



**NIZAMI GANJAVI  
INTERNATIONAL  
CENTER**

# **VII GLOBAL BAKU FORUM “A NEW FOREIGN POLICY”**



**14-16 March 2019  
Baku, Azerbaijan**

## OPENING CEREMONY: A NEW FOREIGN POLICY



Moderator: **Ismail Serageldin**, Vice President of the World Bank 1992-2000; Co-Chair of NGIC

Special Address: **Ilham Aliyev**, President of the Republic of Azerbaijan

**Ashraf Ghani** President of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan

**Illir Meta**, President of the Republic of Albania

**Sefik Dzaferovic**, Member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina

**Igor Dodon**, President of the Republic of Moldova

**Milo Dukanovic**, President of Montenegro

**Boyko Borisov**, Prime Minister of the Republic of Bulgaria

**Sergio Mattarella**, President of the Italian Republic

(message) delivered by **Augusto Massari**, Ambassador of to Italian Republic to the Republic of Azerbaijan

**Theresa May**, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

(message) **Carole Crofts**, Ambassador of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Republic of Azerbaijan

**Antonio Guterres**, Secretary-General of the United Nations (message) delivered by **Mirjana Spoljaric Egger**, Assistant Secretary-General of the UN; Assistant Administrator of UNDP and Director of the Regional Bureau for Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States

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

*«Azerbaijan's foreign policy is independent. It is based on national interests and directed towards partnership, mutual cooperation and stability. The Global Baku Forum is one of the most important international platforms to address the urgent issues of global agenda.»*

**Ilham Aliyev**  
President of the Republic of Azerbaijan



*«This Forum is coming at a particularly critical moment, when the wisdom and experience of the eminent participants will be needed more than ever. Welcome to this global discussion at a time when the world is coming once more to a terrible crossroads... At a time, when new thinking will be needed for all nations to formulate “A New Foreign Policy”.»*

**Ismail Serageldin**  
Vice President of the World Bank 1992-2000;  
Co-Chair of NGIC

*We should not accept a vision of global reality being a hostile environment lacking regulations and trust. International competition, as a part of the new global constellation, cannot and should not be ignored. A great global match brings about serious challenges and fears. However, it does not necessarily have to mean a confrontation. A faith in cooperation lost in advance means entering a battle for sustainable global peace, security, stability, and prosperity which is lost in advance.*

**Sefik Dzaferovic**  
Member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina



*The critical task is to make the foreign familiar. Moving from foreign policy to partner policy is a different conceptual journey that needs to be undertaken by today's statesmen and women. We need to think about its operational definition and what is required from us, as leaders and managers, to define it. This has not received sufficient attention and debate.*

*We should delegate this task to a group of leaders to seriously brainstorm approaches and the Baku Forum is an excellent avenue. Partial solutions, however brilliant and important, risk misalignment. Our solutions must address interdependence of competing global problem through principled pragmatism.*

**Ashraf Ghani**  
President of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan

*The European Union is a place which has no alternative with regards to the freedom of speech, democracy and the rule of law.*

**Boyko Borisov**  
Prime Minister of the Republic of Bulgaria





*In order to remain one of the creators of world politics, to be competitive and to remain in a great game, Europe must be united throughout its continent, with built immunity to populism and nationalism of any sign, thus giving way to progressive world trends. In this way, Europe will contribute to preserving Euro-Atlanticism as one of the greatest civilizational world achievements after the Second World War.*

*For a new age, adequate foreign policy is needed in all countries, big and small, old and new. Especially in this time of accelerated history, new political and security challenges, new technologies, thanks to which diplomacy becomes digital.*

**Milo Dukanovic**  
President of Montenegro



*We, representatives of small countries, are following with particular concern evolution of tensions between the global players. Under these conditions, it is practically impossible to move from confrontation to dialogue. On the other hand, if small countries show more solidarity and partnership, they will be able to ensure that our interests will be taken into account in the framework of building a more sustainable system of international security.*

**Igor Dodon**  
President of the Republic of Moldova

*More than seven decades after the end of the World War II, and almost after three decades since the end of the Cold War, the world order is again uncertain for its future. It seems that the current international order is in trouble to address all these new fast developments, threats and challenges. The world is changing very fast and we have to be prepared for those changes.*

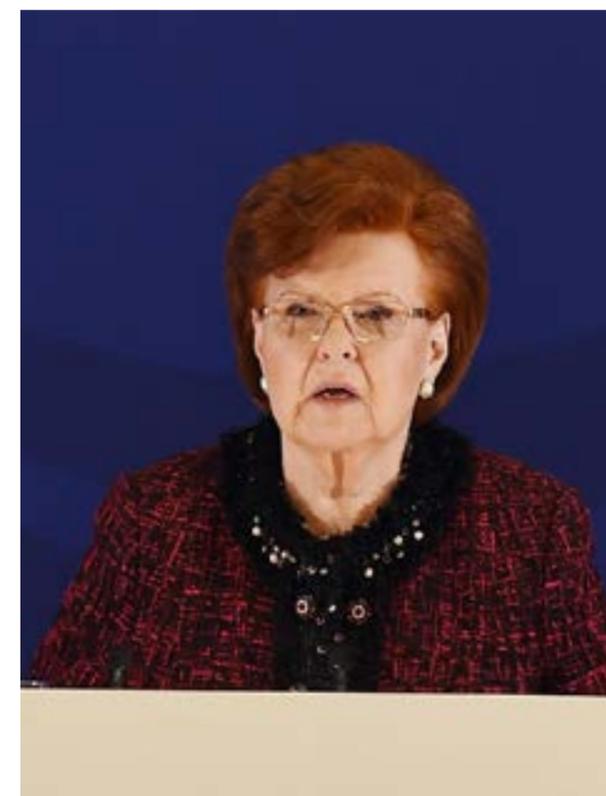
**Illir Meta**  
President of Albania



*The French have a pessimistic saying: “ The more things change, the more they remain the same”.*

*That certainly seems to apply as far as conflicts and confrontations are concerned. Territorial conflicts remain unchanged, while new conflicts arise, both between countries and different factions within countries. Yet all of them could be resolved with sufficient goodwill, hard work and imagination, if only citizens would see the wisdom of doing so and decision makers made the commitment to make it happen.*

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





*The pressing challenges of our time require a truly participated reflection involving both Governments and representatives of civil-society in order to design sustainable public policies with a wide endorsement.*

*I seize this opportunity to reaffirm my appreciation for your activities and to wish the “Global Baku Forum” every success.*

**Sergio Mattarella**  
President of the Italian Republic



*The United Kingdom and Azerbaijan’s cooperation as strategic energy partners makes a significant contribution to our mutual prosperity and security and is set to continue for decades to come. This year’s Global Forum will address the challenges of changing global politics and promote dialogue and understanding between former, serving and future leaders.*

*Let me congratulate the Forum’s organizers, the Nizami Ganjavi International Centre, in taking forward the heritage of the great poet Nizami Ganjavi.*

**Theresa May**  
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of  
Great Britain and Northern Ireland



*Our world faces a paradox: challenges are increasingly interconnected, yet responses are fragmented. From environmental threats and armed conflicts to rising inequality and intolerance, multilateralism is needed more than ever. But simply saying this is not enough. We need to show that we are mobilizing solutions that respond to people’s fears and anxieties, and that build a fair globalization that works for all.*

**Antonio Guterres**  
UN Secretary General

## PRESENTATION OF THE NIZAMI GANJAVI INTERNATIONAL AWARD



*Recipients of the Nizami Ganjavi international Award 2019*

*Ashraf Ghani* President of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan

*Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights* presented to *Kerry Kennedy*, President of Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights

Nizami Ganjavi International Award was presented to His Excellency Ashraf Ghani for “his contribution to international security and peace”.

President Ghani: as a child Nizami Ganjavi poetry inspired me: discipline, imagination and learning. I couldn’t be more honored and pleased to receive this award.

Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights was awarded “in recognition of their work towards protecting and teaching human rights, inspiring young leaders and educating vulnerable children in various countries”.



Kerry Kennedy: Nizami was saying that each time you go to the different country or learn about different culture is like a pearl; each one is the pearl with its own wisdom and its own beauty. He said how strong all these pearls are together. And that’s changed my life. And all of us here today come from different countries with different perspectives. This organization is stringing us all together towards a better future, the future based on love, human dignity, human rights and democracy and that’s why I’m happy to be here!

# Panel 1: BIG POWER'S ROLE IN SHIFTING GLOBAL POLICY: CHINA, US, RUSSIA AND EU



*Fareed Zakaria, Host of CNN's Fareed Zakaria GPS*  
*Kjell Magne Bondevik, Prime Minister of Norway 1997-2000; 2001-2005*  
*Werner Faymann, Chancellor of Austria 2008-2016*  
*Wu Hailong, President of Chinese People Institute of Foreign Affairs*  
*Kerry Kennedy, President of Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights*  
*Vaira Vike-Freiberga, President of Latvia 1999-2007, Co-Chair of NGIC*

This is an extraordinary opportunity that we have to have a conversation about the future of the world, the future of the international system with some of the key players in it, people who have headed governments, people who are leaders of the civil society, people who have intellectual ideas about where the world is going. The international system has gone through a remarkable period of change in the last 10 years. Because ever since the fall of the Soviet Union we have lived in what was really a unipolar world - a single superpower dominating the world - politically, militarily, economically and culturally. That period has really almost no precedent in history - unless you go back to the Roman Empire you really have no circumstance when one country was so dominant in the world. And that period is now at an end. I wrote a book in 2007 called "The Post-American World" and many people doubt it whether we were really entering that world. But let me point out just some salient features of the world we are in now. 20 years ago China was 2% of global GDP - today it is 15% of global GDP. 20 years ago the emerging markets were about 7 to 9% of global GDP. They are now about 50% of global GDP. If you look at the political realm - you begin to see greater and greater regionalism, greater and greater regional institutions, practices - from the Asian banks that China has championed to the processes in Latin America for greater regional cooperation there, if you look - even militarily you begin to see is military spending growing sufficiently faster in places like China, but not just China alone, India, Indonesia - that you see a very substantial shift in the balance of power. And all this is of course reflected in the realities on the ground. So if you look at the Middle East - one way look at what is happening in the Middle East over the last five years is to recognize that you have had an absence of American power and leadership - that is a power

vacuum which is than has been filled by Iran, by Russia, by Saudi Arabia, and to a lesser extent, by Israel. All these regional powers have been jockeying for influence and power whether it is in Syria, whether it is in Lebanon, and the great absence in the room as it were is the country that used to dominate the Middle East - the United States. And that is simply one example I think of a post-American world that is emerging. Now understand that I do not mean by that a non-American world - the United States remains the single largest and the most powerful country in the world, but it has to learn to live in the world of other great powers in the way that it has not for a long time. That is the challenge for America. The challenge for the world is to find some ways to solve problems, manage processes, achieve stability without a single superpower, without the dominant hegemon, and as the Middle East - shows, that is not always easy. These regional powers are not often prone to cooperation, they are prone toward

conflict. That strikes me as a kind of outline of the world we are entering, and I thought I would begin by asking our Chinese friend – *what the world looks like to China? What is this emerging world look to what is indisputably now the second most important country in the world?*

### Wu Hailong, President of Chinese People Institute of Foreign Affairs

Now we face an uncertain and unpredictable and very complicated world – so that is why people worry about the future development of this world and also people's worry and a concern what the major powers are going to play in this world and here I want to say something about my country – as you mentioned, the China's economic development is very fast, especially during the past 40 years, we have made a great contribution to the world economic development. I think according to the statistics, China has contributed to 30% of the world GDP, and China is also one of the biggest contributors to the UN peacekeeping forces and also all the UN activities. Especially from this year, China will contribute each year nearly around 10 billion Yuan to all UN activities and it takes 12% of the UN budget. Among 5 largest countries China is the largest country to send its peacekeeping troops in the world and also several years ago China initiates One Belt – One Road cooperation and so far more than 140 countries and international organizations signed an agreement and the next month there will be a second Summit of One Belt – One Road initiative will be held. Also, China is developing very fast and I think that the policy of the Chinese government is to take peace development policy. Our foreign policy is a peaceful to promote good cooperation with all the countries. In the future China will get stronger and stronger, and without dominant anything, we will play active and constructive role in the world development and help to strengthen international order and world peace.

**Moderator:** The world's leading declining power is Russia, in the factual sense – Russia is a great power that has been in decline for the next 20-30 years if you compare where it was as the Soviet Union. And in that process it has been trying to determine its policy towards its neighbors, towards

the West and towards the world has been. I thought I would also Vaira Vike-Freiberga, President of the country that has to deal with Russia - what do you make of Russia today, what are the ambitions of Russia, Mr. Putin, and how should the world handle it?



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

We have been influenced by the actions of Russia for past few centuries, ever since the Swedes lost the Great Northern War, and large tracts of territories on the Eastern shores of the Baltic sea became part of the Tsarist Empire. Latvia was one of the countries that actively participated in the 1905 failed revolution, actively participated in the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, and got its independence as a result of the collapse of the Tsarist Empire. Then, after a mere 20 years of independence between the two World Wars, the region was repeatedly carved up by neighboring great powers. First, there was the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact between Hitler and Stalin, then, the Yalta and Tehran conferences between the Allies of the second world war when, as a generous gift of Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt to Comrade Stalin, the incorporation of Latvia into the Soviet Union was accepted de facto, as was that of neighboring Estonia and Lithuania. Azerbaijan and a number of other

countries, of course, had been incorporated into the Soviet Union much earlier.

I do not think that we should sound too weepy when we say that America was left as the only hegemon in the world after the Soviet Union collapsed. – Quite the contrary, it must be recalled that the result of the collapse of that evil totalitarian empire allowed for the birth and rebirth of a number of nations – , Latvia, Azerbaijan and many others.

It was truly a happy day when the Soviet Union finally collapsed of its own internal weaknesses and inadequacies and the captive nations recovered their freedom and independence. After brutally enforced communism they now had the chance to develop as democratic nations, and the people of Russia had exactly the same opportunities and freedoms of choice as those in the other so-called republics.

Unfortunately, by that time it had become customary to say “Russia” when in fact the Soviet Union was meant. Both within Russia itself as well as across the world, “Russia” was perceived as identical with the Soviet Union. That is a serious mistake, which has had serious consequences. Contemporary Russia is no more the mighty Soviet Union than to-day's Great Britain is the Empire that it used to be under Queen Victoria. For the people of Russia, it has created the need to find themselves a new place in a new world both psychologically and politically. It is really up to the Russian people to build themselves a modern (and hopefully – democratic) identity which they feel comfortable with, and we, as their neighbors, will feel much more comfortable as well once they have become at peace with themselves.

**Moderator:** Could you apply this to Ukraine? Are we condemned to live in a situation where there will be a permanent war, where Russia will permanently occupy part of Ukraine. Is there a possible solution?

**President Freiberga:** Theoretically, the solution should have been found along the lines of the so-called Minsk protocol, which had called for a ceasefire in 2014 under the auspices of the OSCE. When that failed to produce any results, the so-called Minsk II addendum was agreed on by the leaders of Ukraine, France, Germany and Russia,

but that too failed to resolve what is by now a frozen conflict.

The current situation in Ukraine presents a tragic object lesson on how little trust can be placed in international agreements when one of the parties shows deliberate ill will. When Ukraine, along with Belarus and Kazakhstan voluntarily gave up its arsenal of nuclear weapons between 1994 and 1996, it was given signed assurances about its sovereignty and territorial integrity by three nuclear powers – the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the USA. (China and France gave somewhat weaker assurances in separate documents). One of these powers – the Russian Federation, has flagrantly breached this agreement, while the others have done nothing but to look helplessly on. While some parties like Germany under Chancellor Merkel have expended tremendous efforts trying to move the process forward, it is clear that Russia has no intention of stepping back. According to the Budapest memorandum of 1994, any attack on Ukraine's territorial integrity should have received a response on the international level. But with Russia as the originator of the conflict, hence - a concerned and interested party, one can hardly expect it to be a neutral observer and evaluator of the situation. There is a serious need for more international intervention in normalizing a situation that is definitely not normal at the present.

### Werner Faymann, Chancellor of Austria 2008-2016

**Moderator:** The big factor of international politics that we have not talked about is the absence of Europe as a player on the world stage. This was the region of the world that invented geopolitics, that invented the idea of purposeful international affairs, countries pursuing foreign and national interests, and what is remarkable is that Europe has become a non-entity – is that true? Is there anything that can be done because this is the other great center of liberalism in the world, outside of the United States – and if we are concerned about upholding certain liberal norms, rules and values it certainly does not help to have Europe as a non-entity.

**Werner Faymann:** at the moment the EU has a huge discussion in itself. During the economic

crisis of 2008 I had the feeling that the EU and member states learned that it is necessary to join forces to overcome the crisis.



many challenges the most important thing beside the framework like free trade is to have enough power, not only resources, resources of research, of people, because if we really want to solve problems of environmental issues, sustainability, then we need to join these forces in Europe again. Future of the competition is the future of software, the future of solution is in green technologies. Europe has to find this way to be strong again.

### Kjell Magne Bondevik, Prime Minister of Norway 1997-2000; 2001-2005

**Moderator:** Mr. Bondevik, how you react to this conversation about Europe's role in the world and its ability to come together - because you managed to do it in the way that you stay outside of the EU, but closely allied to it. The British who are exploring every possible option in the world in terms of their relationship to Europe, the number of people in the GB are settling a so-called Norway option, which is this not fully in and not fully out aspect to the EU.

Well, as coming from a small peace-loving country up in the high North of Europe, we see that the political international landscape is changing around us and of course the EU - despite we are not a member of the EU, we are very close to them through the European economic area agreement. But we are also neighbors of Russia - and we rely on the United States as the main ally in the NATO. So it is very turbulent around us right now, we see the landscape changing, because after the end of the cold war US was playing an active international role, under President Clinton who serves at the same time as I was Prime Minister, under Obama - now is changing. President Trump is withdrawing from international agreements. We see that China is showing remarkable economic development, brought millions of people out of extreme poverty, now they are playing a more active international role and they getting are stronger. Russia after the cold was trying to find itself a way forward - now under President Putin they are having a more nationalistic approach, but they are also stronger and more offensive to their neighbors. EU after the cold war has strengthened and consolidated their position and got many new members. Now we see

that Union has strong internal problems - Brexit as an example, but I think the main challenge is how they should combine enlargement and having the ambition of covering the whole Europe. At the same time, according to the Maastricht Treaty, they should deepen their cooperation. Norway found a very good solution. Not being member of that Union, but having very close cooperation with them through the European economic area. I do not think that this is an option for the UK. But we also see that in specific regions of the world of today cooperation is getting closer - for instance, Central Asia. I think on the future of active regions will be developing closer cooperation policies with neighbors. What will be the consequence of this - the main and a positive one - no country will be dominating the world policy, even the US. It will be more of a question of several centers of power of the world depending on each other. That should not only be a competition, but more like a partnership between different power centers. And this requires that US will have to take a more active role in international politics, not withdrawing from it. And it will require from the EU to reconsider their structure. Do they have ambitions for deepening the integration, or should it be more a more flexible organization with the ambition of covering the whole Europe. You cannot do both at the same time. We need more multilateralism. It is our chance to make a new foreign policy of equality and partnership instead of one or two dominating the world.

**Moderator:** Kerry Kennedy, how you react to that idea that the United States needs both get used to that fact that it is not the dominant player, but also get more active in the world, because you see a lot of people who accept the first, but not the second, you see many who are nostalgic for the second, in a sense the challenge can the United States have a different relationship with the world and help it as halvanize and act as a catalyst bring together countries to solve problems where America is with its relationship to the world right now.

**Kerry Kennedy:** Our country at its roots is in a very good position to both be a leader in the world and also bring more people to the table - because that really what America is at our very best. The

strength of America is not its military even though it's the largest in history of the world, and its not our economy even though our economy is the largest in the world - soon to be overtaken by our friends here from China - but really the greatest strength of America is the idea of America, the idea of the nation of immigrants, the idea of the place of freedom, an idea of the place where people are judged not upon the color of the skin, but the content of their character. And a place of human rights - that is why people flood to our country, because they want prosperity, they want peace and they want a chance to make a difference and have the next generation be stronger than the last. So we are in the great position to do that. At this moment we have a disaster for President. He has withdrawn from the TPP, he has withdrawn from Paris Climate Change Agreement, he has endeared himself to dictators, he put an oil company in charge of state department, he said the torture is good. But here is the good news: we are the country that has strong institutions, and we can withstand the disaster of Donald Trump. We and other countries of the world have built a strong system of international organizations, institutions and laws based on the universal declarations of human rights, the UN and so many others and we are going to hold on to those. We are going to move forward, embrace them and they are going to create the change and the type of the world we need to have in the future so that all of us can be more free and more prosperous.

**Moderator:** Let me press you on that more eloquent point on specifically on human rights which is in many ways your life now; Donald Trump is really reverse course as well, when Donald Trump talks to whether it is Russia or Saudi Arabia, it is very clear that human rights ranks very low on the agenda. This is something many countries of the world like; they never like being pestered by the United States President or secretary of the State about human rights issues. Do you think this may be part of the new world, a new multi-polar world in which you have to recognize that there are other countries of the world out there, they do not share values of the United States, and these human rights concerns are not going to be as central.

**Kerry Kennedy:** All countries I have been to in the world, whenever I spoke to somebody in government about torture, and they say “we do not share your values”, I can tell you that everybody who is being tortured shares the value that you should not torture people – I think these are universal values and I think the universal declaration and covenants are not shoved down anybody’s throats – countries came together and they ratified those documents – these are universal values, they are beliefs that all of us share in common and that all of us want for their children. What Donald Trump has done is disastrous. There are countries of the world who are going around and telling: you do not need to be bothered with the EU rules, the US rules and human rights, we will give you aid and trade on the cheap – but people know that that is a short term deal that in the long term is not going to bring peace, prosperity and security that their people need and want. It might get a few elites at the top richer, but in the long run it is a disaster for the world and that is not what we want - we all want to be good citizens, we want our countries to prosper, so we need to go back to that UDR charter.

*How do you respond to the idea that we should continue to place human right at the center of the international conversation?*

### Wu Hailong, President of Chinese People Institute of Foreign Affairs

This issue for the Chinese people is always a sensitive issue - but I just want to say, I myself have been involved in human rights issues for more than 10 years – when I was Director General for Multilateral Affairs, I had a human rights dialogue with the United States of America for four times, with European Union for 8 times, twice a year, I think as human beings all of us should fully respect human rights. The Chinese way of development shows that the Chinese government fully respected human rights, otherwise how could China develop so fast and the living standards of the Chinese people improved drastically, that is a show that the government respects fully the rights of people. The faster development will further promote the human rights development and vice versa the human rights development will also

further promote the economic development.

**Moderator:** Perspective on populism in Europe, because this is a problem not confined in the United States, and in fact Austria now has a government that has as part of its coalition some fairly right wing populist elements.

**Faymann:** Yes, but populism in European countries also means that there is a concern of people, and I would never underestimate where there is a concern of people that the role of politicians is to take it seriously and not to say: Ok, it is bad and we do not talk about bad things. It is not the issue of one or the other party, it is an issue of why the political center of Europe is not strong enough to fulfil or to give the answers to the concerns of people and I think this is the same discussion – we need to deepen the EU, like my friend from Norway said. The future of Europe is enlargement of the EU and the deepening of it for the values we share and then people see that we have the answers for the values, not only speeches for the values, but also answers for the values, and then I am sure we do not have to be concerned about the right populists.

You are strong enough in the EU to have joint forces for economic issues, for employment, for research, for education, for rule of State, for all these issues we have to sort, if people feel that you have a coordinated plan and work together than it is better that you have a neighbor who has a chance to rise his level than to say that we need a strong border so that the neighbor does not come to us.

**Moderator:** Madame President, how do you react to this conversation about why has the center, and it is not just in Europe, but if you look around the world, the center is Latin America, in Brazil they elect right wing populists, in Mexico they elect left wing populists, what seem to have held for the previous 20 years, sort of Clinton-Blair model if you will, seem to be fairly worse almost everywhere.

**Vaira Vike-Freiberga:** I believe that people have a different vision of what is happening in the world, what they can expect as individuals and what the life of others is like. The reason for it is communication and the internet. The internet has made the world flat in a sense that any citizen with



an access to electronic devices, even those of a very primitive sort, can see “how the other half lives”. I think we are seeing across the world aspirations that are being fueled by what people see in the media, and these aspirations are frustrated, because they realize that in their own life, in their own personal future, in the future of their children, they do not have much of a chance of reaching the level of wealth that others are displaying. When we talk about right wing populism, it is frequently people who feel that they have been the salt of the earth in their own country, and now they are becoming the left behind, and I think these are the ones populists will be appealing to.

**Moderator:** Wu Hailong: does this discussion we have been having have any relevance in China, because we think of China as growing so fast, with hundreds of millions of people out of poverty, but when I was last in China I was struck by the fact that you are also beginning to see in China some of this divide between the very productive elements of the private sector and some parts of the old industrial sector that feels like they are being left behind. Is

there any such thing as populism in China?

**Wu Hailong:** The Chinese government has already recognized problems at the fast economic development – so the central government tries to take different measures to guarantee the basic life of our people, for example, the employment – each year the central government tries to provide 20 million jobs for all our people. Each year our government is trying to create nearly 6 million jobs for our university graduates. You also know that the environment problem is very serious that China is faced with. Each year Chinese government does a lot in order to improve the condition of the air. And if you stay in China or in Beijing, air condition has been gradually improved. The government is paying a lot of attention to improve the quality of people’s lives, tries to narrow the gap between those rich people and poor people.

## Panel 2: CHALLENGES OF SUSTANABLE DEVELOPMENT

*The scientists tell us that we need to decarbonize by mid-century, yet the major oil-producing countries and companies keep telling us we have more time. We seem to be at an impasse. Is this vested interest, or are we just looking at different data and risks? Sustainable development depends on a high-level of cooperation within regions (EU, Black Sea, Eastern Europe, etc.) yet everywhere we see nationalism and crisis. How are we going to work together on sustainable development when multilateralism is so fragile in so many parts of the world? Our societies are increasingly unequal. The rich seem to get richer, the poor poorer, and the rich don't want to share with the poor. That's true internationally, when rich countries like the US slash development aid. It's also true within our societies, where there are more billionaires and more people who are financially insecure. Is there any effective way to tamp down the greed? Or is this the wrong question?*

**Moderator: Jeffrey Sachs**, University Professor at Columbia University; Special Advisor to Secretary General on SDG

**Helen Clark**, Prime Minister of New Zealand 1999-2008; Administrator of the United Nation Development Programme 2009- 2017

**Stephane Dion**, Canadian PM's Special Envoy to European Union and Europe; Canadian Ambassador to Germany

**Mirjana Spoljaric Egger**, Assistant Secretary – General of the UN; Assistant Administrator of UNDP and Director of the Regional Bureau for Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States

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

**Moderator:** geopolitics is discussed mainly the discussion is about power. Sustainable development is a different perspective – it is what we should be doing to make a better world. So SD is goal oriented, or result oriented idea, it is an idea that we should be improving the reality of the world through a coordinated global vision. SD means that economic process should be combined



with social justice and inclusion and environmental sustainability. **So SD is an idea that our policies and economies should be organized to achieve three objectives: economic progress, social justice and a sustainable environment.** The reason this concept is interesting from the political point of view is that the way our world economy works it does not produce SD. It does produce economic growth, but it does not automatically produce social fairness, nor it produces ES. We have a world that is quite reach on average, but it is extraordinarily unequal, with rising inequality in many places of the world, including the US. And we are rather willfully destroying the natural environment at a startling

rate. Environmental crisis today is almost beyond control. We are in the last moments of keeping the climate relatively safe, we are in the last chance of avoiding a catastrophic loss of biodiversity and we are poisoning the air, the water and the oceans to the point that many countries are losing years of life expectancy to the air pollution, to the point that our food supply globally is already filled with microplastic and many other pollutants. So this this an issue: it is interesting that the world government have agreed twice to put SD at the center of global cooperation. The first time was not with SDG, the first time was in 1992 at the Real Earth Summit – because this is when SD supposedly became the

centerpiece of global cooperation. In Agenda 21 it played no practical role at all in this world except in the few Scandinavian countries which always do the right thing, but everyone else did the wrong thing they ignored what was agreed by not Real Earth Summit so badly that we had to do it again globally. In 2015 with Helen Clarks leadership, with Ban Ki-moon and other leaders in this room the world again adopted SD as centerpiece of global cooperation in agenda 2030, which is contains 17 SDGs for the years 2016-2030. Does any of this make any difference? We are absolutely racking the physical earth and endangering hundreds of millions of people. The question for us, because it is

a policy discussion – does anyone care? It is unclear if it penetrated the high politics. I am a sceptic – I work every day trying to promote SDGs, but I am not sure we are making the difference. And SD is not on the top list of our global leaders.

and security discussion this morning no one mentioned SD – and yet a fundamental principle of the 2030 agenda is that you are not going to SD without peace and you are not going to get peace without sustainable development. What needs



**Helen Clark**, Prime Minister of New Zealand, Administrator of UNDP for the period of adopting the SDGs (2009-2017) We are not making enough of a difference yet, but we could. **Three things being done: political will could make a difference, the government capacity to draw change for SD and transformation and the third is the results mobilization.** 2015 was the best landmark year for multilateral cooperation, the best since 2000 when the Millennium declaration was signed which led to development of MDGs. There were four complimentary agendas developed, not just Agenda 2030 and SDGs, but also the Paris Agreement, the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction and Adis Abeba Action Agenda on Financing for the Development. In the peace

to be done? Firstly, it is a universal agenda. For high and middle income countries – their task is to look at where they stand vis-a-vis targets and indicators. They need a systematic assessment many the focus needs to be on inequalities in the society, dimensions of health goals, universal health coverage is an objective of the SDGs. Non-communicative diseases are now responsible for the majority of the world deaths, big challenge is all countries – rich, middle and poor. Next is frank assessment of environmental statuses of countries - we are told that we have 12 years to turn the tide of the climate change. We have to phase out of coal, we have to look at future beyond fossil fuels, we have to look at the level of water, sustainable renewable energy, transport, cities – these are

the challenges that all countries should be taking on. Then there is moral responsibility for people living in the world fragile context – estimated by OECD to be 1.8 billion people to be rising to 2,3 billion by 2030 if we do not do something. These countries need solidarity for poverty eradication, getting every child in school and beyond primary schooling, for health care, for gender inequality, for adaptation and mitigation and active support for peace building. On the financing side, there was a 2.5 trillion dollar gap between what is currently spent on development and what achieving the SHGs in key sectors would require. It would need an extensive domestic resource mobilization and capacity build for that, international solidarity remains extremely important, private sector being on board as well. This year, at the UNGA, there will be 5 Summits relevant to it – climate change, health care, financing, etc. I would urge governments attending for commitment on action and focus on the agenda. The focus on leaving no one behind which does require a lot of solidarity. An also a commitment on action on Paris agreement targets – the SG said that we are 80% short of the commitment we need to keep global warming at 1,5 degree rise. And we need a commitment of resources.

**Moderator:** Several other agreements made in 2015 - including Paris Climate Agreement. Package of global cooperation to achieve sustainable development. To achieve goals set in Paris, we have to be out of fossil fuels and decarbonize by mid-century. Very few countries comply, mostly Nordic countries, others increase fossil energy development and export, Political will, capacity and mobilizing resources are critical. 2,5 trillion USD a lot, but the world's output is 100 trillion USD. It is only 2-3% of the GDP only to save the world.

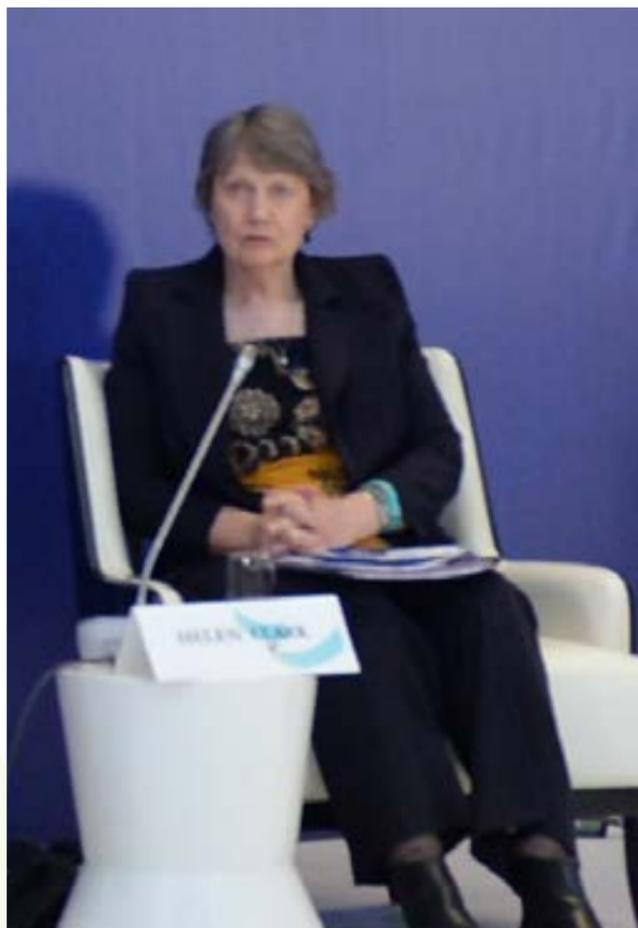
**Stephane Dion**, Canadian PM's Special Envoy to European Union and Europe; Canadian Ambassador to Germany

The Government of Canada has substantially increased Canada's efforts to improve the natural environment and to fight climate change. The OECD holds the view that "the [Canadian] federal government elected in 2015 established ambitious environmental goals and injected new momentum." Likewise, more politicians around the world must do more and not less, because even with the efforts of those who are doing more, globally it is not enough. The battle to protect biodiversity and prevent increasing water scarcity will be huge challenges this century. By 2050, 4 billion people could be living in water scarce areas (twice more than today), and extreme flood losses could more than double in frequency. Total plastics in the oceans could outweigh fish by 2050. From 1970 to 2014, there has been a 60% overall decline in vertebrate population abundance, and the pace of modern insect extinctions surpasses that of vertebrates by a large margin. On climate change, even if we meet our Paris commitments by



2030, it would account for only one third of the reductions needed to get on the pathway to staying below 2°C of warming. According to International Energy Agency, with the current announced policies, global CO2 emissions will remain on a

slow upward trend until 2040, while we need to be on course toward net-zero emissions by 2070 in order to avoid the world getting 3 degrees warmer. The task we have to do is enormous, because our industrial revolution was based on fossil fuels: coal, oil and gas. Despite all our efforts, fossil fuels still provide around 80% of global energy consumption and this ratio has not budged since 1990. We must continue to advocate for real action and support politicians with the will to do more.



**Moderator:** When we sign UN convention on climate change in 1992, fossil fuels were 95% of the primary energy in the world, and 27 years later it is the same. Taking Canada as an example – the government that came in very green, then decided that it does not want to lose support in an oil producing state, the province of Alberta. It promoted the pipeline and wanted to export fossil energy abroad. 10 countries of the world constitute most fossil fuel production. Nobody wants to do less. Can we make progress?

Mirjana Spoljaric Egger, Assistant Secretary –

General of the UN; Assistant Administrator of UNDP and Director of the Regional Bureau for Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States: I

in the face of massive threats to people and the planet, in the face of current tensions and renewed crises in the world, we have to think of the opportunities. One of them is the accomplishment of the Agenda 2030. If we take that Agenda 2030 seriously, we can collectively move forward. **From a stronger supporter of the Agenda 2030, I became a believer in the Agenda, because going into these countries in this region and working with UNDP, I find that Agenda 2030 is probably the most brilliant and the most timely, the most sophisticated law frame that was developed for us to work with the countries in the new and adequate integrated way.** Climate change is related to economic growth, inequalities, migration and we have to think comprehensively. It's important to progress in all areas of the Agenda to achieve prosperity, not only climate change. We have National Agenda 2030 implementation plans, and this is huge step forward. We work closely with the governments of this regions, including Azerbaijan and making progress in the right direction. Agenda 2030 is primarily the issue of national implementation. As UN development program, we also have to tackle other issues – **financing for development**, reorienting investments, creating incentives for the countries to channel the money into the new technologies for sustainable development. We have to build on trends that already indicate that the large amounts of money going into energy generation actually go into the renewable energy generation. Second thing is **inequality** - the majority of poor people live in middle-income countries, the majority of countries are middle income countries and yet we have increasing poverty and decline in middle class society. Technology bear huge potential when it comes to sustainable development, but if we do not manage new technology, if we do not prepare out institutions for the accelerated change in new technological developments, then many groups, if not entire countries, will be left behind. The world is richer than ever before, but we want to make sure that social protections are adequate. Third point is **multilateralism** – we have to rethink the current pressures on it, and it was the most efficient

system to prevent the 3rd world war, which never happened since the UN was created.

**Moderator:**

Thank you for reminding us of the long-term nature of SDGs, logical framework for government planning and policy. They are the useful framework for the government on such issues as education, health, infrastructure, environmental sustainability of used that way. They require public investment and public. SD is not an agenda for any country first, this is an agenda for people first, for the planet first, for cooperation first.

Renewable energy just like fossil energy requires global trade and global cooperation. You need regional cooperation to develop your renewable energy industry, this is not a national project.

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

In the Global Panel on Water and Peace, we looked at the water issues from the point of security. We all know that water is going to be in a big crisis by the middle of this century. Today, there are 2 billion people in the world who do not have access to safe drinking water and this figure will grow to 4 billion in the next 2 decades if current trends continue.

A few words about my region and the water issues: When the war in the Balkans ended, in mid 1990s, one of the first post war multilateral agreement in the region was about water – the Sava River Arrangement. The states parties have found ways and agreed on a system of cooperation, which works to the satisfaction of everybody. There are examples of other successful regional cooperation projects in the world – such as Senegal River arrangement which includes 4 countries in the region of West Africa, one of the most sophisticated water cooperation systems in the world. When it comes to Middle East, arrangements are harder to achieve, but now we gradually see the understanding that regional cooperation is necessary. In short, transboundary water cooperation, in particular regional cooperation, offers a large part of the answer to the future water crises.

Now a few words about global development and political will. Political will does not just “emerge”. It has to be generated. Recent experience offers an example. When the cold war ended, there were

many hopes, and fears around the field of global cooperation for development. The UN organized a number of conferences on important issues which reorganized international development cooperation to make it more efficient in the new circumstances (conferences on environment, population, urbanization, the role of women etc.). On that basis then came Millennium Development Goals in 2000. And then changes began, and some countries, including, importantly, China, committed themselves to the role of leaders. This is how Millennium Development Goals became relevant in the political practice and a relative success. This tells us something important about generating political will.

**Today we have to understand the gravity of the situation of current tensions and trade war which threaten the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals. It will be important to bring together all the pieces of individual experiences of different countries to see how political will in favor of SDGs could be generated. My proposal is that – when the UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres convenes a special meeting this autumn to discuss climate change and Sustainable Development Goals - he puts together a small coalition of critically important countries, friends of the Secretary General for Sustainable Development Goals. In this group I see a number of countries, none of whom, unfortunately, is the United States. That group could include China, possibly India, a few other developing countries that support the SDGs, and some European countries. A core group of committed countries could make a big contribution to the generation of political will needed for the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals.**

## PANEL 3: IS THIS IS THE END OF GLOBALISM?



### Moderator:

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

*Marek Belka, Prime Minister of Poland 2004-2005*

*Cemil Cicek, Speaker of the Parliament of Turkey 2011-2015; Deputy Prime Minister of Turkey 2007-2011*

*Ameenah Gurib-Fakim, President of Mauritius 2015-2018*

*Ettore Licheri, President of the 14th Commission for Policies of the European Union; Senator of Italy*

*Rosen Plevneliev, President of Bulgaria 2012-2017*

*Rosalía Arteaga Serrano, President of Ecuador 1997*

*Fouad Siniora, Prime Minister of Lebanon 2005-2009*

*Benedetto Zacchioli, President of European Coalition of Cities against Racism*

For almost three decades globalization was viewed as an unstoppable trajectory of global economic development. Doubts about globalization emerged already in 2008-2009, however improved macroeconomic situation over the time gave a way to more mixed and somewhat optimistic assessments. 2016 Brexit vote and result of the presidential elections in America reflected the shift, which was hard not to notice and

acknowledge anymore. Against the backdrop of growing protectionism and shifting geopolitical and economic landscape one can clearly say that the golden era of globalization came to an end, at least for the predictable future. However, is the era of globalization over? Or is globalization in retreat? If yes, how temporary or irreversible this trend might be? What is the underlining causes of the retreat of globalization? • Globalization has

narrowed the gap between rich and poor countries however broadened the internal inequality within developed as well as developing economies. Raising influence of those who felt left behind in developed economies fed into populism both to the right and left of the political spectrum and forced political elites to bow to public pressure and introduce measures putting brakes to globalization.

• Growing discourse advocating the need for taking

back control of borders, protectionism against foreign economic actors as well as security threats, fear of immigration. • Cause and effect between shifting geopolitical and economic landscape and crisis of rules-based multinationalism, big power politics, looming trade and tech wars.

**Moderator:** The theme is very topical, the focus is on the driving forces today. It is clear that the golden era of globalization is somewhat over, but is it a retreat? Is it an irreversible process? What are the driving forces – with Brexit, with 2016 results of elections in the USA. We saw elements of globalization slowdown earlier, when the financial crises hit, but in 2016 it became evident. Frequently we were taking globalization almost as a force of nature, as if it was not a political decision is so many ways taken at different times, allowing institutions to develop instruments to help global trade, movement of workforce, access to capital markets and finances, and allowing businesses to develop business models that enabled globalization and economies to flourish. We talked about growing gap in the distribution of wealth and how it resonates with the process of slowing down of globalization. How that fits into the political momenta of populism of protectionism that we see, trade wars and tech wars.

**Marek Belka**, Prime Minister of Poland 2004-2005

Poland has gained enormously by linking to the EU economy at large. I do not think that globalization is the product of anyone's decision, it is organic. It reflects the interests and technological development of the countries and of the world. End of globalization is nonsense; you cannot shut down internet, IT, we cannot forbid international value-added chains, what is today constituting environment for globalization. The problem is that it benefits different countries in different ways – you hear no complaints from China or India, but you hear complaints from the developed countries, because globalization changes relative prices of factors of production. The biggest problem that concerns many is financial globalization. It brought many benefits, but the sector grew very big and started dominating the real sector. What to do with financial globalization? When we start tackling the issues of sustainable development, then we rely on global financial flows. How to make global financial system work for all?

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

I am a true witness of globalization - my country was poor and isolated when we started in 1989 after



the fall of the Berlin wall, and now we are members of EU and NATO, we have a 6 times bigger GDP, 10 times bigger purchasing power per person, five times more money for health care, four times more money for education – three times more money for pensions over these years. Globalization will continue to shape our lives. It is exciting to see how things are interconnected and how we embrace these new opportunities. On the other side – Brexit – is that a new trend, or actions of Donald Trump, or of Prime Minister Orban who wants to stop migration. At the same time, PM Orban is fighting for every new investment in his country. Brexitors – they look at Singapore as a vision of their future, which is a very open and globalized economy. From economic and cultural perspective, from industries to tourism and life science we are seeing a growing industrial revolution that is linked to customizing all the products and there is no way to stop it will continue to be a global trend. I also hope that sooner or later political leaders will come on the table not to question those globalization processes, but to regulate them properly.

**Rosalia Arteaga Serrano**, President of Ecuador 1997

Latin America is a big and diverse continent,



with many models - Brazil, Mexico, humanitarian crisis of Venezuela. Globalization in my opinion is going on, in two dimensions – technology, science and innovation at our hands, and also the economic issues where you still have barriers, but they being removed. I want to add the third one – environmental where globalization is also dominant. What happens in Europe, affects Latin America. If we do something in the Amazon basin, the biggest basin, it is going to affect the world in terms of how climate change and biodiversity. Three areas where globalization is present – technology, finances and environment. But regional problems and issues should not be overlooked. Maybe globalization can also evolve and we can start looking at the local problems - since “local” means “preserved identity” – with culture, gastronomy, religion, feelings of the people. How we can manage and handle the idea of identity, the people with globalization. With globalization we can lose part of our identity. **If we mix the global benefits and maintain the identity, we can successfully mix global and local and build “glocal”.**

**Benedetto Zacchioli**, President of European

### Coalition of Cities against Racism

I will speak from a city perspective – since I am representing a coalition of 150 cities of Europe that are struggling with racism and discrimination. We are talking a mix of economic and financial crises that started in 2008, but the effects come now, and the fastest technological development in human history. **This mix brings two reactions with people: the fear of the future one of them** – like in my native city of Bologna for the first time economic crisis increased unemployment from 4 to 11%. **The other reaction of courage** – that technological development is an opportunity. **Fear and nostalgia for the old days is not a solution. The solution is in the leadership.** From the perspective of the cities, we demand that sentiment of trust in the future. Leadership, no nostalgia for the past, serious, trustful and trustworthy. Environmental issues are very important as we owe them to our children. We need to begin building bridges, not walls.

**Fouad Siniora**, Prime Minister of Lebanon 2005-2009

The world is not ready to pay the price of globalization. Globalization smashed all the barriers, international borders, barriers of time and place, visa controls, as well as barriers of science and fear. Nature has taught us a very good lesson – birds flu – and we have not learned from it. The world is witnessing a new set of paradoxes, globalization makes communications easier, but societies become more fragmented. Tensions between countries and within countries become contagious. Migration creates cultural shocks that eventually feed ultra-right movements, which in their turn, nurture extremism, xenophobia and racism. As nations look for increased productivity, it brings consequences that countries cannot control. Syrian refugee crisis triggered problems in Germany, and then in Great Britain and eventually in the United States. The total area of the Arab world is 10% of the globe. The population of the Arab world is around 6% of the total world population, but the total number of refugees in our countries is 55% of the world refugee population. In my opinion, this is one consequence of globalization. Benefits of globalization must either be shared equitably.

We are entering a new stage of global relations, where national policies will shape globalization. Globalization is a double-edged sword – if no proper steps are taken to mitigate its impact on the poor, it can become really problematic.

where people can see what they can and cannot benefit. Climate change and migration issues – we as African continent are hardly producing any greenhouse gas, but we will suffer the most from climate change. Coming from a small country, we

not place for egoism and nationalism in the world. Globalism is going to stay, but in a different form.

**Ettore Licheri, President of the 14th Commission for Policies of the European Union; Senator of Italy**

We are living through a very difficult period of time in history that should be seen as opportunity because we are in the period of big historical changes where new decisions for the future are the needed. Countries are interrelated as a result of economic cooperation. Some people believe that the current crisis is a direct result of globalization. We see that corporations are becoming more responsible as

well-being of humans. We should use globalization to renew the ideas of freedom and equality, and there is still time for that. But first of all we need to create opportunities for people and put them in the middle of these processes. No need to fight against globalization, it only needs remodeling, and countries can do it in many ways – diversification of economy, innovation, etc.

**Cemil Cicek, Speaker of the Parliament of Turkey 2011-2015; Deputy Prime Minister of Turkey 2007-2011**

End of globalization era might be a pessimistic approach – everything depends of the country and the region. To fill the gaps, we need to identify what we have in common and what separates us. We have a case of Azerbaijan where 20% of the territory have been occupied and people have been banished from the native lands, so their expectations of globalization have been different from the perspective of the Palestinians or people in Africa or people living in G20 countries. We have human rights goals and goals to overcome poverty implemented all over the world, and this can be very inspiring – but the question is how far are we from the implementations of all these aspects. Globalization provided lots of positives, such as clean energy, democracy, human rights, on the other hand – we need to reformat the processes of globalization because some countries are trying to control it. For many pressing issues there is still no solutions found – only some countries have become truly global. Terrorisms for example – we should all join forces, but terrorist groups are used as tools of promoting political agendas by some countries. Migration is an on-going process and we see that everything is done on the global level through proxy wars. What does globalization bring to individuals? Will proper solutions be found for the people? If solutions are not available, people begin looking for alternatives. Turkey is doing all it can to deal with it, but not all the countries are doing the same on the issues of refugees. Our approach to globalization should be realistic, we should do it sincerely and transparently.



**Ameenah Gurib-Fakim, President of Mauritius 2015-2018**

I come from a small state, but I will try to be a voice of Sub-Saharan Africa. Globalization has been beneficial to millions of people in many countries, it has helped pull people out of poverty. Globalization is not just a mobility of people and migration. The impact of globalization on small developing states on a wider African continent, we can safely say that globalization is gradually moving to regionalization. Financial crisis of 2008 triggered understanding of what globalization really brings. The technological aspect of it – the rise of social media that created a flat world

wonder how we are going to develop a global sense of solidarity. On our own we will never be able to deal with rising sea level. We increasingly resort to global alliance, sharing of good practices and global solidarity. Is globalization or regionalization benefiting the African continent? We are already 1.9 billion people, soon to be 2 billion, and we are the youngest continent. How the technology can help empower youth in Africa, and how to prevent our youth from going into Europe – can technology help create jobs for our people at home. Renewable energy is another issue that - how much of new energy we can generate, how many jobs can this sector create for the future. We are interconnected in a way we have never experienced before – there is

they produce goods and services – on environmental and labor issues. Sometimes it is easier to see the problems of globalization, not the benefits. There is also a compatibility issues of the western countries practices when it comes to the rest of the world. Not everyone benefits from globalization like multi-national industries. It is not globalization that scares people - they are scared to lose their identities, they fear that they would not be able to control their future. Globalization brings a lot of information, but not that many new ideas, and is focused primarily on economic development. Globalization should bring more equality – but the generation of profit becomes more important than

## PANEL 4: PEACE & SECURITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Nowhere is the need for regional peace more manifest than in the Middle East. At least 14 peace processes have or are taking place in the region with little light at the end of the tunnel. The Syrian conflict has reached levels of peril unimaginable five years ago. The Middle Eastern countries find themselves perpetuating the conflict, which today seems to know no bounds. The geopolitical powers do not seem helping to solve the conflict. Is peace in the Middle East too much to ask? Is there a way towards a process free from self-interest apart from peace and stability in the region? Who can be regional champions for peace in the Middle East? What kind of confidence building measures can parties agree on as a first step?



*Moderator:*

*Amre Moussa, Secretary General of the Arab League 2001-2011*  
*HRH Turki Al Faisal bin Abdulaziz Al Saud, Chairman of King Faisal Foundation's*  
*Center for Research and Islamic Studies*  
*Angelino Alfano, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy 2016-2018*  
*Hikmet Cetin, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey 1991-1994*  
*Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, Member of the Grand National Assembly 2015-2018;*  
*Secretary General of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation 2004-2014*  
*Tzipi Livni, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Israel 2006-2009*  
*Taher Masri, Prime Minister of Jordan 1991*

**Moderator:** The Middle east have become more complicated than ever before. The Arab regional system is in the state of disarray. Iranian regional policy is causing serious problems of regional insecurity and instability. The Turkish policy raises question marks about the Turkish role in the region. Ambitions of Israel mixed with gross miscalculations and a lot of wishful thinking and the dreams of obtaining normalization and recognition free of charge. European competition with each other on how to deal with problems of North Africa which is part of the Middle East and part of the Arab world with a special reference about what is going on in Libya. The American policy in the region with total and complete alignment to Israel with some sporadic and temporary successes, but with huge loss of public opinion in the region. And the last, but not least – Russian return to the region with all of its implications and responsibilities. The problems inherent is bad governance, lack of viable plans for regional development and how to deal with the new global challenges like climate change, water shortages, uncontrolled increase in population. This is the real agenda if we want to speak of peace and security in the region. Let's focus on one side of the problems – Arab-Israeli relations. The agenda mentions six points – processes for peace, the real one that would lead to real peace with concessions from both sides and no pressure from outside. The second one - the Middle east countries find themselves perpetuating the conflict - are they really doing that? Or are we the victims of policies to perpetuate the conflict for interests of big powers and their clients in the region. The third point is a question mark – is peace in Middle East too much to ask for? Is it too much to answer? And why have we failed in this endeavor?. Who are the regional champions for peace? I believe all of us if we really mean that, if we are ready to exchange concessions within the realm of international legitimacy. What kind of confidence building is needed – can parties agree on the first step. The time has come for us to address the problem in a fair way if we want to have real peace in the region.

**HRH Turki Al Faisal bin Abdulaziz Al Saud,**  
**Chairman of King Faisal Foundation's**  
**Center for Research and Islamic Studies**

The Syrian tragedy is paramount in our part of the world in the sense that human suffering there is of a scale that is unmatched in recent years anywhere and my belief is that the world community is guilty for allowing this tragedy to take place. On the processes – any problem that is dressed by the word “process” becomes an endless process because there is no international will on putting resolution to conflicts, it is more like managing conflicts and finding ways of accepting some of the results of those conflicts. The Syrian conflict is of enormous impact today not just on the Middle East, but also on the world. The stress on the Arab-Israeli point, particularly in the media, is not appreciated, because they believe that the events like Syrian conflict or the events Yemen, Iran and Iraq can diminish the importance of Arab-Israeli conflict which can be addresses by the words that you used – wishful thinking. Those who believe that the Middle East can go on while Arab-Israeli conflict continues, are deceiving themselves. In terms of finding a solution for that - the proposal came from the Arab side since 2002 on a quid pro quo basis between Israel and the Arab world, unfortunately no Israeli government has come forward either to consider that proposal or to sit down to discuss the means of achieving a peaceful solution to the conflict. For the value of human integrity that conflict can be positively resolved and not managed by the world community. Champions of peace – I think the Arab world has shown particularly in that initiative to be the champions for peace for the Arab-Israeli conflict. In spite of hot conflicts, there are some positive developments in our part of the world - these are our young people. Throughout the Arab world, and mostly through the Arab world the young people have taken the mantel of progress through the use of social media, but also because education has improved. If you look at UN report for education, you see the distinct improvement in our part of the world. Our young people, who make more than 70% of our young population, have taken up the challenge of going forward and connecting with each other and developing applications and other forms and means to improve life, whether it is in distribution of food for the poor, or in the value of making money, or in the propagation of values like welfare for humanity and eradication of poverty and disease. While we do have issues with

Palestine, Iraq, Syria, Yemen and with interference of regional players like Iran and Turkey and other international players like United States and Russia, **I think that our future lies in the hands of very much capable qualities of character in the young people that represent the Middle east and the Muslim world.**

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

Middle East has been on the world agenda for the last 100 years, and since the First World War the Middle East never had peace and security generally. Middle east is facing a wide variety of instability and conflict with multiple actors on each side. The hope of democracy, better life and rule of law rising with Arab spring. Unfortunately scammed to foreign intervention, regional competition and domestic oppression - and the result is very simple – fragmented states, polarized societies, widening power vacuum and burgeoning new threats including jihadisms and radical terrorism. Identifying domestic and regional root causes and insecurity generators is important in developing remedies to overcome the downward security slop in the region. Waves of globalization have been fracturing the relationship between the state and people in the region for almost two decades. Deepening mismatch between growing youth population and state institutional capacity fuels intrastate and interstate issues. Another systemic factor which is detrimental to the region is military and political intervention. The rise of populist and totalitarian leaders inject more ambiguity and reduce capacity of the states to deal with problems.

Three main issues for security in the region – sectorial orientation, misallocation of resources, and the Arab-Israeli conflict. Yemen war, Syrian crisis, increasing tensions between Riyadh and Tehran and fragmented Libya are the concrete output of these regional root causes. When discussing possibilities for peace and security, domestic factors should not be overlooked. Poor governance, failure to provide uninterrupted education, that is often not based on knowledge and technology, health care, lack of basic services and economic opportunities are main factors underpinning stability in the region. Besides bad

economic networks, elected authoritarianism, undermining rule of law, disregarding human rights paved the way for radical terrorism in the region. This picture of the region appears to be gloomy at the first sight, however, remedies are still possible. First, turmoiled state of the region needs a new social contract with its own citizens, people should target political representation mechanisms in many countries in the region. Regional cooperation is needed for solving the problems, no sectarian approaches. Regional ownership could be influential in solving water problems, terrorism threat and migration crisis. The utmost condition for regional cooperation is mutual respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of regional state. Number 3 – foreign military intervention should be abandoned, foreign powers have to gain more from cooperation, not from intervention.

### Tzipi Livni, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Israel 2006-2009

We usually speak about problems in these conferences, so let's try to speak of solutions. It is clear that for solving the problems we need to understand the nature of the problems so that we can embrace solutions. This is the need and responsibility of leaders to embrace these solutions. When it comes to religious conflicts, they are unsolvable, while national conflicts are solvable. With religious conflicts, we have extreme religious ideology represented by states like Iran, by terrorism organizations, by militia like Hezbollah in Lebanon, like Hamas in the Palestinian authority. They do not represent anything related to Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This is not the reason for their ideology. Even when the conflict is solved, it is not going to change the ideology of Iran, Hezbollah or Hamas. On the other hand - taking about opportunities - that we have a better understanding from the Muslim states in the region that Israel is not problem, and that they need to face together, hopefully with Israel, that extreme ideology that threatens them as well. Iran is not only the threat to Israel, it is a threat to other nations and states in our troubled region. I do support the need to solve Israeli-Palestinian conflict, in the interests of Israel and of Palestinians, and in the interest of

the Arab states. We understand that we need to resolve the conflict, that compromises need to be made by both sides and this is in understanding also that solving this conflict also means peace and normalization with entire Arab World and this is something that can really change our region. In 2014 during the last round of negotiations with

Israel or pro-Palestinian, you can be pro-peace and find something that represent the interests of both sides as soon as both sides are willing to make the concessions and compromises that are needed. Whatever that deal brings, one thing is clear – the role of the Arab world is crucial, because there is no Palestinian leader who can make that huge



Secretary Kerry under Obama administration we reached an understanding, a paper, that needs to be the basis and the framework for negotiations, but Abbas never reacted to Obama's proposal. Superpowers – United States in particular – we need to also relate to the United States - the whole region is waiting for an American plan that should be ready in the next few months. We were hopeful that we would reach a moment when something would be put on the table that represent the interests of both sides. The choice is not to be pro-

historical decision without the support of the Arab world and for Israel it is crucial because since in Israel we understand that because is not just something between us and the Palestinians, it would completely and strategically change the situation in the region and we can have alliances against Iran and with Arab State. And Israel can contribute economically, and we can have "a new Middle East" – according to Simon Peres. This is a real opportunity now, because I see the change among Arab leaders, but we also see that public

opinion prevents them from normalizing relations with Israel. As a true supporter of the need to solve this conflict, I see the opportunity here, as long as the role of the United States would support the idea that what they put on the table is balanced enough for both sides. There is a need for the leadership that would embrace the solution, sign it and change the situation in the region.

### Taher Masri, Prime Minister of Jordan 1991

The need for peace in the Middle East is huge. There is a saying that Arabs never miss an opportunity to miss an opportunity – but now Palestinians and Arabs are offering everything to

in mandated Palestine and according to this law they will lose their status as nationals of Palestinian territory. In Jordan we are feeling the danger of Israeli actions not only because of Jerusalem, but because of the final status of the Palestinian territories. We insist that the two states solution is the basis, and if we talk about other solutions, it will face so many problems. We are pro-peace and it was my government that took Jordan to Madrid conference, and in Jordan we have peace treaty with Israel and we are doing our best to enhance peace. We are ready for peace. But the Israeli occupation started before Hezbollah or Hamas appeared, maybe they appeared because of the occupation or taking advantage of the occupation.



reach peace, the real one that would serve interests of the Arab people. The best peace initiative is Arab initiative – a historic document that offered Israel everything possible in a genuine way. But that chance is over and now we need to look for something else. The Israelis have already decided on so many issues that are not negotiable. The law on Judaism that Knesset has adopted changed the scene dramatically. Six million Palestinians living

Recent legislation passed by Israel is indicative of Israel's intentions. The real problem is Israeli occupation.

### Angelino Alfano, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy 2016-2018

At this moment of history Middle East is an essential part of a larger region, wider Mediterranean. That area needs a comprehensive look and a strategy.

From European perspective, wider Mediterranean problems influence public opinion on Europe strongly. And the effect will be visible during European elections in May. I refer to refugee flows from Syria to Europe in 2015, migration flow from Libya and other parts of Africa in the last few years and the terrorist attacks in the European capital. If you take a picture of wider Mediterranean area now, you see several problems and factors that are hard to manage. Key point in multilateralism – you see refugees from Syria and Libya in Jordan, Lebanon, tensions in the Gulf, internal problems in Arab communities, Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Iran and nuclear agreement, migration from Africa, the recent protests in Algeria, humanitarian crisis in Yemen – this is a broader picture. Some new elements appeared in the international debate and the diplomatic field – first of all, historical visit of Pope Francis to Abu Dhabi, and the meetings between him and the Great Imam and the manifesto that they signed. It is important to relaunch the religious dialogue and use this opportunity. Another element is the need to relaunch multilateralism. We see crisis of this key element for the post-WW2 world. Terrorist attacks are reminding us of relationship between freedom and security, and security being a key component of freedom. It is a paradox – to ensure security and therefore freedom, we need to adopt measure that may restrict freedom itself. I would like to remind you of the idea of Pope Francis – peace is an active virtue that requires commitment and collaboration of every single person. No conflict can ever become a habit – and here he was referring to the Arab-Israeli conflict. We cannot afford to have this conflict, and we cannot abdicate the mission of making the world a safer place and in the Middle east and beyond it is necessary to reject the habit of wars and start working towards peace.

### Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, Member of the Grand National Assembly 2015-2018; Secretary General of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation 2004-2014

We need to address issues of Middle East from a wider perspective, we need new questions, ideas and notions. Do we have a common vision for future in

the region? People in the Middle East are proud of their history, but they never are proud of hopeful about the future because they lack the vision for future. Second: how the balance of power will be established in the Middle East? Kissinger in his last book attributes balance of power to Westfalia Agreement that came after religious wars and other conflicts in the region. According to him, this is the basis of the current world order.

We need to establish the balance of power in the Middle East, and it needs a vision where people need to live in peace and prosperity. The way out of this – we need to establish a new order in the middle east, and take four parameters into consideration - aspiration to secure better political future, sectarian differences and ethnic distinctions are important components of the unique fabric of the region's mosaic character. Religious conflicts can be solved – a good example of 2006 when Mecca Agreement was initiated between shia and sunni leaders in Iraq, and sectarian conflict in Iraq stopped in 2006. Second is embracing the spirit of moderation and modernization. If we accept the way of moderation and modernization to improve our societies, this is the panacea for all radical movements and extremism. Third parameter is political stability with two important factors that reinforce each other – the strong rejection for state disintegration and reject fragmentation. Economic and trade cooperation in the area is another important parameter – and we have successful examples in the region. If we share these values, if we are committed to peace in the Middle east, we will cooperate with each other. We need some sort of Marshall plan for Syria and other countries.

# PANEL 5: PRESENT AND FUTURE OF THE BALKANS

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

## WESTERN BALKANS FROM BULGARIAN TO ROMANIAN EU PRESIDENCY

Under Bulgarian Presidency of EU, on May 2018, EU leaders agreed on the Sofia Declaration of the EU-Western Balkan Summit, with which the Western Balkans partners have aligned themselves.

Atlantic integrations of Western Balkan? What can we expect from Romanian Presidency of EU and European Parliament elections as two political facts that are strongly impacting Western Balkan European Agenda?

**Sefik Džaferović, Member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina**

24 years ago, in 1999 Dayton Peace Agreement



How realistic is creation of new momentum after EU welcomed the shared commitment of the Western Balkans partners to European values and principles while reaffirming its unequivocal support for the European perspective of the Western Balkans? Does «European Commission Strategy for the Western Balkan» along Sofia Declaration offering concrete steps for further and faster Euro-

ended the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Dayton Peace Agreement built the basis for peace despite the brutal violations of international law - through an aggression, followed by genocide, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing. The security and stability of the entire region of the Western Balkans depend on that peace. Although many challenges and difficulties exist in its interpretation and implementation today

the Dayton Peace Agreement fulfilled its primary goal. This was possible thanks to a series of powerful international multilateral mechanisms embedded in its structure, from regional arms control and international peacekeeping missions to mechanisms such as the Office of the High Representative of the international community in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Dayton Peace Accords not only enabled sustainable peace, but also created a framework for the implementation of numerous reform processes. Great progress has been made on the reintegration of BiH. Strengthening and building state institutions and the return of refugees and displaced persons to their pre-war homes remain the two most important priorities in the reintegration process.

Although it accomplished its primary purpose, the Dayton Peace Accord has also shown significant deficiencies through practice. It is primarily about blocking mechanisms and insufficient functionality of the institutional system, due to a very complex internal organization, which often slows down and complicates decision-making. The second major problem is discrimination, which particularly affects the population of refugees and displaced persons who have returned to their pre-war places. Ensure equality for all its citizens, regardless of their ethnic and religious affiliation must be an undisputed objective of BiH. A particularly important element in this regard is the whole range of international conventions, led by the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, which are embedded in the Dayton System and are superior to domestic legislation. The Dayton Peace Agreement has undergone significant improvements and alignment with modern European political and legal standards through proper interpretation and implementation. However, there is still much room for improvement, especially with regard to the elimination of discrimination, as evidenced by the judgments of the European Court of Human Rights that BiH must implement.

The key role in shaping modern Bosnia and Herzegovina has the processes of integration into the European Union and the NATO alliance,

that frameworks that enable realization of the aspirations of the vast majority of citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina for lasting security, stability and prosperity.

Significant progress has been made in the recent period in these two integration processes. In December last year, the foreign ministers of NATO member states approved Bosnia and Herzegovina to submit the first Annual National Program under the NATO Program of Membership Action Plan. It is a reform program and an obligation based on an earlier request of BiH to join this NATO program.

- BiH participation in the Membership Action Plan does not imply the automatic admission of BiH to NATO, but it represents a strong reform framework for improving the defense and security capacities of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its cooperation with the NATO alliance. This would be a significant contribution not only to peace, security and stability in BiH, but also throughout the region of the Western Balkans, where all countries have strong cooperation with the NATO alliance, and most of them have already achieved full membership in this organization.

At the same time, he added, BiH is also progressing in the process of integration into the European Union. In the past period, we have fulfilled obligations based on the submitted application for membership in the European Union, or have submitted answers to the European Commission Questionnaire. Now we are expecting a positive European Commission opinion on our application for membership, and then the decision of the European Council to grant the status of candidate country for EU membership.

After obtaining the candidate status, BiH expects numerous reforms in the framework of accession negotiations with the EU. By implementing these reforms, we will continue to align our system with European values, standards and rules. The European perspective represents a strong framework that contributes to the building of stability and trust, both in Bosnia and Herzegovina and throughout the Western Balkan region. The European perspective of the countries of the Western Balkans was especially strongly endorsed and confirmed during the Bulgarian presidency of

the Council of the European Union in the first half of 2018.

In February 2018, the European Commission published a new strategy for the Western Balkans, which confirms a credible prospect for enlargement and enhanced EU engagement in the Western Balkans.

The Strategy clearly emphasizes the need for reforms in the areas of rule of law, security, migration, socio-economic development, transport, energy and digital connectivity and good neighborly relations. The strategy unambiguously confirms that the doors of the European Union are open to all countries of the Western Balkans that fulfill the criteria for membership. The European perspective was confirmed at the summit of the European Union and the countries of the Western Balkans, held in Sofia in May last year.

We thank the Government of the Republic of Bulgaria, and especially Prime Minister Boyko Borisov, for organizing this historic summit and for incorporating the European perspective of the Western Balkans into the priorities of the Bulgarian presidency of the Council of the EU.

In the new strategy of the European Commission for the Western Balkans, documents from the summit in Sofia and mechanisms such as the Berlin Process, a number of very good initiatives and projects have been launched to improve economic, infrastructural, energy and security connectivity, both between the European Union and the Western Balkans, as well as within regions of the Western Balkans. Strengthening regional cooperation and connectivity is the best way to build trust, improve relations in the region and create concrete benefits for all our citizens.

Staying firmly on the path to integration into the European Union and NATO, BiH simultaneously develops relations with other friendly and partner countries, primarily in terms of investment and economic cooperation, based on mutual importation and respect and generally accepted international rules.

In the context of the issues that this forum opens, I would like to outline three conclusions based on the experiences of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the past period.

First, the Dayton Peace Agreement was a framework for stopping the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina

and ensuring peace. The powerful mechanisms on which the Dayton Peace Agreement is based stem from the principles of multilateralism and international law. These mechanisms yielded results while they were applied. The problem of the Dayton Peace Accord is the absence of its comprehensive and full implementation, and the weakening of the role of the international community in ensuring compliance with and fulfillment of the obligations laid down in the Dayton Peace Agreement.

Secondly, the process of Bosnia and Herzegovina's integration into the European Union and NATO, accompanied by the implementation of comprehensive reforms and the development of regional cooperation, has achieved significant results in preventing the risk of conflict and peace-building in BiH and the region. Thirdly, the process of integration into the European Union and the NATO alliance proved to be the most efficient mechanism for transforming our countries, societies and economies into modern democratic states, societies of common European values and a competitive market economy, and thus achieving lasting stability, security, socio-economic development and prosperity.

That is why we must keep the momentum in the process of integration into the European Union and the NATO alliance. In this regard, our specific goals in the upcoming period are: to submit and start the first Annual National Program within the NATO Program Action Plan for Membership, by the end of the Romanian Presidency of the Council



of the European Union, obtain the positive opinion of the European Commission on our application for membership and profit the status of the candidate country, and start accession negotiations with the European Union as soon as possible after obtaining a candidate status. We are determined to continue with the implementation of all the reforms that are necessary to meet the criteria for accession, or to align our system with the values, rules and standards of the European Union. The positive opinion of the European Commission on BiH's application for membership and the decision of the European Council to grant BiH candidate status would be crucial, as it would give Bosnia and Herzegovina a strong impetus to accelerate the implementation of all the necessary reforms in the integration process. We highly appreciate the support that the institutions and member states

of the European Union and the NATO Alliance provide to Bosnia and Herzegovina. I believe and I expect that with their continued support and our firm commitment in the forthcoming period, we will achieve our common goals.

## Ana Birchall, Deputy Prime Minister of Romania

Thank you for the opportunity to address this Forum in a special year for us, during the presidency of the EU Council for the first time. Our debate takes place at the time of rapid change, both within Europe and beyond. The past few years tested the resilience and unity of the EU, challenged in unprecedented ways – the rise of populism and Euroscepticism, Brexit, migration crisis and increasing threats to security in our region.

These challenges show us that there is a need for common responses, capable of showing that Europe can get stronger and more united for the benefits of its citizens. South-East Europe, and in particular, the Western Balkans area have been a priority and focus for Romania's foreign policy. As a holder of the current Presidency of the EU Council, it was only natural for Romania to have Western Balkans on our list of priority objectives. Our attention is dedicated to that region, and also to South East Europe in general.

From a national perspective, Romania has always been a neighbor of the region with strong historical, political, cultural and economic ties with Western Balkans, and it is important for us to take part in such connectivity projects, as road and rail transport, energy networks, digital infrastructure upgrade, having a significant regional impact.

Enlargement proved to be one of the most successful policies of the EU with undeniable added value in terms of peace, stability and prosperity in Europe and its neighborhood. The clear European perspective for our partners continue to have positive transformative effect, as in the case of Romania. The deepening of the enlargement is important, EU has to consolidate its role in the region. That is why during our Presidency in the EU COUNCIL, Romania will continue to promote EU as a global actor. Enlargement does not exclude integration, but on the contrary they support and potentiate each other. At the same time enlargement is transforming the Union, a lasting peace project that aspires others, to promote stability and



prosperity. In light of this historic achievements, the enlargement is a powerful indicator of EU's global relevance. Brexit and the advent of populist movements are important factors which underpin the process of EU's redefining its role in the world. Enlargement is our opportunity to become bigger, stronger and better throughout our common values.

Therefore, enlargement is the priority for Romania during our Presidency in the EU Council. We refer to both unity and actions at the EU level and to a wider space for shared values – democracy, human rights and the rule of law. The strategic challenger for 2019 is to turn this momentum into sustainable dynamics and reflect on how we can all – Western Balkans, member states, business community, civil society – contribute to achieving this goal. We will invest our efforts to bring the EU perspective to the Western Balkans closer.

We will work on two directions – strengthening the credibility of the enlargement process and reaffirming European perspective to the region. The EU has reiterated its support to the European pass of the region. The EU has a responsibility to play its part in encouraging the journey of committed Balkan states to their EU integration and their accession as soon as criteria are met. Second direction – encouraging the genuine involvement of candidates and potential candidates in a credible result-oriented process and reforms. Keeping enlargement within strict, but fair parameters allows us to prioritize the fundamental aspects of the process. Each candidate and potential candidate must uphold the political will to fully internalize out shared values and to demonstrate real commitment to their strategic goal of EU integration. Romania will focus on communicating, advocating and engaging the region on enlargement. The EU must ensure that it has a compelling role in promoting democracy and encouraging partner states to fully embrace the value and the core of European project. The encouraging example was the ratification of the Prespa Agreement, when the leaders of Greece and North Macedonia demonstrated their strong political will and vision for long-lasting peace, and cooperation can overcome difficulties and hostile external influences.



Since the Union is a standard-based Forum and because EU membership is not an issue of convenience, but an expression of political identity, the criteria for accession cannot be negotiated, which means that the development of those countries are in their hands. Public diplomacy effort and media will be important in organizing communications between Western Balkans and the EU to combat propaganda of hostile third parties. Our goal is that by the end of Romanian mandate, EU will advance to the accession of Montenegro and Serbia, start negotiations with North Macedonia and Albania, and grant candidate status to Bosnia and Herzegovina. A number of events will be organized to facilitate these processes this year. Romania has always been pro-enlargement, we encourage countries to use the opportunities to implement reforms not only for the Union benefit, but for their citizens. It is important to regain the trust, in light of coming elections of the European Parliament, because they will define how EU will go forward.

To conclude, Romania has always been pro-Enlargement and it will look to support Western Balkan countries realize their European aspirations. During its EU Council Presidency, Romania will continue to advocate for keeping the doors open to EU's enlargement.

We encourage countries in the region to make full use of the opportunity and live up to the expectations of their people by implementing reforms not only for Europe's benefit, but for the benefit of their citizens.

## WESTERN BALKANS VISION 2030 Why do we need common «Western Balkans Vision 2030» and «New Narrative for Western Balkans»?



What are the major steps and stakeholders in search for New Western Balkans and European consensus on shared future, vision, leadership, development and societies? How we can give more voices to the intellectual, business, political, academic, scientific, artistic, cultural and civil society communities to articulate what Western Balkans and Europe stands for today and tomorrow? What can be done for Promoting culture of dialogue and consensus building by searching and creating a democratic type of well educated young leaders ready to promote and work on building shared future, society and values in broader regional context, along our multiple identities?

**Mirko Cvetkovic**, Prime Minister of Serbia 2008-

2012

**Mladen Ivanic**, Member of the Presidency of Bosnia & Herzegovina 2014-2018

**Jadranka Kosor**, Prime Minister of Croatia 2009-2011

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

**Bujar Nishani**, President of Albania 2012-2017

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

**Filip Vujanovic**, President of Montenegro 2003-2018

**Jadranka Kosor**, Prime Minister of Croatia 2009-2011

Looking at the Balkans EU perspective, I want to relate to Croatia's path to the EU, we are the youngest EU members. I signed that Treaty with the EU as Prime-Minister in 2011 with President Josipovic, and we got full-fledged membership in 2013. Our journey started in 2000, and it was full of ups and downs and obstacles. The vision of the future of Western Balkans have to be part of the EU future vision. In spite of the rise of Euroscepticism

in some countries, there are excellent examples of progress in the region – like the agreement between Greece, an EU member, and Macedonia, as a result of which North Macedonia received new perspectives. Our job is to educate young people who want to be future politicians. A Podgoritsa Club was recently formed in the region that consisted from the former heads of state – our ambition is to link scientists, arts, politicians. Our goal is to fight for the rule of law and prosperous future for all of us.

**Mirko Cvetkovic**, Prime Minister of Serbia 2008-2012

In terms of the vision of our future – all countries of the Western Balkans share a European perspective as its strategic choice and destination. Slovenia and Croatia are in the EU already, and others are in the accession process. We do have problems, some of them inherited from the past, some current, we are trying to resolve them with more or less successfully. Having the clear EU prospect helps, but unfortunately EU did not produce a tangible “carrot” – still you have lots of discussion on the subject, especially as we are approaching European Parliament elections. There are fears that populism will get bigger as a result. If that is so, we are importing it – reflecting on the disturbing trends of the EU. It populism prevails, “European values” term need to be changed to “democratic elections”. We still need to do our homework, no matter how long it takes, and enthusiasm will depend on the “carrot”, but with or without accession we need change. Two important pillars for the changes – one is GDP growth and the other is rule of law. Serbia - GDP growth is insufficient to catch up with developed countries. Investments are failing because of the weakness of the independent regulatory institutions, unfavorable climate for foreign investments. Second pillar – rule of law, democracy, efficiency and independence of judicial system – we need an open internal dialogue of all layers of the society. This will produce the ground for needed changes. My vision 2030 for the future of Western Balkans - all countries are members of the EU, full democracy, increase of GDP to catch up with developed countries.

**Mladen Ivanic**, Member of the Presidency of Bosnia & Herzegovina 2014-2018

I will try to be provocative – is it possible to have better Balkans, but on what preconditions – common approach of the big players about the regions, and the political will of the regional leaders to create better climate. Is that available? Europe is sensitive to our issues, unlike other big countries, but slow. Russia is presented there – but for them it is not the priority, they only care about NATO not getting enlarged, and Serbia has decided not to join NATO. China will also be a player. Do big players have the same vision for the Balkans? Definitely not. Western Balkans will be depended on their goals and ambitions. Do we have local politicians who are ready to make compromises? I do not see a lot of them. Internal climate was much better 10 years ago. I am not too optimistic because they are still different visions of the future. Europe in general is lacking leaders with vision. It is also important that people in our region learn to live in democracy.

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

It is high time to forget the old myths that the Balkan countries have always been toys in the hands of the great powers - now the future is more in our hands. The Prespa Agreement between Greece and North Macedonia is a great testimony to that. It opened doors for Skopje for the UN and NATO. It also means that the EU perspective is getting more and more visible for the countries of the Western Balkans (WB).

The first good sign came from the European Commission in September 2017 when President Juncker stated that the EU must maintain a credible enlargement perspective for the WB. It was confirmed by the Bulgarian Presidency of the EU Council in 2018 which declared the EU perspective of the WB as its main priority. The subsequent Austrian and Romanian Presidencies have continued this line of action.

There are some common features as well as differences in the process between the WB countries efforts for joining the EU and when my country Bulgaria and also Romania were aspiring for EU membership. Both then and now, meeting

the membership criteria was the most important aspect of accession. In February 2018 the European Commission adopted a strategy for an enhanced EU engagement with the WB which underlines the need for reforms – strengthening the rule of law, providing for the economic development, the private sector in particular. The document also reminds that joining the EU is a choice - citizens of the Balkans, including the current members Bulgaria and Romania, must be aware – EU membership does not mean fulfilled criteria and EU funding only, but also shared values and responsibilities.

The process for the WB would be longer and more challenging than it was for Bulgaria and Romania. Moreover, according to the Commissioner Hahn, “accession to the EU makes sense only if all six countries can join and the solution for FYROM makes this scenario entirely more likely.” This is different from previous statements made by the high-level EU officials. It is true that after the EU elections there will be a new European Commission and probably a new Enlargement Commissioner, but Hahn’s remark should be analyzed very carefully because this admittedly makes the accession process even more complex. In this case all six WB countries will be able to join the EU after even the least prepared of them is ready and has fulfilled all the necessary criteria. This means that the dispute between Belgrade and Pristina can stop the whole process of enlargement. Some might see a positive sign in it, since all Balkan countries will feel obligated to assist in resolving this dispute. The second difference between the two periods is the refugee crisis. Migration crisis might have a negative effect on the general public feelings about enlargement process in the old EU member states. My personal outlook is the opposite – the inclusion of the Balkan states in the EU can only help to tackle the problem – with joint efforts, common legislation, and closely cooperating security bodies. The third factor is Russia – unlike 20 years ago, Russia now has much bigger ambitions in the Balkans than seeing it just as a transit area for its energy resources to the EU markets. Whether this is the case, only the future will tell.

### Filip Vujanovic, President of Montenegro 2003-2018

New narrative and vision for the WB could be created only if we respect geographical, historical and other common values of the region. It is a strategically important part of Europe, a region of extraordinary value and great resources. The WB must be part of the EU. Historically it was the region where 5 wars took place. Third, economic and intellectual potential of the Balkans is enormous and unused. That is why a new narrative is necessary and the 2030 vision is clear – there is a need for new narrative to secure EU integration for the WB and should affirm dialogue and mutual understanding, the new narrative should not make WB victim or hostage of its past history and must mobilize all of the WB potential. Montenegro signed a number of border agreements with its neighbors such as Serbia, Croatia and Albania and proved that the base of compromise is a dialogue which is a model for coexistence in the future. Montenegro will keep leadership in the European integration by respecting individual treaties it will contribute to the region’s European integration. We do not want to sacrifice its present and future for the past. Montenegro is ready to affirm regional cooperation and EU integration using EU expert approach and all its creative potential, especially respecting the interests of Europe. I want to remind of the initiative to establish a Podgoritsa Club in the capital of Montenegro which will serve as a basis of the new narrative for the WB vision 2030.

### Bujar Nishani, President of Albania 2012-2017

I want to thank NGIC for putting together a panel on the Balkans, which is not a big region itself but it is going to remain a crossroad of geopolitical views, like it was since the Roman empire times, Byzantine times, Ottoman times, two world wars and the area where civilizations, cultures and models clashed. It is still at crossroads when it comes to the challenges of the development. I remember many meetings of heads of states of our region that we used to discuss our many dilemma - the future. I would like to focus on its challenges of the future. Are we going to commit and invest

in the future of the people, or in the future of the politicians? We went a long ways in the region from wars and hatred, ethnic cleansing, genocide to a new environment where we are trying to build some trust and understanding among us and believing that the future has to be the future for the people, based on three pillars – education, development and security. All of them are challenged today and will continue to be challenged in the future. Balkans are identifying themselves more and more as a bridge for communication and cooperation among different regions and continents. It is rich in resources, including water resources, energy and transport projects have huge potential there. The Berlin initiative gave us lots of hope, we are thirsty for such big projects and investments and partnerships. Security is always a challenge for the regions, many of these issues are addresses – many countries of the region are either members of NATO or are aspiring to it. But security is not only military, it is also brought by trust. Dialogue is important between Kosovo and Serbia, with EU support and beyond the issues of these two countries. What I see as a threat to this process and beyond that has a new thesis – possible exchanges of territories on the ethnic basis. It is a threat to the future understanding of entire region. There is no country in WB which has no ethnic minority in the country. Territorial exchanges will open a Pandora box and cannot be used as approach in the region. I hope that the future will be a real one for the people, in the interests of people and not the politicians. EU integration discussion is important. We are aware about the situation in the EU, we are aware that we cannot be full-fledged members now, but I strongly believe that the process of EU integration has to remain as the best tool to create the environment for all countries and people focusing on the values, principles and standards of the EU starting from institution building to ambitions of economic prosperity. EU integration process will still remain a challenge for a number of reasons - the perception among the citizens of the Balkan countries, a theory that raised questions – stability versus democracy, but I strongly believe that stability cannot exist without democracy.

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

There are two main processes in the Western Balkans – the EU integration and the NATO accession process. EU integration – the country which will be EU member before 2030 is Montenegro. Considering that that EU is toughening criteria for accession for the WB. Regarding Serbia – almost at the same stage as Montenegro – barrier is recognition of Kosovo independence. Normalizing the relations between two states and creating stable environment for the EU integration. In this sense, ant theory of changing the territories or even changing borders between Kosovo and Serbia while refusing Kosovo independence, could open Pandora box and can have serious consequences. Regarding North Macedonia, under the new name the country will be an EU member before 2030. For Albania, there is a possibility for membership during the third decade of this century. Regarding Bosnia and Herzegovina, their integration process needs more than one decade and it is more about internal unification. I believe the forecast was not accurate at the beginning, the country is still suffering from ethnic divides. Regarding the future of Kosovo, it is linked to the recognition by Serbia. For NATO recognition, North Macedonia accession will be finished soon. For BiH, accession will take nearly a decade. For Serbia – the process is working, but this is the only state in the WB that has military agreement with Russia. As to Kosovo, recognition is an issue, and the process can be accelerated. In terms of the future of our region, WB is a chessboard, there are many important actors – not just the EU and the US, but also China, Russia and Turkey. If you look at the numbers of Chinese investments in the region, based on 16 plus 1 initiative: Bosnia – 2.6 billion Euro in 2016-2017, more than 1 billion in Serbia, hundred millions in Albania and Montenegro, whereas EU investment in the region was about 2 billion Euro. Turkey is trying to increase the level of investment in the region, Russia is trying to invest in the energy sector. The problem is what happens in the future – while the focus is on EU and NATO accession, for me other cooperation with other countries is also important for the development of the region.

# PANEL 6: CHINA'S DEVELOPMENT AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE WORLD

*Rashid Alimov, Secretary-General, Shanghai Cooperation Organization 2016-2018*  
*Khamphao Ernthavanh, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Lao People's Democratic Republic*  
*Peter Medgyessy, Prime Minister of Hungary 2002-2004*  
*David Merkel, Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs at the US Department of State*  
*Petre Roman, Prime Minister of Romania 1989-1991*  
*Jennifer Shipley, Prime Minister of New Zealand 1997-1999*  
*Boris Tadic, President of Serbia 2004-2012*  
*Danilo Turk, President of Slovenia 2007-2012*  
*Wang Wen, Executive Dean of Chongyang Institute for Financial Studies, Renmin University of China*



Over the past 40 years' reform and opening up, China has achieved rapid development with global attention. The economic growth of China has been the source of growth and anchor of stability and has contributed more than 30% to the global economic growth for many years, providing market and investment opportunities and creating a large number of employment opportunities for the world. At present, China is pushing forward a higher level of opening up and moving toward the stage of high quality development. The "Belt and Road Initiative" is a major initiative for China to further expand its opening up. The achievements of the "Belt and Road Initiative" has been and will be further reflected in the fields of improving infrastructure, stimulating economic growth

and promoting employment level, etc. China has always been a builder of the world peace, a contributor to global development, and a defender of the international order. China neither imports foreign modes nor exports Chinese mode. China's development benefits from the international community and China is willing to contribute to the international community with its own development. Looking into the future, China will continue to firmly follow the strategy of reform and opening up, stick to the path of peaceful development and win-win cooperation, actively participate in the reform of the global governance system and consistently promote the development of globalization to the direction of more open, more inclusive, balanced and beneficial to all.

## Moderator:

Over the last 40 years China has achieved rapid economic and has become an important engine of the world's economy. China has contributed 30% of the world economic growth, providing investment opportunities and creating employment for the world. The Belt and Road Initiative has become the world's biggest platform of international cooperation. Trade of China and its partners of the Belt and Road Initiative is beyond 6 trillion USD. So far China has invested directly 80 billion USD in those partner countries, creating 240 000 jobs for the local communities. China is expected to import more than 30 billion USD of goods and more than 10 trillion USD of services for the next 50 years. China still faces problems and challenges in its development, such as high pressure and shrink of economic growth, financial risks, poverty, unbalanced domestic development, pollution, intellectual property rights and foreign investment environment. China's development attracts great attention from the world, became of the focal points of this Forum. Some people see China's economic development as a threat and some think it is getting unpredictable. Some suspect that Belt and Road Initiative is a geopolitical tool of China. How shall we view China's development, as well as its influence on the world?

## Rashid Alimov, Secretary-General, Shanghai Cooperation Organization 2016-2018

First of all, two very important political meetings just took place in Beijing that presented the long-term strategy and vision for the development of China. These two sessions confirmed China's policy of reform. In his report during the conference Prime Minister of China used the word "development" over 130 times, and words like "economy" and "reform" were used over 90 and over 50 times respectively. These three key words describe China's vector for the future. Over the last 40 years, China has achieved impressive results, and statistics confirms that. 20 years ago China's GDP was just over 1 trillion USD, in 2000 - 4,6 trillion, and in 2018 – over 14 trillion USD. Every decade the Chinese GDP increases 4 times. China's policy of reforms and openness has become advantageous

not only for China, but for the rest of the world. Research conducted by the American organization showed that from 2014 China allocated 354 billion USD to 140 countries. During this period the US spent 394 billion USD for similar purpose. In other words, parity has been achieved in this respect by the most industrial developed country in the world and developing country. China plans to dramatically increase the intensity of attracting foreign investment. It is expected that the law on foreign investments adopted today will give a powerful additional impetus and will significantly improve the investment environment. Openness, transparency and predictability of the investment environment will significantly increase. This will be facilitated by the International Import-Export Event in Shanghai, and excellent platform for anyone who wants to trade with China. At the opening of the First Shanghai exhibition President of China announced that in the next 15 years imports of goods and services from China will exceed 30 trillion and 10 trillion USD respectively. These approaches should also open up new windows of opportunity and points of joint growth for One Belt - One Road. That fact that every second country of the world participates in this project. Over the past 5 years 56 zones of trade and economic cooperation have been built in 20 countries with China's support. Total investment in the Belt and Road countries has already exceeded 80 billion USD. At the same time cooperation in science, culture and education is also expanding. At the end of April the Second Belt and Road Forum will be conducted and this will open a new phase of this initiative in the interests of all its participants. It is expected that the Chinese role in promoting universal peaceful development will increase. The situation in the world is rapidly changing, new trade and economic relations are developing. China like all other countries is dealing with challenges, including the possibility of trade war with the US. Mutually beneficial agreement will hopefully be reached, since two of these countries account for 40% of the world GDP.

### Khamphao Ernthavanh, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Lao People's Democratic Republic

Lao PDR and China have long-lasting relationship and good strategic partnership. The two countries are close friends and share mutual benefit of cooperation between our two people. I do agree that China's development is an important contribution to the world prosperity. The economic growth of China has brought concrete benefits to people around the world. China does not only provide financing, but also expertise to the developing countries to help them deal with problems like poverty. For example, in Lao PDR the Chinese investment is #1 in terms of FDI. Our country also appreciates the Belt and Road Initiative and establishment of the Asian infrastructure that help us to deal with development gaps. Now Lao PDR implements an open door policy to increase trade and investment and to promote peace and cooperation. We are committed to working with our neighbors, partners and international organization in order to help us achieve 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda. My country welcomes all development projects and supports the Belt and Road Initiative which in the long run will contribute to sustainable infrastructure development and to promoting economic cooperation and connectivity. China-Lao Railway is under construction of about 415 km linking from the South of China to our capital. The development of China is an important contribution to the regional and global development and partnership for prosperity.

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

China has a stabilizing effect, as superpower it has balancing effect on world economy and remains an engine in spite of the slowdown. What can be the role of China is case of crisis, global economic or financial crisis. Crisis may happen in the next 12-24 months. I will provide 9 reasons of my pessimism – the largest stock exchange boom in 100 years is coming to its end. US is approaching the end of the cycle. Escalation of protectionism in the world trade. Global investments are decreasing. Big risk

in the normalization of monetary policy. World-wide spreading populism. Existing geopolitical tensions affecting stability and development. Europe and EU are full of problems – Brexit, Italian financial problems. Climate change brings water shortages – political instability and local wars, plus migration. Can China be a starting point for the world economic crisis? I think that China will not be a starting point for crisis because it has huge internal market. It is adapting to the changes and the private consumption to GDP is growing from 39 to 47%. If the crisis hits, China will turn to qualitative development. China reorients from industrial manufacturing to services economy and looks for new markets in South East Asia and Africa. The role of innovation is growing. The leadership is focusing on health care industry with a very interesting "Health China 2030 program". Education and universities are in the focus of attention, research and development, artificial intelligence, robotics are on the rise. Fighting against corruption brings first results. Property market in China is down, and new real estate investments are not significant. China government debt is only 40% of GDP, and it is an internal debt. Balance of payment is in surplus and China has high currency reserves. China resisted crises well – in 1998 and 2008. Strongly centralized political power and economic leadership has advantage. The biggest concern for Chinese economy is high corporate debt and inefficient state-owned companies. China has an important balancing role in the world.

### David Merkel, Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs at the US Department of State

I am a member of the Board of Trustees of Nazarbayev University in Kazakhstan where President Xi announced the Belt and Road Initiative back in 2013. I want to focus on the land bridge and on the reconstructed Silk Road connecting China to Italy, the markets of Asia and Europe. The Belt and Road Initiative has been endorsed by the official documents of the Communist party of China, World bank, IMF, the UN and 60 countries, or 2/3 of the world population

have joined in the Belt and Road Initiative. Italy, the first G7 country to join when President Si travels there later this month. It is often described as the modern Marshal Plan. The Belt and Road Initiative of China is meeting the need that the Asian Development bank talks about – just in Asia development requires 1.8 trillion USD. China's Belt and Road Initiative is certainly the largest development project. In terms of its relevance to the area from Central Asia to Azerbaijan, on the border between Kazakhstan and China there is the largest dry dock facility, huge switching station where railcars from China are put in railcars in Kazakhstan and produce is going back and forth. The infrastructure that China is getting behind, provides the great opportunity for these countries that want to be connected beyond their borders. Political change in Uzbekistan provides greater cooperation within Central Asia, and we have long been looking for ways to get Afghanistan connected with the region. In Washington every geostrategic leader is talking about the importance

of Azerbaijan – it being a cork and Central Asia being a bottle and Azerbaijan would unleash the riches of Central Asia to Europe. the Belt and Road Initiative gives a possibility not just with Central Asia riches, but the riches beyond. When talking about rail and road traffic, one hopes that it is not moving from China to Europe full, and returning empty – a lot to think about as far as how the trade can be two ways. The project brings great opportunities and it brings Azerbaijan again right at the hub – President Aliyev mentioned yesterday the East-west corridor and the development of the port here and the Baku-Tbilisi car railroad. All this project can take advantage of China's the Belt and Road Initiative. It also brings controversies – some well-deserved – some countries like Kazakhstan are managing it well, but some other countries have mixed experience. We are all familiar with Sri Lanka not being able to manage its debt, situation with Malaysia and Pakistan. Some people suggest that it is not One Belt and Road, but it is One Belt, One Road and One Country, and that win-



win does not mean win and win, but it means that China wins twice, and they even suggest some sort of debt imperialism. China wants to get paid for the money it loans out, and I do not think there is a grand strategy of debt imperialism, I think that we all need to learn from the errors that we made. There is an opportunity for greater transparency and cooperation. Saudi Arabia was going to join the initiative on some projects, and this and other cooperation initiatives would make the initiative stronger – if it would be more multilateral. More experience of lending outside of China will come, more best practices will help to make the success of that initiative that China wants, and that Asia, Middle East and Africa need it to be. The development and moving people out of poverty could really be advantageous for all these regions.

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

I joined politics on 1991, and since then have witnessed various stages of China's development - by visiting China many times and speaking there. In November 2018 New York Times came out with an article called "The American Dream is Alive. In China". It praises the development of China and mentions that 800 million people of China over the 40 years have risen out of poverty. This number 2,5 population of the U.S. Another survey conducted in the US asked people in 38 countries a question about which is the dominant economic power of the world, and 7 out of 10 developed countries believe that it is China. For example, in Germany 41% of people believe that China is the dominant power in the world. China has done exceptional well at building new roads, ports, highways and railways, but it also started promoting innovation as a new priority, and has become the world of innovation. It increased its R&D investment 10 times 16 years. The OECD report on knowledge economy and digital transformation talks about top 10 IT hubs. In 2000 China was not there, number 1 was the US, but in 2011 already China was a central hub for the IT production in the world. It is important to acknowledge that these huge achievements were written domestically by the Chinese leadership. The fate of this economy is still the hands if the Chinese leaders, but probably to a lesser extent now. The wisdom of the Chinese leadership consists

in acknowledging the new global environment. That is partially the main original impulse for the New Silk Road initiative, and the revival of the SR meant also that the new stereotypes about China are taken into account by the Chinese leaders. The goals and priorities of the Belt and Road initiative coincide with geocultural strategy of China. The political concept of mutual trust and better understanding that enhance cooperation. China always takes into account cultural differences. Last year the delegation from Club de Madrid was received by President Xi Jinping, and in the meeting he said that the voice of every nation has to be heard. Political analysts and economists in the West say that if China want to keep up the same path of rapid progress, true renovation is needed, critical thinking and obstinate truth telling should be allowed. As I scientist, I agree with that. As a politician, I admire results achieved. Were the results possible while critical thinking and obstinate truth telling was truly banned from within the political system. In China the unappealable within the political system authority did well for the last 40 years? Can it deliver from now on? I am convinced that the Chinese leaders will discover the new ways of thinking. The search of harmony - ideas, willpower, truth and beauty together - is embedded in China's philosophy, therefore, I remain an optimist because of that quality of Chinese wisdom for them and for the world.

### **Jennifer Shipley, Prime Minister of New Zealand 1997-1999**

The question of China and its future development is compelling. We all know of China's ability to set targets and make plans and systematically deliver on them has delivered meaningful change. While many of us signed on the Millennium Development Goals, China has delivered on 76% of the poverty reduction that was achieved by those goals what was globally celebrated. So what can we take from what China did that might be relevant going forward? If we want to move from four economic dominating half of the world GDP to far more balanced set of economically successful countries, there are elements that are worth considering. China made significant step in the early years of extending universal education for all children to



the top of the primary level. The improvements of literacy rate is the rightest things to do, that China made, and it set the right platform for many years ahead. They systematically lay down systems that establish connectivity. In two years telecommunications systems went to almost universal coverage in China. This connectivity projects – telecommunications, highways and railroads – successfully connected people to the markets and markets to people – another dramatic contribution to China's success. Some of Chinese regional economies can be compared to economic of individual developed countries. When we look at the world's future, and at the scale of development in not just the small parts of China, but across many large cities of China, we see many layers of success, and then when we think about sharing them through the Belt and

Road Initiative, or other areas of development, the system of investment as opposed to aid are things that we need to consider seriously. No wonder the developing economies welcome China when the conversation about investment, not small doses of aid. And these economies are ready to move things forward. The concept of inclusive finance is very important to the future. And this is happening both in China – if we look at the Belt and Road Initiative, maybe it is a concept that rather than the short-term rate of return, we need to think about what layers of finance would be available for taking a position in an inclusive way, with real commitment to sustainable development. This is critical for progress. Going from global to local – China's most recent target of eradicating poverty in a very near future, and you might be skeptical about it. Hunan Province on the South, that was very slow on progress, is now experiencing the rapid development – because the farmers were told that they could get loans based on income, no assets, which is a revolutionary approach. Chinese financial system is willing to work with individuals, and once they are in the banking system, inclusive financing extends them the opportunity to put their goods on the sales platforms and this is how the government is fulfilling the obligation of eradicating poverty. There are many examples now that China has been able to demonstrate over the last 3 decades, and the degree of innovation is striking. There are also complex matters, but so many benefits as well. As a former leader of a small country, I am grateful to China for their commitment to multilateralism. At a time when it is so easy for the small economies to get lost, we must preserve what we get and modernize and take that approach forward. Since joining WTO, China has been loyal and relatively disciplined participant in the multilateral system. Planning it forward – we talked a lot about green technology and saving the planet. The population of the world is increasing, and I admire China's discipline in retrospect around dealing with population. It was very controversial during my young years, but I lament a fact that UN cannot even discuss the issue of population and the human footprint as a contributing factor to ability to sustain our life on earth.

I am a great admirer of the achievements of China,

economies like ours have been successful because of China's success and I hope we will find the way to continue in the future.

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

I see China's role changing after economic reforms in the past 4 decades. They started in 1978-79, which coincided with other event – Tiananmen square. After that challenge Deng Xiaoping, who was not the former leader of the country, was announcing reforms. Firstly, those reforms were reforms for China, but after 4 decades we can understand that the vision of Deng Xiaoping is one of the main contributions to the mankind in our days. Two examples of that statement – during the crisis of 2008-2012 Chinese economy was the driving force for the world economy, contributing 30% to the world's development. Without that contribution, the effects of the crisis would have been terrible. Second, during the four decades of reform China was taking out almost 800 000 million people from poverty. After crisis and the wars in Africa, Iraq, Syria and problems in Central Asia, Europe was affected with 5 million migrants who caused real political crisis on the beautiful continent of Europe. 5 million migrants are 1% of the EU population. Technically every country could handle easily 1% of migrants. But stereotypes and emotions are dangerous even for very strong economies and states. During 4 decades China brought almost 800 000 million people from poverty – what would happen to the world if China had not done those reforms and those people had to look for other places to live outside of China. That is why I think that Deng Xiaoping who implemented reforms and who was not even a formal leader at the time, became one of the most respected people of the 20th century. Even if we did not share views on Tiananmen with him at the end of 1970s. For us in Europe the issue of human rights has always been very important. My Chinese friends presented me with different vision on that subject: that Europeans are always looking at the human rights issues, but from the angle of very rich countries. But for the Chinese the number one human rights issue is taking people out of poverty. I would like to be provocative right now – and to point out that question to all of us, and to look at these issues seriously. If we are ignoring our cultural and

economic differences, realities that we are living with, then we cannot predict problems coming, we are facing with challenges. I admire what China achieved. This is fantastic contribution to the new epoch. But like every country that has achieved a lot, will be facing problems. Now China faces a new challenge. Like the US, China is overtaking the role of the big power, like it was with Russia and the US in the past. When China becomes the main economic power, is going to take the same habit regarding multilateral institutions and the global politics. We can now see that China is more in favor of globalization, than the United States. Will China continue to play the soft role in the future? President Xi Jinping mentioned when we met that China was still a developing country. This is good statement. Now China is able to produce cheaper airline carriers that ever before. I hope that China will continue its role as a contributor, and not become dominating. That is why the Belt and Road Initiative is that kind of contribution to the new history of humankind.

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



China's development has started to transform the world. We are living through that transformation, and have to adjust to it. At the same time we can and we should take advantage of it. Every

transformation brings questions. A good example of this is the debate on the subject of 5G telecommunications technology that China is offering. Politicians tend to be more negative on that subject, whereas business and tech communities are much more positive. This controversy can be resolved at the level of practical decisions. For example, the city of Vienna has reportedly decided to take 5G technology and to develop Vienna into a smart city for the rest of the century. This is an example of the opportunities resulting from China's development.

Another, even larger example is provided by the Belt and Road Initiative and its concept of connectivity. This is a great idea, but I do not think that everyone understands its potential as yet. It relates - not only to ports and railways, but also internet and water management, as well as to "greening" of the Belt and Road. Obviously, this will require adequate management of investment in order to use the opportunity and to introduce new technologies for energy generation and better protection of the environment.

The Belt and Road Initiative works in a variety of ways in Europe, Slovenia is involved in 16 plus 1 format. The 16 plus 1 idea was seen as slightly controversial by the EU. However, by now it is clear that the part of Europe included in 16+1 format (Central and Eastern European countries) has been lagging behind in investments from China. Now, 16+1 offers an opportunity for catching up. It is an additional advantage that both EU and non-EU countries are participating in that format. Therefore, this is about connectivity beyond divisions in Europe. And China is providing us with that opportunity.

The EU is aware that the big transformation processes involving China open new opportunities for more intense cooperation with China, including within the World Trade Organization. A joint EU/China working group was established in 2018 to coordinate work on WTO reform. We see a high level of convergence of interests between European Union and China as well as the need to work together for improvement of the global system. I am not underestimating the existing and dangerous complications between China and US. However, the world is not bipolar. The future of trade is not only about China and the US. There is

a multitude of actors on the global scene and they can come together in different combinations. If the leaders are wise enough, I am sure, all major players can take advantage of working together within G20 context to work out a global trading system beneficial to everyone with the most important elements covered by the reformed WTO.

### **Wang Wen, Executive Dean of Chongyang Institute for Financial Studies, Renmin University of China**

The potential for China's development is much bigger now than in the past 40 years. For example, 1 billion people in China never took a flight in their life. 0,5 billion people have no toilets. Over 90% of the Chinese people never go overseas. I appreciate all of you taking about China's achievement, but all those people will be improving their living standards. This will create huge economic opportunities. I am pessimistic about short-term development of China, but very optimistic for mid-term and long-term perspective. Chinese government is not taking three campaigns – anti-pollution, anti-poverty - we still have 20 million poor people living in China – and anti-crisis (anti-corruption and anti-financial crisis). These are main priorities of President Xi's administration. The second comment is about predictions – many of you were talking about China's leadership – global or international. But no one in China talks about global leadership. We do not want to be second America or second Soviet Union. But China wants to have our own path – which is learning by doing – because we know that today to be a global citizen is very complicated. Many were taking about Belt and Road initiative – through it we want to share our international experience and practices, like infrastructure development, smartphone technology, but we do not want to be the next global leader like US. This is a very interesting year. This is 70th anniversary of new China and 30th anniversary of very interesting theory "the end of history" by American scientist Fukuyama. But we all can see that the history is not ending, the new history is just beginning. We do not know about the future, but we can learn by doing.

# PANEL 7: THE ROLE OF SCIENCE AND CULTURE IN CONTEMPORARY DECISIONS MAKING



*Moderator: Harold Varmus, Nobel Prize recipient in the field of Physiology or Medicine, former Director of National Cancer Institute and National Institutes of Health*

*James Bolger, Prime Minister of New Zealand 1990-1997*

*Margaret Catley-Carlson, President of the Canadian International Development Agency 1983-89; Deputy Executive Director of UNICEF 1981-1983*

*Emil Constantinescu, President of Romania 1996-2000*

*Djoomart Otorbaev, Prime Minister of Kyrgyzstan 2014-2015*

*Rajendra Pachauri, President of the World Sustainable Development Forum; former Chairman of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*

*Ismail Serageldin, Vice President of the World Bank 1992-2000, Co-Chair of NGIC*

Sensible people agree that those who make public policy should take advantage of reliable, relevant scientific information. Yet most would agree that science is underused in policy-making and there is little agreement about the best ways to obtain, evaluate, and make use of scientific evidence when policy is formulated. Our panel will describe the methods that might be more widely used and will consider their application to contentious problems that include climate change, genetically modified foods, tobacco control, nuclear power, and health care.

My name is Harold Varmus, I am a biomedical

scientist, I had a couple of runs in the government, running the national institutes of health in the US, and running the national cancer institute, and I was prevailed upon by my friend Ismail Serageldin to come and help to introduce the idea of science, scientific thinking and evidence-based thought should play a greater role in decision making by nations, and I accepted the idea partly because I welcome the change to visit Baku for the first time.

We are operating under assumptions that science has virtues in thinking about how the governments should operate and how the world should operate, that science has utility for thinking about things

that people care about – security, health, food, water, energy, environment. Secondly, that it is important to use scientific ideas to support and formulate policy that affects many aspects of what government does and how we lead. When I think about this general problem, I think about three major categories: how government in its desire to have a responsible interaction with scientific thinking, how does government support science in many ways that differ in terms of quality and quantity, but includes funding for scientific projects, training, facility construction, immigration policy which affects the labor force for science, creating and sustaining institutions. Second – how does government get scientific opinion that it can incorporate into policy making. This can happen in a variety of ways, in my own country for example, the normal administration we have panel of scientific advisors reporting to the president, Science Advisor to the President, we have someone who runs the Office of Science and Technology Policy that oversees the work of various science agencies, we have advocates who come to Congress or to one of the components of administration to provide scientific advice and increasingly in part as response to the actions of President – and increased cohort of people who are scientists, health workers who have been elected to Congress because the first thing that happened in our country after the election of Mr. Trump was an outpouring support of science. The third area in which there is an interplay between the science and policy is the question of how the government as a whole, especially the Congressional and Executive branches deal with the wave of scientific evidence. How does that that evidence line up sometimes in contrast with many aspects of a nation's culture – its religions, its traditions, naysayers within society, people who want to make money rather than the increase vitality of the world, and how do this forces get balanced, how does the scientific community, people who advocate for scientific thinking present their arguments in a way that brings the public along in making decisions that are important to politicians who need to get elected in the next cycle. I hope that in a course of our conversation these three issues – support for science, importation of scientific advice into policy making, and the way in which the government and

the politicians make use of scientific advice in a way that is balancing anti- science influences. There are a lot of topics to which these precepts apply, including how we generate our food, especially in respect to genetically modified organisms, how we respond to the evidence of the change of our climate and how it reflects on health occupations in the States and elsewhere, and the use of vaccines, attitudes to the control of tobacco, and the use of e-cigarettes, transportation crises, there are tools now for changing the genes of our germlines those also become controversial and also matters of policy. Let us start with the question of how we adapt to the climate change? Who can be done by the governments to try to mitigate the affect and diminish the actual level of change.

**Rajendra Pachauri, President of the World Sustainable Development Forum; former Chairman of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change**

If one looks at the impact of science on foreign policy, and I will focus on the climate change as important factor, I think that there are several things that scientists can provide by developing policies for the future. First, we have to correct the distortions of the present. And today climate change policy and particularly as it comes from some of the most powerful countries of the world, has a huge amount of inertia. Because we have certain consumption and production patterns, you have infrastructure that you do not want to change, and profits that you do not want to give up. So the first thing that science needs to do is to provide impacts on how the current distortions can be corrected. Second, it is important to look at future trends – and I want to make it very clear that we mentioned in the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) report in 2011, especially on extreme events and disasters, and that was game changer, because before that everybody thought that the climate change is a slow and steady increase in temperatures, but now we brought it to the attention of the global public and the scientific community that and you are going to see the large increase of intensity and frequency of extreme events, and we are witnessing it. The third area that I think science can provide is what one defines as collective action. It is not that

one or two countries that can solve the problem. We came up with the Paris Agreement, and that clearly required a lot of diplomacy. The Chinese President, the US President and several others were involved in hammering out that agreement. It is crucially important that we define what needs to be done and how quickly. Few factors: we need to cut down emissions very rapidly and drastically. In one of our earlier reports we highlighted that we will see the peak for those emissions in 2020. Unless we in 2020 we can bring about the reductions – and have emissions peak in 2020 and then hopefully will go down – we may have extreme difficulty in finding the technology, the infrastructure and arrangements that we need for that.

**Moderator:** what is the best way of communicating these messages to public and authorities – have tried to do that, Al Gore made a movie, yet somehow we failed to galvanize the international community to do some substantial things? What is the best approach to communicating, what governments can do to surge things on, even if larger community is not yet on board?

**Rajendra Pachauri :** I think we really need a group of “preaching” scientists for those who are not easily converted, but who can be convinced on what needs to be done. I have had this experience in the scientific community – I have talked to my colleagues about spreading the message and taking things to the public – and they would say it is your job to save the world, our job is to write papers and do the research. Some elements of the scientific community have to change their attitude as well.

**Margaret Catley-Carlson, President of the Canadian International Development Agency 1983-89; Deputy Executive Director of UNICEF 1981-1983**

You suggested that scientists should be taking it into battle. I want to comment on why scientists have great difficulty being heard. If we ask them to be the Principle Spokespersons for things such as climate change, I think we are missing a little bit of the boat. They are in silos and can communicate their science only in a certain way, it is very rare that scientists move out of the means of discourse which leads to publications or other parts of trades of science. For that we can use other parts of

science – sociology, psychology, anthropology to try to figure out what makes societies change, what leads to major changes.

**Moderator:** I agree, it is incredibly important. How would you approach that in respect of climate change?

**Margaret Catley-Carlson:** We have to start with where we are, and try to find out which societies responded and how, and we should also get segmentary about whom we are trying to influence – if you immediately go to those who need to be influenced because they have a lot of money – then you are on a rather difficult track. We should stop preach to the converted, because it is a waste of money, but to leap to the other end if also difficult. It is important to curve out a large segment in the middle and using the skills we have got and can try and convince them and move towards the decision makers in all countries.

**Djoomart Otorbaev, Prime Minister of Kyrgyzstan 2014-2015**

On climate change – in that case cost factor will be important - recent data prove that to generate one kilowatt of electricity with renewables will cost 3 US cents per kilowatt hour, the price for electricity in Germany is smth like 40 us cents per kilowatt hour. Economic factor will eventually work. Germany already has 40% of its electricity generated by renewables. Business already work hard in introducing cheaper renewable energy. This will be important for the climate change policies. By 2050 two thirds of global electricity will be generated by renewables, purely on commercial terms.

**James Bolger, Prime Minister of New Zealand 1990-1997**

Commercial terms will not work. They have not worked thus far and we earlier saw how Norway was leading in the process because government is involved. We talk about climate change, but no one does anything. The commercial world will go where the dollars are. Same applies to guns controls.

**Ismail Serageldin, Vice President of the World Bank 1992-2000, Co-Chair of NGIC**

A lot of people, including the media, live in a totally unreal vision of what is going on. One of the stunning things is a study that shows that

80% of Americans do not own a gun. 20% do, and of those 20% who do, 3% own 50% of the guns in the country. Many of the scientific studies are overwhelmed by very powerful images, and one of the images at the momentum was because of all prior investments, and that is not true again because Mr. Trump has been undoing regulations that were put in place, and putting up the white lands for oil explorations which had been banned by regulation. You need government regulation. If you look at studies, you see that American GDP is going up, water consumption goes up, and then it gets flat – what happened at that point was a “Clean Water Act” that regulated activities on water and people realized that they can continue to grow at make money without polluting and using up so much water. But there is a very powerful image that came from distinguished scientist Cedric Villani who is Fields Medalist and who was elected with Macron. When asked about the discussion in the French parliament on GMOs and other things, he gave a very beautiful image - it is like the wave and a sword -we

scientists have excellent arguments and with them we can punch any counterargument that comes, but it does not come in counterarguments, it comes like a huge wave that covers you and takes you over and moves people emotionally along with something. For the nature of the arguments that the scientists make, they do not resonate effectively with the situation, and this is part of the problem.

**Margaret Catley-Carlson:**

Once GMOs are called, Frankenfoods, you do ask the battle: they were only discussed as Frankenfoods, something put together by an evil



force – multinational organizations. I go back to my idea – this is really psychology and sociology. Once you have established basic science, and what you want to fight for, you do not necessarily fight with those facts, the basic science does not necessarily gives you facts with which you go to the battle - because as with GMOs – once they were called Frankenfoods in a lot of the European countries, nobody was listening to those basic facts.

### James Bolger, Prime Minister of New Zealand 1990-1997

If any one thinks that psychology can persuade people to pay taxes, then it definitely can help persuade people to save the environment. But let's practice in taxes first. On GMOs – remember where they started – some of the earlier attempts were non-fertile, so peasants and farmers had to buy new seeds every year, so everything started badly. Another factor is culture – and this is entirely a cultural issue for countries like mine. They just feel is unnecessary, we have a very strong environmental movement and interfering with mother nature plans is extracting or changing gene is not the right way to go. I do not say I necessarily agrees with that, but there could also be a simpler and a more rational reason: we have not had to. Relative to our amount of population, we produce a vast amount of food and we export it to the world. There is no pressure on us. In some ways we can have luxury of those who advocate for pure green approach, have the luxury of doing that because it really impacts on us as a society. Culture is a very powerful determinant in decision making.

UK leaving EU was not economically wise – but the culture said they wanted to leave the EU. Going back to GMO issue - how soon it will be before the livestock and the cost of land and water to produce red meat, will it be just as unacceptable to red meat as it is to smoke? Because of the most



damaging productive techniques is the production of red meat. These challenges will be very cultural. Scientists already know that it takes a lot of land and water to produce red meat – but how do you get the cultural shift and or will it again require a law to change people's minds.

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

I would like to share my worries about diminishing role of science and culture in decision-making process, and especially in elaborating strategy of policies for future. In the last decade of the past century the transformation of information society into knowledge society was proclaimed. The Lisbon agenda was mentioning emphatically the Europe of knowledge in 10 years. Now we talk less about knowledge society, instead knowledge derelations value that in general the progress of the society in favor of the instrument facilitating the management of political, military and economic power in a society where money is a supreme value and consumption is the main goal. Without denying the global increase in the level of education, we cannot ignore the fact that the main beneficiary of globalization are the financial and banking companies, not the universities and scientific research institutes and the representatives of science and culture. That society that was supposed to be a vehicle to lead us to the knowledge society was the factor that hindered that transformation. Beyond the communication facilities between researchers and long-distance learning, representing very small percentage, the communications, social media networks are massively dominated by sex, violence, commercial messages, and fake news. During the Forum, there was much talking about populism and political correctness. When we are talking about the role of science in making political decisions, we have to know that there is no political correctness in science. We, researches who used to live under communist dictatorship, we know very well that the political correctness was embedded in communism, the bourgeois science was condemned in that time. Science only seeks the truth, and many times in history scientists have paid a

heavy price for this. Populism is equally dangerous for science. Mathematical theorems and principles of physics is not something that we can vote on and they are not determined by the number of likes in social media. Market world versus value world – in a pragmatic time, dominated by the principles of efficiency, the world of market is brought into discussion, an still is a largely debated topic. Either it is about goods, capitals and labor force, certainly the market world seems to have solid presence, will not have a viable future if it is not backed by the world of values, universities will be overrun by market economy. Too much importance is given to immediate effectiveness, but if this trend continues, the role of the universities will be diminished.

**Ismail Serageldin:** how does science get back to decision making? There are three or four various models. One is to have a scientific ministry and research, and we have people who will respond to the government, the other one suggest that you have a totally autonomous body - Academy of Sciences that writes reports unaffected by political pressures - but in this case they are isolated, they are on the outside. If they come on the inside, how do you protect integrity and autonomy of scientists being pressured to become apologists for whatever the current political leadership wants to do. So we have a group of people who have scientific method as their guiding line who come up with facts, some of the very unpleasant, and they call for changes from the government, and you have some people in the government and how you balance that?

**Moderator:** the role of internet and social media – the role of anti-vaccines and people hesitant about vaccination in the recurrence of measles and the other infectious diseases. This is an immediate problem in the US and elsewhere and there is no doubt that media plays a very strong role here.

### James Bolger, Prime Minister of New Zealand 1990-1997

This exactly like a tobacco industry – the ambition of the tobacco industry was not to deny black and white or to deny the hazards of smoking, but to create doubt. With climate change it was the same model. From the President of the US, people are creating doubt. At this panel we agree that climate change is real and that we as international community need to do something about it, but

there are powerful voices out there in petroleum or coal industry and in politics that is funded by the same groups - they are creating doubt. That is why it is important that governments step in and create proper regulations.

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

The crisis that the world faces today puts the question of the serious crisis of values. Our responsibility as academics and intellectuals is undeniable. We all participate in the vast process of education massification, dominated by the economic obsession for immediate profit, and less and less concerned with educational value of knowledge. We have accepted that the knowledge-based society can be created, but almost completely lacking philosophical ground, fundamental theoretical knowledge. We have accepted the dehumanization of research activity. Like bankers or investment fund managers, we have sold illusions.

**Rajendra Pachauri:** I think scientists are have to be given communication skills, it is urgent today. Scientists have to understand that apart from what they are doing in their professions, they have responsibility in front of society and to be able to communicate the value of what they are producing.

**Ismail Serageldin:** There is a lot of discussions, on the legislative level too, of communications platforms, and they key argument is whether to consider them as utility, and to whether they have responsibilities like publishers as to what happens at their platforms. China has a different model, they have a model of controlled internet, and it is appealing to some people. One of the models we need to look at, as the most successful thing we have done in terms of the environment, is the Montreal Protocol. It worked because it targeted a very narrow sliver of the economy, certain number of companies that also produce CFCs harmful to the ozone lawyer. We were able to induce them to stop producing CFCs that are harmful. On the other hand, de-carbonizing economy touches everything in the field of economy. And it is extremely difficult to do that unless you go back for regulation.

## Panel 8: STATEMENTS FROM YOUNG LEADERS



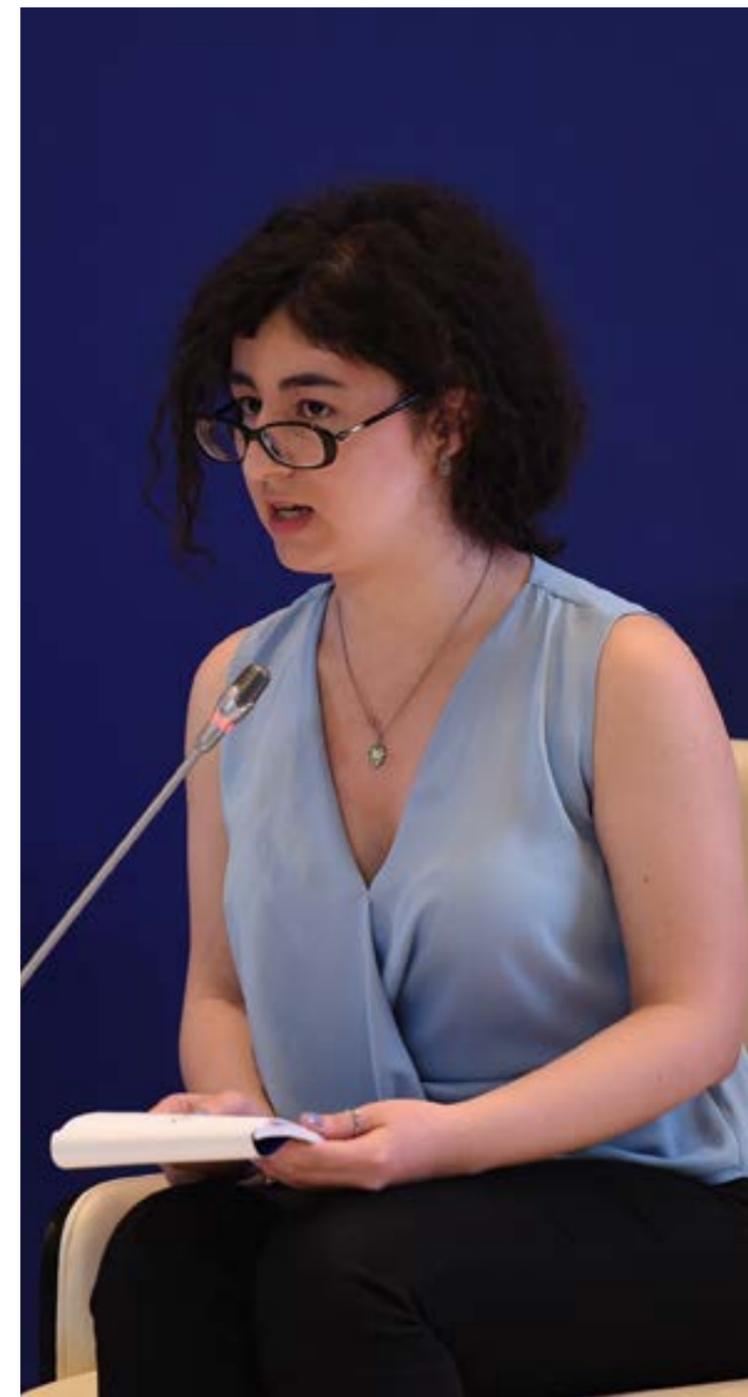
*Jadey Huray*

*It is essential to adapt or perish in this rapidly transforming world.*

*It is on countries to develop whole-of-nation concerted efforts to harness digital technologies for the greater good. Only so can you future-proof your economies and transform your countries to provide good jobs to your citizens.*

*Gunay Mammadova*

*As the participant of Young Leaders Program in VII Global Baku Forum, I have represented Azerbaijan in the "Panel 8: How young leaders envision the better future?". Specializing in public administration and with keen interest in policy-making, communication studies and youth empowerment, my speech has particularly been focused on the role of youth in policy-making through social media platforms, the strongest and most available tool of the 21st century. As a concluding speaker of our panel, I aimed at delivering a positive yet crucial message to youth all around the world to actively play a key role in shaping the public, even global policies through online platforms in simple and small acts.*



*Niels van Wijk*

*There is an increasing disconnect between today's policy makers and the actual voting population which is driven by a lack of good communication. Good communication is about landing the right message, at the right time, to the right person in the right way and social media has enabled policy makers to do this very effectively, reaching a large population directly. Currently mainly populist movements around the globe understand and take advantage of this where established policy makers often stay behind leading to the increased disconnect. Understanding and benefiting from this new way of communication will be key for all policy makers that want to make a new foreign policy a reality.*

*Tarlan Abbasova*

*In legal rights, women in many countries still lack independence rights to vote, own land, manage property, conduct business, or even travel without their husband's consent. Development alone can play a major role in driving down inequality between men and women, in the other direction, empowerment can accelerate development itself.*

*Ilija Cvetanovski*

*Our planet has reached a point of no return and our generation will have a historic responsibility towards future generations with its actions today. The humanity today has come to a point in which we are facing a situation in which there is not going to be winners and losers if we do not take action but we will find ourselves in a situation in which everyone is going to win or everyone is going to lose.*



*Henning Wieck*

*Facing today's global challenges (climate change, global inequalities, arm controls) and recognizing mostly nationalist answers to those problems by the major powers, Henning Wieck defended in his speech the idea of an "alliance of multilateralists". While existing international organizations currently lack in efficiency, this alliance - led by Germany, India and Japan - could build up a new multilateralist organization of middle powers that could find progressive answers to global challenges. Eventually, agreements of this solution-focused coalition of states might trickle down to other countries that might not be part of the multilateralist group of states but who are as well interested in progressive answers for today's global challenges*

*Daniel Gjakjeski:*

*To leave the world a little better than you found it, that's the best a person can ever do, is the simplest definition of sustainability. However, as young people we can be rightfully worried about the planet we inherit and even more about the planet that we will borrow for the next generations. Therefore, the New Foreign Policy priorities should be defined with young people as decision makers and action takers.*

*Sevinj Novruzova*

*Today's global challenges like climate change cannot be solved by countries acting alone. Through cooperation we can tackle these challenges together. Platforms like The Global Baku Forum is a milestone for multilateral dialogue, cooperation and understanding.*





### *Alтынay Altymysheva*

*As a woman I would like to see more gender equality, women and girls continue to suffer discrimination and violence in every part of the world. Unlawful practices such as forced marriage is a fundamental violation of human rights and are still considered as a valuable tradition in places like Central Asia, where women often experience physical violence and rape. We need to sanction the broadly practiced custom of bride kidnapping and change their perception by educating the society and initiating programmes that unlock progress of women. We need to have a dialogue with society in order to address negative sides of this issue and it is also vital to engage people in analysis so that actions would be taken locally.*

### *Henning Wieck*

*Facing today's global challenges (climate change, global inequalities, arm controls) and recognizing mostly nationalist answers to those problems by the major powers, Henning Wieck defended in his speech the idea of an "alliance of multilateralists". While existing international organizations currently lack in efficiency, this alliance - led by Germany, India and Japan - could build up a new multilateralist organization of middle powers that could find progressive answers to global challenges. Eventually, agreements of this solution-focused coalition of states might trickle down to other countries that might not be part of the multilateralist group of states but who are as well interested in progressive answers for today's global challenges.*



## Panel 9: INFORMATION INTEGRITY AND THE RISKS OF DISINFORMATION



The Internet and new technologies have created vast possibilities for quickly accessing and distributing information around the world. Interconnectivity at a low price and without borders has reached unprecedented levels. Social media platforms have in many ways replaced traditional information and debate channels and media. Their massive use has fueled the free debate and speech and boosted the user-friendly access to information. However, technological advancements have not only proven to be used for the greater good, as demonstrated by recent years' scandals such as Cambridge Analytica, new forms of espionage, cyber-security threats against data and information integrity as well as disinformation campaigns around elections and insults, harassment and bullying. As such, the online information infrastructure can be seen

to have reached a point where it creates more harm than benefits, the point where the need for regulations seems obvious. More and more countries are already debating and introducing more regulation of the cyber space: the EU for instance has deployed efforts to strengthen data and privacy protection through its GDPR and intellectual property rights through its upcoming – and disputed – new copyright directive. Voices are raised to ban anonymity of users. Direct regulative action against disinformation is already underway in several countries. Fight is opened against 'fake news' and 'deep' fake news. These efforts however are often criticised because they could limit freedom of speech and the work of journalists and media.

- What action is recommendable and needed?
- How far can you go and what are the pitfalls to

such action?

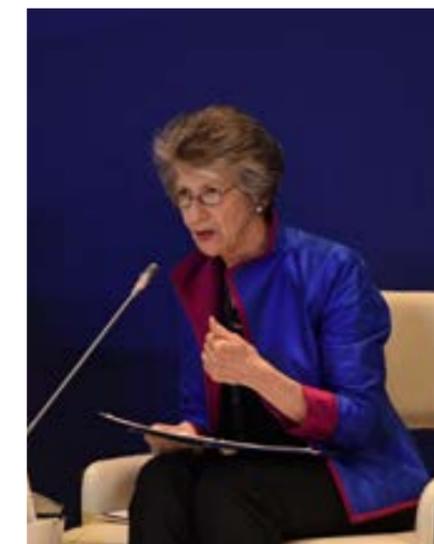
- How can we avoid hindering innovation and losing the opportunities technology provides?
- How can we avoid curtailing the freedom of speech and free flow of information?
- What role can and should softer measures like increasing media literacy and codes of conducts play?
- Can we rely on industry self-regulation, such as the new measures introduced by Facebook in recent months
- Is regulation at national level sufficient or is here a need for amore international and global approach?
- How will this impact small countries, or countries outside of the EU and US for example?

1969 will soon be considered a very important year in the history of mankind. On October 29 we could celebrate an anniversary of the first successful attempt to send a message through a predecessor of the world wide web. Somebody from the University of California sent two letters to a colleague in Stanford University. In 1990 in Geneva, at CERN, the real internet world wide web, the first protocol for the use of it was invented. The disruptive characteristic of massive use of internet now, with 4,4 billion citizens using internet once a week, make it hard to compare it with anything, maybe only with the 15th century when printing was invented by Guttenberg. The internet is massively used now and we heard in different panels already referring to pro and cons of internet, massive use in access to education, massive abuse sometimes. Globalization through free market economy and through the massive use of ICT is a fact of life. Public authorities try to deal with challenges associated with massive use of ICT and internet. Confronted with some downsides, how should society and all stakeholders react to abuses, downsides, negative impact of ICT, and how to promote positive sides? Some governments are trying to regulate it and even have police forces to control internet, and a lot of discussion is taking place on the subject. The future of representative democracy and the quality of decision making is at stake, and the best experts are getting together to see what can be done in that area. Several institutions, including Kofi Annan Foundation and the Stanford University are currently working on

the Framework for the Better Digital Democracy, there are other initiatives in the world. It is very difficult balance that we need to strike between the positive of internet, easy access, horizontality, informality, education, possibility of to participate in the debate and all that should be promoted, and on the other hand, how to deal with the downsides.

### Susan Ness, Former Commissioner of the Federal Communications Commission

I would like everyone to take the following pledge: "I will no longer use the term fake news". As usage has grown exponentially, so has amount of false information going viral on the web.



Malevolent campaigns that have been unleashed reached around elections just in the United States, but in the world, so the institutions have been scrambling to get their arms around the issue, and EU and US legislators have their hands poised, but I would argue that in the rush to legislate, bad legislation can come around and have very negative impact on freedom of expression. A high-level transatlantic group, including legislators, members of government, tech companies, civil society and academic, was put together with the University of Pennsylvania to examine all of the approaches to content on-line and determine what are the best practices to address hate speech, violence, extremism and disinformation on-line without harming freedom of expression. Few definitions – information integrity is the topic here, trustworthiness and dependability of the information, misinformation is false information, possibly a mistake that is circulated without ill intent, disinformation is circulated knowing that it is false with the intent to deceive. That would be

like deceptive advertising. Viral deception is a term that was coined and that emphasize that the harm that come when disinformation goes viral. Its initials are VD, something you do not want to have or to give to others. More definitions: A- deceptive actor, B-bad behavior, C- corrosive content. Some bad actors are economic actors, they circulate emails or twits with outrageous messages to create clickbait, so that they can monetize the traffic that they generated. Platforms are beginning to demonetize these bad actors and that does a great job of eliminating disinformation. Other bad actors circulate deceptive material with an intent of doing harm, harming institutions, causing our societies to break down into angry tribes, clashing within a country or interfering into elections. Another area is an actor who he says he is, do you allow anonymity? Some countries want to prohibit it, but what about people speaking against government corruption, do they need anonymity in a cause of good democracy. These are some issues that are unintended consequences of good intentions of trying to regulate on-line content. B is for bad behavior, terms of service and community standards try to address, they coordinated inauthentic behavior such as the use of bots of fake accounts and we have been trying to take them down. Access to private information regarding religion or politics or other sensitive categories - oftentimes these are areas that they abuse, that would be bad behavior. C is for corrosive content, disinformation maybe harmful, but often is not illegal, it is important that government authorities stay clear of actually regulating content itself. Platforms have terms of service and community standards, they need to give clear rules of what is not allowed on a platform and then enforce it consistently. Political advertisers – this is a great area where regulation can take place. Platforms should identify sources, the amount of funding, which voters they are targeting. These abuses are as old as democracy, but on-line targeted message may be delivered from outside the country and from bots making it appear far more popular than it really is. If it is an external attack that affects elections, that is not the content issue, that is the national security issue, and you have other areas of government, companies and civil society trying

to address those issues. Sliming coordinated attacks on celebrities, reporters, taking photoes and videos and blackmailing them. Other area is deep fakes – videos or audio content where they take an individual and through AI manipulate the video so that the person is saying something that it would never say, and if you put in electorate context, this could be really dangerous. I will demonstrate it with a one-minute video. There are groups that work hard to identify the quality of content, bringing fact checkers from around the world, digital literacy education, and not just for kids, but for adults – in the US people who are spreading the most of false information, have been older white men.

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

I am pleased to take part in this annual Forum, given my many years of personal experience in leadership positions in Moldova and in Tajikistan. Also being a member of the Politburo, I was responsible for the press and media in the USSR at the last stage of perestroika.

We have lived in an era when, for hundreds of years, there were no major changes, but then, the appearance of the Internet had the effect of an atomic bomb because the changes were incredible. In 1787, one of the founding fathers of the United States of America, Thomas Jefferson said that if he had to choose between “a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter”. But he said this before being elected as the 3rd President of the United States of America. 20 years later, in 1807, after he had managed to withstand the supervision of the press, he made numerous statements from within the White House about the legal restriction of freedom of press, including the fact that “nothing can be trusted in it”. Thomas Jefferson did not believe in any kind of absolute freedom.

Recently our vocabulary has been enriched with previously unknown words like: «fake», «trolling», «to hype».

The press is a mirror that reflects the attitude of the people toward government. Therefore, if this mirror distorts the truth, then this is just one more

argument to increase the degree of distrusting this government. Using its resources, the press can quicker indicate to the authorities the problems that people face. Ordinary citizens prefer to read the opposition media – we want to hear not what power tells us – because people do not trust it. There is also “alternative information”, but in some countries such information is not available. Our Soviet and post-Soviet mentality tells us to believe in what we are told, and therefore we are so easily manipulated by various interest groups, including



media owners who promote their interests.

Whatever country we take as an example, everywhere one feels a general anxiety about the issue of relations between the press, government, and public interest. The degree of trust in the mass-media is decreasing. In the Republic of Moldova, according to the poll of August 2018, a third of the respondents said they did not trust any media sources at all. 92% of respondents agreed that there is a mass-media propaganda in Moldova.

Last month, at the Eurasian Economic Forum in Istanbul, topics related to globalization, populism, manipulation, peace, and technologies development have been also brought to our attention and once

again stressed the importance of guaranteeing freedom of speech and the responsibility toward the citizens of our countries. In Istanbul, we have underlined the issue of growing populism, which also takes on different shapes and springs from various sources. But on the other hand, if you are not a populist, people will not follow you. If you do not promise anything, you will not be elected. Critical thinking and the proper selection of information are very important issues.

Today, the mass-media environment is very extensive, and one may simply lack enough qualified people to create high-quality content. Where are they – independent media? In Moldova, for example, 80% of all media is concentrated in the hands of one person. The media should not be turned into weapons of mass destruction. Indeed, mass-media can be used to destabilize any country around the world. Another question is how we educate journalists and what professional standards are applied. For any activity, be it a doctor, a lawyer, a teacher, a driver, one need a license. But for media employees no license or prove of successfully passed exams of professional qualification is required. Thus, anyone can become a journalist, and we are talking about the people responsible for spreading information to the masses. We have a similar situation when electing the president or members of parliament. In this regard, I would recommend creating a mechanism, a regulation for the selection of people in the media field, so that the ranks of journalists to be completed by professionals. The press should reflect an objective, unbiased view of the situation without interpretation. They must serve the truth. The press and government should work together, so the outcomes of their common work would be for the benefit of the state and civil society. It is necessary to pay tribute to the press, it is very difficult for it to work, being in constant search for the truth, sometimes at the cost of human life, therefore supporting the media is more important today than ever before.

Certainly, it is very difficult for journalists to do their work, since officials and public functionaries often prevent them from accessing information, thus they are forced to resort obtaining this information in other ways, by other means, citing

«their sources», rumors, and speculations. We often hear that journalists are held accountable for disseminated inappropriate content or for obtaining information by illegal means, or refusing to disclose their sources. But, we have never heard of an official being punished for causing obstacles to journalists in carrying out their activities, illegally restricting access to information, or deliberately hiding information of public interest.

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



Pakistan is a country of 300 million people with many challenges. We live in a digitalized world and sometimes we do not realize how much the world has changed. The old concepts and habits of getting news is over, news is available in 24 hours delivery process. Globalization has arrived, our interest in news is much broader than 20 years ago. We can pick and choose our news now. It is very important to develop filters to separate facts from the opinions and truth from

lies. Dealing with media is different when you are in the government – all important media people should be part of your eco-system. You also need to be expert on several subjects at least. Filtering news is a universal phenomenon for all of us, and we need to be constantly checking ourselves against reality, building the sense of urgency and commitment. Globality comes in your mindset. It is important to be honest with media and be able to acknowledge your mistakes. Active government is also an active generator of high-quality news. Once you share with people what you do and why, you will see your brand and reputation improving. Effective media management is very important. Be responsible – media must believe that you will speak the truth and they can count on it.

### Dalia Itzik, President of Israel 2007, Knesset 2006-2009

For those you have been public figures, we know that fake news is not something new, there are different means for it now, media regulation allows for fast distribution of information. What can we do to prevent fake news? As a University professor, I see a lack of interest in finding real hidden agendas behind fake news. The key is to educate people, especially students, in critical thinking. This is especially true for those who live in conflict area, like we live in Israel and in the Middle east. It is much more challenging, because some of the war is actually happening in media – psychological wars including. Cultural factor is also important. I do not believe in self-regulation of the media profession, but education is critical and it should begin from school. It is also important to make sure that when you are setting standards or suggesting recommendations, freedom of expression is not curbed.



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

I want to talk about media and security issues, and the most important question – to regulate or not to regulate. We live in information society, and we live in the countries where information is more worthy than goods. Information is analysis, interpretation that has value. Relationship between information and politics. Classical media is not dying. Media and democracy – if you want to assess the quality of democracy, independence of media is on the top of your criteria. That is why we have to be careful in our desire to regulate media. Rules of the game are important, especially during political campaigns. The role of media can be positive and negative. We remember the role that the media played in totalitarian regimes, during the Nazi era,



in communism, and it was used to destroy democracy. Politicians, even in democracies, have the endless appetite for influencing media which is dangerous in case of public media. If we care about the freedom of media and quality of democracy. Media and business – when media owners try to step into politics, this is also dangerous. Politicians know that media can be a very strong and influential media in their case. Social media is not a substitute for classic media, they can be positive in mobilizing youth, especially in totalitarian regimes, that is why dictators are trying to curb it. On social media you can stay anonymous, tell something you would never say publicly. Social networks carry one dangerous illusion – they cannot replace real life. In digital media you can hide and create some content without having the need to actually speaking to the public or having meaningful debates with your opponent. Information and security – with information having no borders,

cyberspace will be the battlefield. Regulation – you can regulate everything in totalitarian regimes, but in democracies regulation in media can come only if there is public consensus on it, and good regulatory framework.

### Alfred Gusenbauer, Chancellor of Austria 2007-2008

A good illustration of what is fake news comes in the book of Umberto Eco “The Cemetery of Prague”. The dispersion of false news today is very easy, and with their commercialization we are in different era. We no longer talk about energy



or jobs, we talk about data, a new commodity in the world that you can produce endlessly, based on facts or on false facts. And that is why we live in dichotomy where on one hand we want to protect the freedom of speech, on the other we see enormous downsides of false facts that can affect individuals in every aspect of their life and determine the future of states or nations. One of the lessons from the past that we need to go back

to the concept of classic Montesquieu separation of powers – legislative, executive and judicial, with media being the fourth one. But with media getting so powerful, often it is often mixed up and abused. Regulation is unavoidable, but it needs to be done in a civilized way. In a way we are living in a data jungle and therefore regulation is needed. We need a democratic public sphere where debates can take place, where different actors are very important, where you have both public and private broadcasting. What to do with corrupt governments, and this is where social media can play an important role. There can be solutions found, but they are detrimental for the future of our democracies. The classic qualification of a journalist to deal with info – check, recheck and doublecheck – needs to be practiced everywhere.

### Sally Painter, Co-Founder and COO, Blue Star Strategies

The challenges protecting information integrity and the risks of disinformation are significant and they are increasing. The private sector has a unique role to play in working to protect information integrity and to provide democratic defense against disinformation. I would like to describe the forward-thinking strategic initiative that the private sector could develop by taking a leadership position on that vital topic. It is important if we want to have a true and lasting impact, because we can have the greatest ideas in the world, and all the technical fixes ready, and we may still not be able to make a dent in the challenge. Some of the lessons learned on the topic. This challenge is broader than any single actor. A successful response must engage the whole society. We must continue to work together to learn from each other mistakes and successes and craft a governmental and non-governmental solution. Our goal is to identify democratic solution in the short-term, and build societal resistance in the long term. We need concrete solutions that can be rapidly implemented, tested and refined and the plan needs to evolve as many people that cause the threat as they move forward. To make a dent, we have to move the debate among the right people, the right stakeholders, we have to unite these players, get them energized and create a drumbeat that reverberates in the way that makes policy climate amenable to enacting our goals. We

have to leverage voices that have the actual power and to do it in a smart strategic way. Our strategy needs to look beyond policy, focus on our methods and tools by governments, civil society and private business. Sadly, even our most important politicians those who have the power to make changes, sometimes are the most ill-informed. Recent US Congressional hearing on data privacy featuring Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg. Lawmakers asked him numerous questions that revealed their fundamental lack of understanding of how internet and e-commerce actually work. How to design and execute a strategic plan that fixes these misunderstandings and which moves the large debate in a sustained way that support and advances our goal. The process of how to move the policy consists of several elements. I would like to suggest something that Atlantic Council has put forth – the Counter Disinformation Coalition. It would be made of like-minded government and non-governmental stakeholders to develop best practices including standards for social media, such as a voluntary code of conduct. Coalition members could include international players from the UN, EU, including European Center of Excellence for Countering Cyber Threats in Finland, or NATO – The NATO Strategic Center for Communications and Excellence, and the EU commission – the high-level group on fake news. We could also invite representatives of OSCE, OECD, business associations, tech-savvy civil society, academic watchdogs and private sector leaders such as google, facebook and twitter. Second, we need to agree on strong and clear agenda with defined goals. Third, we need to designate a leader or facilitator to drive the agenda and run the coalition, someone who has an established track record of getting big things done and with both private and public sector experience. Finally, the coalition needs to execute a robust outreach and communication strategy that directly advocates to diverse stakeholders to cultivate open lines of communication with regulators and to leverage third party validators. Holding dialogues around the globe would be an utmost importance. We need a sophisticated media strategy to make sure that our messages are getting to the right players.



*Sally Painter,  
Co-Founder and COO, Blue Star Strategies*

## Panel 10: FUTURE OF ALLIANCES AND MOTIVATION BEHIND THEM



Valdis Zatlers, President of Latvia 2007-2011  
 Abdulaziz Altwajri, Director General of the ISESCO  
 Herman de Croo, Minister of State, Belgium, Former Speaker of the House  
 David Chikvaidze, Head of the Secretariat of the Director-General of the UN Office in Geneva;  
 Vice president, Swiss Forum for International Affairs  
 Antonio Zanardi Landi, Former Diplomatic Advisor to the President of Italy  
 Giorgi Margvelashvili, President of Georgia 2013-2018  
 David Pan, Executive Dean of Schwarzman College, Tsinghua University  
 Victor Yushchenko, President of Ukraine 2005-2010

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

International military, political, economic and various other international alliances are created for mutual benefits of the member states and based on common interests. They have been present since ancient times.

During the 20th century different practices have been implemented. In the third decade of last century nonaggression pacts were popular. The most famous being Ribbentrop-Molotov pact between USSR and Germany. But they nearly all failed since the beginning of WW II.

After the devastating WW II the international community created a significant number of military alliances. Many of them have disappeared. The

most sustainable turned out to be NATO.

UN and different international institutions were created to keep peace all over the world and provide prosperity to the developing world. A definite respected world order was created.

In the first decade of the 21st century optimistic expectations of peaceful world were present in many parts of the globe. Today we see absolutely different picture. The world is full of uncertainty and several countries don't care about respecting international law and international treaties. A lot of alliances still exist. Some of them are very well integrated the others more or less declarative. Some like G7, G20 or BRICS are just discussion platforms. But what is their future role in global affairs?

### Giorgi Margvelashvili, President of Georgia 2013-2018

Georgia has a very clear picture of where it wants to be - EU and NATO. In both directions, our progress is very positive, and we are leaders in our respective groups when it comes to integration. Every year we are making new steps towards EU. Moving towards NATO is also positive; yet, 17 years have passed since we applied and it is 11 years since NATO has committed to Georgian membership. We are complying with all NATO standards with 2% of GDP for defense. We are the biggest per capita contributor to NATO Resolute Support Mission. But still membership is not a happened fact for Georgia.



So, there's something I would like to share concerning this alliance: NATO was formed as a reaction to the bi-polar world, which collapsed 30 years ago. NATO and its member states have strongly benefited from the peaceful resolution of the cold war. Security and stability of US and Europe has increased as a result of the end of cold war. However, now we are in a strange situation: We hear a lot about multi-polarism as a solution to the new world order. Today we are hearing more and more about indecisiveness behind the moral of alliances. I find these question marks incomprehensible. Why are we questioning the success of NATO, victory of the Western world and by doing so, create gaps that will be filled with unpredictable policies? Why are we not taking the responsibility of the winning side? Today is the (anniversary?) (day) of the illegal referendum in Crimea, conducted 5 years ago. It created a pretext for its annexation and violating territorial integrity of our friendly neighbor Ukraine. 3 days ago my compatriot has been tortured and murdered on Russian Military base in Abkhazia. So, when we are talking theories and not taking responsibility for the victory of the cold war, we are talking about

these kinds of calamities that happen in Georgia or Ukraine, or disasters that could happen to millions of people.

Georgia wants to be in NATO and EU because we share their values, and there are two geopolitical reasons for that - Georgia is providing transit economic solutions to East and West, and that contradicts the philosophy of alliances that Russia offers. Georgia is a solution on the Black Sea, we have our own vision of the Black Sea and we want to promote it in the region. Georgia is located strategically and has a free trade agreement with China and the EU, which is our big competitive advantage. Finally, there are reasons why Georgia left CIS and chose to follow a path towards EU and NATO. The latter represent alliances built on the principle of benefiting their members, while other alliances - such as Soviet Union, CIS or Warsaw Pact were forced on us.

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

We have what we call SCO - Shanghai Cooperation Organization, that was established in 2001. The original purpose of it was combating terrorism, but over time it changed a lot. We currently have 8 members, 4 observers and 6 dialogue partners. It is rather a cooperation organization, than alliance - it is not military or political, it is focused on common interests. Earlier focus was economics and development, we have India and Pakistan, we have Azerbaijan and Armenia, and these countries can still be together in that format. In the future SCO will focus on three major areas - economic collaboration, because our members cover almost 50% of the planet and 50% of the world population, and 20% of the world's GDP, so there is a lot of potential for development in these 18 countries. Second is technologic cooperation, since in China we now develop and lot of bio and communication technology, other countries have their advantages like oil technologies, Russians have airspace technology. We try to cooperate in technological field. In China we are trying to introduce 5g communication technology which belongs to the whole world. Over the last years China has invested lots of money into communication technology, in spite of having controversial issues with US, we

still are trying to collaborate. The third component is people to people. In education, in Schwarzman College specifically, we try to bring young leaders together for the future. Our future vision is peace, not confrontation, and development, that is why young leaders are very important for us.

### Abdulaziz Altwajjri, Director General of the ISESCO



We all need to work together to combat xenophobia, islamophobia, antisemitism that are creating the atmosphere of fear and hatred. Terrorism has no religion or culture. The International Alliance for

combating terrorism was created in the region and is composed of 60 countries led by the US and many Muslim countries are members. Education, science and culture are elements of building the minds and souls of humans and creating bridges to know each other and cooperate for maintaining peace and security in the world. Unfortunately, there are factors that make that education efforts difficult not only at ISESCO, but at UNESCO, Council of Europe, International Francophon Association, etc. We need to work hard on educating the culture of peace, respect for diversity. The culture of hatred needs to be eradicated from the world, especially from media that sometimes instigates hatred, creating fear and suspicion. We at our organizations work hard to spread the spirit of respect, acceptance, tolerance, coexistence.

### David Chikvaidze, Head of the Secretariat of the Director-General of the UN Office at Geneva; Vice president, Swiss Forum for International Affairs

I would like to thank President Aliyev for creating the Nizami Ganjavi International Center, and turning it into a preeminent platform where

theoretical knowledge and high-level political experience come together to identify solutions to the world's most pressing issues. Indeed, the impressive list of participants is a testament to the role and convening power of Azerbaijan and to the respect that President Aliyev commands among his peers. Alliances form in many areas, but the term is most often associated with military alliances. As opposed to associations or partnerships, alliances require the obligation to come to the aid of other members, hence Thomas Jefferson's famous injunction: "Peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations; entangling alliances with none." Do alliances deter conflict? In the pre-nuclear and nuclear age, they did. In the post-bipolar nuclear era, the jury is still out. Do alliances require an antagonist? What else would motivate anyone to form an alliance, one may wonder? By that measure, the UN cannot be described as an alliance because of its universal membership. On the other hand, if antagonists are seen to be global challenges, then the UN could and should be seen as the best alliance to advance our mutual interests. This universal 'alliance' has a terrific global roadmap, sustainable development goals, and Agenda 2030. This gains in importance in the context of our painful transition to multipolarity:

if international cooperation is really breaking down, as the dysfunctional relationship between the US, Russia and China, as well as a score of other factors would indicate, then the UN can be the only truly global, truly neutral table through which to

establish targeted alliances on issues of common concern. But such collaboration is a problematic prospect in today's world, where we are facing the severe politization of every UN body, most importantly, the Security Council and the Human Rights Council. In searching for a new foreign policy, however, we need to be very clear that



if yesterday's tools and mindsets are not able to resolve today's problems, they are downright useless for future challenges.

### Antonio Zanardi Landi, Former Diplomatic Advisor to the President of Italy

The role of alliances can be two-fold, to make wars or to prevent wars, and we hope that future alliances will be made to prevent wars. But now we are passing through the melting phase. All international



organizations created after the Second World War are in the state of profound crisis – UN, WTO, EU, all arm-limitation treaties. Military alliances are also in crisis. SCO is also changing its scope and we do not

know how it would develop. Only one military alliance in the world is alive, NATO, though it is very different from the one we used to refer to. NATO is also experiencing existential problems because of President Trump's statements, though the US Congress passed a resolution forbidding the President to withdraw unilaterally from NATO. We recognize that NATO is a factor of stability and it represents also a system of values. Many of alliances have disappeared. We see a system of informal, temporary alliances that we do not understand very well at the moment, for example, China and Russia, that recently had huge joint military exercises. Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Israel working much more closely today with a purpose of containing Iran. Russia, Turkey and Iran working together on the Syrian issue. These new alliances are lacking a fundamental glue, ideology, or a set of common values, and that is a challenge today.

### Herman de Croo, Minister of State, Belgium, Former Speaker of the House

2000 years ago 100 000 people lived in the world. 2000 years later we are more than 7 billion people. In Africa at the end of the 18th century 100 000

million people lived there. Now it is 2,5 billion people, with average age of 18-19 years. Europe is 0.5 billion, with average age of 55 years. No only the world is flat, but people are going to move. Over the next decade we are going to have a permanent flow of migration due to importance of population. 1.1 dollar a day is an average income of the family in Africa. Climate change is also going to impact migration, and this will cause disturbances. It is not a new process, in the 18-19th century 63 million people migrated from Europe to Americas, 41 million to North America and 12 million to Brazil and other countries. A good book on the subject was written by Stephan Smith "Rush to Europe" published last year. We can deal with existing alliances – NATO, EU African Union, but they are going to face a structural problem. Interesting phenomenon on migration is that people start to move not when they are poor, but when they start getting richer. The migration from African is yet to start, and it will be migration of tens of millions, and it will be a real problem. We can foresee it and deal with it, and have agreements with countries on that. A lot of interesting solutions can be found and developed to deal with the problem.

### Victor Yushchenko, President of Ukraine 2005-2010

We need to remind of a political concept that we have in Europe. After the Second World War Europe has reshaped itself, and the cold war started erupting. Mr. Churchill used to say "From the



Black Sea to the Baltic Sea there is an iron curtain which divides the world into two parts – European, democratic and traditional western values that enjoys freedom and that is empowered by democracy, and the Eastern, feudal, medieval part that does not love freedom or democracy” and that for many years that would be the key antagonism in the area where we are living. At the same time, in 30 years after the end of the War, we signed a Helsinki Accord that allows us to build the basic fundamentals of security arrangements. 13 years later in Paris another document was signed. Those countries that signed it agreed to work together and free themselves from the heritage of the past. That was a robust commitment to security of many nations in Europe. A small lesson of history on what happened to us in Eastern Europe over those 30 years. There we have 6 military conflicts, some unfolding as we speak. In each of them the aggression comes from Russia, they occupy countries. I am talking about conflicts in Nagorny Karabakh, Transnistria, South Ossetia, Abkhazia, Crimea and Donbass. We are living in the times reminding us of October 1938, when the world leaders were trying to please Hitler in a hope that he would not attack. He also carried our referenda and offered “gifts” to his allies. And later humanity paid a very high price for the inability to stop the dictator when it could. We as Europeans are not living in peace, in 27 years of our latest history we have not learned to regulate any of these conflicts. We do not have tools or mechanisms to adequately react to the challenges of the country that caused these conflicts. None of the resolutions of the UN Security Council were implemented in those conflicts. We understand that Russia implements its neo-imperial policies and creates new threats for the world, and they are dealt with inadequately. In 30 years, 4 states in Europe lost their territorial integrity and political sovereignty. This implies that fundamental principles of world order, agreement on borders were compromised. In 1994 Ukraine has signed a Budapest Memorandum, and the political leader of Ukraine at a time thought that they were contributing to ending the cold war, we said “no” to nuclear weapons and did it voluntarily, and we received guarantees of our territorial integrity and sovereignty from the

countries of the nuclear club. Now, when we lost 7% of our territory, 60 000 people wounded and killed in the war in Donbass, and where are those countries that provided us with those assurances – US, Russia, China, UK, France? Where were these leaders when in 2008 Ukraine and Georgia were denied NATO membership accession plans? In three months after Georgia was denied NATO membership perspective, Russia invades Georgia. In 5 years they invaded Ukraine. This would not have happened if Georgia and Ukraine were offered NATO membership perspectives. We need to remember that NATO alliance stands strong because of its solidarity.

## PROGRAM



### *March 13, WEDNESDAY*

*Arrival of Participants & Registration  
Venue: Fairmont Hotel*

*20:00 Welcome Dinner  
Venue: Nizami Ganjavi Hall C*

*Speakers:*

*Vaira Vike-Freiberga, President of Latvia 1999-2007, Co-Chair of NGIC  
Ismail Serageldin, Vice President of the World Bank 1992-2000, Co-Chair of NGIC  
Wendy Fisher, President of the Board of Trustees of the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation*

### *March 14, THURSDAY*

*09:30 Participants are kindly requested to take their seats  
Venue: Nizami Ganjavi hall A (Fairmont Hotel)*

09:45 - 10:00 Family Photo (by invitation only)

10:00 – 11:30 OPENING CEREMONY: A NEW FOREIGN POLICY

*Moderator: Ismail Serageldin, Vice President of the World Bank 1992-2000; Co-Chair of NGIC*

*Special Address: Ilham Aliyev, President of the Republic of Azerbaijan*

*Ashraf Ghani President of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan*

*Ilir Meta, President of the Republic of Albania*

*Sefik Dzaferovic, Member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina*

*Igor Dodon, President of the Republic of Moldova*

*Milo Dukanovic, President of Montenegro*

*Boyko Borisov, Prime Minister of the Republic of Bulgaria*

*Sergio Mattarella, President of the Italian Republic (message) delivered by Augusto Massari,*

*Ambassador of to Italian Republic to the Republic of Azerbaijan*

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

*Carole Crofts, Ambassador of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Republic of Azerbaijan*

*Antonio Guterres, Secretary-General of the United Nations (message) delivered by Mirjana Spoljaric*

*Egger, Assistant Secretary-General of the UN; Assistant Administrator of UNDP and Director of the*

*Regional Bureau for Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States*

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

PRESENTATION OF THE NIZAMI GANJAVI INTERNATIONAL AWARD

*Recipients of the Nizami Ganjavi international Award 2019*

*Ashraf Ghani President of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan*

*Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights presented to Kerry Kennedy, President of Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights*

11:30 – 12:00 Coffee break

12:00 – 13:00 PANEL 1: BIG POWERS' ROLE IN SHIFTING GLOBAL POLICY: CHINA, U.S., RUSSIA & EU

*The world is becoming increasingly multipolar. Will that be a more stable or less stable world? Is conflict inevitable?*

*As America retreats, how will the world be able to cooperate on global challenges? Can China or Europe lead the way?*

*Are liberal Western values doomed to be replaced by nationalism and realpolitik?*

*Moderator: Fareed Zakaria, Host of CNN's Fareed Zakaria GPS*

*Kjell Magne Bondevik, Prime Minister of Norway 1997-2000; 2001-2005*

*Werner Faymann, Chancellor of Austria 2008-2016*

*Wu Hailong, President of Chinese People Institute of Foreign Affairs*

*Kerry Kennedy, President of Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights*

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

13:00 – 14:45 Lunch (by invitation only)

*Venue: Nizami Ganjavi Hall C*

*Global Challenges*

*Special Address by Fareed Zakaria, Host of CNN's Fareed Zakaria GPS*

14:45 – 16:00 PANEL 2: CHALLENGES OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

*The scientists tell us that we need to decarbonize by mid-century, yet the major oil-producing countries and companies keep telling us we have more time. We seem to be at an impasse. Is this vested interest, or are we just looking at different data and risks?*

*Sustainable development depends on a high-level of cooperation within regions (EU, Black Sea, Eastern Europe, etc.) yet everywhere we see nationalism and crisis. How are we going to work together on sustainable development when multilateralism is so fragile in so many parts of the world?*

*Our societies are increasingly unequal. The rich seem to get richer, the poor poorer, and the rich don't want to share with the poor. That's true internationally, when rich countries like the US slash development aid. It's also true within our societies, where there are more billionaires and more people who are financially insecure. Is there any effective way to tamp down the greed? Or is this the wrong question?*

*Moderator: Jeffrey Sachs, University Professor at Columbia University; Special Advisor to Secretary General on SDG*

*Helen Clark, Prime Minister of New Zealand 1999-2008; Administrator of the United Nation Development Programme 2009- 2017*

*Stephane Dion, Canadian PM's Special Envoy to European Union and Europe; Canadian Ambassador to Germany*

*Mirjana Spoljaric Egger, Assistant Secretary-General of the UN; Assistant Administrator of UNDP and Director of the Regional Bureau for Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States*

*Danilo Turk, President of Slovenia 2007-2012*

16:00 – 16:30 Coffee Break

16:30 – 17:45 PANEL 3: IS THIS IS THE END OF GLOBALISM?

*For almost three decades globalization was viewed as an unstoppable trajectory of global economic*

development. Doubts about globalization emerged already in 2008-2009, however improved macroeconomic situation over the time gave a way to more mixed and somewhat optimistic assessments. 2016 Brexit vote and result of the presidential elections in America reflected the shift, which was hard not to notice and acknowledge anymore. Against the backdrop of growing protectionism and shifting geopolitical and economic landscape one can clearly say that the golden era of globalization came to an end, at least for the predictable future. However, is the era of globalization over? Or is globalization in retreat?

If yes, how temporary or irreversible this trend might be?

What is the underlining causes of the retreat of globalization?

- Globalization has narrowed the gap between rich and poor countries however broadened the internal inequality within developed as well as developing economies. Raising influence of those who felt left behind in developed economies fed into populism both to the right and left of the political spectrum and forced political elites to bow to public pressure and introduce measures putting brakes to globalization.
- Growing discourse advocating the need for taking back control of borders, protectionism against foreign economic actors as well as security threats, fear of immigration.
- Cause and effect between shifting geopolitical and economic landscape and crisis of rules-based multinationalism, big power politics, looming trade and tech wars.

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

Marek Belka, Prime Minister of Poland 2004-2005

Cemil Cicek, Speaker of the Parliament of Turkey 2011-2015; Deputy Prime Minister of Turkey 2007-2011

Ameenah Gurib-Fakim, President of Mauritius 2015-2018

Ettore Licheri, President of the 14th Commission for Policies of the European Union; Senator of Italy

Rosen Plevneliev, President of Bulgaria 2012-2017

Rosalía Arteaga Serrano, President of Ecuador 1997

Fouad Siniora, Prime Minister of Lebanon 2005-2009 (TBC)

Benedetto Zacchiroli, President of European Coalition of Cities against Racism

19:15 *Departure from hotel*

20:00 *GALA DINNER (by invitation only)*

Venue: Boulevard Hotel Baku, Autograph Collection

## March 15, FRIDAY

### 09:30 – 11:00 PANEL 4: PEACE & SECURITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Nowhere is the need for regional peace more manifest than in the Middle East. At least 14 peace processes have or are taking place in the region with little light at the end of the tunnel. The Syrian conflict has reached levels of peril unimaginable five years ago. The Middle Eastern countries find themselves perpetuating the conflict, which today seems to know no bounds. The geopolitical powers do not seem helping to solve the conflict. Is peace in the Middle East too much to ask? Is there a way towards a process free from self-interest apart from peace and stability in the region? Who can be regional champions for peace in the Middle East? What kind of confidence building measures can parties agree on as a first step?

*Moderator:* Amre Moussa, Secretary General of the Arab League 2001-2011

HRH Turki Al Faisal bin Abdulaziz Al Saud, Chairman of King Faisal Foundation's Center for Research and Islamic Studies

Angelino Alfano, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy 2016-2018

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

Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, Member of the Grand National Assembly 2015-2018; Secretary General of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation 2004-2014

Tzipi Livni, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Israel 2006-2009

Taher Masri, Prime Minister of Jordan 1991

11:00 – 11:30 *Coffee Break*

### 11:30 – 13:00 PANEL 5: PRESENT AND FUTURE OF THE BALKANS

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

#### 11:30 – 12:00 WESTERN BALKANS FROM BULGARIAN TO ROMANIAN EU PRESIDENCY

Under Bulgarian Presidency of EU, on May 2018, EU leaders agreed on the Sofia Declaration of the EU-Western Balkan Summit, with which the Western Balkans partners have aligned themselves.

How realistic is creation of new momentum after EU welcomed the shared commitment of the Western Balkans partners to European values and principles while reaffirming its unequivocal support for the European perspective of the Western Balkans?

Does «European Commission Strategy for the Western Balkan» along Sofia Declaration offering concrete steps for further and faster Euro-Atlantic integrations of Western Balkan?

What can we expect from Romanian Presidency of EU and European Parliament elections as two political facts that are strongly impacting Western Balkan European Agenda?

Sefik Džaferović, Member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Ana Birchall, Deputy Prime Minister of Romania

#### 12:00 – 13:00 WESTERN BALKANS VISION 2030

Why do we need common «Western Balkans Vision 2030» and «New Narrative for Western Balkans»?

What are the major steps and stakeholders in search for New Western Balkans and European consensus on shared future, vision, leadership, development and societies?

How we can give more voices to the intellectual, business, political, academic, scientific, artistic, cultural

*and civil society communities to articulate what Western Balkans and Europe stands for today and tomorrow?*

*What can be done for Promoting culture of dialogue and consensus building by searching and creating a democratic type of well educated young leaders ready to promote and work on building shared future, society and values in broader regional context, along our multiple identities?*

*Mirko Cvetkovic, Prime Minister of Serbia 2008-2012*  
*Mladen Ivanic, Member of the Presidency of Bosnia & Herzegovina 2014-2018*  
*Jadranka Kosor, Prime Minister of Croatia 2009-2011*  
*Rexhep Meidani, President of Albania 1997-2002*  
*Bujar Nishani, President of Albania 2012-2017*  
*Petar Stoyanov, President of Bulgaria 1997-2002*  
*Filip Vujanovic, President of Montenegro 2003-2018*

**13:00 – 14:30 Lunch**

**Venue:** Nizami Ganjavi Hall C  
 Geopolitics in the Age of Sustainable Development

*Special Address by Jeffrey Sachs, University Professor at Columbia University; Special Advisor to Secretary General of UN on SDGs*

### **14:30 – 16:00 PANEL 6: CHINA'S DEVELOPMENT AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE WORLD**

*Over the past 40 years' reform and opening up, China has achieved rapid development with global attention. The economic growth of China has been the source of growth and anchor of stability and has contributed more than 30% to the global economic growth for many years, providing market and investment opportunities and creating a large number of employment opportunities for the world. At present, China is pushing forward a higher level of opening up and moving toward the stage of high quality development. The "Belt and Road Initiative" is a major initiative for China to further expand its opening up. The achievements of the "Belt and Road Initiative" has been and will be further reflected in the fields of improving infrastructure, stimulating economic growth and promoting employment level, etc.. China has always been a builder of the world peace, a contributor to global development, and a defender of the international order. China neither imports foreign modes nor exports Chinese mode. China's development benefits from the international community and China is willing to contribute to the international community with its own development. Looking into the future, China will continue to firmly follow the strategy of reform and opening up, stick to the path of peaceful development and win-win cooperation, actively participate in the reform of the global governance system and consistently promote the development of globalization to the direction of more open, more inclusive, balanced and beneficial to all.*

*Wu Hailong, President of Chinese People Institute of Foreign Affairs*  
*Rashid Alimov, Secretary-General, Shanghai Cooperation Organization 2016-2018*  
*Khamphao Ernthavanh, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Lao People's Democratic Republic*  
*Peter Medgyessy, Prime Minister of Hungary 2002-2004*  
*David Merkel, Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs at the US Department of State*  
*Petre Roman, Prime Minister of Romania 1989-1991*  
*Jennifer Shipley, Prime Minister of New Zealand 1997-1999*  
*Boris Tadic, President of Serbia 2004-2012*  
*Danilo Turk, President of Slovenia 2007-2012*  
*Wang Wen, Executive Dean of Chongyang Institute for Financial Studies, Renmin University of China*

**16:00 – 16:30 Coffee Break**

### **16:30 – 18:00 PANEL 7: THE ROLE OF SCIENCE AND CULTURE IN CONTEMPORARY DECISIONS MAKING**

*Sensible people agree that those who make public policy should take advantage of reliable, relevant scientific information. Yet most would agree that science is underused in policy-making and there is little agreement about the best ways to obtain, evaluate, and make use of scientific evidence when policy is formulated. Our panel will describe the methods that might be more widely used and will consider their application to contentious problems that include climate change, genetically modified foods, tobacco control, nuclear power, and health care.*

**Moderator:** *Harold Varmus, Nobel Prize recipient in the field of Physiology or Medicine, former Director of National Cancer Institute and National Institutes of Health*  
*James Bolger, Prime Minister of New Zealand 1990-1997*  
*Margaret Catley-Carlson, President of the Canadian International Development Agency 1983-89; Deputy Executive Director of UNICEF 1981-1983*  
*Emil Constantinescu, President of Romania 1996-2000*  
*Djoomart Otorbaev, Prime Minister of Kyrgyzstan 2014-2015*  
*Rajendra Pachauri, President of the World Sustainable Development Forum; former Chairman of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*  
*Ismail Serageldin, Vice President of the World Bank 1992-2000, Co-Chair of NGIC*

**20:00 DINNER** in partnership with Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights  
**Venue:** Nizami Ganjavi hall A

## March 16, SATURDAY

### 09:30 – 11:00 PANEL 8: HOW YOUNG LEADERS CAN SHAPE A BETTER WORLD?

Young Leaders will address their vision of what the Global Gaps are from their perspective. They will share their insights with the participants of the Forum, followed by a Q&A session.

In today's volatile political and social environment — what can be described as both the best of times and the worst of times — we must be cognizant that the issues we discuss and the policies we recommend will form the environment in which the next generation will live and work. It is essential that we listen to the views of youth when we make our decisions. There is much we can learn from them about new trends, new values, new outlooks and new technologies that can inspire us to make better decisions and recommend more viable policies. The young leaders present at the Baku Global Forum represent the best and brightest of the next generation. While they can benefit from our extensive knowledge and experience, we can benefit from their fresh, innovative and enlightening discussions on issues important to them. Together we can help create an environment that will be secure and productive for them, a world where they can create and thrive.

Moderated by Katheryna Yushchenko, First Lady of Ukraine 2005-2010

11:00 – 11:30 Coffee Break

### 11:30 – 13:00 PANEL 9: INFORMATION INTEGRITY AND THE RISKS OF DISINFORMATION

The Internet and new technologies have created vast possibilities for quickly accessing and distributing information around the world. Interconnectivity at a low price and without borders has reached unprecedented levels. Social media platforms have in many ways replaced traditional information and debate channels and media. Their massive use has fueled the free debate and speech and boosted the user-friendly access to information.

However, technological advancements have not only proven to be used for the greater good, as demonstrated by recent years' scandals such as Cambridge Analytica, new forms of espionage, cyber-security threats against data and information integrity as well as disinformation campaigns around elections and insults, harassment and bullying.

As such, the online information infrastructure can be seen to have reached a point where it creates more harm than benefits, the point where the need for regulations seems obvious. More and more countries are already debating and introducing more regulation of the cyber space: the EU for instance has deployed efforts to strengthen data and privacy protection through its GDPR and intellectual property rights through its upcoming – and disputed – new copyright directive. Voices are raised to ban anonymity of users. Direct regulative action against disinformation is already underway in several countries. Fight is opened against 'fake news' and 'deep' fake news. These efforts however are often criticised because they could limit freedom of speech and the work of journalists and media.

- What action is recommendable and needed?
- How far can you go and what are the pitfalls to such action?
- How can we avoid hindering innovation and losing the opportunities technology provides?
  - How can we avoid curtailing the freedom of speech and free flow of information?
- What role can and should softer measures like increasing media literacy and codes of conducts play?
- Can we rely on industry self-regulation, such as the new measures introduced by Facebook in recent months
- Is regulation at national level sufficient or is here a need for amore international and global approach?
- How will this impact small countries, or countries outside of the EU and US for example?

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

Shaukat Aziz, Prime Minister of Pakistan 2004-2007

Jan Fischer, Prime Minister of Czech Republic 2009-2010

Alfred Gusenbauer, Chancellor of Austria 2007-2008

Dalia Itzik, President of Israel 2007, Knesset 2006-2009

Petru Lucinschi, President of Moldova 1997-2001

Susan Ness, Former Commissioner of the Federal Communications Commission

Sally Painter, Co Founder and COO, Blue Star Strategies

13:00 – 14:30 Lunch

*Venue:* Nizami Ganjavi Hall C

Challenges to the South Caucasus Regional Security

*Moderator:* Rovshan Muradov, Secretary-General of NGIC

Robert Cekuta, Former Ambassador of the United States to the Republic of Azerbaijan

Hikmet Hajiyev, Head of the Foreign Affairs Department at the Presidential Administration of the Republic of Azerbaijan

Sajjad Karim, Member of the European Parliament of UK, Conservative Party

Gennady Burbulis, First Deputy Prime Minister to the Russian Federation 1991-1992, State Secretary

### 14:30 – 16:00 PANEL 10: FUTURE OF ALLIANCES AND MOTIVATION BEHIND THEM

Creating political and military alliances for mutual benefit has been a phenomena since ancient times. The first alliance mentioned in Bible was alliance between Judah and Simeon against Canaanites. Today we see many highly integrated as well as just declarative alliances all over the globe, some of them are temporary, some are permanent. What are the interests and motivation behind the alliances of XXI century? What role will they play in the future of humanity?

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

Abdulaziz Altwaijri, Director General of the ISESCO

Herman de Croo, Minister of State, Belgium, Former Speaker of the House

David Chikvaidze, Head of the Secretariat of the Director-General of the UN Office in Geneva; Vice president, Swiss Forum for International Affairs

Antonio Zannardi Landi, Former Diplomatic Advisor to the President of Italy

*Giorgi Margvelashvili, President of Georgia 2013-2018*  
*David Pan, Executive Dean of Schwarzman College, Tsinghua University*  
*Victor Yushchenko, President of Ukraine 2005-2010*

16:00 – 16:30 Coffee Break

20:00 CLOSING CEREMONY followed by Dinner

*Venue: Nizami Ganjavi hall A*  
*Dress code: Black tie*

*Moderator: Rovshan Muradov, Secretary-General of NGIC*  
*Vaira Vike-Freiberga, President of Latvia 1999-2007, Co-Chair of NGIC*  
*HRH Turki Al Faisal bin Abdulaziz Al Saud, Chairman of King Faisal Foundation's Center for Research and Islamic Studies*  
*Ana Birchall, Deputy Prime Minister of Romania delivering a message from Viorica Dancila, Prime Minister of Romania*  
*Ismail Serageldin, Vice President of the World Bank 1992-2000, Co-Chair of NGIC*

*Seven Colors of Nizami's Creations*  
*Cultural Program*



## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

### Current Heads of State and Government

*Ilham Aliyev* President of the Republic of Azerbaijan  
*Ashraf Ghani* President of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan  
*Ilir Meta* President of the Republic of Albania  
*Sefik Dzaferovic* Member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina  
*Igor Dodon* President of the Republic of Moldova  
*Milo Dukanovic* President of Montenegro  
*Boyko Borisov* Prime Minister of the Republic of Bulgaria  
*Sergio Mattarella* President of the Italian Republic (Welcome Message)  
*Theresa May* Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (Welcome Message)  
*Ana Birchall* Deputy Prime Minister of Romania  
*Mirko Sarovic* Deputy Prime Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina; Minister of Foreign Trade and Economy  
*Nematullo Hikmatullozoda* Ministry of Economic Development and Trade of the Republic of Tajikistan  
*Elmar Mammadyarov* Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan  
*Khamphao Ernthavanh* Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Lao People's Democratic Republic  
*Stjephane Dion* Canadian PM's Special Envoy to the European Union and Europe; Canadian Ambassador to Germany  
*Prince Turki Alfaisal bin Abdulaziz Al Saud* Chairman of King Faisal Foundation's Center for Research and Islamic Studies  
*Prince Radu* Prince of Romania  
*Fareed Zakaria* Host of CNN's Fareed Zakaria GPS  
*Jeffrey Sachs* University Professor at Columbia University; Special Advisor to Secretary General on SDG  
*Abdulaziz Altwaijri* Director General ISESCO  
*Herman de Croo* Minister of State, Belgium, Former Speaker of the House  
*Wendy Fisher* President of the Board of Trustees of the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation  
*Harold Varmus* Nobel Prize recipient in the field of Physiology or Medicine, former Director of National Cancer Institute and National Institutes of Health  
*Mirjana Spoljaric Egger* Assistant Secretary-General of the UN; Assistant Administrator of UNDP and Director of the Regional Bureau for Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States

### Board of Trustees Members

*Vaira Vike-Freiberga* President of Latvia 1999-2007, Co-Chair NGIC  
*Ismail Serageldin* Vice-President of the World Bank 1992-2000, Co-Chair NGIC  
*Ivo Josipovic* President of Croatia 2010-2015, BoT Member, NGIC  
*Zlatko Lagumdzija* Prime Minister Bosnia & Herzegovina 2001-2002, BoT Member, NGIC  
*Yves Leterme* Prime Minister of Belgium 2008; 2009-2011, BoT Member, NGIC  
*Amre Moussa* Secretary-General of the Arab League 2001-2011, BoT Member, NGIC  
*Rosen Plevneliev* President of the Republic of Bulgaria 2012-2017, BoT Member, NGIC  
*Petar Stoyanov* President of Bulgaria 1997-2002, BoT Member, NGIC

*Boris Tadic* President of Serbia 2004-2012, BoT Member, NGIC  
*Kateryna Yushchenko* First Lady of Ukraine 2005-2010, BoT Member, NGIC  
*Eka Tkeshelashvili* Deputy Prime Minister of Georgia (2010-2012), BoT Member, NGIC  
*Kerry Kennedy* President of Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights, BoT Member, NGIC  
*Filip Vujanovic* President of Montenegro 2003-2018, BoT Member, NGIC

## Former Heads of State and Government

*Shaukat Aziz* Prime Minister of Pakistan 2004-2007  
*Marek Belka* Prime Minister of Poland 2004-2005  
*Jean Omer Beriziky* Prime Minister of Madagascar 2011-2014  
*James Bolger* Prime Minister of New Zealand 1990-1997  
*Kjell Magne Bondevik* Prime Minister of Norway 1997-2000; 2001-2005  
*Dumitru Braghis* Prime Minister of Moldova 1999-2001  
*Helen Clark* Prime Minister of New Zealand 1999-2008; Administrator of UNDP 2009-2017  
*Emil Constantinescu* President of Romania 1996-2000  
*Mirko Cvetkovic* Prime Minister of Serbia 2008-2012  
*Werner Faymann* Chancellor of Austria 2008-2016  
*Jan Fischer* Prime Minister of the Czech Republic 2009-2010  
*Ameenah Gurib-Fakim* President of Mauritius 2015-2018  
*Alfred Gusenbauer* Chancellor of Austria 2007-2008  
*Dalia Itzik* President of Israel 2007, Knesset 2006-2009  
*Mladen Ivanic* Member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina 2014-2018  
*Jadranka Kosor* Prime Minister of Croatia 2009-2011  
*Petru Lucinschi* President of Moldova 1997-2001  
*Giorgi Margvelashvili* President of Georgia 2013-2018  
*Rexhep Meidani* President of Albania 1997-2002  
*Stjepan Mesic* President of Croatia 2000-2010  
*Peter Medgyessy* Prime Minister of Hungary 2002-2004  
*Taher Masri* Prime Minister of Jordan 1991  
*Bujar Nishani* President of Albania 2012-2017  
*Djoomart Otorbaev* Prime Minister of Kyrgyzstan 2014-2015  
*Abdelraouf Al-Rawabdeh* Prime Minister of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan 1999-2000; President of Senate 2013-2015  
*Petre Roman* Prime Minister of Romania 1989-1991  
*Laimdota Straujuma* Prime Minister of Latvia 2014-2016  
*Rosalia Arteaga Serrano* President of Ecuador 1997  
*Jennifer Shipley* Prime Minister of New Zealand 1997-1999  
*Stanislav Shushkevich* President of Belarus 1991-1994  
*Fouad Siniora* Prime Minister of Lebanon 2005-2009  
*Danilo Turk* President of Republic of Slovenia 2007-2012  
*Viktor Yushchenko* President of Ukraine 2005-2010  
*Valdis Zatlers* President of Latvia 2007-2011

## MFAs & International Organizations

*Maria Elena Aguero* Secretary General of the Club de Madrid  
*Angelino Alfano* Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy 2016-2018  
*Rashid Alimov* Secretary-General, Shanghai Corporation Organization 2016-2018  
*Bakhtiyar Aslanbayli* Vice President at BP, AGT, External Affairs and Communications, Strategy and Region  
*Niyazi Bayramov* Mayor of Ganja  
*Luka Bebic* Speaker of the Croatian Parliament 2008-11, Minister of Defense of Croatia 1991  
*Peng Binge* Chairman of Taihe Institute  
*Tzvi Brot* Mayor, Israel  
*Nicolas Buchoud* President of the Grand Paris Alliance for Metropolitan Development, founding principal of Renaissance Urbaine  
*Gennady Burbulis* First Deputy Prime Minister to the Russian Federation 1991-1992, State Secretary  
*Margaret Catley-Carlson* President of the Canadian International Development Agency 1983-89; Deputy Executive Director of UNICEF 1981-1983  
*Robert Cekuta* Former Ambassador of the United States to the Republic of Azerbaijan  
*Hikmet Cetin* Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey 1991-1994  
*David Chikvaidze* Head of the Secretariat of the Director-General of the UN Office in Geneva; Vice president, Swiss Forum for International Affairs  
*Cemil Cicek* Speaker of the Parliament of Turkey 2011-2015; Deputy Prime Minister of Turkey 2007-2011  
*Amr El-Adawi* President of the Beirut Arab University  
*Oded Gera* Vice-President, Rotchild Israel  
*Jerome Glenn* Co-founder and CEO of The Millennium Project on Global Futures Research; Co-author of State of the Future reports  
*Hikmet Hajiyev* Head of the Department of Foreign Policy Affairs of the Azerbaijani Presidential Administration  
*Wu Hailong* President of the Chinese People Institute of Foreign Affairs, Special Assistant to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of People's Republic of China  
*Ali Hasanov* Head of Department of Public and Political Issues, Presidential Administration of Azerbaijan Republic  
*Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu* Member of the Grand National Assembly 2015-2018; Secretary General of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation 2004-2014  
*Robert Ilatov* Member of the Knesset for Yisrael Beiteinu; Head of Israel-Azerbaijan Inter-Parliamentary Friendship Group  
*Sajjad Karim* Member of the European Parliament of UK, Conservative party  
*Igor Khalavinskiy* Chairman of the East-West Bridge; Ambassador at Large, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia 2003-2009  
*Sergiy Korsunsky* Director of the Hennadii Udoenko Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine at MFA; Former Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to Turke  
*Antonio Zanardi Landi* Former diplomatic advisor to the President of Italy

<i>Ettore Licheri</i>	President of the 14th Commission for Policies of the European Union; Senator of Italian Republic	<i>Anastas Gerdjukov</i>	Rector, Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridsk
<i>Alexander Likhotal</i>	Former President, Green Cross International	<i>George Sharvashidze</i>	Rector, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University
<i>Tzipi Livni</i>	Minister of Foreign Affairs of Israel 2006-2009	<i>Chryssi Vitsilaki</i>	Rector, University of the Aegean
<i>Nikolas Lybel</i>	Member of the Bundestag	<i>Viorel Bostan</i>	Rector, Technical University of Moldova
<i>Budimir Loncar</i>	Minister of Foreign Affairs SFR Yugoslavia 1987-1991	<i>Sergiy Byelikov</i>	Rector, Zaporizhzhya National Technical University
<i>David Merkel</i>	Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs	<i>Nikolaos Theodosiou</i>	Chair of SDSN Black Sea, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki
<i>Mirza Muleskovic</i>	SDG's and Inclusive Economic Growth Technical Specialist ILO Decen Work Technical Support Team and Country Office for Eastern Europe and Central Asia	<i>Tatiana Lanshina</i>	Manager of SDSN Russia
<i>Josh Nass</i>	CEO, Josh Nass Public Relations	<i>Dorothea Struber</i>	Manager of National and Regional Networks SDSN
<i>Susan Ness</i>	Former Commissioner of the Federal Communications Commission	<i>Goran Bandov</i>	Lawyer and Political Scientist; Associate Professor and Vice Dean at Dag Hammarskjold University College of International Relations and Diplomacy in Zagreb
<i>Christopher Nixon Cox</i>	Grandson of Richard Nixon, the 37th President of the United States	<i>David Chikvaidze</i>	Head of the Secretariat of the Director-General of the UN Office in Geneva; Vice president, Swiss Forum for International Affairs
<i>Nikolas Novaky</i>	Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies	<i>Frank Dixon</i>	Representative of WAAS to the UN in New York; Founder, Global System Change; Former Managing Director of Research, Innovest Strategic Value Advisors, Inc.; Author, Global System Change series of books; Sustainability and System Change Consultant
<i>Francis O'Donnell</i>	Ambassador (ret.), Institute of International & European Affairs (Ireland)	<i>Momir Durovic</i>	Former President, Montenegrin Academy of Sciences and Arts; Founding Member, Yugoslav Academy of Technical Sciences; Emeritus Professor, University of Montenegro; Member of the Board of Trustees, World Academy of Art & Scienc
<i>Rajendra Pachauri</i>	President of the World Sustainable Development Forum; former Chairman of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change	<i>Rodolfo Fiorini</i>	Professor of Bioengineering, Politecnico di Milano University; Member of AAAS, IEEE and EMBS; Founder and Coordinator of the Research Group on Computational Information Conservation Theory
<i>Sally Painter</i>	Co Founder and COO, Blue Star Strategies	<i>Jerome Glenn</i>	Co-founder and CEO of The Millennium Project on Global Futures Research; Co-author of State of the Future reports
<i>David Qingzhong Pan</i>	Executive Dean of Schwarzman College, Tsinghua University	<i>Jonathan Granoff</i>	President, Global Security Institute, Senior Advisor and Representative to the United Nations of the World Summit of Nobel Peace Laureates
<i>Elza Papademetriou</i>	Former VP of the Greek Parliament	<i>Ruslan Grinberg</i>	Scientific Director, Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics; Member of the Scientific Council of Russian Federation Security Council; Professor, Moscow School of Economics, Lomonosov Moscow State University
<i>Ganira Pashayeva</i>	Member of the Parliament of the Republic of Azerbaijan; Vice-President of the Free Democrats Group in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe	<i>Heitor Gurgulino de Souza</i>	President of World Academy of Art & Science and World University Consortium, Former Rector of UN University
<i>Erwan Pouchous</i>	Eastern Europe Team Leader from the Europe and Central Asia Division of Departments of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs & Peace Operations at the UN Headquarters	<i>David Harries</i>	Chair, Canadian Pugwash; Associate Executive Director, Foresight Canada; Member, Board of Directors, Global Initiatives Project and Proteus Canada; Head, Leadership and Management community, IdeaConnector.net.
<i>Paul Revay</i>	Former Director Trilateral Commission Europe	<i>Garry Jacobs</i>	CEO, World Academy of Art and Science and World University Consortium; Vice President, The Mother's Service Society, India; Member, Club of Rome
<i>Dmitriy Savelyev</i>	Member of the State Duma Russian Federation	<i>Donato Kiniger-Passigli</i>	WAAS Representative to the UN in Geneva; Head of the Fragile States and Disaster Response Group at the International Labour Office (ILO)
<i>Milos Strugar</i>	Head of the UN expert delegation at the Astana talks on the conflict in Syria; UN Senior Mediation Adviser		
<i>Brenda Shaffer</i>	Adjunct professor at the Center for Eurasian, Russian, and East European Studies at Georgetown University		
<i>Yosef Shagal</i>	Member of the Knesset for Yisrael Beiteinu 2006-2009		
<i>Yakov Bar Shimon</i>	First Consul of the State of Israel to the Republic of Azerbaijan		
<i>Abdulah Skaka</i>	Mayor of Sarajevo		
<i>Teohna Williams</i>	Executive Director of The Business Plan for Peace		
<i>Chau Chak Wing</i>	President of Australia China Friendship and Exchange Association; Founder and Chairman of the Kingold Group		
<i>Benedetto Zacchioli</i>	President of European Coalition of Cities against Racism		
<i>Lawrence Zell</i>	Chairman of Republicans Overseas Israel; Vice President of the Republicans Overseas Inc.		
<i>Pericles Mitkas</i>	BSUN President in office, Rector of Aristotle University of Thessalonikk		
<i>Eden Mamut</i>	Secretary General of the Black Sea Universities Network		

## Closing Ceremony 16th Photo's

- Tolegen Muhamejanov* Member of Committee on Social-Cultural Development, Senator, Kazakhstan
- Nurzhamal Ussenbayeva* People's artist of Kazakhstan and Tatarstan  
Professor, Asia Institute, The University of Melbourne; Senior Vice-President, International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences; Executive member, International Social Science Council; Board member, Future Earth, Asia Regional Center
- Thomas Reuter* Former Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Hungary to the United Nations in Geneva and Vienna; Former Executive Secretary of the Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization;
- Tibor Tyth* Professor, University of technology Delft, Netherlands; Executive Advisor to Minister for Education and Research, Serbia; Member, Scientific Advisory Board of the French National Assembly & Senate
- Marcel van de Voorde* Director of the Science Department, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon; Member of the Governing Board of the European Institute of Innovation and Technology; President of the Advisory Board of the Portuguese Business Association for Innovation; Former Science Adviser of the President of the Portuguese Republic
- Natalia Pohazheva*

### NGIC SECRETARIAT

- Rovshan Muradov-Secretary General
- Rza Aliyev - Deputy Secretary General on Foreign Affairs Strategy
- Arzu Tabrizi - Deputy Secretary General on Cultural Heritage
- Elnur Ibrahimov- Deputy Secretary General for Internal Affairs
- Ilaha Ibrahimli - Outreach and Global Engagement Officer; Global Baku Forum Coordinator
- Toghrul Akbarli - Logistics & Events Officer
- Narmin Salayeva - Communication & PR Officer
- Asim Shahsuvarli - Financial Planning and Operation Officer
- Nahid Mursalov - Financial Manager
- Emil Mammadov - Events & Development Manager
- Elshad Miralem - Media Coordinator
- Tamira Ibrahimova - Project Coordinator
- Adila Bahmani - Innovation and Organizational Development Manager
- Subhan Atakishiyev - Logistics & Volunteers Coordinator
- Tamerlan Mammadov - Young Leaders Coordinator



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



**Rovshan Muradov**  
Secretary General NGIC



**Ana Birchall**  
Deputy Prime Minister of  
Romania



**Abdulaziz Altwaijri**  
Director General ISESCO