



CONGRESS
OF VIENNA
2015

IN SEARCH OF
PRINCIPLES FOR A STABLE
WORLD ORDER

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OF **VIENNA**
2015

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Presented by the

CHUMIR FOUNDATION
FOR ETHICS IN LEADERSHIP

Making Ethics Work

The CHUMIR FOUNDATION FOR ETHICS IN LEADERSHIP is a non-profit foundation that seeks to foster policies and actions by individuals, organizations and governments that best contribute to a fair, productive and harmonious society.

The Foundation works to facilitate open-minded, informed and respectful dialogue among a broad and engaged public and its leaders to arrive at outcomes for a better community.

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Manfred Matzka
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HOST

Chancellery of the Republic of Austria

It is a great honor for Austria and a special pleasure for me that we can host the Congress of Vienna 2015 in the Austrian Federal Chancellery. The ambience of the historic Congress Hall as well as Vienna's quality as a place of international encounter will provide an ideal setting for the deliberations and outcome of the Congress.

In these days the international community is facing huge challenges: stability, safety, human rights and social standards are at stake and need complex solutions. Europe and Austria are in the center of these challenges and stand ready to support all efforts to reach these aims. It is thus understandable that my country and I as Chancellor are particularly interested that your search for "Principles for a Stable World Order" will be successful.

I wish you an inspiring and fruitful discussion and the best possible acceptance of the results wherever they will be considered and implemented.

Werner Faymann
Bundeskanzler

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for Ethics in Leadership

CONGRESS SECRETARY

Manfred Matzka
Director General, Chancellery
of Austria

CHAIRMAN
INTERNATIONAL
ADVISORY COUNCIL

Professor Oliver Rathkolb

Dear Friends:

Welcome to the Congress of Vienna 2015. Like its predecessor of two centuries ago, this is a gathering of knowledgeable individuals convened to consider ways to promote international cooperation on matters important for stability and peace. Today's Congress differs from its predecessor in that we wish to add the issue of fairness to our deliberations; and we gather a global group of decision-influencers with the latitude to explore new ideas and processes.

Achieving international cooperation is no easy task. Shared interests are often overshadowed by rivalries. Genuine dialogue, essential for cooperation, is impeded by divisive nationalist, ethnic, religious, and political narratives. At the same time, we must address the greater real diversity of interacting states and philosophies in an interdependent modern world. However, the opportunity for leaders to spend the kind of personal time with one another that might develop understanding, trust, and cooperation is lacking.

Principles – or, more ambitiously, rules – meant to govern international conduct have become increasingly difficult to agree upon and sustain in periods of stress. The Congress is meant to be a safe venue for candid dialogue in search of ideas for resolving current conflicts and mitigating the risk of future conflict. We wish to find durable means to these ends – despite foreseeable demographic, climate, economic, technological, and political changes – among the major powers: the United States, the European Union, Russia, China, Japan, and India. Major power relationships matter most because of their impact. But smaller states, particularly if they were to find ways to collaborate, could exercise more influence. Many issues need to be addressed, among them:

- power shifts of importance among states, posing accommodation challenges and leading to friction;
- new forms of interstate rivalries and hostilities;
- more issues of a global nature, beyond the capacity of any individual state to resolve;
- greater interdependence, resulting in shared interests but also the increased risk of conditions in one country causing disruption in, and even conflict with, another;
- regional trade and investment agreements that exclude potential participants on geopolitical grounds, which may lead to future confrontations between resulting blocs;
- the increased influence of the numerous and diverse non-state actors at the expense of state actors, some of this change occurring as a result of domestic political choices and government inaction;
- the visibility, mobilizing capacities, and abbreviated messaging of modern media;
- greater diffusion of power and points of potential disruption; and
- the significant erosion of public trust in governments and leaders, which undermines decision making – both domestic and international – that might relieve tensions.

We will ask you to consider: Is more cooperation possible on such global challenges as climate change, terrorism, disruption of the global economic system, forced migration, and economic inequality? Might a path be found for major states to address more general security issues and risks of conflict cooperatively?

On behalf of the many individuals and organizations acknowledged elsewhere in this program, I welcome you to what we hope will be an open and frank dialogue on the differences we face. Our aim is to stimulate the search for practical ideas for achieving a durably peaceful, stable, and fair world order.

I would like to express my personal appreciation to the many people and organizations that have been involved in this project to date, whose names you will find in the pages of this program. My thanks to:

- the distinguished delegates, participants, and international observers who are dedicating time to this initiative, and on whom the success of this project ultimately depends;
- the authors of papers guiding us in areas of their specialties;
- the participants in and co-sponsors of the pre-Congress workshops that reviewed those papers;
- the International Advisory Committee members for their time, ideas, and encouragement;
- the partnering organizations for their ideas and support; and
- the research and logistics staff for their dedication to the preparations that have gone into the realization of this dialogue.

Most particularly, I want to say for all of us that we greatly appreciate the kind and helpful reception we have had from our hosts, the Government of Austria and particularly its Chancellery; and the generosity of the donors that have helped make these activities possible. Our commitment as the organizers is to do what we can to facilitate open-minded, informed, and respectful dialogue among a broad and engaged public, as well as among leaders, to arrive at outcomes for a better global community.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Joel Bell". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Joel Bell
Chairman

CONGRESS
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Congress Programme

October 22-25, 2015 | Vienna, Austria

Thursday, October 22nd – The Hofburg

5:30 PM OPENING CEREMONY OF THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA 2015
7:00 PM RECEPTION AT THE HOFBURG
8:00 PM DINNER AT THE PALAIS PALLAVICINI

Friday, October 23rd – The Chancellery

9:30 AM – 4:30 PM THE MANAGEMENT OF RELATIONS AMONG THE MAJOR GLOBAL STATES
Moderators: Federico Rampini, La Repubblica and Orville Schell, Asia Society
12:30 PM – 1:30 PM LUNCH AT THE CHANCELLERY
WINTER PALAIS OF PRINCE EUGENE OF SAVOY
7:00 PM RECEPTION
7:30 PM PERFORMANCE BY MEMBERS OF THE VIENNA
PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA
8:30 PM DINNER

Saturday, October 24th – The Chancellery

9:30 AM – 3:00 PM FORCED MIGRATION AND ITS CHALLENGES
Moderator: Shalini Randeria, Institute for Human Sciences
12:30 PM – 1:30 PM LUNCH AT THE CHANCELLERY
3:00 PM – 4:30 PM TECHNOLOGY, INNOVATION, AND ECONOMIC INEQUALITY
Moderator: Joanna Chataway, RAND Europe
8:00 PM VIENNA OPERA HOUSE
PERFORMANCE OF L'ELISIR D'AMORE
DINNER AT THE OPERA HOUSE

Sunday, October 25th – The Chancellery

9:30 AM – 11:30 AM TECHNOLOGY, INNOVATION, AND ECONOMIC INEQUALITY
– *CONTINUED DISCUSSIONS*
11:30 AM – 1:30 PM PROPOSED RULES AND THEIR INSTITUTIONAL IMPLEMENTATION
Moderator: Michael Doyle, Columbia University
7:00 PM BELVEDERE MUSEUM EXHIBITION:
THE WOMEN OF KLIMT, SCHIELE AND KOKOSCHKA
8:00 PM DINNER AT THE MUSEUM

DELEGATES

Mohammad Ali Abtahi

President of Institute for Interreligious Dialogue, Iran

Alexander Aleinikoff

Senior Advisor to the United Nations Secretary General's Chief Executive Board for Coordination

Khalil Alkhalil

Gulf Embassy for Education and Development, and a former member of the Saudi Arabian Parliament

Bakhtiar Amin

Former Minister of Human Rights and Alternate Member of Governing Council, Iraq

Thomas Banchoff

Vice President for Global Engagement and Director, Berkley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs, Georgetown University

Gülay Barbarosoğlu

Rector, Bogaziçi University

Gershon Baskin

Co-Chairman, Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information

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Jordan

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Founder and Honorary President, Foundation for International Relations and Foreign Dialogue and Founder, Club de Madrid

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Team Leader, European Political Strategy Centre, European Commission

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Sam Nunn

Served as United State Senator (1972-1996), Co-Chairman and Chief Executive officer, Nuclear Threat Initiative; Chairman, Center for Stratetgic and International Studies

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Centre for Liberal Strategies (Sofia)

Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries

Council for Foreign and Defense Policy (Moscow)

Department of Contemporary History, University of Vienna

Diplomatic Academy, Vienna

East Asia Foundation (Seoul)

Federal Ministry for Europe, Integration, and Foreign Affairs, Republic of Austria

Foreign Policy and United Nations Association of Austria (UNA-AUSTRIA)

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International Crisis Group

Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights

Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto

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Technology Policy and Assessment Center, Georgia Institute of Technology

United Nations Academic Impact

AUTHORS AND TITLES OF CONGRESS PAPERS

John Arquilla

U.S. Naval Postgraduate School, Peace, Conflict, and the Lasting Lessons of the Congress of Vienna

Thomas Banchoff

Georgetown University, Discussion Paper on Religion and World Order

Joel Bell *Chumir Foundation for Ethics in Leadership*, and Sean Cleary *Future World Foundation*

Searching for a Stable and Durable Economic, Political, and Security Architecture in Europe

Paul Collier

Oxford University, Natural Resource Governance & International Action: Possible Agendas for the Congress of Vienna

Susan Cozzens

Georgia Institute of Technology, Technologies and Innovations: Contributing to Peace, Stability, and Fairness

Michael Doyle, Alicia Evangelides and Christodoulos Kaoutzanis

Columbia University, Global Cooperation in Difficult Times

Heinz Gaertner

Austrian Institute for International Affairs, Engaged Neutrality

David Gordon and Meghan O'Sullivan

Harvard University, Changing Global Energy Markets and Geopolitics

Randall Hansen

University of Toronto, Population Displacement and the Global Refugee System 200 Years after the Congress of Vienna

Sergei Karaganov

National Research University Higher School of Economics, Back to Vienna: How to Fulfill the Failed Dream

Manfred Nowak

Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights, Human Rights: Core Challenges and Proposed Solutions

Federico Rampini

La Repubblica, Global Security Architecture from an EU Perspective

Orville Schell

Asia Society, Keystones for a Global Arch

Jack Snyder

Columbia University, Ideologies and Multiple Modernities in Contention

Zhe Sun

Tsinghua University, Building a Security Community in Asia-Pacific Region: Dilemmas and Prospects

Dmitri Trenin

Carnegie Moscow Center, The Role of Military Force in the Euro-Atlantic Region

Daojiong Zha

Peking University, The World Order and China

IN SEARCH OF PRINCIPLES FOR A STABLE WORLD ORDER

BRIEFING NOTES

Two hundred years ago European leaders met in Vienna to reestablish order on a continent devastated by decades of warfare. The conservative order reestablished by agreement in 1815 – which valued stability above all else – prevented another major European war for a hundred years. However much the decisions taken by those statesmen have been criticized in the intervening years, what is remarkable is the determination of those who gathered in Vienna to establish workable rules and principles that would guarantee a long-lasting peace.

The Congress of Vienna 2015 is being convened to engage experienced and informed individuals from around the world in a discussion of three major challenges to peace and stability in our day: noncooperation among the major powers, forced migration, and economic inequality. Our aim is to encourage fresh thinking regarding the principles and rules governing the conduct of the major powers in order to develop durable solutions to the problems we face in a time of significant demographic, economic, and geopolitical change.

The Congress agenda is focused on dialogue and cooperation among the major powers in part to set a more manageable scope for this discussion. This is accorded priority because an absence of conflict among the major powers is an essential precondition for achieving world order. What each major power does has a significant impact. What they do collectively has a dominant influence. Further, these larger, more powerful, and globally engaged states can potentially bring their weight to bear to minimize regional and local conflict, particularly by acting in concert. The Congress is composed of participants from around the globe to ensure that, in our interdependent world, the perspectives and potential roles of all regions and states are considered; mid-sized and smaller states may have a meaningful impact on the course of events, even more so by acting collaboratively. Such states inherently lack the power to ignore international principles and rules, which inclines them to be willing to enter into dialogue in search of accommodation. And together they have a global reach.

It is our hope that this forum will help us understand our differences, focus on what unites us, and prove to be a precursor, in the words of Henry Kissinger, of “an effective mechanism for the major powers to consult and possibly cooperate on the most consequential issues.” The Congress of Vienna brought decision-makers together for an extended period of dialogue and personal interaction. Can a modern day counterpart be found to permit genuine – and politically safe – exploratory dialogue?

CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS

The discussions will take place in the historic Congress Hall in the Federal Chancellery in Vienna – the site of the original Congress of Vienna that met in 1814–15 – beginning on October 22, 2015. In addition to the invited delegates to the Congress, an advisory group of leading academics and practitioners from government and nongovernmental organizations will be in attendance and able to participate in informal discussions with the delegates. An international group of postgraduate students gathered at the Diplomatic Academy in Vienna, with a facilitator, will also participate in the proceedings through an off-site live feed.

A day will be devoted to the discussion of each of the major issues under consideration: the management of major power relations; forced migration; and economic inequality. In a final session, delegates will be asked to consider paths toward greater cooperation among the major powers. Attention will be given to appropriate principles and rules for our time, including their implementation and enforcement. Even identifying a process by which progress toward a durably stable and peaceful world order could be realized would be a significant achievement. Each session will be led by an expert moderator well versed in the topic under discussion.

In the months leading up to the Congress, the Chumir Foundation for Ethics in Leadership has prepared the ground for the discussions in Vienna. In collaboration with a number of leading policy organizations and university centers, the foundation commissioned seventeen papers by international experts setting out the best thinking on topics relevant to the discussions. It hosted nine workshops to solicit a range of perspectives on the issues and papers themselves. And it recently convened a student congress at the Diplomatic Academy in Vienna to gain the perspective of the next generation on the issues under discussion. This background work informs the questions to be put to the delegates. The written materials will be made available to all participants.

The results of the Congress will be presented at a public session at the United Nations in the spring of 2016.

GLOBAL CHALLENGES

THE MANAGEMENT OF MAJOR POWER RELATIONS

The central question for the Congress is how to identify realistic, implementable principles and rules to govern the behavior of the major powers – the United States, the European Union, China, Japan, Russia, and India – so that their competing interests are managed without conflict and their shared interests are brought to the forefront. Chief among the latter are the avoidance of armed conflict, achievement of global financial stability, access to needed supplies and markets, economic viability, a healthy environment, and an end to terrorism.

Questions before the Congress (the discussions will address specific important bilateral, regional, and multilateral disagreements and conflicts):

HOW DOES EACH OF THE MAJOR POWERS SEEK TO SHAPE THE WORLD ORDER?

- Do the changes sought amount to new principles and rules?
- Are there specific concessions (political, economic, territorial, rhetorical) that individual major powers should make to promote greater cooperation?
- What better tools for conflict prevention and resolution might be realized?
- Do differences in values and ideologies prevent shared responses?
- What are the consequences of potential developments among the major powers for other regions and states?

WHAT ARE THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES OF AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT AMONG THE MAJOR POWERS?

- How can the major powers manage their competing interests more effectively?
- Are the major powers limited to dealing with individual issues, such as climate change

and regulation of financial markets, or can they agree on the terms of broader security cooperation? If not, can they at least agree on a process that, over time, promises to develop a capacity to deal with such issues?

- What are the fundamental contentious issues that divide the major powers? These appear to include: claimed spheres of influence versus the right of self-determination; the maintenance of the status quo in the world order versus the demands for change by the emerging powers; domestic political narratives as an impediment to international cooperation; and differing values and ideologies, which fuel distrust and impede joint initiatives. Are there any other such prominent issues?
- Does economic interdependence reduce rivalry and conflict between the major powers?
- Is the proliferation of regional trade and investment agreements creating nascent geopolitical blocs that will be counterproductive with respect to stability among the major powers? Can mutually beneficial economic agreements reduce confrontation and ease the task of security agreement?

HOW DO WE MOVE TOWARD GREATER COOPERATION AND STABILITY?

- What are the impediments to agreement on principles and rules for security? What process might help over time to remove those obstacles?
- What state groupings are most suitable for advancing stability? Are they regional for Europe and Asia separately; wider for Europe, Eurasia, and China; global among the major powers?
- What lessons can be learned from regional bodies (e.g., ASEAN, OSCE, the African Union, NATO, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization) in considering a global forum?
- Non-state actors, both “good” and “bad,” erode the power of states. What is the appropriate role for such actors? Should the major powers collaborate to try to limit their influence?
- Is it possible to have a candid dialogue among the leaders of the major powers to advance the objective of cooperation?
- By what means might a genuine dialogue of the major powers be achieved?

FORCED MIGRATION AND ITS CHALLENGES

Global population displacement is at an all-time recorded high. According to UNHCR’s most recent estimate, 60 million people are currently forcibly displaced. Of these, 20 million are cross-border refugees and over 38 million are internally displaced within their country of origin. The international system is struggling to cope with the 42,500 people forced to leave their homes each day. Over half of all refugees are children. Recent headline-grabbing tragedies in the Mediterranean mask the reality that most forced migrants seek refuge in the Global South. Fully 86 percent of refugees are in developing nations, with 3.6 million in the least developed countries. In 2014, only 126,800 refugees returned to their home countries, the lowest level since 1983, and only 105,200 were resettled, in 26 countries. The vast majority of forced migrants are unlikely to be repatriated to a peaceful and stable home country or resettled in a country other than the one to which they fled initially.

While it is obviously a first order priority to resolve the root causes of forced migration, policy must be made on the premise that a large number of people will be forced to leave their homes because of conflict and persecution, in addition to the large numbers of those fleeing terrible economic conditions and those who may be forcibly displaced by the consequences of climate change. Therefore, while sustainable global solutions to the mounting forced-migration crisis – such as repatriation and resettlement – are being sought, efforts must be made both to

help refugees become self-reliant and to assist hosting states. This means that forced migrants need the opportunity, in the first instance, to achieve economic self-sufficiency, something now often denied them. At the most basic level, forced migrants need opportunities to work lawfully in their host countries and to have access to education and job training. Beyond economic opportunities, a robust solution must eventually include elements that restore and permit viable lives for forced migrants. Because hosting states view the presence of large numbers of refugees as problematic – economically and socially – the international community must participate in burden-sharing by, for example, providing additional financial support to hosting states or enhancing resettlement programs. Adoption of a new development-based approach (with appropriate international support) would see refugees not as a threat to hosting communities, but as a potential economic benefit. Leaving forced-migrant communities socially alienated and discriminated against is a recipe for discontent and future instability, if not, over an extended period of deprivation, a risk for recruitment to antisocial causes and activities.

Questions before the Congress:

SHARING THE BURDEN

Do all the major powers, including those where the immediate impact of forced migration is low (China, Japan, Russia, the United States) have an interest – apart from humanitarian concerns – in seeking long-term solutions to the problem of long-term displacement?

If so, how can the major powers help alleviate the burdens on the receiving countries, including giving forced migrants the opportunity to lead productive lives wherever they find themselves?

How can programs of international humanitarian assistance be supplemented by – or transformed into – policies of inclusion and integration?

THE ROLE OF DEVELOPMENT

Can the perceived challenges occasioned by displaced populations be reformulated as one of economic development, even as an opportunity for the receiving counties, which are largely in the Global South, to experience growth from added population? Is there a means by which those who are willing to take in forced migrants can be assisted in their economic development?

TECHNOLOGY, INNOVATION, AND ECONOMIC INEQUALITY

While economic growth has brought tremendous benefits to the world's wealthiest, over one billion people – one in seven of all individuals alive today – live on less than \$1.25 a day. While many have been lifted out of extreme poverty in recent decades, the measures of the distribution of wealth, income, and opportunity between and within countries reveal increasing levels of inequality. Wide disparities hurt everyone. A high level of income inequality harms social and health outcomes, heightens political polarization, stunts economic growth, and increases the chance of violent conflict both within countries and across borders – all of which make for a less stable world. There is now widespread concern that technological innovation – a tide that was expected to raise all boats – has in fact contributed to the problem of economic inequality by further concentrating wealth among those fortunate and best-

equipped – by accident of birth, education, and location – to live amidst and take advantage of technological advances and their economic spinoffs. There is a need for creative policy solutions to redress global technological and innovation-fueled disparities.

Questions before the Congress:

INNOVATION AND INEQUALITY

Do the dynamics of inequality suggest directions of policy response?

What role does technological innovation play in the current dynamics of inequality? How can the benefits of technological innovation be more broadly and fairly distributed, while innovation itself continues to be stimulated?

WHAT CAN DIFFERENT ACTORS DO TO ADDRESS THE PROBLEM?

What actions can transnational corporations, national governments, and international organizations take to reduce innovation-related inequalities?

Might international agreements among the major powers, or more universal ones, play an ameliorating role?

AN EFFECTIVE MECHANISM FOR IMPLEMENTATION

Have the Congress discussions led to some proposed new and workable principles and rules? If so, what is the best method to implement them and assure compliance? If not, is there a process that might lead to improved cooperation?

How can a serious and solution-oriented dialogue among the major powers on challenging issues be stimulated? Is a retooled or new forum needed to expose common aspirations, reconcile competing interests, and curb excessive nationalism? And can the major powers make room for the voices of the less powerful?

DELEGATES



Mohammad Ali Abtahi

Mohammad Ali Abtahi is the President of the Institute for Interreligious Dialogue, Iran, which he established in 1999. Mr. Abtahi was the Vice President of Iran (1997-2001) and is a member of the central council of the Association of Combatant Clerics. He has also served as an advisor to President Mohammad Kathami in multiple capacities, as Vice President in Parliamentary Legal Affairs (2000), and as the Director General of Boushehr, Shiraz, and Mashhad radio and television stations.



Alexander Aleinikoff

Alexander Aleinikoff is Senior Advisor to the United Nations Secretary General's Chief Executive Board for Coordination. He has previously worked as the UN Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees (2010-15), Dean of Georgetown University Law Center and Executive Vice President of Georgetown University (2004-10), a member of Georgetown Law's faculty (1997-2013), and a member of the University of Michigan School of Law faculty (1981-1997). He also served as a Co-Chair of the Immigration Taskforce for President Obama's transition, as a consultant to UNHCR, and as General Counsel and Executive Associate Commissioner for Programs at the Immigration and Naturalization Service during the Clinton Administration.



Khalil Alkhalil

His Excellency Dr. Khalil A. H. Alkhalil currently offers consultations through his firm, Gulf Embassy for Education and Development and is a former member of the Saudi Arabian Parliament, the Shoura Council (2005-09). Prior to this appointment, Dr. Alkhalil was a professor of education management and leadership at Imam Mohammed bin Saud Islamic University in Riyadh and a diplomat in the Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia in Washington D.C. (1987-1995). He holds a Ph.D. and two Masters degrees from the University of Southern California.



Bakhtiar Amin

Bakhtiar Amin has served as Minister of Human Rights of Iraq, Alternate Member of Governing Council in Iraq, Refugee Councilor in Sweden and Secretary General of the Paris Kurdish Institute, Adviser to the Danielle Mitterrand Foundation France-Libertes, Director of Human Rights Alliance in Washington D.C., and Executive Director of the International Alliance for Justice (IAJ), which called for the establishment of an International Ad Hoc Tribunal to investigate the former Iraqi leadership's crimes against humanity, crimes of war, and genocide. He has over three decades' experience in the field of democracy, international human rights, and humanitarian work.

Thomas Banchoff

Thomas Banchoff is Vice President for Global Engagement at Georgetown University. He also serves as founding director of the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs, and as Professor in the Department of Government and the School of Foreign Service. Banchoff's scholarship centers on ethical and religious issues in world politics, and he has published or edited multiple books. Banchoff received his B.A. from Yale University (1986), an M.A. from the University of Bonn (1988), and a Ph.D. in Politics from Princeton University in 1993.



Gülay Barbarosoğlu

Gülay Barbarosoğlu is the Rector of Bogaziçi University, appointed in 2012 by Abdullah Gül, the President of Turkey. A professor of Industrial Engineering, Dr. Barbarosoğlu also served as the Vice-Rector in charge of research (2008-12). Dr. Barbarosoğlu has worked as the national representative of NATO's Research and Technology Organization, the Vice Chair of the Association of European Operational Research Societies, and in numerous capacities at Bogaziçi University, including as the Head of the Kandilli Observatory and Earthquake Research Institute, the founding Chair of the Center for Disaster Management, and the Chair of the Department of Industrial Engineering.



Gershon Baskin

Gershon Baskin, Ph.D., is the founder and current Co-Chairman of the Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information (IPCRI), where he worked as the Israeli Co-Director from its founding in 1988 until 2011. He was responsible for the successful negotiations between Israel and Hamas to release Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit. Since 2012, Dr. Baskin has been the Vice President of Gigawatt Global (Special Projects), working to develop solar energy projects. He has previously served in the Ministry of Education, as Executive Director of the Ministry of Education and Prime Minister's Institute for Education for Jewish-Arab Coexistence, and as advisor on the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process to a secret team of intelligence officers under Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.



Joel Bell

Joel Bell founded and is Chairman of the Chumir Foundation for Ethics in Leadership. He has been involved in business in Canada, the United States, and Europe, most recently in the European mining sector. He was President and CEO of the Maxlink Group of Companies; Executive Chairman of Power DirectTV (Canada); the President and CEO of the Canada Development Investment Corporation; and the co-founder of Petro Canada. He was Senior Economic Advisor to Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau and has served as an advisor to the Canadian government on energy, telecommunications, foreign investment, consumer and corporate affairs, and labor relations. He has served as Chairman of the Council for Canadian-American Relations and as Director of the Canada-France Business Council. He has also served on the boards of the Calgary Philharmonic, National Ballet of Canada, Tennis Canada, Montreal International Film Festival, and Toronto Arts Awards. He was educated in economics and law at McGill University and did postgraduate work in business, economics, and law at Harvard University. He lives in Toronto and New York.





Joanna Chataway

Joanna Chataway is Director of the Innovation, Health and Science Group at RAND Europe. She has held senior positions and appointments across a range of academic, policy research, consulting, and research funding bodies. Chataway's work focuses on innovation and technology policy and international development. Her research has spanned public and private sectors and she has worked in industrially developed and developing countries. In addition to her RAND appointment, Chataway is a professor at The Open University and is currently a Senior Leader of the Innogen Institute (formerly the ESRC Innogen Centre). Chataway received her Ph.D. from The Open University. She is also Vice-President of the Globelics research network. She is a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Honors Society.



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Professor Naomi Chazan is Dean of the School of Government and Society at the Academic College of Tel-Aviv-Yaffo. During three terms (1992-2003) as a Member of Knesset on behalf of the Meretz (Democratic Israel) party, she served as Deputy Speaker of the Knesset, and as a member of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, the Economics Committee, the House (Knesset) Committee, the Education Committee, and the Committee on the Status of Women. She also served as the President of the New Israel Fund (2009-12) and as chair of SHATIL (the Empowerment and Training Center for Social Change Organizations in Israel). She is Professor Emerita of Political Science and African Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, has lectured at dozens of universities and research institutes throughout the world, and has authored and edited eight books and numerous articles.



Robert Cooper

Robert Cooper worked for ten years for the European Union High Representative, Javier Solana and later Catherine Ashton. He was involved inter alia in negotiations on Iran and Balkan issues. From 2012 he served a further year as a Special Adviser on Burma/Myanmar. He also served as a British diplomat in numerous posts from 1970 to 2002.



Michael W. Doyle

Michael W. Doyle is the Director of the Columbia Global Policy Initiative and University Professor at Columbia University in the School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia Law School and the Department of Political Science. His current research focuses on international law and international relations. He served as Assistant Secretary-General for Policy Planning and Special Adviser to United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan. He also served as an individual member and the chair of the UN Democracy Fund (2006-13). He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, New York. In 2001, he was elected a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and in 2009 he was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society.

Robert Dussey

Robert Dussey is the Togolese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Cooperation, and African Integration. Previously, he was Diplomatic Advisor to the President of the Togolese Republic and a member of the Africa Bureau of the Community of Sant'Egidio. He holds a Ph.D. in political philosophy and is the author of several books and articles on African politics and political philosophy.



HRH Prince El Hassan Bin Talal

His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan Bin Talal served as Jordan's Crown Prince from 1965 to 1999. He is the brother of His late Majesty King Hussein and the uncle of HM King Abdullah II of Jordan. He currently chairs the High Level Forum for the Blue Peace Middle East plan, is a member of the Commission on Legal Empowerment of the Poor, has co-chaired the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues, and served as Chairman of the UN Secretary General's Advisory Board on Water and Sanitation. In addition, he has established the Arab Thought Forum, the Royal Institute for Interfaith Studies, the Higher Council for Science and Technology, the Royal Scientific Society, and the West Asia-North Africa (WANA) Institute.



Agostino Giovagnoli

Agostino Giovagnoli is professor of contemporary history at the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart in Milan. He has published more than one hundred books and articles on topics such as church-state relations, Italian unification, the Italian Church in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the history of international relations. He has been a member of the Community of Sant'Egidio since 1968, and is a member of its Council of Presidency and Director of the Asian Department. He is an advisor to the International Committee of "People and Religions" for the organization of the International Meetings for Peace, a member of the Italian delegation to ASEM Interfaith Dialogues, and President of Tian Xia Yi Jia, a Sino-Italian cultural exchange program.



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Phillip Ivanov is the Chief Executive Officer of Asia Society Australia and a specialist on China, with extensive policy, advocacy, education and research experience. Previously he was a policy officer and Manager of the Australia-China Council at the Australian Government's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, and one of the principal authors of the Australia in the Asian Century - China Country Strategy. He is a board member of Asia Recon and Sydney City Council's Chinese New Year Advisory Panel and is the Asia Literacy Ambassador at the Asia Education Foundation.

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Sam Nunn

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Jean-Yves Ollivier

Jean-Yves Ollivier is the Chairman and ex officio board member of the Brazzaville Foundation for Peace and Conservation. Born in Algiers, he and his family fled to France in 1962. He began his career working in the commodities sector as a broker of raw materials. He played an instrumental role in numerous diplomatic achievements, including the Brazzaville Accord. He acted as an intermediary between South Africa and a number of states, helped free French hostages held by Lebanon in the 1980s, and helped orchestrate the exchange of prisoners and anti-apartheid activists. He holds the French title of “Officier de la Légion d’honneur.”



Ana Palacio

Ana Palacio is a member of the Council of State of Spain and former Minister of Foreign Affairs (2002-04). Previously, she was a member of the Spanish Parliament (2004-06) and European Parliament (1994-2002), Senior Vice-President and General Counsel of the World Bank Group and Secretary General of ICSID (2006-08), and a member of the Executive Committee and Senior Vice-President for International Affairs of AREVA (2008-09). She is the Technical Manager of the Spanish Gas System and a member of numerous boards, including Enagás, Pharmamar, the Atlantic Council of the United States, the European Council on Foreign Relations, and the World Economic Forum’s U.S. Global Agenda Council. She is a visiting professor at Georgetown University and maintains a monthly column at Project Syndicate.



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Nakedi Mathews Phosa is a South African attorney and Advisory Member of the Brazzaville Foundation. Forced into exile in 1985, he became the Regional Commander for Umkhonto we Sizwe, then the military wing of the African National Congress (ANC) in Mozambique. Dr. Phosa played a prominent role in the negotiation process for a peaceful transition to a fully democratic South Africa, and was appointed the first Premier of Mpumalanga Province by President Mandela. He served as Treasurer-General of the National Executive Committee of the ANC (2007-12) and as a private liaison between the Arab League and President Jacob Zuma. He is on the board of the Afrikaans Handels Instituut, the Special Olympics International, and a number of companies, and was appointed Honorary President of the World Boxing Federation in 2014. He was awarded the Congolese Order of Merit in 2014.



Romano Prodi

Romano Prodi is the former Prime Minister of Italy (1996-98 and 2006-08) and former President of the European Commission (1999-2004). He has held numerous international and national positions, including Special Envoy of UN Secretary-General Ban Kimoon for the Sahel (2012-14), President of the African Union-UN Peacekeeping Panel (2008), head of the Italian Institute for Industrial Reconstruction (1982-89), and Professor at the Watson Institute for International Studies at Brown University (2009-present).





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Federico Rampini is the U.S. Chief Correspondent of La Repubblica, Italy's leading national daily newspaper. He has been a journalist at multiple publications since the 1970s. He is currently a Visiting Professor at the Business School Bocconi in Milan, and has been a Visiting Professor at the Shanghai University of Finance and Economics (2004-09) and at the University of California, Berkeley (2002-04). He is also a member of the scientific boards of various foreign affairs journals.



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Ahmed Rashid is a writer and commentator on Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Central Asia. He is the author of five books and writes regularly for the Financial Times, the New York Times, the New York Review of Books, Spain's El Mundo, BBC Online and several Pakistani publications. He serves on the Board of the Committee to Protect Journalists and the International Committee of the Red Cross, and is an advisor to Human Rights Watch. Mr. Rashid was chosen by Foreign Policy magazine as one of the world's most important 100 Global Thinkers in 2009 and 2010.



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Adam Daniel Rotfeld is the former Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Co-Chairman of the Polish-Russian Group on Difficult Matters, member of the OSCE Panel of Eminent Persons on European Security as a Common Project, and professor at Warsaw University and the College of Europe (Warsaw). He served as Director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, a member of the UN Secretary General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters, and the NATO Group of Experts (Wisemen Group) on a new Strategic Concept of Alliance. He is also a member of the European Council of Foreign Relations, the European Leadership Network, Aspen Ministers Forum, and other boards and councils. He has published and edited more than 20 monographs and over 400 articles.

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Ranabir Samaddar is the Director of the Calcutta Research Group. He has written and worked extensively on issues such as forced migration, peace studies, human rights, dialogue, nationalism, and postcolonial statehood in South Asia. Recent publications include *Beyond Kolkata: Rajarhat and the Dystopia of Urban Imagination* (coauthor, 2013), *The Emergence of the Political Subject* (2009) and *The Materiality of Politics* (2007).



Orville Schell

Orville Schell is the Arthur Ross Director of the Center on U.S.-China Relations at the Asia Society. He is a Fellow at the Weatherhead East Asian Institute at Columbia, a Senior Fellow at the Annenberg School of Communications at USC and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. He is a former professor and Dean at UC Berkeley Graduate School of Journalism. He worked for the Ford Foundation in Indonesia, covered the war in Indochina as a journalist, and has traveled widely in China since the mid-70s. He has authored 15 books, 10 of them about China, contributed to numerous edited volumes, and written widely for many magazines and newspapers.



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Susan Shirk is the Chair of the 21st Century China Program and Research Professor at the School of Global Policy and Strategy at UC San Diego. She is also Director Emeritus of the University of California's Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (as Director, 1991-97; Research Director, 2000-06; and Director, 2006-11), and a former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the Bureau of East Asia and Pacific Affairs (1997-2000). She is also the founder and leader of the Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue forum and a senior advisor to the Albright Group. She is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and of numerous boards, including the U.S. Defense Policy Board and the U.S.-Japan Foundation.



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Vaira Vike-Freiberga

Vaira Vike-Freiberga is the former President of Latvia (1999-2007) and the President of the Club de Madrid. She was instrumental in achieving membership in the EU and NATO for her country and was Special Envoy on UN reform. She was Vice Chair of the Reflection group on the longterm future of Europe, chaired the high-level group on freedom and pluralism of media in the EU (2011-12), and currently is a member of two high-level groups on European Security and defense. She is a member, board member, or patron of 30 international organizations, including the World Leadership Alliance, the Nizami Ganjavi International Centre, and the European Council on Foreign Relations.



James David Wolfensohn

James D. Wolfensohn was the ninth President of the World Bank (1995-2005). As President, he visited over 120 countries and focused his efforts on the problem of corruption in development financing and poverty eradication. Wolfensohn currently serves as the Chairman of Wolfensohn & Company, LLC, an investmentbanking firm, and as an honorary trustee of the Brookings Institution. In 2005, he was appointed to the post of Special Envoy for Gaza Disengagement for one year. An expert in finance and international relations, Wolfensohn has dedicated his research and work to ameliorating conditions in developing countries, combating corruption and bridging the gaps between First World and Third World nations.



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Suisheng Zhao is Professor and Director of the Center for China-US Cooperation at Josef Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver and founder and editor of the *Journal of Contemporary China*. Formerly Associate Professor of Political Science and International Studies at Washington College in Maryland, a Campbell National Fellow at Hoover Institution of Stanford University, Associate Professor of Government and East Asian Politics at Colby College in Maine and visiting assistant professor at the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies (IR/PS) at University of California-San Diego, He received his Ph.D. degree in political science from the University of California-San Diego, M.A. degree in Sociology from the University of Missouri and BA and M.A. degrees in economics from Peking University. Before coming to the US in 1985, he worked in China's Ministry of Finance and State Council Economic Research Center.



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Randall Hansen is the Director of the Centre for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies at the Munk School of Global Affairs and Full Professor and Canada Research Chair in the Department of Political Science at the University of Toronto. He works on migration and citizenship, eugenics and population policy, and the effect of war on civilian populations. Recent publications include *Disobeying Hitler: German Resistance after July 20, 1944* (2013) and *Sterilized by the State: Eugenics, Race and the Population Scare in 20th Century North America* (2013). He has also coedited many publications, including *Immigration and Public Opinion in Liberal Democracies* (2012) and *Migration States and International Cooperation* (2011).

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Wolfgang Petritsch is the President of the Herbert C Kelman Institute for Interactive Conflict Transformation and of the Austrian Marshall Plan Foundation. In 2014 he was the Joseph A. Schumpeter Fellow at Harvard University. He has served in a number of prominent positions, including as Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Austria to the OECD and the United Nations in Geneva, the EU's Special Envoy for Kosovo (1998-99), the EU's chief negotiator at the Kosovo peace talks in Rambouillet and Paris (1999), High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina (1999-2002), and as head of the Department for Information on European Affairs at the Federal Chancellery and a member of the Federal Government's EU-accession Task Force.



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Hans Winkler is the director of the Diplomatic Academy in Vienna. Prior to this he spent over three decades in the Austrian Foreign Ministry. He served as State Secretary for European and International Affairs, Deputy Secretary General for Foreign Affairs, Head of the Legal Office and Legal Adviser, Head of the Americas Department, and Ambassador to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, among other foreign postings. He holds a Doctor of Law from the University of Vienna.



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Jonathan Blake is the Director of Research for the Congress of Vienna 2015 and a Postdoctoral Research Scholar at Columbia University's School for International and Public Affairs. He has previously worked for the United Nations Development Program, the International Rescue Committee, and the Monitor Group. He holds a Ph.D. in political science from Columbia University.



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Augustin Nicolescou is the Co-Director of the Herbert C Kelman Institute, working on the development and implementation of the Institute's dialogue programs, as well as training and consulting in conflict transformation, dialogue, and conflict sensitive development. He joined the institute when it was founded in 2005, and worked as project coordinator of its Sri Lanka Track 1.5 problem-solving workshop and dialogue project. He delivers training on conflict transformation, dialogue, and conflict sensitivity in Europe and Central Asia. He is a graduate of McGill University, with a B.A. in Political Science, and holds an M.A. in Peace and Conflict Studies from the European University Centre for Peace Studies in Austria.



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