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# GLOBAL POLICY ANALYSIS

NIZAMI GANJAVI INTERNATIONAL CENTER

## Is Multilateralism Dead?



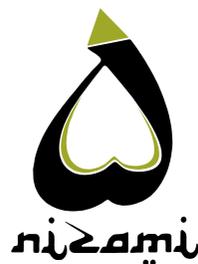
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## GORDON BROWN

### WE MUST NEVER ACT FROM FEAR BUT NEVER FEAR TO ACT

Today as we mourn the dead of Ukraine, we salute the living, we stand in awe of the resilience of the Ukrainian people – the elderly Ukrainian man who stood unbowed in front of Russian tanks, the brave soldiers who refused to entertain even for a minute Russian ultimatums, the President who every day stirs his nation by refusing to surrender to intimidation and blackmail, a people whose courage, even when buildings and lives are being destroyed, is indestructible and whose spirit, even as hearts are being broken, seems unbreakable. And that is why all of us in every part of the world when this great nation's very existence is in jeopardy consider ourselves to be citizens of Ukraine. For the cost of war is not to be counted only in tanks destroyed, missiles used and bullets fired, but in maimed children, thousands of dead and the suffering of the innocent. So as civilians are bombed indiscriminately – a crime in international law; as hospitals schools and public buildings are targeted – also a crime in international law; as humanitarian corridors and ceasefires are

breached – a crime in international law, and chemical and even nuclear weapons are threatened – a crime also in international law. We ask the civilized world to consider doing again what the world decided to do in 1942, when so outraged by the evil of Nazi war atrocities, we resolved to bring to justice the perpetrators of evil. And that momentous decision to punish what we called a crime against peace led to the Nuremberg trials.

And just 3 decades ago we also brought war criminals to court, charged with crimes against humanity in Rwanda, in Yu-



goslavia and in Liberia, so today we must support the creation of a war crimes tribunal, charge with prosecuting the crime of aggression, supplementing therefore the sanctions the travel bans the humanitarian and military help now being given Ukraine and complementing the work of the international criminal court which will investigate war crimes and crimes against humanity.

There will be a time for a Grand strategy that looks beyond a conflict. For even as Russia prosecutes war, we must strive for peace and Nizami Ganjavi International Center (NGIC) has a special role to play.

Even when there is so much division we must work for dialogue; and even when people are violently pushed apart we must attempt to bring them together.

We must never act from fear but never fear to act- and even when old bridges are being blown up we at NGIC must try to build bridges a new, and I repeat the belief that animates this great international centre- that there is a shared European destiny, an indissoluble European project and a common European home that should be open to all of us from far west to far east.

## GLOBAL PROBLEMS REQUIRE GLOBAL SOLUTIONS

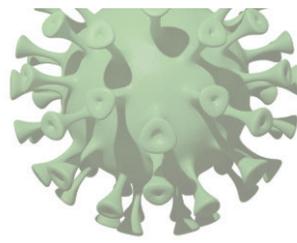
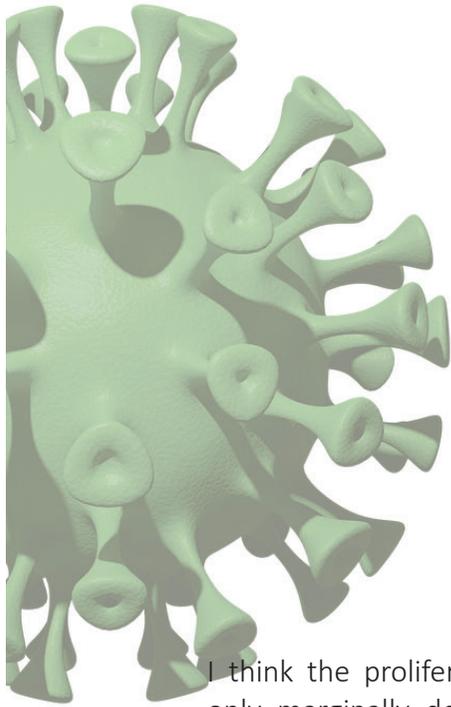
Where as we have faced simultaneously health and economic crisis NGIC Members have been vigilant ever proactive and at the forefront of reminding us of our shared responsibilities to work together and solve global problems that need global responses. What brings us all together is our shared understanding that most of the biggest challenges, we face, from climate change, and pandemics to a new arms race, and rising inequalities are global in nature.

They are global problems requiring global solutions and yet at the very time that we need the world to act together, nationalism which can be defined as the aggressive pursuit of national self-interest narrowly conceived at the expense of international cooperation has become the dominant ideology of this age. This global tide of nationalism has been washing away the painstaking work of a half-century of multilateralism.

Vaccine inequality and our failure to cooperate to deal with it and the huge gap. Therefore, between the vaccine-rich countries 70% of whom have been vaccinated, and the vaccine-poor countries, the poorest of which have only 4% vaccination even, as the west wastes vaccines that they do not need, and I think our civilization not as a new world order, for there is too much disorder but defined by seemingly ever-expanding ungoverned spaces. Not just the unruly environment of failing and fragile states what you might call a global wild west. That's the plaything of private warlords bandits, pirates, terrorists, insurgents, arms traders, illicit drug dealers, and black marketeers who know the governed spaces. That I'm thinking of that carries even more risk and even more liability than that.

The polluted oceans, desiccated forests and fast-expanding deserts, whose problems required greater attention than they received at COP26. I think of the world's ungoverned spaces as the entire global financial system with shadow banking, and offshore financial centers that facilitate the looting of public coffers by the world's least needy.





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I think the proliferation of tax avoidance is only marginally downgraded by the recent agreement to impose a global minimum corporation tax rate.

The ungoverned spaces include our trading system. For the first time in half a century there's no world trade agreement to repeat the successes of the Kennedy, Tokyo and Uruguay grounds, and no chance of achieving the door around 22 years after it was launched, but most ominously these oven gun spaces now include not only the world's thermal nuclear safety regime but a fast-developing digital arena that brings cyber warfare. Making the world look more fragile day by day as China, Russia, America develops even more sophisticated nuclear cyber and AI weaponry engendering new dangers of mistakes and miscalculations that could lead to nuclear accidents and disasters. So, we need to address this great irony the huge disconnect between where we are physically more interconnected, more interdependent, more integrated than ever before as a world and where we are geopolitically tribal, protectionist and disconnected. This growing mismatch between the global nature of the problems we face and our capacity to resolve them, indeed our willingness to resolve them as a global community. For the moment when they are needed most

our international institutions are being supported the least and being bypassed too narrow and under lightened view of national self-interest at the expense of diminishing international cooperation has of course been on display in the holding of vaccines by the global north, at the expense of the global south and more generally in the medical protectionism which has characterized the withholding of vital equipment like ventilators in individual government's responses to COVID-19.

But because no one is safe anywhere, until all are safe everywhere, and because it's in our interest to honor our promise to vaccinate and protect the poorest parts of the world where the disease spreads uninhibited and affects us all in the end we need a burden-sharing agreement, we need a global treaty to deal not just with early warning systems, and the distribution of vaccines but what I call a pandemic non-proliferation treaty properly funded to prevent outbreaks of disease turning into pandemics ever again.

We cannot allow a narrow interpretation of natural self-interest that puts us all at risk, to triumph over the need for international cooperation. You know when the UN was formed a burden-sharing agreement was made to cover the costs of peacekeeping. When the World Health Organization set out to eradicate smallpox in the 1960s, a burden share was agreed upon which even if it proved inadequate, we started to eliminate smallpox. But today there seems to be no possibility of a burden share, even when confronting a problem deemed existential like a pandemic. We need not only a burden-sharing agreement to deal with health and global public goods in that area, but we need a global agreement to deal with climate change based on countries, wealth and the culpability for historic emissions. We need to end the refusal of national governments to sign up to ambitious outcomes, which has left



our planet facing catastrophic global temperature rises to 2.4 degrees Celsius, or even more above pre-industrial levels. Poorer countries are still waiting for the hundred billion a year promised to deal with mitigation and adaptation. They've been promised as a result of Glasgow only a working party with the possibility of getting the money in 2022 or 2023. In truth somewhere between 2.6 trillion and 4.6 trillion every year is needed to fund the low-income countries for the mitigation and adaptation work they need to do to respond to the climate crisis. Even a compromise averaging out the payments by promising 500 billion over five years is as yet an aspiration not a decision. So, we need to act on climate change by working together. And we need to act also because the failure to sign a new nuclear arms agreement is its self-sufficient cause for worry. Not just as Russia and America and now China builds up more sophisticated weapons, but other countries are now considering becoming nuclear weapon states. I share the worry expressed by George Schuss before his death, that his nuclear weapons proliferate, they have lost their dread. This is one of the reasons why president Biden has made the initiative, but it's also one of the reasons why because of nationalism we've seen little progress in preventing nuclear proliferation. Despite his ambitious plans to ban nuclear testing and the enrichment of uranium, and to agree policies for no first use of nuclear weapons and for single use. But you know there's an even more lethal risk as cyber and AI-led weapons create enhanced capacity to strike opponents and with it as a result new uncertainty. While nuclear weapons are situated generally in an international framework of security and arms control agreements developed over decades AI and cyber weapons have no comparative framework. Indeed, the greater the digital capacity the greater the vulnerability. For decades deterrence has rested on the knowledge that each side knows its rivals' capabilities and understands what would

motivate them to detonate their weapons, but AI weapons can select their targets, and can devise their own strategies without human intervention and thus make lethal decisions autonomously, multiplying the risk of accidents and disasters. Unlike the arrangements for diffusing tensions between Russia and America where nuclear weaponry is involved there is no hotline, no agreed failed safe mechanisms, no early warning systems, some of which are already falling into disuse. And because of the sophistication of artificial intelligence systems a diminished time gap between decision and action. We urgently need cooperation starting with dialogue. We should not wait for a crisis the Reagan Gorbachev doctrine that such wars cannot be won. And should not be fought and this should prevent us from entering technology-led wards. This should start with a clear agreement that no artificial intelligence weapons will ever be fired autonomously.

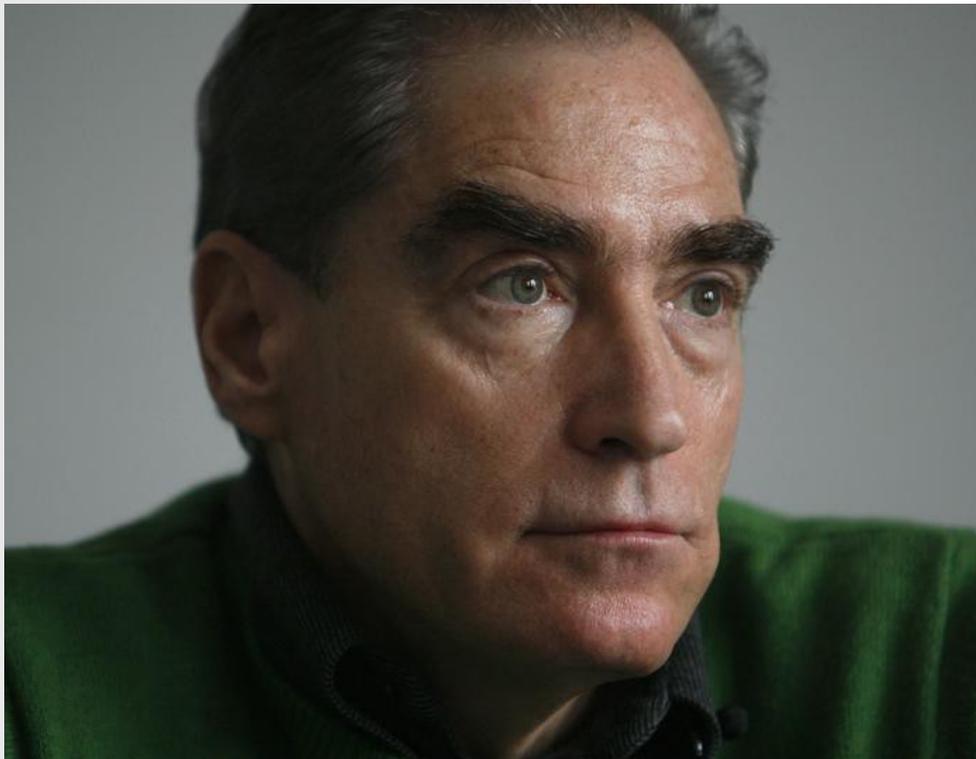
You know, in the last three decades there was progress Sweden, South Africa, Libya, Syria that toyed with becoming nuclear states rejected doing so. Ukraine which possessed weapons after the Soviet Union collapsed has like them remained non-nuclear states. So, nuclear disarmament is possible and in recent years despite all our difficulties, we've seen not only arms contri agreements showing the possibility of cooperation, but we have also addressed the ozone layer by cooperation. We've dealt we dealt with debt relief in Africa by cooperation, we managed to sign a Paris accord on climate change by cooperation. So, let 2022 be a year when we recognize enduring truths that as humans, we don't just cooperate out of need we have a human need to cooperate and that prosperity to be sustained has to be shared across the world.



*New sentences and ideas on*

*Multilateralist approach*

PETRE ROMAN



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(they are complementary to the previous article *Multilateralism and Globalism Upended* )

The COVID pandemic has injected uncertainty into the world economy, likely to shift the structure of the economy permanently. The recession due to pandemic seems to be the deepest and the most destructive of all 14 (registered) global recessions since the 1870's (the World Bank). It's a clear opportunity to initiate some fundamental policy changes. A better rebuilding of the essence of economic growth and greener economy.

Under an increasing unpredictability and a whole set of uncertainties, thinking about risk reduction, rather than elimination, should encourage steps of

crucial importance: taking nuclear weapons off high alert and new approaches to arms control and structural changes needed to reduce the impact of global warming on the daily lives of a considerable part of the human population, including highly probable mass-migration.

Getting such risks taken seriously is probably the most important aim of multilateralist approach.

If political leaders of the world cannot express themselves clearly (on the issue of a new world order, for example), that suggests to political analysts and experts that they are not thinking clearly either.

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Many leaders do not respond well to constructive criticism. A reasonable compromise is very much needed therefore and the fundamental aim can be reached not in its integrality but still in a useful form.

High level of uncertainty and low levels of confidence is the norm of social behaviour around the world right now.

Instead of an ineffective search for a global multilateralist strategy it could be better to build a political global technology to correct the errors committed in recent past(Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, Paris Agreement on climate change,...). What we arduously want to do now is not possible to do with the tools at hand. We see that these tools not only were not expanded, but actually were diminished in scope and size.

Albert Camus: To understand is primarily to unify

The newness of today's world can be appropriated/acknowledged by those who utter it.

Multilateralism is about an integrated cooperation, not about erasing the differences. The world must be made safe for differences. Let's fight harder and fail less than most of the deniers of a common purpose of humanity.

A metaphor. The engineer has to create the standard (measure, shape, fixed value), to find the simplest, the stingiest solution. He has to correct the hazard. The architect comes after with the volumes and the image. In that sense we point to the New World Architecture of a Shared Destiny to respond actively with timely and comprehensive policies.

Albert Camus: The Absurdity springs from the confrontation between the human appeal and the unreasonable silence of the world.

Instead of a perpetual desire for a steady balance, in our time it's better to have a controlled oscillation between the will to believe and the obligation to doubt, as Hegel taught us in his comments on the Dynamics of Logic. That matches the fact that we are between a pursuit of order and an undertow of peril.

Friedrich Nietzsche: In proportion as an ideal world has been falsely assumed, reality has been robbed of its value, its meaning, and its truthfulness....

The idols which promised to improve mankind only learn what it costs to have feet of clay.



The 75th anniversary of the United Nations gives us an opportunity to reorient multilateralism towards the most pressing challenges. For new forms of international cooperation to emerge, we must focus on chronic risks that all countries would have an interest in avoiding. The COVID-19 pandemic is one such risk. It's ruthless sweep across the world demands a bold multilateral response. With growing environmental and health stresses, such calamitous events are likely to occur more often and overlap with one another, overwhelming individual state—

## AMEENAH GURIB FAKIM

and international—capacity to respond.

The world has witnessed the immense inequalities in the capacities of governments to respond both to the health emergency and to the social and economic fallout. The social and economic damages of COVID-19 will be particularly pronounced in countries with weaker health systems, higher levels of debt, less fiscal space to organize stimulus packages, less easy access to international liquidity, and weak productive capacity and associated low incomes.

A strong commitment is needed to maintain open and free trade; to keep open borders, with restrictions only for clear health reasons; and to help the poorest countries, particularly least developed countries (LDCs), weather the economic shock they are facing.

Inevitably, the COVID-19 pandemic adds to the challenges of meeting





the Sustainable Development Goals and is sharpening our awareness of global interdependence and of the importance of our collective pledge to leave no one behind. Profound changes are needed in our economies and societies and demand new ways of thinking about development policy and multilateralism. For many, the impacts of this crisis are and will be more tangible, given their immediacy and proximity.

The crisis is exposing and exacerbating vulnerabilities and inequalities in both developing and developed countries, deepening poverty and exclusion and pushing the most vulnerable even further behind. It is no doubt a watershed moment but our collective sustainable, equitable and peaceful future hinges on the right national and international policy decisions especially at the level of institutions.

The pandemic has forced us into a collective lucidity on the depth of global interdependence; on the fact that the world is only as resilient as the least resilient country and person; and that in a context of widespread vulnerability, we are reaching tipping points in different dimensions—social, economic and environmental. This moment of clarity must be taken advantage of to effectively reboot development towards the people-centric, inclusive, rights-based, participatory development envisioned in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and to empower institutions like the WHO.

It is necessary to defend the multilateral approach of the WHO – an institution created way back in 1948, against current attacks. It would not be a credible stand without strong proposals for WHO governance reform.



Is it possible to take steps that strengthen the WHO beyond general health norm-setting? This question has been on the multilateral agenda since the first 1994 UNDP warning which included health among human security issues.

Covid 19 has shown public opinion that, while multilateral cooperation on public health is urgently needed, the supranational power of the institution is very weak. Yet transnational disease like the present pandemic needs a stronger transnational response through a more binding multilateralism.

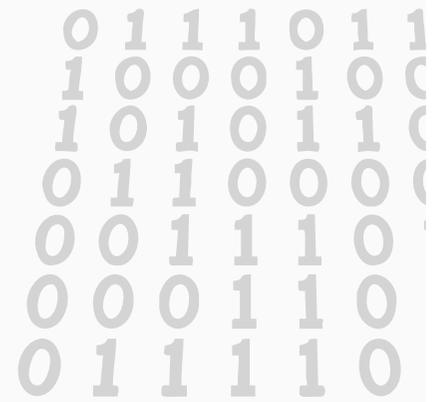
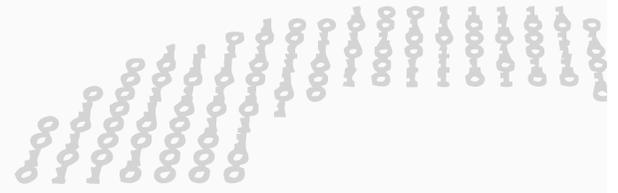
What is also needed is not only more resources but new rules for strengthening the WHO role of coordinating and guiding at the supranational level and the WHO technical cooperation with national authorities against nationalist pressures, lack of transparency and inward-looking sovereigntist policies.

This change in the present WHO governance is possible provided the member states agree to it. After SARS pandemic in 2005, a small reform was implemented and involved the international health regulations including an emergency committee which can declare the existence of a public emergency of international dimension and a new norm that binds the national authorities to a 'compulsory declaration of a list of diseases'. These rules must be strengthened. Furthermore, strengthening the logistic and policy-coordination at the level of the WHO regional offices should be a priority, also to give more room to emerging regions, notably in Africa, so as to help the fragile states in particular.

Critically, in the direct response to the pandemic, rapid universal access to quality-assured vaccines, treatments and diagnostics must be ensured in all countries, with need prioritized over the ability to pay, in line with the 2030 Agenda pledges of leaving no one behind and reaching the furthest behind first. The COVID-19 crisis only strengthens the call for a new multilateral-

ism in which global rules are calibrated towards the overarching goals of social and economic stability, shared prosperity and where chronic risks are recognized and addressed. At the national level, the COVID-19 crisis gives governments a unique opportunity to set the terms of public, private and third sector interaction, making the SDGs the missions to achieve and adopt innovative approaches to policy, regulation and partnerships.

Fundamentally, the COVID-19 crisis is an opportunity to re-evaluate how public and private sectors collaborate to shape a better kind of capitalism and hopefully through sharing of resources including vaccines and medications help us become better version of ourselves.





## CHIRIL GABURICI

*Now, more than ever, we must learn to be critical,  
Without being Destructive And Conflictual.*

Now, more than ever, we must learn to be critical, without being destructive and conflictual.

People are, have always been, and will always be different- we must accept that. We think differently, we look differently, we behave in different ways, we enjoy different things. But, despite these differences, we can live and work together. When cope to come together in teams or communities - we become very powerful.

All the great progress that we achieved is the result of people's cooperation. The larger the cooperation was- the greater progress. The ways of getting people together into teams has evolved over time.

Today, the key to a good cooperation between people, and therefore the key to big achievements, is the mutual dialog full of respect and the ability to find a compromise (win-win).

All the hundreds of kilometers of roads and wonderful bridges, planes and airports, ships and space-ships, and many other projects would not have been possible without people having the ability to engage in dialogues and reach an understanding, ability to co-operate.

On the other hand, if one is focusing too much on differences between people it would only bring polemics, controversies and conflicts, which becomes too difficult to manage.

People were always good at using their inventions for both good and evil purposes. The same invention was used to build in time of peace, and to destroy in time of war.

But the technological progress has expanded the potential for self-destruction. Today, people have absolute capabilities for destruction - we can destroy much more and faster than we can build. We can easily destroy the ecosystem we live in, but we cannot create another one.

Today the humanity is stronger than ever. We have exceptional technologies and unseen research development potential. We have almost unlimited resources.

The average level of people's well-being is higher than it has ever been before.

Apparently, it's all good.

Unfortunately, it's only an illusion.

Our social-economic model has several serious drawbacks.

In the current economic situation, the inequalities between different layers of society have increased. There is enormous difference in social and economic development among countries.

Now, in pandemics, there are countries that offer incentives to stimulate people to undergo vaccination. There are also countries where people do not have basic access to vaccines, medicines, and medical services.

There are countries where tens of tons of food are thrown away every day, and there are countries where hundreds of millions of people are starving and don't have access to drinking water.

We have created the world wide web and communication apps that help us to send unlimited amount of virtual information anywhere in the world. And we started immediately to use this technology to spread fake news and manipulate people's opinions. The pandemic showed us how high the cost of disinformation and manipulation can be. Millions and millions of people, who refuse to be vaccinated- are now the victims of fake information about the side effects of vaccines. And now, as a result, we have many thousands of lost lives, and we are fighting with the uncertainty on when are we going to overcome the pandemic.

We shall start fixing the flaws of our social economic model.

We must accept ourselves being different and we must respect these differences.

And now, more than ever, we must learn to be critical without creating conflicts.

We need to identify common objectives and cooperate in achieving them.

Our common objective is to defeat the pandemic.

We all want the sanitary restrictions to finish and to feel again the pleasure of being free.

Here, the leading role belongs to the World Health Organization.

We need a new approach towards WHO. WHO recommendations must be enforced by decisions and actions taken by the national governments.

Globalization and human mobility help the virus to cross the borders easily- and WHO must become the only command center.

This pandemic is not the last one humanity will encounter. But it is up to us what experiences we will take out of this pandemic and how efficient we will be coping with future pandemics, that could be much more dangerous.



Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. stated in his Nobel Peace Prize Acceptance Speech of 10 December 1964: “I refuse to accept the cynical notion that nation after nation must spiral down a militaristic stairway into the hell of nuclear annihilation... I have the audacity to believe that people everywhere can have three meals a day for their bodies, education and culture for their minds, and dignity, equality, and freedom for their spirits.” Even today, his profound words resonate and call us to pursue policies that provide human security.

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## JONATHAN GRANOFF

But whose words are guiding the policies of the most powerful nations in their aspiration to fulfill the first duty of every state and make their citizens safe and secure? Perhaps the 4th century admonition of the Roman general Vegetius Renuus, in his landmark treatise *Epitoma Rei Militaris*: “If you want peace, prepare for war.” This ancient text guides budgets, strategies, and distorts geopolitics into institutionalized adversity, a view that has led us to the profligacy of military expenditures that hover just short of \$2 trillion dollars yearly.

These expenditures, based on cycles of fear and adversity in derogation of trust and cooperation, are reinforced by values that place national identity before our common humanity.

There are certainly appropriate defensive roles for militaries and proportionate budgets would evidence them, but today’s conduct demonstrates a profound distortion of values. As President Joe Biden once said, “Don’t tell me what you value. Show me your budget, and I’ll tell you what you value.”

The most dangerous and illogical expenditures are for nuclear weapons. Nine nations possess over 13,000 nuclear weapons. If 1% of these devices were to explode millions of tons of soot would be released into the stratosphere, causing such climate disruption that modern civilization, or possibly any civilization, would terminate from lack of agricultural capacity. In other words, starvation on an unprecedented massive scale would impact every person and every nation, including the one that launched the weapons first.

As all nations with the weapons are currently either modernizing or expanding their arsenal

nals, or both, the hypocrisy of the assertion that they are pursuing strategic stability to keep the planet safe is contradicted by their actual expenditures designed to obtain military advantage. This nuclear weapons venture represents in the words of Dr. King: "So much of our modern life can be summarized in that arresting dictum of the poet Thoreau: 'Improved means to an unimproved end.'"

Can the dynamic of national militarism provide security in the face of the actual threats of today? Will a military approach bring security to problem areas such as Syria, Israel/Palestine, Ukraine/Russia, India/Pakistan, Taiwan/China? Of course not. Worse, the danger of war expanding into the unthinkable remains ever over our heads.

Is there a way to fulfill the United Nations aspiration to ensure freedom from the "scourge of war" based on cooperation amongst nations, commonly expressed as multilateralism? Indeed, there is. The potential for true human security has been explicitly expressed in UN General Assembly Resolutions and substantive reports. Though the concept is supported by the United Nations Secretariat, and there is even a functioning United Nations Human Security Trust to fund projects fulfilling its promise, the concept has not yet reached its potential to catalyze progress.

As noted in General Assembly resolution 66/290, "human security is an approach to assist Member States

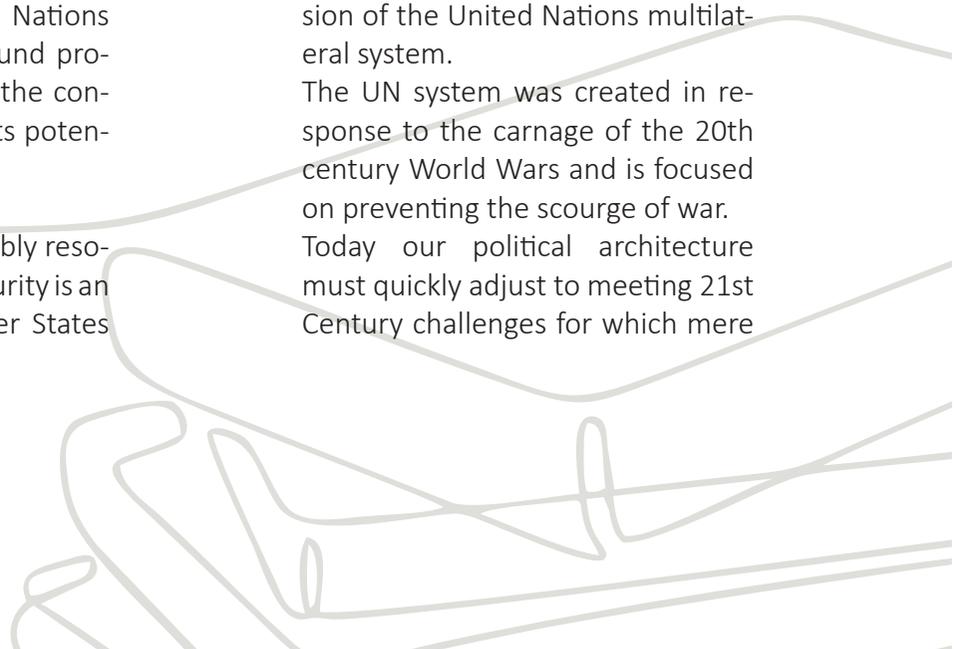
in identifying and addressing widespread and cross-cutting challenges to the survival, livelihood and dignity of their people." The resolution calls for "people-centred, comprehensive, context-specific and prevention-oriented responses that strengthen the protection and empowerment of all people."

It is a powerful idea that can integrate the Sustainable Development Goals, which presently are burdened by the inefficiency of being in silos. The development of the concept of human security lays a firm and coherent foundation for needed multilateral cooperation amongst the world's nations.

Human security is an idea that parallels the power of the ideas behind the creation of the modern state system, based on sovereignty rights expressed in the Peace of Westphalia (1648), from which arose treaties that changed the political architecture of the world. The new system ended the massive slaughters of European Catholics and Protestants fighting over definitions of Christianity. The change of political architecture formed the basis of our modern sovereign state system. That system must now function far more cooperatively to fulfill the vision of the United Nations multilateral system.

The UN system was created in response to the carnage of the 20th century World Wars and is focused on preventing the scourge of war.

Today our political architecture must quickly adjust to meeting 21st Century challenges for which mere



national self-interest is insufficient. There are numerous existential threats that require multilateral cooperation for any state to be safe. In other words, human security goals and multilateral cooperation do not diminish sovereignty but are the very tools needed for sovereign states to fulfill their duties to keep their citizens safe and secure.

Human security focuses on how people actually live and meet their achievable real needs. These include ensuring a clean sustainable environment, useful education, secure jobs, fulfilling culture, stable communities, good health, nourishing food, and the flourishing that comes from freedom of worship, conscience, human rights and the rule of law. These needs require safety in neighborhoods and a culture of peace. Meeting these needs enhances the dignity of each individual. In other words, human security refocuses the pursuit of security from military nationalism and increased threats, violence, and fear to cooperation in meeting present actual real human needs. Today so many of the needs of people and the needs of their governing institutions, states and businesses require global cooperation because the threats before us cannot be adequately addressed at a national level.

No matter how much is spent on weaponry nor how much an economy of a nation grows, if its people are unhealthy, insecure in their livelihoods, persons, or property, security and wellbeing will evade them. Today, as never before in human history the regenerative processes of the natural world are at severe risk. The capacity of humanity's impact on the natural world is increasing and accelerating. Nations are spending obscene amounts of intellectual, social and economic capital on expanding arsenals, building new more destructive weapons of mass destruction, further institutionalizing adversity based on an inadequate approach to achieving security. We need this new dimension. We cannot drive



21st century vehicles on highways built in the horse and buggy age. Responding to and preventing pandemics, protecting the climate, rainforests, the health of the oceans, water, and topsoil, stopping the destruction of species and impairing the web of life we call biodiversity, along with eliminating the existential threat posed by nuclear weapons and achieving an equitable secure global financial system that does not destroy the regenerative processes of nature cannot be met by national security approaches. These challenges require an approach that centers on how people everywhere actually live. They require nations to cooperate and minimize adversity. While brandishing nuclear weapons at each other, over 70% of the world's malnourished children are in Pakistan and India. In each of these countries, one third of the children are burdened by this tragedy. For these children what does the security of the state mean?





What is happening to the very breath of life which depends on the health of the forests and the phytoplankton of the oceans to provide oxygen? Our financial system privileges enterprises that ignore their environmental and thus climate impact, as they impose unsustainable stress on forests and the oceans. There is no regime in place to adequately stop pollution of the oceans or the destruction of forests. Our very definition of security cannot ignore these facts any longer.

The myths of infinite growth in a finite planet and the myth that security can be found by increased militarism must be met with the realism of science in understanding our relationship with the natural world and an ever increasing sense of gratitude for its bounty. Change is needed quickly. Ideas that can generate that change are critically important. Human security is such an idea.

## MARIANNA V. VARDINOYANNIS

“All the electric lights won’t stop them from constantly seeking the sweet light of Homer,” renowned French sculptor Auguste Rodin said to Angelos Sikelianos upon seeing the Sculptures “imprisoned” in a dark hall of the British Museum. And he was absolutely right.

Greece is the homeland of the Parthenon Sculptures, Athens is their birthplace, and Greek light is the only light that can bring out their greatness. Only bathed in Greek light can these wonderful creations of human civilization, and, of course, only intact in their entirety, shine and transmit throughout the world the fundamental universal human principles and values of Democracy, Equality Before Law, and Freedom of Speech, just as our ancestors envisioned them.

It has been 221 years since the Greek Sculptures were taken from the hill of the Acropolis. From 1801 and for about a decade, Lord Elgin forcibly removed the Sculptures, even using saws, in order to transport them to the Great Britain. The Sculptures were purchased by the British Museum a few years later.

During these two centuries, the dismemberment of this global monument-symbol remains an open wound, a deep wound, a pressing debt, and a pending moral issue, not towards our country and Greek civilization, but towards our global civilization as a whole.

These Sculptures are not isolated works, but “architectural sculptures”, the dec-



oration of an indivisible whole, a unique architectural work of global history: the Parthenon. A creation that has dominated the Sacred Rock for 2,500 years, looking out onto the Athenian landscape, and challenging historical time, winning the wager of eternity against natural disasters, wars, and geographical and political changes. Despite being manmade, it survived through centuries of human history, remaining the most powerful symbol of Athenian democracy, the first democracy in the history of our societies. A symbol for the entire Western world.

This unique power and the very substance of the monument show us the path we must follow: the path of Dialogue.

About 40 years ago, my dear friend, the late and one and only Melina Mercouri, began a courageous effort as Minister of Culture, opening an international dialogue and raising the issue at the UNESCO Forum of Ministers of Culture in Mexico, with the Forum ruling in favour of the return of the Sculptures to Greece. Melina realised very early on that the path to the return of the Sculptures could only be opened through the creation of international alliances and the launching of an international dialogue based on our country’s just arguments.

From the outset, I had the great honour of being at her side, a companion to her at every step of this “beautiful struggle”, utilising the “weapon” of cultural diplomacy at all my international meetings. And from the moment I had the honour of being elected as UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador, the return of the Sculptures has always remained the focus of my activity. I was one of the last people she spoke to before she passed away. “Marianna, I want you to promise me that you will continue to fight for the return of our Sculptures. When they return, I will be reborn,” were her last words to me. And these words never ceased to be in my thoughts and priorities. I feel that it was not just I who kept this promise, but the entire Greek people. Every Greek woman and man, every one of us who, throughout these years, never, not even for a moment, stopped envisioning this dream becoming a reality. Every smaller or larger effort, on a national or international level, by the State, Civil Society, institutions and agencies, international committees in many countries, and international organisations, contributed to the significant shift in the climate surrounding the matter recently. I remember when we held the exhibition titled ‘The unity of a unique monument: Parthenon’, together with Jules Dassin and the

‘Melina Mercouri Foundation’ at the UNESCO headquarters in Paris in 2003, the first voices of support for our country were heard, albeit timidly, within the international organisation, while another great success was the attendance of the UK Ambassador! That is when, through great struggle, we started to acquire important allies, such as UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador Jean Michel Jarre, who, at two concerts at the Odeon of Herodes Atticus organised by our Foundation and the ‘Association of Friends of Children with Cancer ELPIDA’, turned the interest of the global community towards Greece, composing the ‘Hymn to the Acropolis’ and performing it for the first time anywhere at the Holy Rock of Athens.

At the same time, in collaboration with leading international figures in the Arts and Culture who joined in the Heroes struggle for the return of the Sculptures, our Foundation launched major initiatives such as conferences, publications, colloquiums, and our international ‘Return (the Parthenon Sculptures) – Restore (Unity)– Restart (History)’ campaign, in collaboration with the Melina Mercouri Foundation.

Since Melina Mercouri began this struggle, the State has taken important steps on a diplomatic and legal level, while at the same



*Sculptures from the Parthenon's eastern pediment, now housed in the British Museum.*

time Greece's voice in international fora is gaining traction.

The courageous Resolution of the UNESCO Intergovernmental Committee on the promotion of the return of cultural goods to their countries of origin or their restitution in the event of illegal appropriation (ICPRCP) in September 2021, which for the first time recognises the issue of the return of Sculptures as an intergovernmental issue, and not an issue between the two Museums, was the culmination years of systematic efforts. It is also noteworthy that the Resolution calls on the United Kingdom to reconsider its stance and enter into good-faith dialogue with Greece, while also recognising our country's just request.

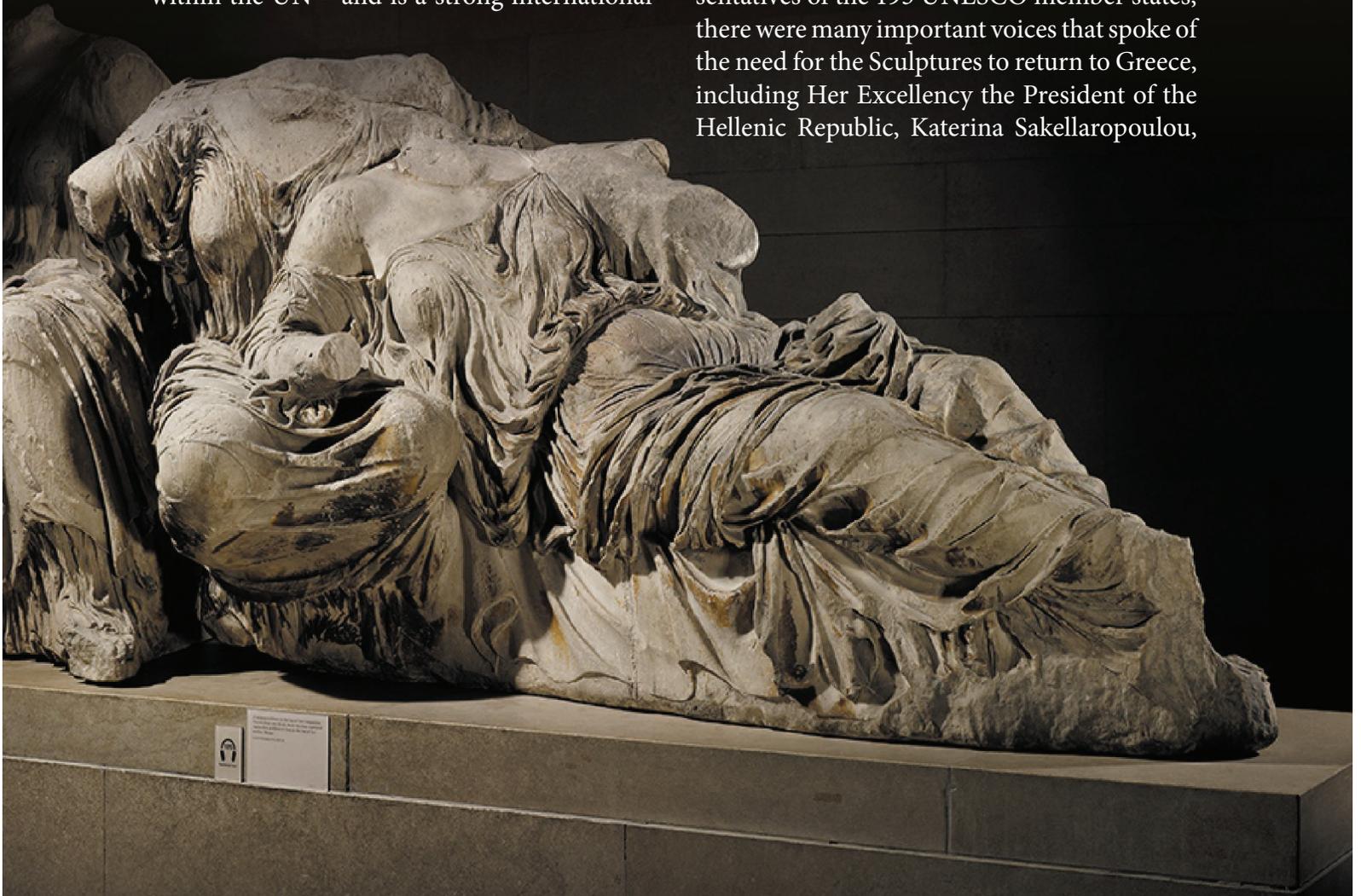
The ICPRCP is the only competent UNESCO Committee on matters of negotiation, mediation, and conciliation on international cultural disputes between states and it meets every two years, with the next Meeting scheduled for May 2022. Although this Resolution is not legally binding, it is particularly important that it was reached by the ICPRCP, which is the only international Intergovernmental Commission in the framework of UNESCO – in other words, within the UN – and is a strong international

message that the British side cannot ignore.

In 2021, Greek Prime Minister Kyriakos Mitsotakis – in addition to his bilateral meeting with the British Prime Minister – visited UNESCO headquarters in Paris twice, drawing on the strength of the International Organisation and cultural diplomacy. In September 2021, he raised the issue with UNESCO's Director-General, Audrey Azoulay, in the context of their meeting, and a few months later, in November 2021, in the context of UNESCO's 75-year celebrations, Kyriakos Mitsotakis talked about the return of the Sculptures before 192 Heads of State and their representatives.

During these visits, at which I had the honour of being present, and through discussions with Heads of State and world figures of culture, it became clear that there had been a shift in the climate in favour of our country's just request.

This was also apparent at the recent 'Greece and Cultural Heritage' Symposium, which our Foundation hosted at UNESCO's headquarters in Paris on the margins of the 41st General Conference of the Organisation. During the Symposium, which was held in the context of 'Initiative 21' and was attended live by representatives of the 193 UNESCO member states, there were many important voices that spoke of the need for the Sculptures to return to Greece, including Her Excellency the President of the Hellenic Republic, Katerina Sakellariopoulou,



as well as the internationally renowned Professor of History at University of Cambridge, Paul Cartledge.

Paying close attention to the developments on the international cultural scene, allows one to observe that this shift does not concern Greece alone. The past two years have seen intense international movement on the issue of the return of stolen cultural treasures to their countries of origin. These are mainly treasures exported illegally during the years when colonialism flourished, from countries with a pronounced colonial past, which today have launched a systematic effort to 'balance the books' with regards to past illegal possession of their national cultural treasures.

French President Emmanuel Macron has appointed the former President of the Louvre Museum, Jean-Luc Martinez, as the competent Ambassador for international cooperation and setting the criteria for the return of cultural treasures to their countries of origin. Germany has signed an agreement with Nigeria on the gradual return of cultural goods, while countries such as Belgium, the Netherlands and Austria have made similar agreements.

The climate with regard to cultural heritage monuments is clearly changing, leading many Museums to change their stance and return national cultural treasures to their countries of origin. Obviously, this climate favours the cause of the return of the Parthenon Sculptures.

The return of the famous 'Fagan fragment' from the Antonino Salinas Museum in Palermo to the Acropolis Museum on 10 January, through the process of "long-term deposit", shows the way and is an important weapon on the Greek side of the argument.

This year, for the first time, the Venice Biennale, Europe's leading cultural event, which will open its doors in the spring, intends to organise a photography exhibition dedicated to the Acropolis and its Museum. The exhibition will be based on the iconic black and white photographs of emblematic photographer Giannis Giannelos, which form the basis of the exceptional collectible publication of our Foundation, 'Acropolis, the New Museum',

published by 'Miletus'. Browsing through this book, which moved the people responsible at Biennale so much that they asked us to hold a separate and autonomous exhibition, one realises that this is the natural space of the Sculptures: under sky of Attica, bathed in Greek light.

All of us must continue the struggle. History has shown that each smaller or greater contribution, every effort has played a role in moving things a little further along, making international public opinion understand that these Sculptures are not just exhibits in a museum. The Sculptures are Greece, they are our national pride, on them is carved our history, and they form part of one of the largest monuments of humanity.

"A little longer

And we shall see the almond trees in blossom

The marbles shining in the sun

The sea, the curling waves

Just a little more

Let us rise just a little higher.."

Let the words of George Seferis, with the music of the great Greek, and my beloved friend, the late Mikis Theodorakis, be our compass, our beacon, and our strength in our "just and beautiful struggle."





# IX GLOBAL BAKU FORUM

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“Challenges to the Global World Order”

16-18 JUNE 2022

BAKU, AZERBAIJAN



Our world, the free world, is changing rapidly, with the values and international order agreed upon after the horrors of World War II being steadily eroded. Around 75 years ago, new institutions and structures were established on the basis of democratic, liberal, pluralistic values and solidarity between different societal groups and nations. The United Nations was established under the slogan of “never again”. The Atlantic Charter evolved into NATO, conventions on human rights were agreed upon and the Bretton Woods institutions (the World Bank and the IMF) started functioning in order to create a better world. Some of these institutions and structures and the democratic values are now facing existential threats. Multilateralism, which for many years was the dominant modus operandi of the international community, is being challenged and it conforms with other problematic global trends and phenomena. Some of the changes that represent the challenges arose side by side with, or as a result of, positive developments. Understanding how and why this is happening is crucial for healing. In these times of war and destruction, of tension and crisis, of human suffering and political challenges, the NGIC has redoubled its efforts to promote discussion with political leaders and international organizations, organizing on site missions on the humanitarian situation with Ukrainian refugees, technical conferences, as well as political conversations with key decisionmakers. Our 2022 meeting comes at a time when challenges facing humanity are reaching new peaks. A time when there is a need for NGIC to bring the wisdom and experience of its distinguished members and participants in an open and unconstrained debate to learn from the past, assess the present, and envision the future.

*As we embark on a new year of the battle between humanity and COVID-19, the virus is still winning. Leaders of high-income nations have made huge and ultimately inexcusable errors of judgement. They have failed to consider vaccines and COVID-19 technologies as global public goods.*



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## WINNIE BYANYIMA

We are witnessing the same deadly mistakes made in the mid-1990s, when treatment for HIV became available. Pharmaceutical companies set the extortionate price tag of US \$10,000 per person per year, rendering this life-saving treatment out of reach for the millions of people living with HIV in the Global South. Between 1997 and 2006, UNAIDS estimates that 12 million African individuals died because the medicines were priced out of their reach by pharmaceutical monopolies and the greed of profit versus public good. It was only when a movement of people living with HIV, healthcare advocates, religious leaders and many other partners mobilized to generate global political pressure that companies in developing countries (Brazil, India and Thailand) were able to manufacture the medicines by making use of the flexibilities within the World Trade Organization's (WTO) Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights Agreement.

This important tool allowed for competition within the pharmaceutical market, which led to dramatic drops in the price of HIV medicines to less than US \$75 in some countries today, giving millions access to life-saving treatment. But this took years to achieve, and many countries still cannot access the generic market owing to trade barriers. We cannot let that happen with COVID-19, and this time we must act much faster.

However, the world is currently failing to heed the lessons of the injustice that took place with the AIDS pandemic, and leaders are still putting narrow and ultimately self-defeating nationalism ahead of what is needed. They are continuing to defend the profits and monopolies of their pharmaceutical corporations, instead of sharing the successful vaccines and the technologies that would scale up their production worldwide.

It has been a year since the first Pfizer-BioN-

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Tech vaccine was given, and yet Africa has still only received enough doses to fully vaccinate around 10% of its population. This is in stark contrast to high-income countries. In the European Union, for example, around 70% of people have received at least two doses, with many countries now administering third booster jabs to keep their populations safe.

High-income nations have behaved appallingly, hoarding billions of doses of vaccines while doctors in countries such as my own, Uganda, have faced COVID-19 unprotected and unvaccinated. Even when high-income countries do donate some of their excess doses, it is too little, too late — often delivered close to their expiry dates, and virtually unusable. Donations and charity, though welcome, will never be enough.

At least five million people have already died of COVID-19, while world leaders have allowed companies such as Pfizer and Moderna to make as much as US \$1,000 profit a second, hiding behind their monopolies to artificially restrict the supply of these vaccines and making them the most lucrative medicine ever developed — creating new vaccine billionaires instead of vaccinating billions.

Putting profits first has also created an optimal breeding ground for new variants, such as Omicron. One thing we know for sure is that the impact of Omicron will be felt by the poorest worldwide. The poorest people and low-income nations will be least able to take the actions needed to combat it.

We know that already scarce vaccines will become hugely scarcer. Being fully vaccinated will soon mean having multiple doses, leading to higher-income nations buying up all the vaccines for boosters. We may discover that some existing vaccines are not able to face the challenge of new variants, and, as new vaccines are developed, existing supply capacity will be diverted to this aim.

There are steps we can, and must, take to help to fix this. The proposed temporary in-

tellectual property waiver covering all COVID-19 vaccines and technologies at the WTO remains a necessary precondition to defeat COVID-19. The waiver could curb pharmaceutical companies' global monopolies, while still allowing them to be financially compensated.

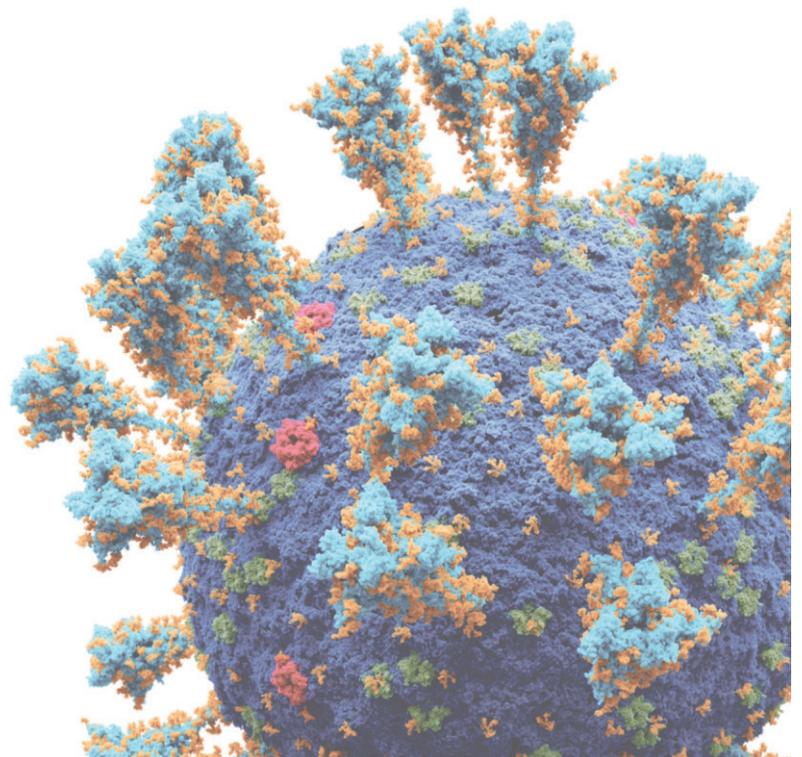
We also need to invest now in building vaccine-production capacity all over the world, especially for the very successful mRNA vaccines. There are more than

100 producers worldwide that could be making the Pfizer-BioNTech vaccine today. Know-how must be shared: these vaccines have been paid for by public money and they must be made a global public good.

Everyone has the right to health; we cannot afford to make the same mistakes we did in response to the emergence of HIV. We need greater global equity in healthcare and in access to health commodities and technologies, and we need it quickly.

It is madness to think that if we keep doing the same thing we can expect a different outcome. This year has to be the year that we finally make these incredible vaccines a global public good — the year that high-income nations do the right

thing and that pharmaceutical companies share their successful vaccine recipes with producers all over the world.





**BY ALEXANDER LIKHOTAL**

**THE ROOT CAUSES OF THE  
RUSSIAN INVASION IN UKRAINE**

Every day people die in Ukraine, counting already dozens of thousands. These are Ukrainian soldiers, civilians, children and even Russian soldiers who came to a foreign land as aggressors, but many of whom are forced, almost teenage conscripts. Russia has already begun the “second stage of military operation” in eastern Ukraine, the consequences of which are very difficult to predict, but which, no doubt, will claim thousands more lives. The West is increasing sanctions against Russia and supplying Ukraine with more and more heavy weapons.

As a regular conflict, the ongoing Ukraine war is being fought with kinetic weapons in conventional operational battlefields. However, its impact exceeds the domain of military statecraft. It goes much further than

phantom pains of Russia’s imperial dreams. In fact, this unfolding confrontation must also be understood as a major clash in the rising strategic competition to determine the future architecture of the world order and security system – a dangerous gamble played for the highest stakes.

The Russian aggression in Ukraine has put an end to the rules-based world order as well as to the endless debates about a “new iteration” of cold war together with all kinds of theorising about the differences and peculiarities of “cool” versus the cold wars.

For the first time since the second world war the world got a real hot war in Europe in which Ukraine practically single-handedly, supported only by the provision of the military equipment by several countries, hero-

ically and so far successfully resists the aggression of an outnumbered and outgunned enemy.

What are the root causes of Russian aggression in Ukraine and the catastrophic breakdown in European security system, what are the options for the future world order?

Our main trouble is paradoxical in nature: our future is already with us, but our past has yet to come.

Disintegration of the Soviet empire was an unfinished business - look at the Russian borders where you will see many semi-legal entities - Luhansk and Donetsk "peoples republics", Osetia, Abkhazia. The existence of these parastates is the symptom of the continuing disintegration of the empire - the borders are still unclear, flexible and debatable. And there might be further fault lines in the Caucasus, Kazakhstan and many other territories.

However, Russia is not unique. China and Taiwan, South and North Korea, Kashmir, Israel and Palestine, Syria, Afghanistan - you can easily continue the list of border conflicts, occupied territories, various forms of irredentism.

And the past will be haunting us as long as we do not close all past pages that remain open.

Actually it was Gorbachev who warned prophetically (though in a different context), when he said in 1989 "those who are late are punished by history".

And late we were, catastrophically late, when after the end of the cold war we missed the chance to craft a new world on the ruins of the dilapidated structures of the traditional balance of power system.

When Gorbachev overturned the cold war chessboard it was not just the Russian elite

who was not ready, which explains why Russia has taken the direction that led her into the current shape. The happily slumbering West, used to functioning in a bipolar world, was not ready either. Gorbachev's actions caused consternation and even shock in Western establishments, disrupting as they did the customary rhythm of life and raising challenges the West was not ready for.

As Georgy Arbatov said to Henri Kissinger at one of the public debates "Henri, we will do something really terrible for you (the US), we will deprive you of the enemy". Later Senator Fulbright echoed to this warning: "The USSR ... provided us with excuses for our own failures".

However the West could not resist the temptation to declare itself the absolute winner in the Cold War and the sole heir to history.

For years since, analysts have debated whether the United States incited Russian interventions in Ukraine and other neighbouring countries or whether Moscow's actions were simply unprovoked aggressions. Now this conversation has been muted by the horrors of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine.

However, although it is immoral to blame the United States or the West for Putin's brutal attack on Ukraine, to insist that the invasion was entirely unprovoked is also misleading.

This is in no way a blame shifting attempt, Putin's Russia is certainly alone responsible for the aggression that has already cost colossal loss of life, but the invasion of Ukraine is taking place in a historical and political context in which the United States has played and will continue to play the leading (though far from hegemonic) role.

And if Russians are responsible for keeping Putin in power and thus for letting him to start this Cain's war against Ukraine, the US

and the West are responsible at least for failing to diagnose timely and offset the threat at a much earlier stage. After all you need two for a tango.

So in what way might the United States have provoked Putin?

One thing should be clear: it was not by compromising the security of Russia. Since the end of the Cold War, the Russia has objectively enjoyed greater security than at any time in recent history.

What occurred was what frequently happens even in human relations—there was a failure to realise shared interests in a complex, evolving context.

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Pope John Paul II warned as early as in 1992 that “the Western countries run the risk of seeing this collapse of Communism as a one-sided victory of their own economic system, and thereby failing to make necessary corrections in that system.”

Instead the US and the west rushed to establish “the victory dividends”, quickly converting moral principles of liberalism and democracy into geopolitical instruments. As Condoleezza Rice wrote in the «Foreign Affairs»: “it is America’s job to change the world...Democratic state-building is now an urgent component of our national interest”.

Well, as they say “we wanted the best, you know the rest...”, many regions of the world are still facing the consequences of the “democratic state building” programs, imposed on the people and communities historically and culturally not prepared for it.

As Fareed Zakaria famously noticed: “In the early twentieth century, Woodrow Wilson put before the United States goal: to make the world safe for democracy. In the twenty-first century, our task is to make democracy safe for the world”.

But the new “promised” world looked wonderfully pretty. Democracy—and, indeed, decency—had triumphed (in reality in many countries it was largely a made-to-order imitation). Aggressors would be punished (not always and not everywhere). When difficulties appeared, America would ride in to the rescue, encouraged on by an accommodating Russia and all sorts of other, newly acquired friends. The United Nations was flourishing, and seemed to be finally fulfilling its purpose- “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war”.

None of this lasted long. When cold war ended, half a century of certainties went out the window. And the frosty clarity of the cold war bipolarity had given way to the fog of peace.

Quite soon, after a bloodstained sequence of disasters in —Somalia, Yugoslavia, Chechnya, Rwanda, Albania and Algeria — the pattern looked neither pretty nor orderly. And the self-nominated victors of the Cold War seemed no more able to sort out the world than before.

Indeed, they were no more able to understand it. They found the rise of conflictuality largely incomprehensible and, when they took their eyes from the map, they did not even know what to look at—countries, regions, statelets or tribes, religious organisations, ethnic resentment? It looked as if the ages long conflicts have been “defrosted” in the new world and popping up unpredictably and with accelerating speed.

The west’s failure to recognise the new realities of the world after the end of the cold war and the dismissive attitude to Russia planted the seeds of deep mistrust in the Russian political class.

It is helpful to remind that it is not only Putin, but also his predecessors Boris Yeltsin and Mikhail Gorbachev, who expressed their concern over the U.S. course. The former

U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott recalls in his memoir a conversation when then-President Bill Clinton put himself in Yeltsin's shoes: "We keep telling Ol' Boris, 'Okay, now here's what you've got to do next—here's some more shit for your face.' And that makes it real hard for him, given what he's up against and who he's dealing with." And by the middle of his presidency, even initially pro-Western Yeltsin could not hide his bitterness, saying that President Clinton was treating Russia "like Haiti." "I don't like it when the U.S. flaunts its superiority ... Russia will rise again!" he said, "I repeat: Russia will rise again!"

Gorbachev similarly pointed that, after he let the Berlin Wall come down and worked to put an end to the Cold War, the United States kept trying to "push Russia out of geopolitics", discarding all projects of inclusive European security system.

Neither the Gorbachev promoted project of the "common European home" part of which the reformed Soviet Union was to become, nor the later idea of creating new structures of collective security on the continent (including possible creation of the European Security Council), which could have helped to avoid the tragedy of the bloody war in Yugoslavia, and the modern drama of the Ukraine, were implemented.

And the NATO expansion that many point to as the main reason of the Russia - West discord was perceived within this framework, not so much on the basis of security but rather in the framework of disregard and disrespect. Only this explains why Putin's reckless and criminal decisions evoke huge public support in Russia.

In March 2018, Putin fired up Russian national pride in a fiery speech boasting of powerful new nuclear weapons that "reconfirmed" the status of a great military power that had to be reckoned with, challenging the West: "You didn't listen. So listen to us now."

At that point it became clear- he took the bit

in his teeth. And if it were not for COVID epidemics he would have probably moved into Ukraine earlier.

Has Putin gone nuts? Russia's invasion of Ukraine with its epic failures (the losses of Putin's army in Ukraine are simply unbelievable: during the 50 days of the war, the "second army of the world" lost more than during the 8 years of the war in Syria) so far has prompted comments from numerous observers — from experts to political leaders on the both sides of the Atlantic — and speculation that Putin has become either derailed, perhaps due to pandemic isolation or illness, or misinformed by his entourage and intelligence.

It's not wise to dismissively doubt Putin's sanity or quality of his information, which inadvertently blurs his responsibility for criminal orders – after all he remains the President of the country. To analyse the essence of this aggression, one should not succumb to the temptations to deny Putin and his entourage rationality, fixing attention on the emotions behind their decisions. In any case, most of the steps taken by the Kremlin, both before and after February 24, 2022, look quite rational, if framed by the regime's evaluation of the state of the world.

Firstly, Moscow has not been happy with its role in the liberal world system and its share of the benefits in terms of influence and power projection capacity, especially in comparison to that of "the weak and decadent" West. In the joint statement released by the Kremlin, Putin and Xi called on NATO to rule out expansion in eastern Europe, denounced the formation of security blocs in the Asia Pacific region, and criticised the Aukus trilateral security pact between the US, UK and Australia.

Secondly, according to Moscow the world system itself as a whole and its key elements - the key stakeholders- looked to be in decline. It was not Putin who authored this



idea. Germany's Chancellor Angela Merkel claimed that "the well-trying and familiar framework of order is under strong pressure at the moment." Many also argued that what is known as the liberal international order has been damaged to such a degree that it is hard to return to the status quo ante. As French President Emmanuel Macron puts it, this is not "an interlude in history before things return to normal [...] because we are currently experiencing a crisis of the effectiveness and principles of our contemporary world order, which will not be able to get back on track or return to how it functioned before."

Thirdly, Kremlin believed the erosion of governance institutions system has gone beyond repair, since the principles of the 20th and 21st centuries intertwined in it have been largely irreconcilable. In fact it was also not entirely baseless. The institutional architecture of globalisation failed to develop as had been hoped. The World Trade Organization, established in 1995, found itself in agony, just 25 years after its creation. Plans for global institutions to oversee investment, competition, or climate and environment are shelved. The whole system of the basic international arms control and security agreements (from NPT to Open Skies and New START treaties) was in limbo, etc. It was not incidental that on April 19 a group of more than 200 former senior UN officials have written to the UN secretary general, António Guterres, warning him that unless he does more personally to take a lead in trying to mediate a peace in Ukraine, the UN risks not just irrelevance, but its continued existence.

30 Consequently, fourthly, the Russian ruling class reckoned that triggering the system's collapse should bring dividends to its perpetrators. Putin, who considers USSR implosion "the greatest geopolitical catastrophe", concluded that the time has come for decisive action. And if South Ossetia and Abkhazia could be considered elements of a (bad) foreign policy, and the seizure of Crimea could be considered an (illegal and ill-conceived) attempt to secure the Russian fleet in the Black Sea, then the attack on Ukraine was no longer even draped. Putin considered the scores for the collapse of the USSR unresolved, and the post-cold war transformations required revision.

Therefore, the aggression is not just about Ukraine, in fact Russia tests in Ukraine the US and the West's "acceptability red lines".

Thus, the war in Ukraine is seen in Moscow as a stage in the destruction of norms, rules and institutions of the modern world system: it was supposed to show the insignificance of NATO, the EU, the OSCE, the transatlantic partnership in the face of a Russian attack, the inability of the West to present a united front. And even the failure of the blitzkrieg and the level of sanctions unexpected for the Kremlin do not weaken the grim determination to break the old world, but rather exacerbate it: people familiar with the situation at the top say that they are now in euphoria from the "historical moment", from the global collapse of institutions, rules, norms, from the disastrous Karamazov's "everything is permitted."

Also this decision fits into the general logic of public administration in Russia. Its perniciousness was due not to the specifics of Russian policy towards Ukraine, but to more fundamental factors, that include:

- the characteristics of the Russian political regime,
- the mechanisms of governance of the Russian state,
- misconceptions about the possible consequences of decisions made, and
- likely assessments of the consequences of one's own actions based on previous wars' experience.

It is very important in this moment to take a sober and balanced look at the situation, to be conscious of the existence of both external and internal core reasons of the crisis. And let's not forget that many western observers used to say that Putin played a weak hand skilfully.



However, Putin has played a weak hand well exactly because the United States and its allies have let him, tolerating Russia to violate arms control treaties, international law, the sovereignty of its neighbours, and the integrity of elections in the United States and Europe. Actually, Putin had outmaneuvered the United States and its allies, who played a strong hand poorly.

Washington and Europe stood by as Putin increased Russian military capabilities, and did little as he probed and tested Western resolve, first in Georgia in 2008 and then in Ukraine in 2014.

They didn't act when Putin consolidated Russia's position in Belarus or when he established a robust Russian presence in Syria, from which his weapons could reach the southeastern flank of NATO.

And if his "special military operation" in Ukraine had gone as planned, with the country subdued in a matter of days (even the US intelligence expected initially that Kiev will fall in 48-72 hours), it would have been a triumphant coup, the end of the first stage of Russia's "comeback" and the beginning of the second. And rather than excoriating him for his inhumane folly, the world would again be talking about Putin's "savvy" and his "genius."

But he is neither a savvy nor a genius. Simply the western political class has never faced a thug among their ranks before. And Putin has the psychology of a thug. If he starts a conflict, then this conflict must end with the complete destruction of the opponent. He can't back down and he won't back down. He never allows himself to show weakness, he never admits mistakes, he never compromises, he never agrees to anything, he only, increases the pressure.

Putin and his entourage see the world as a map with borders, zones of influence, fortified objects and bomb and missile targets. Next to each country name there is a relevant "caliber" tag. There are powerful and independent powers with the prefix "super-"; there are simply great powers, there are regional- and, of course, "just ordinary" countries- pawns in the "super league" games. People on this map do not count as they simply do not exist: they are indistinguishable at this scale, when the world is looked at through the bomber sight.

And now it's naive to expect anything else from him. He may pretend to compromise for tactical purposes, to gain breathing space, to regroup the troops, to rebuild military supply infrastructure, or simply to mislead the enemy.

Therefore, in Putin's case, it is impossible to seriously count on compromises- he has crossed the Rubicon, his total defeat is required. Otherwise instead of UN proclaimed "perpetual peace" ideal we will face perpetual unpeace in reality, because this war has all chances to fit into 60% of the modern wars that have lasted for at least a decade.

From Afghanistan to Libya, Syria to Congo DRC. Neat and tidy wars endings, even if sometimes illusory, are rare these days. As the defence strategist Sean McFate warned: "Future wars will not begin and end; instead, they will hibernate and smoulder". But in this particular case we have the war that is not sealed against nuclear escalation unfortunately. Otherwise we will have another endless war but this time with a nuclear powers participation or involvement.

Henry Kissinger famously stated: "The new World Order is not installed as an emergency

measure. But for its emergence the world needs extraordinary circumstances.” It looks with COVID-19 and now full-scale war in Europe we are not in short supply of them.

However, global governance indeed begs not just for modern institutions’ reform because of their credibility has been substantially eroded by inaction and lack of solidarity, but for revision and remodelling because their inadequacy and inefficiency has become ever-present, crying and overwhelming- redefining multilateralism will not be enough we will have to reinvent it.

The notion of interstate relations no longer captures the entirety of the global interactions. Look at The Black Lives Matter movement spreading across the world like a wildfire...it is not just antiracist or national, it is more profound, and to large extent this was provoked by the existing global governance system inadequacies. A key driving force behind them is a deep awareness of the need for radical change – not reforms to a “perfectly engineered system”, but the desire to replace the entire mechanism and start anew.

Traditional world order seems to be too tight for development of humankind, it’s like when a teenager all of a sudden finds his jeans too tight having simply grown out of his clothing.

The article is not proper place to talk about the details of a new system of international

relations, but de facto its outlines are dimly visible. The emerging system resembles a hybrid of a bipolar and Vienna “concert” system, with only two “concerts” playing at the same time- authoritarian and liberal. This looks like a new iteration of a familiar balance of power system in a new disguise.

However, we need to change not just our clothes. Instead of interstate world system we need to develop inter-social forms of effective multilateralism to face global challenges and opportunities.

Today’s circumstances call for an updated “operating system”—call it “effective multilateralism” or “pluri-lateralism”—that is based not only on Westphalian sovereign states pattern but involves also nascent stakeholders of the global international society.

The gap between the expanding networked pluri-lateral world and governance, traditionally understood and applied within post-Westphalian concepts is widening and feeding disorder and disruptiveness of the global system. And this gap will not be bridged by any new iterations of a traditional uni-, bi- or even multi-polar global world order.

Albert Einstein said that the definition of insanity is doing the same thing over and over again and expecting a different outcome. As an historian, I have the rather disappointing impression that this is a very fitting description of how we have dealt with the crises inevitably producing two new ones replacing one we dealt with in the result.

We are all now deeply, deeply interconnected and the current model of multipolarity with the diverging perspectives of its states as the only poles has become not only obsolete but dangerous on many counts.

And the prescription was given 100 years ago by President Woodrow Wilson: “There must be, not a balance of power, but a community of power; not organised rivalries, but an organised common peace”.

We have been trying to achieve it reshuffling states based governance system over and over again with the same outcome. Maybe its time to listen to Einstein and try something new?

## THE WILL AND COURAGE TO STAND UP TO A MODERN-DAY THREAT TO WORLD PEACE

We, the undersigned Former Leaders and civil society representatives of countries of the European Union, the Balkans, Eastern Europe and Middle East wish to express our grave concern about the rapidly growing threat of large-scale armed conflict that is threatening Ukraine's sovereignty, political independence, unity, and territorial integrity.

The ongoing, almost eight-year-long interstate conflict -- which has resulted in the illegal occupation and attempted annexation of vast parts of Ukraine's territory -- poses a serious challenge to the international security order.

The conflict's humanitarian cost has also been distressing. The military hostilities alone took the lives of 14 000, injured over 25 thousand, and displaced more than 1.4 million persons from their homes. Massive and systemic human rights violations hurt the lives of Ukrainians remaining in the occupied territories.

Regretfully, until now, the international community has not been able to resolve this conflict through the available mechanisms of international law. It is especially worrying that the international organizations entrusted with maintaining world peace have not been able to enforce the rules-based international order essential to peace, security, and prosperity.

As a result, we observe further destabilization in the region, growing security risks for the entire European continent, and new threats to world peace.

We are sounding the alarm to prevent an irreversible destructive scenario from unfolding. We must take lessons from the bitter experiences of the twentieth century and dedicate all our efforts to reversing a march towards conflict, and support a rules-based international multilateralism that reinforces human rights and national sovereignty and territorial integrity as stated in the UN charter.

Today, the world is not blind. We can discern the truth from lies. We have the wisdom to see the catastrophic consequences of the path of destruction for our future. And we must be determined to remove modern-day threats to world peace.

Ukraine, a founding member of the United Nations, and one of the greatest contributors to world peace as a country that voluntarily gave up the world's third-biggest nuclear arsenal, must receive full support from the international community.

To demonstrate their commitment to peace, security, and justice, our governments must take determined and timely action to restore peace and security in Ukraine and defend a rules based international order based on the principle of equality of sovereign nations, denouncing spheres of influence, and upholding human rights as a foundation of peace and stability.

Our governments must promote conditions under which the fundamental principles of the international order are maintained. We have the tools, and we must use them. Assertive enforcement of international law can be a formidable deterrent to any aggressive actors pursuing malicious agendas in an effort to reshape our world.

We encourage the leaders of the United States, the European Union, G20 countries to form a united front at a time of an unprecedented challenge to global peace and security.

We also call on the international community to provide material, financial, and military assistance to the government of Ukraine to help it to adequately defend itself.

All our nations stand to lose from any dismantling or weakening of the international order. If we want the world to prosper, and to enjoy global security, we must reject any policies undermining the very foundation of modern rules

based international order. We must find the will and courage to stand up against any violations of international law. By ensuring Ukraine's peace and stability and defending its territorial integrity our governments would also be protecting the peace security of the entire European continent and beyond. It would help to make the world safer for everyone.

# SIGNED:

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Bertie Ahern, Prime Minister of Ireland 1997-2008  
Abdulaziz Altwaijri, former Director General of ISESCO  
Michael Dukakis, Governor of Massachusetts 1975-1979, 1983-1991  
Jan Fisher, Prime Minister of the Czech Republic 2009-2010  
Chiril Gaburici, Prime Minister of Moldova 2015  
Toomas Hendrik Ilves, President of Estonia 2006-2016  
Kerry Kennedy, President Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights  
Mats Karlsson, Vice-President of the World Bank 1999-2002  
Aleksandr Kwasniewski, President of Poland 1995-2005  
Leonid Kuchma, President of Ukraine 1994-2005  
Andrius Kubilius, Prime Minister of Lithuania 2008-2012  
Zlatko Lagumdžija, Prime Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina 2001-2002, deputy Prime Minister 2012-2015  
Igor Luksic, Prime Minister of Montenegro 2010-2012  
Rexhep Meidani, President of Albania 1997-2002  
Rovshan Muradov, Secretary General NGIC  
Shuvaloy Mujumdar, Foreign Policy Program Director & Munk Senior Fellow, Macdonald Laurier Institute, Canada  
Francis O'Donnell, Amb. (ret., SMOM) & UN Resident Coordinator in Ukraine 2004-2009  
Rosen Plevneliev, President of Bulgaria 2012-2017  
Petre Roman, Prime Minister of Romania 1989-1991, Speaker of the Parliament 1996-1999, Minister of Foreign Affairs 1999-2000  
Paul Revay, former Director Trilateral Europe, Trustee Friends of Europe, Paris  
Petar Stoyanov, President of Bulgaria 1997-2002  
Rosalia Arteago Serrano, President of Ecuador 1997  
Laimdota Straujuma, Prime Minister of Latvia 2014-2016  
Ismail Serageldin, Vice-President of the World Bank 1992-2000  
Eka Tkeshelashvili, deputy Prime Minister of Georgia  
Vaira Vike-Freiberga, President of Latvia 1999-2007  
Kateryna Yushchenko, First Lady of Ukraine 2005-2010  
Viktor Yushchenko, President of Ukraine 2005-2010  
Valdis Zatlers, President of Latvia 2007-2011  
Nguyen Anh Tuan, CEO of the Boston Global Forum

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# BAKU PEACE DISCUSSIONS

Our world has been severely impacted over the past two years by the devastating pandemic that has cost millions of lives and ravaged livelihoods and whole societies and economies. Through collective effort, we can bring it to an end.

Yet just as hopes were rising of reaching a post-pandemic state, our world was shocked again, on 24 February, when Russia's military began new moves across Ukraine's border. The implications are serious for all, particularly for those losing their lives on both sides and those fleeing across borders. Among other impacts will be the effects on the global economy's capacity to recover from the pandemic. The terrible impacts are immediate and will have painful, wide-ranging effects for years to come.

We, as members of the Nizami Ganjavi International Centre (NGIC), headquartered in Baku, Azerbaijan, call for urgent dialogue between Russia and Ukraine with a view to ending the hostilities immediately. Time is of the essence. The situation becomes worse and more people lose their lives with every moment that passes. Too many innocent lives are being lost and this situation cannot be allowed to continue.

We acknowledge and appreciate the call of the President of Azerbaijan to host both parties for peace discussions in Baku, Azerbaijan. Baku is a neutral venue for such discussions, having already been a platform for a meeting of top Russian and NATO generals for talks on preventing military incidents. We fervently hope the parties will accept this offer and that Baku can play an important role in solving this biggest security crisis which

Europe has faced since the end of World War Two.

## SIGNED:

Vaira Vike-Freiberga, President of Latvia 1999-2007

Helen Clark, Prime Minister of New Zealand 1999-2008

Ismail Serageldin, Vice-President of the World Bank 1992-2000

Abdulaziz Altwaijri, former Director-General of ISESCO

Farida Allaghi, former Libyan Ambassador to EU

Shaukat Aziz, Prime Minister of Pakistan 2004-2007

Sali Berisha, President of Albania 1992-1997, Prime Minister 2005-2013

Ana Birchall, deputy Prime Minister of Romania 2018-2019

Gordon Brown, Prime Minister of UK 2007-2010

Herman de Croo, Minister of State of Belgium, Speaker of the House 1999-2007

Hikmet Cetin, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey 1991-1994, Speaker of the Grand National Assembly 1997-1999, deputy Prime Minister 1995

Robert Cekuta, US Ambassador to Azerbaijan 2015-2018

Emil Constantinescu, President of Romania 1996-2000

Maria Fernanda Espinosa, 73rd President of the UN General Assembly, Minister of National Defense of Ecuador 2012-2014, Minister of Foreign Affairs 2017-2018

- Susan Elliott, President, National Committee on American Foreign Policy
- Franco Frattini, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy 2002-2004, 2008-2011, European Commissioner 2004-2008
- Jan Fisher, Prime Minister of the Czech Republic 2009-2010
- Chiril Gaburici, Prime Minister of Moldova 2015
- Ameenah Gurib-Fakim, President of Mauritius 2015-2018
- Mladen Ivanic, President of Bosnia and Herzegovina 2014-2018
- Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, Secretary-General OIC 2004-2014
- Ivo Josipovic, President of Croatia 2010-2015
- Gjorge Ivanov, President of North Macedonia 2009-2019
- Kerry Kennedy, President Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights
- Mats Karlsson, Vice-President of the World Bank 1999-2002
- Kolinda Grabar Kitarovic, President of Croatia 2015-2020
- Zlatko Lagumdžija, Prime Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina 2001-2002, deputy Prime Minister 2012-2015
- Igor Luksic, Prime Minister of Montenegro 2010-2012, Minister of Foreign Affairs 2012-2016
- Petru Lucinschi, President of Moldova 1997-2001
- Budimir Loncar, Last Minister for Foreign Affairs of Former Yugoslavia 1987-1991
- Giorgi Margvelashvili, President of Georgia 2013-2018
- Moussa Mara, Prime Minister of Mali 2014-2015
- Rexhep Meidani, President of Albania 1997-2002
- Amre Moussa, Secretary-General Arab League 2001-2011, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Egypt 1991-2001
- Peter Medgyessy, Prime Minister of Hungary 2002-2004
- Joseph Muscat, Prime Minister of Malta 2013-2020
- Rovshan Muradov, Secretary-General, Nizami Ganjavi International Center
- Festus Mogae, President of Botswana 1998-2008
- Stjepan Mesic, President of Croatia 2000-2010
- Francis Martin O'Donnell, SMOM Ambassador (ret.); UN Resident Coordinator in Ukraine 2004-2009
- Djoomart Otorbayev, Prime Minister of Kyrgyzstan 2014-2015, deputy Prime Minister 2002-2005, Senior Advisor of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD, London) 2006-2011
- Rosen Plevneliev, President of Bulgaria 2012-2017
- George Parvanov, President of Bulgaria 2002-2012
- Petre Roman, Prime Minister of Romania 1989-1991, Speaker of the Parliament 1996-1999, Minister of Foreign Affairs 1999-2000
- Abdelraouf Salem Nahar al-Rawabdeh, Prime Minister of Jordan 1999-2000, President of the Senate 2013-2015
- Hedva Ser, Goodwill Ambassador of UNESCO
- Laimdota Straujuma, Prime Minister of Latvia 2014-2016
- Petar Stoyanov, President of Bulgaria 1997-2002
- Rosalía Arteago Serrano, President of Ecuador 1997
- Boris Tadic, President of Serbia 2004-2012
- Eka Tkeshelashvili, deputy Prime Minister of Georgia 2010-2012
- Raimonds Vejonis, President of Latvia 2015-2019
- Filip Vujanovic, President of Montenegro 2003-2018
- Carlos Westendorp, Minister of Foreign Affairs 1995-1996, High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina 1997-1999

