all spheres of society, with much of the discussion focusing on the role of women in human development and the severe lack of progress seen across the globe.

A profound discussion of women's empowerment starts with a definition of power. Using the lessons from Colombia's peace process and the broader Latin American experience on women empowerment, Andrés Pastrana, President of Colombia between 1998 and 2002, defended that empowering women implies an evolution in women's own perception of their life, so that they may be able to define their own agendas and gain power over resources and decisions. Mr Pastrana broke power down into four concepts: "the power to", or the capacity to influence others and be of guidance; "the power for", or the capacity to perform actions and take decisions; "the power with"; and "the power within".



According to Mr Pastrana, two key indicators of women's empowerment are access to education and political participation. While the access of girls to basic and secondary education and the political participation of women have grown as a result of the Millenium Development Goals, much remains to be done in order for these improvements to become more than just a response to quotas. Empowerment will require a change in the understanding of development, from a top-down agenda to a bottom-up solution. Building and enabling environment for this empowerment requires security, economic development, and participation in non-familiar solidarity groups, involving women in each and every step of the process to sustainability.

Farida Allaghi, Libyan Ambassador to the European Union, noted that the lack of involvement of women in the high spheres is only a reflection of the harsh realities lived by women and girls in the communities, and affirmed that not a single nation in this world puts women equal to men. More political will is necessary if women are to become fully empowered members of the world's societies. Ms Allaghi also reminded the Forum that the percentage of women speakers at the 4<sup>th</sup> Global Baku Forum remained suboptimal, and reflected on the implications this has when looking at the broader engagement of women in decision-making processes. Similarly, Stanislav Shushkevich, President of Belarus (1991-1994) reflected on the processes that have brought men to exercise power over women, and how these processes have no historical basis as, at their core, all cultures call for the respect of women and men equally. Jean Omer Beriziky, former Prime Minister of Madagascar, regretted that initiatives like the World Women Day are being utilised as a political

instrument instead of an actual tool for empowerment. Both the President and the Prime Minister called on their home governments to seek the involvement of women, not only as a quota but as real decision-makers, and to promote gender-sensitive use of media and the creation of gender equality-specific mandates in all countries' national commissions. Mr Beriziky also noted that political stability plays a key role in securing the empowerment of women.

#### Action points from the panel:

- ✓ *Include more women leaders as speakers and moderators in the panels of the 5<sup>th</sup> Global Baku Forum, planned for 2017.*
- ✓ *Promote the political participation of women not as a matter of quotas, but through active engagement of women in media and campaigns to promote knowledge about political institutions and systems.*
- ✓ *Ensure adequate primary and secondary schooling for young girls, and promote more tertiary education for women.*
- ✓ *Establish a clear definition of women's empowerment at the political level and actively address the issue of machismo in the public sphere.*
- ✓ *Promote state administration infrastructures to address discrimination and bring cases to court.*
- ✓ *Monitor the gender-sensitivity of media and promote the inclusion of women and girls in information, programmes and trainings.*

*"Access to assets is about more than ownership  
– not just sharing goods, but also time, space and skills."*

Juliana Batista



*The Young Leaders of the 4th Global Baku Forum assembled with Vaira-Vike Freiberga.*

## Youth Talks, We Listen

### Panel 1

Yilmaz Akkoyun  
Antoine Guery  
Juliana Batista  
Alexander Springer  
Laurent Smeets

### Panel 2

Cinderella Alhomsy  
Aygün Qurbanli  
Veronika Tomova  
Muhammad Ahmad  
Meerim Kydyralieva

### Panel 3

Aaron Joshua Pinto  
Adam Pascual  
Merve Gungor  
Ranitya Nurlita  
Maryam Majidova

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 1: Opportunities and Consequences of the New Sharing Economy

With the rise of innovative, tech-centric start-ups such as Uber and AirBnB, the so-called "sharing economy" is making waves thanks to its accessibility to both consumers and entrepreneurs, but also due to the threat it poses to traditional business models. Do these inherently 21st century solutions represent an opportunity to cultivate ambition and creativity, or a challenge to established norms of profit and employment protections?

As new ways of doing business force a shift in the relationship between companies and customers, new opportunities emerge. The internet and other new technologies make it easier than ever for great ideas to blossom into successful businesses, and they enable taxi drivers and landlords to participate in

the sharing economy just by reaching for their smartphones. As a consequence, self-employment increases as budding entrepreneurs choose opportunity over stability, and people share their assets instead of simply selling their labour. By investing in so-called “platform technologies” – the foundations on which tech-based business solutions can be built – governments can encourage further growth in this rapidly-developing field and harness the potential creativity of countless citizens.

However, the sharing economy is not without its risks. By sacrificing long-term employment for entrepreneurship, we risk eroding vital employment protections from beneath by encouraging a “race to the bottom,” as legacy businesses struggle in the face of nimble newcomers. And at a personal level, financial stability offers the means to buy a home, raise children and re-invest in society. In a sharing economy, will our socio-economic expectations need to be revised downwards? According to the panel, the solution is not regulation but rather innovation, with forward-thinking investments such as Estonia’s initiative to teach coding to children – preparing citizens for progress, instead of stifling it.

### Panel 2: Security, Multiculturalism and Social Integration

The Syrian crisis featured heavily at this year’s Baku Forum, but perhaps no more vividly than here. Cinderella Alhoms, a Young Leader from Damascus, offered her personal perspective on the “intellectual terrorism” of ISIS, citing the brain-drain of refugees and the destruction of Syria’s heritage. Referencing her country’s long tradition of enlightenment and tolerance, Alhoms remarked that those who buy looted treasures from ISIS are complicit in its crimes, and also condemned the wealthy Gulf states who have refused to host refugees. Closing her remarks, she addressed the assembled leaders directly, calling on them to be ambassadors for the voices of the Syrian people as they return home.

*“Compassion without action is pointless.”*

**Cinderella Alhoms**

The panel moved on to address migration more broadly, and the tensions which can arise therein. The speakers offered examples from their own countries, echoing the point raised elsewhere during the Baku Forum that multiculturalism can be an asset as opposed to a threat, on the condition that we can respect and embrace the benefits which migrants can offer to their new homes. In concrete terms, this means dialogue between countries of origin and destination, as well as demographic and statistical planning which takes account of new arrivals. On a more spiritual level, differing faiths need not be a cause for tension given the similar origins and tenets of so many religions. Referencing the “golden rules” shared by so many faiths, the panel suggested that there was strong common ground on which to build inter-faith understanding, and that doing so would be the key to a lasting global peace.

### Panel 3: Climate Change and Geopolitical Consequences

Western societies spend less than 10% of household income on food, and yet this figure is far higher in the developing world. An unequal distribution of foodstuffs, droughts provoked by climate change and an increasing “resource nationalism” mean that what we eat has increasingly geopolitical overtones. By 2050, the world will need to feed 9 billion people, and rising food prices could risk aggravating social and political tensions to breaking point, or provoke new and unforeseen humanitarian challenges. In short, “hungry people riot, emigrate or die,” and each option would represent a significant crisis in the event of major food scarcity.



*“A hungry world is a dangerous one.”*

Aaron Joshua Pinto

Limiting climate change may play a key role in future food security, and both issues have interlinked solutions. Reducing our consumption of red meats and biofuels would help the environment, as well as create a more sustainable food supply; new technologies could revolutionise farming methods and reduce emissions at the same time. However, the panel warned that developing countries do not have the luxury of waiting for affordable sustainable energy or agri-tech, meaning that climate change is a socio-economic challenge as much as an ecological one – especially when the very existence of some low-lying island states is being threatened. For their inhabitants, global warming is personal.

Echoing comments made elsewhere in the Baku Forum, the panel made it clear that realizing the untapped potential of local resources could play a key role in a sustainable future. This would mean engaging with farmers on land usage, as well as with indigenous peoples on the construction of dams and wind turbines. The efforts to reduce carbon emissions and secure the food supply will need to be inclusive and complementary, ensuring that a zero-sum game does not develop between the competing needs of agriculture, economic growth and the climate. Investing and training in green technologies, whilst allowing the private sector to pioneer reforms, could represent the means of blending progress and profit – to everyone’s benefit.



*The Young Leaders discuss food security.*

*"Large flows of migrants can be managed in undramatic ways. 28% of New Zealand's population are the children of migrants, and 21% in Canada."*

Jean Baderschneider



Jean Baderschneider, former Senior Vice President of Exxon Mobil.

## Migration, multiculturalism and the issue of integration

*Moderator*

**Antonio Zanardi Landi**

Diplomatic Advisor to the President of Italy (2013-2015)

**Linda Lanzillotta**

Vice president of the Italian Senate

**Jean Baderschneider**

Senior VP, Exxon Mobil (2000-2013)

**Rosalía Arteaga Serrano**

President of Ecuador (1997)

**Lothar de Maizière**

Prime Minister of Germany (1990)

**Rexhep Meidani**

President of Albania (1997-2002)

**Novruz Mammadov**

Deputy Head of the Administration of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan

There are currently 244 million migrants in the world, a small minority of which have travelled recently from the Middle East to Europe. However, this influx of refugees – fleeing untold carnage in their home countries – has triggered a chaotic and panicked response across the European Union, with politicians paralysed and public scepticism rife in the face of this major humanitarian crisis. Does this challenge represent a time-bomb for the EU and its values, or can migration and multiculturalism still be a workable asset to societies? This panel set out to discuss the practicalities of integration and diversity in an age of mass migration.

*"People will continue moving for a better life – this is a human aspiration."*

Linda Lanzillotta

Globalisation has brought the entire world within easy reach, but has also exacerbated disparities in wealth and engendered new forms of conflict. According to Linda Lanzillotta, this makes migration not only inevitable, but also a long-term

issue which requires a policy response extending beyond the current emergency. Some have criticised the EU's proposed migrant quota system, although concrete alternatives have been few and far between, and Lothar de Mazière spoke out in favour of Angela Merkel's "humanitarian response." It remains to be seen whether the recent EU-Turkey agreement will represent a sustainable means to manage the challenge facing Europe now.

Given Europe's current reticence to engage with the migrant crisis at a political and personal level, it can be useful to remember the positive contribution that so-called "new citizens" can bring to a country. Jean Baderschneider reminded the panel of the demonstrable economic boost that migration can offer to host countries, highlighting that 40% of Fortune 500 companies – including Apple, Amazon and Google – were founded by first or second-generation immigrants. Additionally, many developed countries are currently experiencing a demographic challenge posed by falling birth rates, and migrants represent a vital compensation for this downward trend. Additionally, regulated migration and resettlement represents a strong counter to the people-trafficking and chaotic attempts to cross the sea which have resulted in some of the most harrowing scenes during the current crisis. In short, managing flows of people effectively not only represents an opportunity for growth, but a chance to save lives.

*"We need a strong political leadership to convince the public that this opportunity is stronger than the fear fed to them by the media."*

Linda Lanzilotta

The long-term success of any such response depends on the ability to integrate migrants when they inevitably arrive. It is generally accepted that a policy of assimilation can only have limited success, and Rexhep Meidani observed that multiculturalism has served as an effective model for centuries in numerous societies. A concept of shared societies, with interaction as a cornerstone, represents a more workable model – on the conditions that Europeans embrace their ethical responsibilities and minimise the negative influence of the mass media, whereas new arrivals respect the secular values of their new homes. Rosalia Arteaga Serrano advocated a more general shift in our thinking, suggesting that both hosts and migrants should increasingly act as "global citizens;" globally-minded individuals with respect for differences between peoples and localities.

*"Reality is like a prism  
– you can see from one side to the other, but the interpretation depends on your perspective, and the eyes through which you see."*

Rosalia Arteaga Serrano

Perhaps most important in this challenging period for tolerance in Europe is a sense of perspective. Across the panel, each speaker offered examples of past migratory challenges from their own countries, be it internally displaced persons in Azerbaijan to refugees fleeing war across the Albania-Kosovo border. Almost every country has, at some point, been faced with a seemingly-insurmountable humanitarian crisis on its frontiers, and generally they have risen to the challenge. Although Ms. Baderschneider acknowledged the potential for cultural change, as well as the short-term logistical stress of implementing a response, it is clear that the tragedy of inaction represents a far greater sacrifice.



### Action points from the panel:

- ✓ *Learn lessons from successful migration and integration experiences in order to develop a best-practice approach for the current crisis.*
- ✓ *Invest in training and logistical resources in order to better respond to migratory flows and tackle the involvement of people-traffickers in the process.*
- ✓ *Re-frame the current European debate over migration in more positive terms, with less emphasis on sensationalism in the media and more focus on the potential contribution which migrants can make.*
- ✓ *Work towards a "social contract" between migrants and their countries of destination which builds upon the respect of established secular norms whilst avoiding aggressive attempts at assimilation.*

*"Fairness is not the order of the day; big countries do not just have rules to abide by, but also interests.*

*But what does it mean for big countries to have interests when those interests mean infringing on the basic human rights of others?"*

**Vaira Vike-Freiberga**



*High-level delegates from across the world came together in Baku.*

*"The issue of radicalisation can only be resolved if we unite our resources around an honest dialogue between faiths."*

Petar Stoyanov



*Petar Stoyanov, former President of Bulgaria, speaks at the closing panel of the Forum.*

## Conclusion: how to avoid conflicts in the emerging multipolar world of the 21st Century?

*Moderator*

**Carlos Westendorp**

Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain (1995-1996)  
Secretary-General of the Club of Madrid

**Mladen Ivanic**

Serb Member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina

**Petar Stoyanov**

President of Bulgaria (1997-2002) and NGIC Board Member

**Vaira Vike-Freiberga**

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

**Abdulaziz Altwajri**

Director General of ISESCO

The Fourth Global Baku Forum touched on a number of topics and challenges for an increasingly multipolar world. In closing, the "Concluding plenary session: how to avoid conflicts in the emerging multipolar world of the 21st century" panel reiterated some of the recommendations raised throughout the two days for our world to become more peaceful and stable. Additionally, several recommendations were made for the Fifth Global Baku Forum, planned for 2017.

### Global Governance

- » *The United Nations should be reviewed to allow for value-based leadership and the representation of small countries in equal level as superpowers.*
- » *The world is faced by a lack of political will to find compromise and common ground, impacting negatively our development and cooperation. More work should be done on promoting honest, solution-driven dialogue among countries.*
- » *Rules, memoranda, agreements and treaties should be respected, as well as the integrity and sovereignty of states, regardless of their size.*
- » *The European Union should recover its soft power and become an active and positive partner for peace and stability again.*

### Radicalisation

- » *Reactive responses to migration and terror are proving to be not enough for a world challenged with the highest number of refugees and migrants since WWII. Proactive thinking and management must be sought to address the challenge jointly.*
- » *Radicalisation requires a deep response through an interfaith and intercultural dialogue that allows for enhanced cultural security.*
- » *Migration and interconnectedness*

- » *Our world is faced with unprecedented waves of migration, coupled with a global rise in radicalisation. At the same time, fear and distrust are becoming a staple in host countries. Politicians should work towards building trust and honest dialogue, instead of building walls to keep migrants out.*
- » *As the world becomes increasingly interconnected, leaders should seek to take advantage of social media to promote a message of peace, tolerance, respect and understanding.*

### Peace

- » *The world is currently living in a time of "cold peace" where conflict is not manifest but peace is not tangible, either. Global powers should work towards uncovering the common ground between them and unlocking peace.*
- » *The interests of global powers must not infringe the basic human rights of others.*

*"The largest of the many problems in our world is the lack of will to resolving them."*

**Abdulaziz Altwaijri**



## List of participants

### **Ilham Aliyev**

President of the Republic of Azerbaijan

### **Gjorge Ivanov**

President of the Republic of Macedonia

### **Mladen Ivanic**

Member of the Presidency of  
Bosnia & Herzegovina

### **Giorgi Margvelashvili**

President of Georgia

### **Bujar Nishani**

President of the Republic of Albania

### **Rosen Plevneliev**

President of the Republic of Bulgaria

### **Filip Vujanovic**

President of the Republic  
of Montenegro

### **Mahammed al-Dairi**

Minister of Foreign Affairs of Libya

### **Daniel Ionita**

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs  
of Romania

### **Sadiq Al-Mahdi**

Prime Minister of Sudan  
1966-1967; 1986-1989

### **Shaukat Aziz**

Prime Minister of Pakistan 2004-2007

### **Abdullah Badawi**

Prime Minister of Malaysia 2003-2009

### **Natsagiin Bagabandi**

President of Mongolia 1997-2005

### **Ehud Barak**

Prime Minister of Israel 1999-2001

### **Bertie Ahern**

Prime Minister Ireland 1997-2008

### **Sali Berisha**

President of Albania 1992-1997

### **Gro Harlem Brundtland**

Prime Minister of Norway 1981;  
1986-89; 1990-96

### **John Bruton**

Prime Minister of Ireland 1994-1997

### **Jean Omer Beriziky**

Prime Minister of Madagascar  
2011-2014

### **James Bolger**

Prime Minister of New Zealand  
1990-1997

### **Emil Constantinescu**

President of Romania 1996-2000

### **Jean Chretien**

Prime Minister of Canada 1993-2003

### **Mirko Cvetkovic**

Prime Minister of Serbia 2008-2014

### **Tarja Halonen**

President of Finland 2000-2012

### **Amine Gemayel**

President of Lebanon 1982-1988

### **Dalia Itzik**

President of Israel 2007,  
Knesset 2006-2009

### **Ivo Josipovic**

President of Croatia 2010-2015

### **Leonid Kravchuk**

President of Ukraine 1991-1994

### **Leonid Kuchma**

President of Ukraine 1994-2005

### **Bronislaw Komorowski**

President of Poland 2010-2015

### **Zlatko Lagumdzija**

Deputy Prime Minister  
Bosnia & Herzegovina,  
Minister of Foreign Affairs

### **Petru Lucinschi**

President of Moldova 1997-2001

### **Tzipi Livni**

Former Foreign Minister of Israel,  
former Vice Prime Minister

### **Rexhep Meidani**

President of Albania 1997-2002

### **Lothar de Maiziere**

Prime Minister of East Germany 1990

### **Stjepan Mesic**

President of Croatia 2000-2010

### **Peter Medgyessy**

Prime Minister of Hungary 2002-2004

### **Abdelsalam al-Majali**

Prime Minister of Jordan  
1993-95; 1997-98

### **James Mitchell**

Prime Minister of Saint Vicent  
and the Grenadines 1984-2000

### **James Mancham**

President of Seychelles 1976-1977

### **Benjamin Mkapa**

President of Tanzania 1995-2005

### **Olusegun Obasanjo**

President of Nigeria 1976-79; 1999-2007

### **Andres Pastrana**

President of Colombia 1998-2002

### **Oscar Ribas Reig**

Prime Minister of Andorra  
1982-84; 1990-94

### **Petre Roman**

Prime Minister of Romania 1989-1991

### **Ismail Serageldin**

Director Library of Alexandria,  
Co-Chair NGIC

### **Jennifer Shipley**

Prime Minister of New Zealand  
1997-1999

### **Konstantinos Simitis**

Prime Minister of Greece 1996-2004

### **Fouad Siniora**

Prime Minister of Lebanon 2005-2009

### **Petar Stoyanov**

President of Bulgaria 1997-2002

### **Stanislav Shushkevich**

President of Belarus 1991-1994

### **Rosalia Arteago Serrano**

President of Ecuador 1997

### **Boris Tadic**

President of Serbia 2004-2012

### **Vyacheslav Trubnikov**

First Deputy of Foreign Minister of Russia

### **Vaira Vike-Freiberga**

President of Latvia 1999-2007,  
Co-Chair NGIC

### **George Vassilou**

President of the Republic of Cyprus  
1988-1993

**Viktor Yushchenko**

President of Ukraine 2005-2010

**Valdis Zatlers**

President of Latvia 2007-2011

**Viktor Zubkov**

Prime Minister of Russia 2007-2008

**Farida Allaghi**

Libyan Ambassador to EU

**Abdulaziz Altwajri**

Director General ISESCO

**Pierre Andriu**

French Co-President of the Minsk Group, OSCE

**Jean Baderschneider**

Senior VP, Exxon Mobile 2000-2013

**Luka Bebic**

Speaker of the Croatian Parliament 2008-11,  
Minister of Defense of Croatia 1991

**Hikmet Cetin**

Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey 1991-1994

**Franco Frattini**

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

**Shafik Gabr**

CEO, President ARTOC Group

**Noleen Heyzer**

Former Under Secretary General of UN

**Diego Hidalgo**

Founder and Honorary President of Foundation for International Relations and Foreign Dialogue

**Nazim Ibrahimov**

Chair State Committee on work with Diaspora

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Diplomatic advisor to the President of Italy

**Linda Lanzilotta**

Vice President of Senate, Italy

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Former VP of the Greek Parliament

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German Deputy Minister of Defense; Director, European Centre for Energy and Resource Security (EUCERS), King's College London

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Trilateral Commission Europe Director

**Hans Peter Semneby**

Ambassador of Sweden to Afghanistan

**Eka Tkeshelashvili**

Deputy Prime Minister of Georgia (2010-2012)

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Former MFA of Spain, SG of the CdM

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Chairman of ICER

**Obiageli Ezekwesili**

Former Vice President of World Bank

**Haji Allahshukur Pashazadeh**

Chairman of the Religious Council of the Caucasus

**Aleksander Ishein**

Archbishop of Baku and Azerbaijan Eparchy of the Russian Orthodox Church

**Melikh Yevdayev**

Head of the Religious Community of Mountain Jews in Azerbaijan

**Gennadi Zelmanovich**

Chairman of the Religious Community of European Jews

**Vladimir Fekete**

Head of the Roman Catholic Church Representative in Azerbaijan

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Secretary General InterAction Council

**Alexander Likhotal**

President Green Cross International

**Ahmad Naseem Shah**

Director Institute of Islamic Studies, India

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Honorary President World Academy of Art and Sciences

**Francisco Guadamillas**

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**Tanya Guy**

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**Jovan Kovacic**

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Former Governor of Massachusetts

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**John Polanyi**

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**Bob Sandford**

IAC Senior Water Advisor; EPCOR Chair of the Canadian Partnership Initiative in support of the United Nations Water for Life Decade

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Executive Director of the Arab  
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Young Leader, Germany

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Young Leader, Canada

**Adam Pascual**

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Young Leader, Netherlands

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Young Leader, France

**Muhammad Ahmad**

Young Leader, Pakistan

**Ranitya Nurlita**

Young Leader, Indonesia

**Veronika Tomova**

Young Leader, Macedonia

**Bahia Al Jishi**

Ambassador of Bahrain to the  
Kingdom of Belgium, Luxembourg and  
the European Union

**Akkan Suver**

President of the Marmara Group  
Foundation

**Dmitry Saveliev**

Member of the Russian Parliament

**Juliana Batista**

Young Leader, USA

**Merve Gungor**

Young Leader, Turkey

**Cindrella Alhomsy**

Young Leader, Syria

**Alexander Springer**

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Fourth Global Baku Forum:  
Towards a Multipolar World | Meeting Report

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