

The International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy 2010: Culture, Globalization, and International Relations over the next Two Decades

(Berlin, May 23rd - 30th, 2010)

Symposium Report

The Institute for Cultural Diplomacy hosted the International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy 2010 from 23rd to 30th May. The program brought together a group of speakers consisting of over forty leading figures from international politics, academia, and civil society, and more than 150 participants. The Symposium provided a platform for discussions that explored the complex relationship between culture, international relations, and globalization, and the associated challenges that lie ahead over the next two decades.

The Symposium was split into three complementary sections. The program began by looking in greater detail at “culture” and “identity” and how these terms are used and understood today.

The second part of the program built on these components, focusing on the role that culture plays in contemporary international relations and the process of globalization. Over the course of three days, the concepts of “cultural diplomacy” and “soft power” were also explored in more detail.

The final part of the program applied these discussions to key issues that will determine global politics over the coming years – the situation in Afghanistan and stability in Central Asia.

Summary of Events

Sunday, 23rd May: As a precursor to the conference, the participants attended a panel discussion entitled “The Impact of Technology on Intercultural Exchange.” This panel discussion gave the participants a brief introduction and insight into some of the topics to be covered during the Symposium. Following this the group travelled to the district of Kreuzberg to experience Berlin’s famous “Carnival of Cultures”.

Monday, 24th May: The Symposium began officially with a series of lectures focused on definitions of culture and intercultural relations. The purpose of these speeches was to lay the groundwork for the week’s discussions on the future of international cultural dialogue. Through these lectures, the participants were given an insight into the fundamental aspects of cultural diplomacy from its origins through to the modern day.

Tuesday, 25th May: The day began with a discussion concerning the role of religion in cultural relations. By juxtaposing talks about Islam with the role of religion in the “Western World”, participants were invited to reflect on the importance of religion in their own diverse cultures. Accordingly, a panel discussion was hosted in which speakers from the Symposium conference discussed the future of religion in terms of cross-

cultural relations.

Wednesday, 26th May: Globalization featured as the main topic of discussion. Speeches from several European political leaders touched upon the importance of maintaining good relations between nations during the age of commercial globalization. Others offered unique perspectives on the way in which globalization affected their individual nations. Examples of this were speeches from the perspectives of the Czech Republic or Norway. The day finished with a keynote address and live musical performance by Marcia Barrett of Boney M.

Thursday, 27th May: European political leaders gave talks on the way in which European nations are using cultural diplomacy to build bridges within the European Union as well as with its neighbors. The future of cultural diplomacy was discussed at length, including some insights from future leaders into their home nations. European-Russian relations were also a topic for consideration.

Friday, 28th May: The final section of the Symposium was focused on Afghanistan. The topic of this part of the forum was: "Understanding Afghanistan and Central Asia: 'Supporting Democracy and Stability - The Path Ahead'". The main lectures of the day concerned the progress of development and democracy in Afghanistan in particular and Central Asia in general.

Saturday, 29th May: The penultimate day continued the discussion of future strategies for Afghanistan aimed at creating peace, establishing democracy, and building infrastructure. Two panel discussions were held to allow a lively debate on how the political leaders of Afghanistan and other nations should proceed in their efforts to stabilize and develop country. After each discussion, participants had the opportunity to direct questions to the panelists.

Sunday, 30th May: The Symposium concluded with lectures by some of the world's leading authorities on Afghan security, politics, and culture. One of the most powerful talks came from British military colonel Andrew Budd, who provided insights into the military strategies of world powers in Afghanistan for the coming years. In a final look at the cultural conversation currently taking place in Afghanistan, the participants viewed a screening of the film *Afghan Star*.

Symposium Speakers

Abed Nadhib

Minister Counselor at the Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan

Amb. Alessandro Minuto Rizzo

Former Deputy Secretary General of NATO: Former Acting Secretary General
"The Crisis in Central Asia, NATO and the International Community"

Ali Ahmad Jalali

Former Interior Minister of Afghanistan
"Myths, Realities, and Challenges in Afghanistan"

Bettina Muscheidt

*European Commission – External Relations Directorate – General Desk, Afghanistan
An Overview of Afghanistan's Social, Economic, and Political Issues*

Col. Andrew Budd

*Branch Chief, Strategic Policy & Concepts Branch, International Military Staff, NATO
"The Military Mission: How it got to where it is and where it is going"*

Bertie Ahern

Former Prime Minister of Ireland

Christian Manhart

*UNESCO – Chief, Section of Museums and Cultural Objects
"The Role of Culture in Afghanistan: Supporting Unity, Strengthening Identity"*

Daniele Riggio

Information Officer for Central Asia, Public Diplomacy Division of NATO

Amb. Elena Poptodorova

Director – Security Policy, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria

Emil Constantinescu

*ICD Advisory Board Member – Former President of Romania
"Cultural Diplomacy, Peace and Progress, through Understanding of the Other"*

Dr. Erkki Tuomioja

*ICD Advisory Board Member – Former Finnish Foreign Minister
"A Nordic Perspective on the Future of Global Democracy with Reference to Afghanistan and Central Asia"*

Prof. Dr. Fatwa El Guindi

Distinguished Professor of Anthropology, Head of Department of Social Sciences, Qatar University

Prof. Dr. Hans Köchler

*Professor of Philosophy at University Innsbruck, President of the International Progress Organization
"Islam and the West: Challenges of a Just World Order"*

Ints Dālderis

*Minister for Culture of the Republic of Latvia, Director of the Latvian National Symphony Orchestra
"Intercultural Dialogue Between Neighboring Countries with Reference to Latvia and Russia"*

Jack McConnell

*ICD Advisory Board Member – Former First Minister of Scotland
"The Importance of Identity and Cultures in Global Relations"*

Dr. Jacques F. Poos

*ICD Advisory Board Former Deputy Prime Minister of Luxembourg, Former Minister of Defence
"Exit Strategies for Afghanistan"*

Sir James Richard Marie Mancham

ICD Advisory Board Member – Former President of the Republic of Seychelles

Prof. Dr. Jeffrey Haynes

Director of the Centre for the Study of Religion, Conflict and Cooperation, London Metropolitan University

"Conflict, Conflict Resolution and Peace-building: The Role of Religion"

Dr. Jiri Weigl

Chancellor of the Office of the President of the Czech Republic

"Europe and National Identity from a Czech Perspective"

Kyell Magne Bondevik

Former Prime Minister of Norway

"Norway in International Peace Efforts – Reflections on the Role of a Small Nation"

Loay El-Shawarby

Chairman of the Board of Directors - Nahdet El Mahrousa

"Connecting Cultures for Egypt's Development"

Sir Malcolm Rifkind

Former Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom

Marcia Barrett

Lead Singer of Boney M

"Building Bridges with Music"

Mirko Tomassoni

Former Captain Regent of San Marino

Marco Boasso

Chief of Mission and Special Envoy to Afghanistan, International Organization for Migration (IOM)

Nick Williams

Head, Operations Section, Operations Division, NATO

Dr. Miomir Zuzul

Former Foreign Minister of Croatia, Former Croatian Ambassador to the United States

Paul-Eerik Rummo

Former Estonian Minister of Culture and Education

"Defining and Understanding Culture in an International Context"

Amb. Petko Draganov

Deputy Secretary General – United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)

Amb. Philip D. Murphy

U.S. Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany

"Accelerating Success in Afghanistan: Goals and Challenges for International Cooperation"

Prof. Dr. Rizawan Saeed Sheikh

Director, Department of Cultural Affairs, Organization of the Islamic Conference's General Secretariat

Prof. Rupert Scholz

Former Minister of Defense of Germany

Sartaj Aziz

Former Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Vice Chancellor of Beaconhouse National University in Pakistan

Scott M. Thomas

Senior Lecturer in International Relations and the Politics of Developing Countries, University of Bath, UK

"Culture, Globalization, and International Relations over the next Two Decades"

Dr. Solomon Isaac Passy

ICD Advisory Board Member – Former Foreign Minister of Bulgaria and Former Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE

Stefan Sofianski

Former Prime Minister of Bulgaria, Former Major of Sofia

Prof. Dr. Thomas Roche

Assistant Dean, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Sohar University, Oman

"Rhetoric and Communication: The Role of Culture"

Dr. Vaira Vike-Freiberga

ICD Advisory Board Member, Former President of Latvia

Dr. Vasile Puscas

ICD Advisory Board Member – Former Romanian Minister of European Affairs

The "Strategic Regions": Managing the Global Interdependencies (Case of Central Asia)

Willem Noë

Senior Administrator at the European Commission

William E. Moeller

Political-Military/External Chief, Political Section, U.S. Embassy Berlin

H.E. Yasar Yakis

ICD Advisory Board Member – Turkish MP, Former Foreign Minister of Turkey

Dr. Yassar Thabet

Journalist and author; Program-Editor at Al Arabiya News Channel; Former Senior Producer at Al Jazeera

"Demons and Hopes: Media in the Middle East"

An Introduction to the Speeches

With the aim of exploring and defining the key challenges that will be faced by global society over the next two decades, the Symposium considered the importance of intercultural understanding as a foundation for international activity to address these challenges and promote global stability. By providing a platform for stakeholders from the public sector, private sector, civil society and academia, the event allowed a forum for the exchange of a diverse range of perspectives.

The speakers covered a range of topics in their lectures including the relationship between economic interdependence and global peace and stability, the role of supra-national organizations in building consensus between governments and promoting intercultural understanding at the grassroots level, and the role of cultural diplomacy and soft power in

generating cross-cultural consensus and bridging religious divides.

Other issues addressed include European identity in the global context, defining and understanding culture in an international context, Samuel Huntington's 'Clash of Civilizations' and its application today, and accelerating success in Afghanistan by recognizing the goals and challenges for international cooperation.

24th May 2010

"Defining and Understanding Culture in an International Context"

Paul-Eerik Rummo

- Culture has to live and to evolve. To 'preserve' refers to conservatism. Of course, it is important that traditions are protected, language in particular. This should be done through public means. The Estonian language is the basis of the Estonian identity because citizens have different roots. Everything is changing but if we are still able to translate words into Estonian then our identity will survive. It's true that there's a kind of anxiety about identity.
- To promote culture, it is very important to have good contact with audiences. For example, poetry should be written in native languages. Despite the new means of cultural expression, poetry is still the best way to promote a language.
- New technologies and social medias, such as Facebook and other networks, are wonderful tools to facilitate some forms of cultural exchange.

"Interpreting and Understanding Culture & Identity: Past, Present and Future"(Panel Discussion)

Paul-Eerik Rummo, Prof. Dr. Hans Köchler, Prof. Dr. Scott Thomas, Prof. Dr. Thomas Roche

- Only if we are able to relate to other civilizations through cultural dialogue will we fully understand our own. Peaceful co-operation is not possible until we show a general interest and respect for other civilizations.
- New social networking technology that brings people together allows for greater opportunities for cultural exchange.
- Culture can refer to a range of subjects, such as history, language, cuisine, and music.
- Globalization means that today the world is multicultural and this makes it even more important to increase understanding between different cultures, as states are becoming more interdependent.
- Globalization is promoting cultural hybridism. This is not a good thing. People should be holding onto their traditions and preserving their values.

"Rhetoric and Communication: the Role of Culture"

Prof. Dr. Thomas Roche

- Language has a clear function in society and the way in which it is used for interaction could be considered a means by which different identities are reflected.
- One has to be very careful about the generalizations that one makes about different cultures and how cultures approach learning, particularly the learning of foreign

languages. There is always an enormous amount of variety and diversity in any classroom: There are students who prefer learning about grammar and students who prefer learning about content, but within this a deep-rooted culture which must be projected to the students.

- All languages change. Consider the English language in 499 when the Anglo Saxons went to England, English sounded like the first line of Beowulf. We cannot understand it now because it does not sound like English to us, but it is.
- Cultures influence each other all the time and that has a direct effect on the structure of language, the words, the grammar, and the pronunciation, which cannot be stopped. English changed enormously because of the influence of other cultures such as Danish.
- Some nations try to resist this change, such as Iceland, Indonesia, and France. They have institutes that vet words and decide that one cannot use certain terms. For example, one cannot use the term “weekend”; the French equivalent should be used. Languages grow and that is something to be excited about.

"Connecting Cultures for Egypt's Development"

Mr. Loay El-Shawarby

- Nahdet El Mahrousa's main focus is on utilizing youth to make a positive impact on many aspects of Egypt's development. The aim is to connect young Egyptian professionals, and join them in their motivation.
- After people start to see that the initiative has a positive effect in society, more people will want to be involved, and this will create a circle of hope and enthusiasm around the idea of mobilizing the youth to aid Egypt's development. However, it will be more successful if its aims are co-coordinated with civil society.
- Civilizations do not clash; it is different levels of development that cause conflict. People need to be brought up to the same level.
- The Egyptian government made an attempt to try to regulate the national banking system. Whilst this was achieved, the banking system in Egypt was not forthcoming like the EU and most of the West. In that sense their exposure internationally was much more limited. If you regulate early then there is an associated risk, Egypt benefitted by chance.

25th May 2010

"Religion and Modernity: Examining the Link" (Panel Discussion)

Prof. Dr. Jeffrey Haynes, Prof. Dr. Hans Köchler, Prof. Dr. Scott Thomas, Prof. Dr. Thomas Roche

- Tony Blair was severely criticized for bringing his religion into the public sphere. This has undermined religion in Britain in the sense that it is used as an example to make the argument that when you exhibit religiousness it leads to conflict. Blair claims he prayed to God and thought it was the right thing to do to go to war.
- Islam has become a part of culture in Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Arab world, but these are not the same versions of Islam: There are multiple “Islams”. What makes these different “Islams” is the fact that they are engaging with existing cultures.
- Malaysian Islam is far more tolerant than other forms of Islam because of the varieties of cultures and religions that have become a part of Malaysia. That is different from the

- more radical Jihadi types of Islam that take a more hard-line view on what the purity of the faith is.
- Globalization has facilitated cross-border recognition of religion. The technology available today enables Muslims in Bradford in the North of England to become a part of a kind of Islam present in the Arab World. This would not have happened twenty or thirty years ago.
 - Both Merkel in Germany and Sarkozy in France have made a play about the role of religion as being a part of their societies, and how Christianity is a part of their societies. That is why both find the Turkish entry into the EU to be problematic.
 - Europeans return to the wars of religion, despite the fact that there were two horrendous wars during the twentieth century, which are certainly not animated by religion. One would think that these wars would be a greater part of the European consciousness. The wars of religion may be an important argumentative strategy for liberals to marginalize religion.

"Islam and the West: Challenges of a Just World Order"

Prof. Dr. Hans Köchler

- With the idea of an emerging 'New World Order' being born out of the Middle Eastern conflicts, the West is trying to formulate a human rights plan that does not take into account the concerns of Muslims. This has led to social and political conflicts that still exist today.
- Cultural and religious diversity have become a fact of life, not only domestically, but globally as well. This new multicultural reality at a global level has triggered the increasing prevalence of "identity politics": People used to being surrounded by their own culture and religion are now being confronted with other cultures and religions on their doorstep. Consequently, people are retreating to their "true identity." One result of this has been a "Muslim renaissance."
- Currently in Europe there is a focus on the degree to which Christianity is a component of "European identity". This assertion is often made by people who have argued against the practice of Muslim religion on the basis of secularism. These same people have pushed their politicians to protect their religious and cultural identity from Islam.
- A just world order needs a balance of forces, and if there is an imbalance it will not work. Accordingly, Islam should not be 'redefined', as has been the tendency of some Western political leaders. This only serves to make Muslims more intransigent.
- A strong initiative for Western countries to rely less on oil, and in turn, the Middle East, is what is required. Such action would enable the West to view the countries of the Middle East from a more "neutral" perspective.

"Conflict, Conflict Resolution and Peace-building: The Role of Religion"

Prof. Dr. Jeffrey Haynes

- Most conflicts are not about religion but rather material issues. Religion is a side issue, and often the religious entities seeking to resolve conflicts only have relevance if parties to a conflict desire it. It may be that their religious faith makes them more desirable as they can be seen as people without material interests.
- There is a type of thriving NGO sector, within which there are many organizations aimed at religion. A lot of these NGOs have been involved in attempts to resolve conflicts, sometimes successfully, sometimes not. There is a huge number of Christian NGOs. A

- tiny number of them are influential, and only a few are regularly successful.
- There are far fewer Muslim organizations than Christian organizations currently involved in conflict resolution, mostly because Islam is far less institutionalized. Instead, it relies more on individual leaders.
 - Religious groups have a strong impact in the sector concerning environmental awareness. Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, and Buddhism all have environmental ties, for example, "god gifts". Within Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism in particular there has always been a concern about the environment, not directly, but with the idea of taking only what you need to live. Unfortunately, religion is not enough to change the global overconsumption trend yet.

"Culture, Globalization, and International Relations over the next Two Decades"

Prof. Dr. Scott Thomas

- Religion is closely interconnected with how people live their everyday lives, especially with regard to the struggles for survival: competition for resources, world poverty, climate change, and environmental degradation. There are several "strong" religions that deal with the problems of "weak" states, which can be defined as lacking political legitimacy, social services, and physical infrastructure.
- The Christian minority in Korea helped the state move towards a pro-Western model that respected the rule of law. This could serve as a model for a Chinese Christian minority by the year 2050.
- Christianity began in Palestine and spread through Central and Eastern Asia. In the future Christianity will revert to its roots as a global, non-Western religion, because 90% of the population will be non-white, non-Western, and part of the colonized world.
- 'Globalization' and climate change are forcing communities to come together even where it may be against their will. It is in this way that religious conflicts can be connected to resources, farming, water, and agriculture.
- The immigration and religious demographics in the United States are moving in a strong Latino and Catholic direction, and this will weaken its relationship with Europe, and strengthen its ties with Latin America.

"Demons and Hopes: Media in the Middle East"

Dr. Yasser Thabet

- People in the Middle East used to rely on the BBC and CNN for their news, now they have news channels in Arabic, such as Al Jazeera and Al Arabia. These channels have created change in the flow of information around the world; they have become a globally accessible source of information.
- As a result, the Middle East has become more visible to the international eye. Middle Eastern governments have demonstrated an awareness of the potential reaction to their politics and societies when shown on air. They therefore take into due consideration the way in which they treat their people, depicting their regions as models for change, democracy, and freedom.
- The Arabic news channels defied the norm and created a new culture in the Middle East; one in which there is freedom of speech and openness with the rest of the world.
- Such news channels have helped to bridge the gap between the Middle East and the rest of the world. They have acted as a platform from which people in the Middle East are

able to listen to the opinions of different countries, and vice versa. Sky News is creating an Arabic news channel and Al Jazeera has expressed an interest in creating an English language channel. This type of integration will be beneficial for diplomacy between countries. Knowledge of cultural relations around the world will be very important for the success of these channels, and ultimately for the success of cultural diplomacy.

- Whilst Middle Eastern correspondents are told that they are only to report from the hotspots of an event, BBC/CNN correspondents take a different approach. Diversity of information is important in strengthening knowledge and cultural diplomacy.

Welcome Message - Organization of the Islamic Conference **Rizwan Saeed Sheikh**

- Countries like Afghanistan highlight the importance of international organizations such as the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). It had a larger role in Afghanistan in the mid-1980s in the wake of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The previous problems in that part of the world, and the role the OIC played there, have led to the establishment of a sense of credibility in the eyes of all parties.
- The Western powers have requested that the OIC play a role in Afghanistan, particularly with regard to the discussion that took place at the London conference, in considering alternatives to military strategies. The purpose being to devise a diplomatic framework for finding solutions.
- The OIC is willing to play a role, but makes clear that Afghanistan and its neighbors are OIC member states. Therefore, despite its willingness, the OIC would only be able to move forward if the terms of a particular engagement are decided upon consensually by all actors and stakeholders.
- The OIC is an international organization and, like any international organization, works on the basis of the mandate provided by the member states. From the OIC perspective it is for the member states to decide. It is within this context that judgment or evaluation of the OIC's involvement or lack of involvement in Afghanistan should be placed.

"A Clash of Civilizations?" (Panel Discussion)

Dr. Jiří Weigl, Prof. Dr. Jeffrey Haynes, Prof. Dr. Hans Köchler, Dr. Yasser Thabet, Dr. Thomas Roche, Loay El-Shawarby

- The War on Terror could be seen as a Clash of Civilizations. However, it is wrong to consider all Muslims in the same way. The culprits of terrorism are fundamentalists. Stereotypes of civilizations are what create tensions. Coverage of the Arab world is improving.
- Clashes and conflicts are a result of the inequalities in wealth distribution as a product of globalization, not inevitable "personality" clashes between groups.
- Historically, conflicts have had economic and political causes. The world is a diverse place, but to limit the understanding of conflict to the primitive idea that there are fundamental differences between peoples is too simplistic.
- To talk of civilizations is simplistic. Identity is something inherent in an individual. No two people are the same, and people can have multiple identities.
- Regions today are multicultural, nations are multicultural, and even cities are multicultural. This is proof that different "civilizations" are able to coexist.

26th May 2010

"Is Globalization Pushing Us Together or Pulling Us Apart?" (Panel Discussion)

Dr. Jiří Weigl, Paul-Eerik Rummo , Dr. Yasser Thabet, Prof. Dr. Scott Thomas

- Globalization is a fact of life and it is here to stay.
- On the one hand, globalization could be said to be pushing us together in a process of integration. Globalization is as old a process as the whole of human civilization, and within it are inherent contradictions. It is simultaneously both innovative and destructive in its impact: It encourages the dissemination of new information and technologies, and the exchange of goods, views and ideas.
- On the other hand, globalization can be said to be driving us apart. As a result of the process, certain human activities, traditions, and behavioral patterns are being eroded. In a permanently changing world, every individual and human collective needs some certainty about its roots. People need to know where they are from as well as where they belong. The question of identity is very closely connected with the question of globalization, and in some ways this has inspired resistance to its impact.
- For some cultures, globalization is threatening as it can be used as a vehicle for domination. Complaints may be heard in countries within Africa or Asia that globalization is a tool used to impose a kind of domination of the West on developing countries. Another outcome of globalization is the stereotyping of other civilizations by the media. This stereotyping has the power to drive cultures and civilizations apart as well as to enforce mutual understanding and mutual respect.
- Perhaps the question that should be addressed is, 'Who is the "us" we are talking about?' Perhaps the differences between cultures do not actually create conflict, but rather the collapse, or the threat of collapse, of distinctions between cultures, i.e. cultural homogenization, lead to conflict. For globalization to be sustainable it has to meet the needs of all of us. Inherent in the concept of globalization is the fact that for every action there is the potential for an equal and opposite reaction. Thus, if for some, globalization is a process through which we will find peace by gradually moving towards a homogenous identity, there are others who wish to hold firm to one's own distinctive values and customs. Perhaps the solution to conflict lies in the need to strike a balance between the two.

"Europe and National Identity from a Czech Perspective"

Dr. Jiří Weigl

- Identity creates a sense of bonding and cohesion amongst members of society and it is composed of a number of elements: historical experience, culture, religion, common language, etc. As such, one individual has a number of different identities.
- In much of the discourse concerning the process of European integration, significant emphasis is placed on 'European identity'. This identity is built upon so-called common European values: Christianity, Judaism, Humanism, the Enlightenment, democracy, etc. These values are undoubtedly present, but they are rarely seen as something specifically European. Furthermore, a sense of 'European identity' is often secondary to a sense of national identity, and in some nations, is rudimentary.
- The EU is a great opportunity, and one that should not be wasted. On the basis of history, however, we cannot ignore the experiences and feelings of smaller nations who

fought so hard for sovereignty. These countries know all too well what it is to lose freedom and in this respect they are far more sensitive than the citizens of Western European countries.

- Transferring powers and duties from individual nations to Brussels may make smaller nations feel that they are losing their freedom. Diversity within Europe is a source of wealth; however, it seems to pose an obstacle to the current direction of the EU. The tendency at the moment is to encourage the making of the EU into a centralized super state that could rival the US or China. Smaller nations, however, do not see the need to compete, and European citizens are not ready to submit themselves to a more distant decision-making body.
- A sustainable common currency requires common fiscal policy and transfers, and it also undoubtedly needs broad solidarity of support, especially from weaker nations. However, the necessary degree of mutual solidarity is lacking. The prerequisites of the successful running of a common currency have been ignored. Europe in its entirety is not yet ready for further integration; the broad sense of European identity required to facilitate this could take generations.

"The Importance of Identity and Cultures in Global Relations"

Jack McConnell

- One of the many reasons for the creation of the United Nations was to eliminate the scourge of war for future generations. Fifty years on, we are facing the same challenges and struggles and the global power balance remains roughly similar.
- The concept of colonization has been replaced with the idea of dependency, and whilst the UN and the EU have resulted in prosperity and security in the developed world, they have failed to provide such things to lesser-developed regions of the globe.
- Our expectations of other countries, particularly countries in the developing world, and of other cultures and identities in the developed world, are skewed, patronizing, and lack a depth of understanding.
- Cultural Diplomacy, if it is to mean anything, has to be a two way process. It has to understand the speed and the rate of change, the potential for change and the reasons behind forms of governance, and the reasons behind actions and relationships.
- People have individual identities for all sorts of historical reasons. Thus, it is perhaps wrong to assume that we will morph into a society with a uniform "European" identity. The recognition of individual identities has become even more pronounced in our increasingly globalized world.

"The Role of Global Governance Organizations in Strengthening Intercultural Relations" (Panel Discussion)

Bertie Ahern, Kjell Magne Bondevik, Jack McConnell

- The importance and relevance of global organizations lies in the way in which they enable every country to act on an international stage. From an Irish perspective, as a small island, it is the enormous help of international organizations in addition to domestic organizations that has facilitated Ireland's progress to where it is today. The religious, social, and cultural conflict in Northern Ireland would never have ended if it had not been for the involvement of the European Union and the indirect help of UN organizations. The same can be said for dealing with labor and employment issues via the International Labor Organization in Geneva, or dealing with health issues via the World Health

- Organization. It is their ability to facilitate the sharing of understandings and expertise across the global village, and to create the opportunity to take lessons and heartaches from other places, which make international organizations imperative today.
- What we are struggling for is real pluralistic societies, particularly with regard to cultural and religious tolerance. Norway has made good progress here, in promoting cultural dialogue. There has been a council for life stance and religion in Norway for 12 years, which has proved itself very helpful in dealing with conflict. The Islamic Council in Norway and the Lutheran church engaged in dialogue for over ten years and this has eased tensions there. European countries need to strike a balance between freedom of expression and respect for other religions.
 - Dialogue and the process of dealing with international organizations are essential for conflict resolution. There is too great a tendency for much of this dialogue to take place within or involving the developed world, where they have the greatest strategic interest. There is still a pressing need to engage more with the developing world in general, and with the poorest twenty or thirty countries in the world in particular. It is not likely that these countries will develop stronger economies and more sustainable and stronger forms of governance, that is both essentially democratic and acceptable to them, without dialogue and engagement. Cultural Diplomacy is not only about exporting our own cultural experiences; it is about understanding other cultures better.
 - Sometimes governments look on international organizations as nuisances. However, there is much to be learnt from them that could make life better for us politically, socially and culturally. For example, states have become more aware of environmental issues via international rather than domestic research projects. Another big issue, which has come to the fore, is that of “the rights of the child”. Most of the activity in this area is has been a result of international reports, which are calling governments into account. Thus, more and more government departments are looking towards international organizations.
 - With regard to unilateralism and multilateralism, today we have no choice; states are heavily interconnected and it is impossible to solve the main problems of today alone. The current battle against climate change in order to protect the environment is a clear example of this. Perhaps international organizations need a stronger leadership. The leaders of international organizations today tend to be more secretaries than generals, partly because of the restrictions that are placed on international organizations by individual nations. Maybe more “generals” are needed to take the lead in discussion and dialogue, and to push forward change that reflects the interdependent world that we live in.

Lecture & Discussion

Bertie Ahern

- Culture is central to the way we live our lives. The great trap with discussing culture in the context of policy is the reciprocal relationship, which exists between the two; policy makers can shape the future of culture, and culture can influence policy formation.
- Culture is always rooted within the mass of the people. The difference today is that the instruments and means to create culture are increasingly held independently of any higher authority or external sources.
- The ebb and flow of globalization is nothing new; from Marco Polo to Columbus, the power of ideas and technology has been changing the world. Today, the synergy of globalization has formed a truly capital marketplace.
- Commemoration is a very special part of culture. It is a way to help bring divided parties

- together, and it is very seldom about the past, but rather about continuity and the future.
- The surge of immigrants in Ireland, specifically the Chinese and Polish, have greatly contributed to the Irish economy. A great venture of change has begun in Ireland, and it has changed what it means to be Irish. It will help build bridges between Ireland and countries all over the world.

"Norway in International Peace Efforts – Reflections on the Role of a Small Nation"

Kjell Magne Bondevik

- Several factors contribute to successful conflict resolution: long-term commitment; pragmatism in considering all actors, irrespective of conviction; flexible, ample financial and human resources; and close monitoring. Cooperation with national and international NGOs will guarantee access to important non-state assets. The maintenance of relations with key international actors, such as supranational bodies (NATO as a member, the EU as an outsider) and powerful nations (the US, Russia or India), is also important. Furthermore, UN integration is crucial for credibility, leverage, and impartiality without hidden agendas.
- Norway, with its natural, political and financial strength, is a valued flexible actor in an interconnected world. It is famous for its contributions in Sri Lanka, Cyprus, the Middle East, and Guatemala, and also its successful Sudanese peace agreements.
- Success is rare and demands clarity of purpose.
- In considering soft power, being a small nation with no colonial past can be seen as an advantage, but also contributes to a lack of experience. Knowledge, analysis, openness to scrutiny and international expertise, and calibrated partnerships are all elements that need to be developed through active diplomacy.

"Building Bridges with Music"

Marcia Barrett

- Most Boney M songs tell real stories and the sizeable crowds that have turned out to see the performances demonstrate the way in which political demands set the pace in people's lives. Boney M made history as the first band from the West to go to Russia in 1978.
- When we can come together and share thoughts, ideas, and live as one, no matter what religion you worship, or what songs like you like, what dance you prefer, then the world is a better place. Musicians and the people of the arts go out and do this. They offer hope of global harmony.
- Musicians have a responsibility to touch as many people as they can, and help as many people as they can with what they do. People riot and protest because they are not satisfied and are standing up for their rights.
- Music is a way of expressing oneself, but also of bringing people together to share ideas, be innovative, and make real progress.

27th May 2010

Lecture & Discussion

Dr. Vaira Vike-Freiberga

- The questions of class privilege and the inequality of wealth distribution in society have been the greatest obstacle to what we now term a fair, just, and democratic society.
- Every single individual born into the system that is the European Union is bound together by predetermined norms, which they may regard as constraining and inhibitive to their growth and development. Such sentiments can provoke attempts to break free of these molds in order to assert individuality.
- The goal to aim for is that of the common good, and in order for this to be achieved, a path that is beneficial to all parties must be found. Whilst the hard power approach may achieve objectives in a shorter space of time; incorporating the use of arms, war, and the military support of a message; the soft power approach, although more gradual, would allow the message of the common good to prevail.
- There has been a global shift in centers of power and influence. For a long time the world could be separated into three categories: a stable developed world, a developing world, and a third world that, to be frank, was not developing at all.
- In recent years Europe has changed tremendously. The iron curtain has disappeared, the Berlin Wall was destroyed, and Germany has been reunited. Countries that had been occupied by the Soviet Union military regained their freedom, and some were able to declare their true independence. This freedom allowed countries to integrate into the European continent.

"European Identity in the Global Context" (Panel Discussion)

Emil Constantinescu, Dr. Vaira Vike-Freiberga, Jack McConnell, Willem Noe

- Modern European integration is in fact embedded in the social and political history of Europe. European culture itself is a conflicting mixture of four different roots: Greek, Roman, Christian and Germanic. Whilst elements of each of these are incompatible, they continue to exist simultaneously. For example, ideas of unity, the rule of law, social democracy and the whole idea of the nation state are just as European in their roots as Fascism, Anti-Semitism, or Communism. Modern European integration is above all, economic integration. Cultural and religious integration are the old methods.
- Often, political cooperation follows from economic unity. From an economic perspective, globalization is quite easy to explain: it is the crossing of borders in the production process. However, this has evoked fears about losing one's cultural identity. European integration may be a reaction to globalization. Thus, the only way a country can achieve its aims at a regional and global level is by becoming part of the 'elephant' that is the EU.
- The recent global economic crisis reveals a more profound effect: that is, a fracture between the present globalized economic and political system, and the cultural model that first defined its beginnings. The 21st century requires a new cultural model to shape future progress and tame the current chaotic development. Both the European Union and the United States have their own distinct identity that is rooted in their separate historical backgrounds. Whilst the American model began as a melting pot, the political project of the European Union had been outlined initially as a change following the aftermath of the Second World War. The success of any project is connected to the presence of

resources, however. The European project is an expensive one and could not have been achieved without the help of the United States.

- We live in multinational states as well as a multilateral Europe and the European Union will be stronger if it recognizes the cultural diversity of the nation states. The European Union has been one of the most successful multilateral projects. It has afforded a phenomenal achievement of long-term peace and security and it does need to be flexible and recognize the tensions created by such flexibility. Enlargement, which has occurred sometimes without a full implementation of the appropriate rules, has created such tensions, and through cooperation and mutual interest these are being improved. It therefore needs to be recognized that culture is complex and that the priority must remain self-definition.
- It is interesting that people in France still speak of 'la construction de l'Europe', meaning that it is still a work in progress. Everyday a little brick is added. If there is enough participation and commitment, success is possible at a political level. One of the benefits of such a project is security. The European continent has seen much conflict until very recently, and as such peace is one of the common elements worth working for. An element of common benefit allows for a sense of belonging and commitment, and the notion that each citizen has something to contribute to the project helps to generate a sense of identity.

"International Relations in a Globalized World: The Future of Cultural Diplomacy and Soft Power" (Panel Discussion)

Ints Dālderis , Dr. Vasile Puscas, Sir James Mancham, Prof. Dr. Fadwa El Guindi

- Peace cannot be imposed during conflict; it must come through a change of heart. Putting people in prisons and categorizing them as 'terrorists' is not conducive to the dialogue process that is needed for successful cultural diplomacy. Soft power comes from the same source that produces hard power. We need to be worried about the concept of soft power. Telling the world how to unite, how to think, and what is good for them, and doing so in a clever fashion, is a concern.
- Soft power can be good, but once we begin thinking about power an element of control must inevitably be considered, whether it is through bombing or the manipulation of minds. If cultural diplomacy can be used to forge relations that foster and recognize mutual respect and trust, then this is a positive of course, but it is not easy to achieve.
- Restructuring the international financial and economic system has been a recent focus of international affairs, but there has been no discussion about how culture fits into the plans to move forwards. Culture has the potential to play an important role in influencing such change in three specific ways: Strengthening transatlantic relations in the digital age, improving international communication, and helping to improve global politics.

"Intercultural Dialogue between Neighboring Countries with Reference to Latvia and Russia"

Ints Dālderis

- Music is the only global language we can understand. It provides a very important base to bring all people together. Recognizing this, many good and bad leaders have used this form of soft power to achieve their own goals. The smartest governments use soft power very effectively.
- Freedom of artistic and cultural expression is a value we must cherish in the same way

we treat the freedom of press and information. Paradoxically, if we consider culture as free from political considerations, there can emerge quite unexpectedly a political and social advantage from the cultural process.

- It is self-evident that all great culture, whilst having national roots, at the same time belongs to all humanity. No national culture can be said to be insulated or self-sufficient because culture exists in dialogue and cooperation. Even from an economic perspective, a more integrated Europe does not necessarily mean that the traditional national state will disappear. For cultural policy makers, this means that each European state should continue to support national cultures by means of state funding.
- Cultural values speak to the most human part of our personality. Culture might open many doors that a purely rational being may keep locked. Cultural exchange is not a problem, but rather, a solution to many problems.

"Cultural Diplomacy, Peace and Progress, through Understanding of the Other"

Emil Constantinescu

- Cultural Diplomacy can work as a laboratory where a political culture of global security is created through mutual trust, negotiation, and cooperation. The first step to create this culture would be to make a conceptual map of the international political universe. On it, the different worlds populating our planet would be illustrated. It is only on such a foundation that political and security strategies can be properly established to suit a fast changing and contradictory world.
- As a first approach, the world can be defined as uni-polar, acknowledging the prevalence of the Western liberal democracy model that assures economic development and prosperity. A second approach depicts the world as 'uni-multi-polar' with an anarchic periphery. Within this context the U.S.A, despite its hegemonic position, cannot act alone but only together with other powers. The West itself is multi-polar and irregular. This second theoretical approach is perhaps closer to reality.
- The post-modern world has seen the creation of solidarities of racial, sexual, and ethnic groups that transcend the borders of the nation state. Thus we should not see the security of the state as only a singular objective, but also as a way to assure security for different groups, and individual citizens with their own interests.
- In our contemporary world, state interests cannot be divided into distinct categories, as action taken in one area can have a spillover effect and changing alliances. As such, political structures should be supplemented by structures of civil society dedicated to world security issues.

28th May 2010

Keynote Speech

Ali Ahmad Jalali

- All insurgencies are a competition to provide good government. Whoever provides good government can win the support of the population and this is the key to success. The strategy for winning in an insurgency or counterinsurgency environment is to outwit and outwait the other side.
- All the conflicts in Afghanistan over the last two centuries have been dominated by strategies aimed at outlasting the other side. When there is a perception that the other side will leave, the insurgents or counterinsurgents want to be the last one standing on the battlefield, which defines who has 'won'.
- Today in Afghanistan, the military operation could create an environment for the establishment of good governance, the rule of law, and development and justice.
- All principles that govern counterinsurgency strategies need to be reversed in order that: means determine ends, supply determines demand, and tactics determine strategy. There are today low risk activities in a high-risk environment, and this needs to be reversed in order to establish stability.
- Afghanistan is the only country that can stabilize Afghanistan. The key to success in Afghanistan is to build a government that can gain the trust of the people. They need to provide security for the citizens and allow the state to be at peace with itself, and its neighbors.

Keynote Speech

Abed Nadjib

- Of course, the administration in Afghanistan is unlike those in Western European countries. It is impossible at the moment and so the world must be patient. However, Afghanistan will rebuild itself over time with the help and support of the international community.
- Many men and women have given their lives for peace in Afghanistan, and there are many people and organizations within the international community who wish to support the country. This support will allow Afghanistan to find peaceful solutions to its problems and move forward to a better future.
- Today, Afghanistan has a constitution and once again has a parliament after 34 years. Afghanistan continues to make progress, demonstrated not only by the strength of the national currency, but also by the six and a half million boys and girls who attend school today. They are able to get an education for their own futures and for the future of their country.

Keynote Speech

Prof. Dr. Rupert Scholz

- Understanding Afghanistan and Central Asia continues to be a difficult task due to several regional characteristics: tribal culture, ethnic diversity/migration/ethnic overlaps, inhospitableness, and exposure to different areas of conflict linked with Russia, China and the Islamic world.

- National identity formation processes here are incomplete. This leads to instability and increases the risk of falling to “failed state” status.
- The states concerned are a focus of international attention partly due to their natural resources, but primarily because of the widely perceived threat posed to international security by expanding militant Islamism. In particular, the Taliban in the border area to Pakistan, or the terrorist activities in Russia from Chechnya.
- Though the conflict between militant Islamism and a more liberal Islam results in significant tensions, the regional situation cannot simply be reduced to that issue.
- The establishment of democracy, the creation of a functioning civil society and economic development cannot succeed through military means alone. The various particularities of Central Asia should also be considered, of course, without violating human rights

Keynote Speech

Nick Williams

- NATO is not a cultural institution, but a politically controlled security organization with a strong military capacity. It is also a learning institution, and its primary objective in Afghanistan is not simply to confront the insurgency, but also to hand over responsibility to the Afghan authorities. The government must become responsible for its own people.
- The operation, under UN mandate, is the most significant operation ever led by NATO.
- NATO has taken a comprehensive approach; international forces and organizations are working in cooperation with Afghans to build up the Afghan government, army, and police.
- The approach is not perfect, but it is the most comprehensive in conflict and post-conflict management to this day.
- Only Afghans can bring peace and stability to their country, in addition to a competent trustworthy government. In order to achieve this, there are three elements to be addressed: governance, security, and development. All three elements must be pursued simultaneously. Indeed, security today is not conceived primarily as an objective achievable only by military means.
- When intervening in the stabilization process of a country, culture is the aspect that the international community has least understood. There is a need to understand Afghans but also understand how they perceive others. The West must consider the importance of its legacy in Afghanistan.

Keynote Speech

Dr. Vaira Vike-Freiberga

- The problem in Afghanistan will not be solved by military means alone. There has been great progress in understanding that a multi-dimensional intervention is needed in order to make significant progress. As has often happened in such situations, the willingness of the Afghans to collaborate with one invader or another has split the country.
- There are several levels of intellectual development, education, political attitudes and means of economic support in Afghanistan, and these make it difficult to transfer a model of success developed anywhere else in the world. Independence is the best way for a population to put into action all their aims and goals, in order to create a society built in their own image.
- Diplomacy will not work unless all parties are entirely committed to engage in dialogue. There are serious difficulties in Central Asia. The first step in combating these obstacles

- is to establish, by military means, zones of security where civilians are not at risk.
- A big challenge for NATO is to defeat the Taliban without accumulating a large number of civilian casualties. It is about winning the hearts and minds of the people, and helping the civilian population. However, the complexity of the situation makes outside help a necessity. There should be an effort across the board to address the issues of civil society in a number of ways.
 - Democracy depends on the will of the people, but the will of the people cannot be expressed on a logical and rational basis if the people are fed propaganda, or if they are hampered by centuries of superstition, totalitarian ideology, and various forms of intellectual and emotional terrorism from their neighbors. The prime example of this is the status of women in a society that is fighting Muslim extremism.
 - Roads have to be rebuilt, hospitals have to be rebuilt and, perhaps most crucially, the population needs to be educated rather than indoctrinated. Citizens should not be brainwashed by extremists with sectarian ideologies, or brainwashed into medieval, tribal loyalties and hatreds, to be inherited by the next generation. Afghanistan needs mixed schools, especially at the high school level where students are taken from different social classes and tribes, and where they get explanations about what extremism is, and how harmful its strategies can be in the long run.

Keynote Speech

Sir Malcolm Rifkind

- Over the last 20 years there have been many wars, some by choice and some by necessity. The war in Afghanistan was a war of necessity. Following 9/11 it had the full support of the UN Security Council, unlike the war in Iraq, which was a war of “choice” and did not command the consensus of the international community.
- NATO set out many ambitious goals such as ending corruption, creating democracy, and ensuring equal rights for women. If NATO were not to achieve these objectives over a finite period of time, this would be viewed as a failure, which was naive and unrealistic.
- In consideration of NATO's main objectives, the war has been successful. Al Qaeda is virtually politically powerless, and has been reduced to hiding in caves along the Afghan-Pakistani border.
- Maintaining a consistent effort and ensuring that Al Qaeda's current situation is sustained is crucial to the group's suppression.
- Steps for Success in Afghanistan:
 1. A massive military surge as suggested by President Obama.
 2. Increasing political dialogue by expanding the Afghan government.
 3. Developing a more intimate relationship between the Afghan and Pakistani governments; this has historically been very rigid.
 4. All major international actors must be committed and coordinated.
 5. Withdrawing NATO troops, while effectively training Afghan forces to ensure a smooth transition.

Keynote Speech

Petko Draganov

- There are signs of economic reawakening in Afghanistan after decades of conflict and economic isolation. The economy has been growing at an impressive rate, with a revival of agriculture, a strong export market, and a revitalized service industry.

- One of the first steps needed in Afghanistan is to boost investment. Both domestic and private investments are needed but it is clear that foreign investment could play an important role.
- Afghanistan currently has observer status at the World Trade Organization (WTO) and is entering the final stage of accession. Membership is important for a less developed country (LDC) like Afghanistan because it grants privileged access to other WTO member state markets, and also has the potential to attract foreign direct investment by guaranteeing national treatments to foreign firms.
- UNCTAD research has shown that in developing countries, assistance is now directed at critical social humanitarian needs, and unfortunately diverted away from investment and productive capacities, and also job creating activities that are essential to long-term sustainable development.
- The disproportional trend of directing aid assistance in LDCs towards critical humanitarian needs undermines the Millennium Development Goals. Achieving the Millennium Development Goals requires lengthy policies for productive capacities, and employment creation for social development.

"Supporting Democracy in Central Asia: New Challenges, New Approaches" (Panel Discussion)

Ali Ahmad Jalali, Sir Malcolm Rifkind, Dr. Vaira Vike-Freiberga, Prof. Dr. Sartaj Aziz, Nick Williams, Marco Boasso

- When foreigners try to intervene in another country they very often make the situation worse. Societies must be left alone and offered what help it is believed they need, but with the option of taking it. They should not be discriminated against. This would benefit Central Asia in particular.
- It is important to understand that states have a history that greatly predates their modern borders. The populations of each state have links and ties along each side of their borders. For people whose family and friends lie on the other side of the border, such a divide does not affect their life.
- Remember that this was the first election run by the Afghan people themselves, the previous election was run by the United Nations using Afghan personnel. This time the Afghan people had to run the elections themselves. The large numbers of people who came out to vote despite the numerous Taliban and insurgent attacks is proof of the new systems effectiveness. There are many lessons to be learned from the process of democratization.
- Politics is about doing deals with people so that you can reward them with positions in government. Before an election you make deals, you work with the people who can deliver votes, and who can make your campaign stronger.
- To compare the democratization of Afghanistan to that of Sweden or Norway is a great disservice. We can much better understand a country's progress when we compare it to its neighbors, who are much more similar to one another than a foreign Western country. When we compare Afghanistan's democratization to Iran, for example, a country whose election last year was so riddled by fraud that the entire country took a stand, we can truly see just how much progress has been made and in which areas drastic change has been made. This is not to say the democratization process in Afghanistan has been perfect, but to compare the standard of living in Afghanistan to that of its neighbors we must agree that the people of Afghanistan in general have many more freedoms than their neighbors.

"Accelerating Success in Afghanistan: Goals and Challenges for International Cooperation"

Ambassador Philip D. Murphy

- The International Security Assistance Force's (ISAF) strategic goal is to disrupt, dismantle, and defeat Al Qaeda and its extremist allies in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The international community has embraced the counterinsurgency strategy outlined by the ISAF commander General McCrystal, which puts the Afghanistan people at its core; winning their trust, protecting them from insurgents and convincing them that the best way to secure their future is to support the Afghan government
- It is only in a climate of safety and security that long-term development will be possible. Partnering is a fundamental element: Joint operations between ISAF and Afghan forces are more successful than ISAF operating by itself, and gives Afghan citizens on-the-job-training to prepare them to operate without international assistance. Police training has reached a similar meeting of minds. The German and American Focused District Development (FDD) has trained an entire district, combining the competing need for both quality and quantity.
- The tide will not turn until the Afghan population is convinced that ISAF and the Afghan forces can successfully defend them against the insurgents. ISAF is confident that by July 2011 the momentum of the insurgency will have been reversed, allowing, conditions permitting, the transfer of responsibility to Afghan security forces and the scaling down of foreign troops.
- The convergence of views in Afghanistan includes a shared awareness of how hard the task ahead will be. The determination of the enemy and the difficulty of stability in a country that has not known it in a long time have been acknowledged.
- Afghanistan's power structure cannot be restructured. Security is what matters to most Afghans. The standard for success is elementary; a roof over their heads, an opportunity for their children, both boys and girls, to attend school, and the ability to provide for the basic needs of their family, free from violence.
- As President Obama said; America believes that we will be safer when our friends are safer, we will be stronger when the world is just.

"Promoting Development in Afghanistan & Central Asia: The Path Ahead" (Panel Discussion) *Moderated By Urike Demmer, Der Spiegel

MdB Elke Hoff, Ali Ahmad Jalali, William E. Moeller

- A dichotomy of anxiety and hope exists in the mentality of the Afghan population. The sense of anxiety is derived from the survival mentality established by the persistently high levels of violence within the state. Hope, on the other hand, stems from the potential success of the new approach of NATO forces. Rather than solely relying upon military means to stabilize Afghanistan, a concentration on the civilian population will establish better conditions, thus allowing for peace and justice through the rule of law.
- The greatest desire of the Afghans is human security consisting of two integrally related conditions: a freedom from fear and a freedom from want. The main challenge that limits the potential for realizing this wish is time, however. After nine years of NATO peacekeeping forces occupying the territory, the right strategy and a belief in this strategy has been embedded in the NATO nations in order that they act as a cohesive entity. As the conflict continues it becomes ever more crucial that the Afghans are convinced of the

possible benefits of supporting the Afghan government in providing the basic services for the citizens.

- In protecting the population and ensuring justice, the government established in Afghanistan will be regarded as legitimate. Without territorial control, however, the government will remain without adequate authority and the Taliban will retain power.
- Counter-Insurgency tactics are necessary in NATO's operations in Afghanistan. Due to the guerilla warfare strategies employed by the Taliban militia, conventional warfare strategies are ineffective in resolving the conflict. The emphasis must be placed in training the Afghan security forces adequately, to ensure the stability of the state. In addition, the military operation must have a political solution, including an accepted political understanding.

Lecture & Discussion

Daniele Riggio

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- NATO is one of several players within a continually unfolding multilateral security network of players. NATO is an intergovernmental, consensus-driven organization that essentially carries out four different tasks: It is a forum for consultation on issues of mutual concern among North American and European allies; it is the embodiment of the preservation of the transatlantic link; it is a player in crisis management situations and, finally; it is a framework within which to develop partnerships with an increasing number of actors such as Pakistan and South Korea, who see an added value in cooperating with NATO.
- In terms of NATO's challenges, Afghanistan is the most visible testament to the organization's ability to adapt to a new globalized security environment. It is, in fact, the first time NATO has been involved in a counter-insurgency campaign. Afghanistan is a context in which NATO was engaged without any institutional knowledge whatsoever, which evokes several other challenges.
- NATO must give support to Afghan ownership, and has from the beginning supported a process that has to be visible as unquestionably run by the Afghan authorities. Supporting Afghan ownership has military implications: Afghan national security forces need be able to exert their security responsibilities under the conditions there. Afghan ownership therefore means ensuring the stability of governance and meeting the needs of the population.
- NATO does not want to play the role of a global policeman. The advantages of cooperating with NATO include the guarantee of political solidarity that only decision by consensus can produce, in addition to the implementation of those decisions through a structure that is accountable to its civilians.

Lecture & Discussion

Prof. Dr. Sartaj Aziz

- In 2003, a foundation for cultural and civil society was established in Afghanistan with limited financial support. There are now 11,200 organizations in 33 provinces including those aimed at cultural preservation, education and the media. In 2006, 35% of the budget was spent on cultural activities.
- Comprehensive cultural diplomacy requires a concerted effort to establish new organizations and institutions, and this can be achieved with financial assistance from multilateral organizations. All organizations concerned with cultural activities should be allocated funds. In implementing facets of cultural diplomacy however, it is important to

- be mindful of the cultural and political sensitivities of Afghanistan.
- Afghanistan is not only a difficult place to govern but also to understand. More importantly, the ethnic divide in Afghanistan has been accentuated and this upheaval means that it is important that a deliberate attempt is made to focus on the future and not on the past. Here, an example can be made of the policy efforts pursued by Germany following the Second World War.
- It is important also to consider soft power in terms of the new strategy for Afghanistan announced by President Obama, for which progress is dependent on the relationship between the United States with Pakistan. The proposed civilian strategy in Afghanistan cannot be effectively implemented through a government with no credibility and virtually no capacity for governance.

Lecture & Discussion

H.E. Yasar Yakis

- NATO has recently shifted to a soft power approach. Indeed we must consider the relative costs of using hard military power and soft power. Hard power involves spending money in the wrong ways: destroying the infrastructure and the local population's values.
- We must not deny the importance of hard power, as security is a prerequisite to stability and reconstruction and in some situations can only be achieved through these means. However, hard power cannot be the only focus of NATO.
- NATO is making decisions from Brussels on behalf of the Afghan people. It must not develop an exit strategy just to conceal its failure in the domain of soft power.
- The future of Afghanistan must not be focused on simply putting down the insurgency, but should also include a long-term strategy to involve Afghanistan in the international community.
- Turkey's technical and military cooperation with Afghanistan has been long standing and successful and could serve as an example to the international community.
- There is a loose link between the Palestinian problem and the war on terror. These issues are interlinked, and if progress is made in Palestine then it is likely that we will see progress in Afghanistan.
- The ICD is probably the best place to discuss the issue of Afghanistan, as the cultural differences are the most important. Although the issue may seem simple to us, it is very important for the culture of the Afghan people to be considered in the reconstruction process.

"Afghanistan and the Rhythm of Islam"

Prof. Dr. Fadwa El Guindi

- Anthropological studies on Afghanistan up until the 1980s provided a window through which we saw a rich tapestry of subcultures, woven together into a whole bi-history, which brought together central Asian peoples who live and share the rhythm of Islam.
- Afghans know that triumph in play or work, or in social and political life, is a momentary phase. Though temporary, authority has to derive its legitimacy from institutional qualities integrated in the overall culture. Islam was found useful when the West was battling the Soviets. Muslims were lavished with arms and funds. After winning, it was decided to pacify them and to reconfigure Islam itself. Instability, famine, humiliation and occupation can only breed anger and rage.
- History teaches us that single leaders do not manage resistance. Once an idea is

adopted, killing the leader or ideologue does not kill the idea. Christianity itself attests to that.

- There is a specific rhythm that is embedded in the very essence of Muslim culture. This rhythm embraces the culture that the religion of Islam produces. It is a quality that goes deep; one cannot be confined to individual Muslim behavior, a specific Islamic institution, a form of dress, or one historical moment. One needs to go beneath and beyond. Interventions fail to understand this culture by trapping discourse in superficial labels such as “clash”, “Jihadist”, “Islamist”, “terrorist”, “veil”, and “headscarf” etc.
- Dehumanizing vocabulary focuses on the margins rather than the core. The headscarf issue in Europe has now shifted from discourse on national identity and secularist identity justification, to association between the burka and security matters. In the Arab and Islamic region the sacred was always associated with stability.
- The prophet of Islam asked believers to leave nature alone and to re-embrace the moon, allowing it to shine on their path to sacred glory in its natural synergy with the sun, in accordance with the rhythm of Islam.

29th May 2010

An Overview of Afghanistan's Social, Economic, and Political Issues

Bettina Muscheidt

- Many myths exist among the international community concerning the state of affairs in Afghanistan. It is commonly believed, for example, that Afghanistan is an artificial state that has no national identity, that violence and conflict is inherent in the Afghan people and therefore the state, and that corruption is an accepted norm. However, these assumptions are not the reality.
- In order to continue the strengthening of the state, progress must be made which will convince ordinary Afghans of the benefits of the government. Support can be gained by expanding government services and giving equal access to those services that will in turn promote justice and security.
- The Afghan parliament has been successful in conducting independent elections and despite passing controversial legal legislation; routine law making has been engrained within the state. These laws have the interests of the population, rather than individual, at heart.
- Despite the prominence of ethnic and tribal structures in Afghan society, democratic parliament, rather than intensifying, in fact appeases ethnic divisions.
- Rather than completely focusing on the multiple failings of the Afghan state-building project, the successes that have been achieved at a political and a cultural level should not be forgotten.

"Exit Strategies for Afghanistan"

Dr. Jacques F. Poos

- The foreign occupation of Afghanistan cannot last forever. It is very difficult to understand the culture of the Afghan people, and if you cannot understand someone, you cannot defeat him. It is important to understand that as a country with a GNP of \$206 per year, by comparison with the \$2400 of neighboring country Pakistan, Afghanistan is poor.

- The largest border, the border with Pakistan, is a border that was drawn by colonial powers. It is a border that does not respect the natural division of the population, and as such, there are tribes that have relatives on both sides of the border. The tribal system in Afghanistan means that the central power is weak and will probably be weak in the future. In this context, perhaps the nation-building approach chosen by the United States was flawed from the outset.
- The nation-building approach supposes that the rule of law is superior to the rule of tradition and this is not wholly accepted. However, what is positive is that a sense of Afghan pride and independence is evident.
- The historic Soviet invasion against Afghanistan targeted the Mujahedeen. Gorbachev's withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989 was a 'naked' withdrawal, followed by chaos inside the country. The Taliban seized upon this chaos as an opportunity.
- After 8 years of war, most observers agree that training camps have been eliminated and that Al Qaeda does not play any role in Afghanistan. Some democratic structures have been established. There is a government that is not in control of the entire territory, but this has never been the case. It is difficult to see how any military strategy can defeat the guerilla tactics that have been initiated.
- In terms of barriers to winning the hearts and minds of the population, the number of civilian casualties, which has resulted from indiscriminate bombing, shelling, and reckless mercenary operations, has averted the population from active support.

"A United European Foreign Policy on Afghanistan?" (Panel Discussion) * **Moderated by Erkki Tuomioja**

**Alessandro Minuto-Rizzo, Prof. Dr. Sartaj Aziz, H.E. Yasar Yakis, Dr. Miomir Zuzul,
 Dr. Solomon Isaac Passy, Dr. Jacques F. Poos, Bettina Muscheidt**

- The European community is in a good position to take a leading role in formulating dimensions of Afghan policy. Security policies should be left to NATO, but the European community can aid civilian and political policies because they have a comparative advantage. There is need for a mechanism to create a framework for other regional countries to participate and have meaningful negotiations take place. If the EU commission agrees on social and economic development, this provides a foundation for a common agenda.
- There is a need for a common agenda on foreign policy, but it should be worked on outside the framework of ISAF so there is not a 'European' influence on the proceedings. Hard power is destroying the economic and social fabric of Afghanistan, and many Afghans want the last 30 years 'undone'. The United States can contribute great finances, (their budget for Afghanistan is \$100 billion per year) and Europe can provide the culture, tradition, and means of providing soft power. When these means come together, there should be no reason why Europe cannot develop a common foreign policy.
- The problem with the EU is that there is a temptation not to get involved in certain conflicts, such as North Korea. It is very difficult for the EU to have a common position that is different from the common position of NATO on various important issues. Certain ministers will act a certain way when negotiating and acting within the EU, and then act completely different in a NATO format. However, the Lisbon treaty paved the way for creating a common defense policy within the EU that is a positive contribution to the move forward.
- Electors are calling for a common EU foreign policy. It is feared that smaller and medium

sized countries will reject the common positions, which are decided upon by the majority. However, if there is a consensus on troop withdrawal from Afghanistan in the future, then it will be seen as a big step forward for developing a common foreign policy for the EU.

- Pakistan's security concerns are not heavily considered, despite the fact that a lot of terrorist activity takes place there. When the Russians invaded Afghanistan a lot of the Afghan insurgents were 'pushed' into Pakistani tribal areas. Despite this, there has been a tendency for Western focus to be 'Afghancentric'. However, the stability and security concerns of Pakistan are closely linked to Afghanistan, and unless there is peace and stability in Afghanistan, there will not be any in Pakistan. There is great co-operation between Pakistani troops and NATO, but there is not enough interaction at the political level.

"A Nordic Perspective on the Future of Global Democracy with Reference to Afghanistan and Central Asia"

Dr. Erkki Tuomioja

- The process of globalization is being inescapably felt worldwide. The international division of labor, which is essentially what globalization means, has brought huge benefits, not only in terms of growth, strength and potential for the realization of human rights and better environmental management, but also in increasing wealth and wellbeing. These benefits, however, are not distributed equally around the world or inside different societies, with many people being distinct losers in this process. This is one of the crucial challenges of globalization.
- The second huge challenge is exercising democratic control over the processes involved in globalization. This means giving an adequate answer to the question of who is in charge, while democracy has never in history been so widespread. There is also a growing feeling, particularly in the established democracies, that democratic elections have become irrelevant, as those elected are not really in charge. Diminishing faith in democracy has led to a growth in voter apathy on one hand, and an increasing belief in the necessity of and justification for extra parliaments on the other.
- One conclusion is that globalization calls for global democracy. Global governance will for the foreseeable future remain the domain and responsibility of intergovernmental cooperation in existing international organizations. Only the European Union can really claim with any credibility to have tried to address the issue of bringing democracy into its intergovernmental, supranational decision-making. In the EU it is the efforts to involve national parliaments of the member states in exercising control over the European council rather than the European parliament as it exists today, that can enhance the democratic legitimacy of the union.
- Global democracy is also served by the emergence of a global civil society, and the technologies which have made it much more difficult for authoritarian regimes to control and censor the spread of information. Global democracy has also been enhanced by continual reforms in international organizations, which seek to give both parliamentarians and civil society some sort of advisory role in international organizations and negotiation processes. Democracy needs stable and legitimate institutions, but these are not enough. A vibrant civil society, free and accessible media, and a fair distribution of resources for civic and political participation are also necessary requirements.

"The Crisis in Central Asia, NATO and the International Community"

Alessandro Minuto-Rizzo

- The war in Afghanistan is a special case as it is not a colonial war or one for hegemony or territory. The nature of terrorism is also different to that which we have become accustomed to.
- After the shock of 9/11 it was understood that geography was no longer an important factor in the protection of a country. Contrary to what had always been thought, mountains, seas and territorial differences are today of no use for defense. A city can be equally vulnerable to attack as any other target. The fight against rogue states thus requires a different approach.
- The Afghan army is currently being rebuilt and is now over 100,000 men strong. Armament is not the most important objective, but rather the reestablishment of lost values: a sense of identity, the tradition of operating under one flag, and effective training for the territory concerned.
- Afghanistan needs better governance, improved aid, and a sustainable economy. There has been a tendency to put NATO at the center of Afghan events, however. It is true that basic security conditions must be put in place for a country to develop democracy, and a functioning economy, but the "civil" institutions and organizations of the international community have an equal part to play.
- Despite a difficult situation and structural problems, the Afghanistan of today is very different from that under the Taliban regime. Internal security is overall better than in 2003, public education and the health service have developed, and regular dialogue is emerging amongst political parties. A national parliament has been elected for a second time under the conditions of fair and regular elections, a case which is unique in central Asia. In 2003 the main challenge for the population was physical survival. The challenge today is to achieve acceptable political and civil perimeters.

"The Military Mission: How it got to where it is and where it is going"

Col. Andrew Budd

- In 2002 two military operations were established in Afghanistan: 'Operation Enduring Freedom' – a 'collective self-defense' mission by a US-led coalition in reaction to 9/11 – and an ISAF mission to assist the Afghan interim authority in Kabul and the surrounding areas. In 2003, this mission was taken over by NATO, and since then, it has expanded to incorporate the rest of Afghanistan.
- In 2006, troops moved into the South and East of the country and discovered an insurgency. NATO controlled the towns and the Taliban controlled the countryside.
- Since 2010 resources from the US have increased, and a new focus adopted from the focus on development in ISAF missions. All military operations must be followed by security to hold the ground attained; development to stabilize the area; and governance to rebuild the region.
- The need for a political solution has been recognized, as has the need to build an internal security force that must be well trained and self-sustaining. Generals believe that the Taliban is now under increasing pressure, but perseverance in the region will be crucial to success.

Lecture & Discussion

Emil Constantinescu

- Whilst there is debate over what the Rule of Law consists of, political systems across the world, whether democratic or staunchly anti-Western, unanimously identify the rule of law as essential for effective governance.
- As a universal principle of legitimating power, the rule of law can be considered either a truthful recognition of the moral essence of the state, or a cover for political leaders who pay lip service to such principles whilst behaving in violation of them.
- It is perhaps best to understand and define the rule of law by observing the consequences of its absence, rather than debating over whether it includes the protection of human rights or requires the establishment of democracy.
- It is hard to create institutions of the rule of law and to make them function properly. It is not an automatic process, but a hard struggle not just for politicians and for society as a whole.
- Cultural diplomacy is not just a means to understand the world better, but is also about understanding who we are, and allowing us, where obeying the rule of law is concerned, to make the right choice.

"The Future Role of Global Governance Organizations and Military Alliances in Securing Stability in Afghanistan and Central Asia" (Panel Discussion)* Moderated by Amb. Elena Poptodorova

Dr. Solomon Isaac Passy, Stefan Sofianski, Petko Draganov, H.E. Yasar Yakis, Prof. Dr. Sartaj Aziz, Amb. Elena Poptodorova, Col. Andrew Budd, Dr. Vasile Puscas

- The Russian invasion of Afghanistan showed rebels that it was possible to defeat even a super power. During this time America encouraged rebellious acts against the Soviet Union. This has backfired. Afghanistan has become the victim of 9/11 revenge and now has the opportunity to fight another super power. To complicate matters, the existential wars of the last century have been replaced with existential conflicts within nations, and this has resulted in a change in security dynamic. Pakistan offers a classic case study.
- Samuel Huntington suggested that there would be a clash of civilizations and this would be the main cause of conflict. However, it could perhaps be considered that there is only one human civilization. This civilization sees its values codified in a charter, that of the United Nations. The clash in this world exists not within nations, but instead between the rich and the poor. The planet is getting smaller and resources are limited, and this increases competition. If we don't tackle this problem, all sorts of clashes will appear as they have in the past.
- The UN General Assembly and Security Council have outlived their useful role as problems have become more complex. Regional issues have all been superseded by global ones, and regional changes have occurred. For example, Asia is becoming a lot stronger economically but is not represented politically on a global level.
- The evidence that we see from Afghanistan and other regions of conflict confirms that the world is in a mess. Inter-governmental organizations are slow to respond because of bureaucracy, and are therefore inefficient in processes of conflict resolution. Reforms in organizations such as NATO and the UN are necessary. NATO needs to define itself as it cannot be "all things to all men". Is it a territorial defense organization, or something else?

Is NATO to be altruistic in the field of security, or more concerned with its own interests?
Decisions need to be made.

30th May 2010

"The Role of Culture in Afghanistan: Supporting Unity, Strengthening Identity"

Christian Manhart

- Culture is almost always considered to be non-political. During 2001, however, the politically rather than religiously or militarily motivated, deliberate destruction of heritage sites occurred. Whilst the Taliban claimed to have received an order from Allah, the reasons offered were not applicable.
- Afghanistan is a beautiful country and if at peace could be a popular tourist destination. The work of UNESCO involves safeguarding what is still left of important monuments. There is debate as to whether some of these statues should be rebuilt or not. One argument against such reconstruction is that in the Islamic republic of Afghanistan, it would be a provocation to do so.
- The work of UNESCO has required significant military cooperation. The American and German armies have helped to organize scaffolding, logistics and have provided archaeologists. As they did in Iraq, UNESCO provided a list of the most important sites for preservation in Afghanistan.
- UNESCO has built protective shelters in front of the remains of the Buddha statues at Bamyán. A crane was employed in order to remove remaining fragments. Another chosen preservation site is a minaret, the foundations of which have been almost completely eroded by the rivers nearby.
- What the success of UNESCO does illustrate is that conciliation is possible by means of a common dialogue and common task. It is very important to maintain older crafts, and for this reason UNESCO has helped facilitate the training of young people in decorating and constructing buildings. A final example of how change is possible in Afghanistan is how a former Russian military tank has become part of a bridge over a river.

Lecture & Discussion

Dr. Miomir Zuzul

- There are global problems when it comes to the role of the international community in any part of the world. From a pragmatic perspective, where there is international community involvement, there are always two dimensions to the dealing: one is military and the other is civilian.
- The international community attends mostly to the military aspect of the operation: it is implemented differently and what is of particular importance is that the international community is more prepared for militaristic action. Civilization is much more prepared for war than for peace.
- The international community should have a goal when intervening: for example, preventing an immediate threat, whether for the national or the international community. To achieve long-term goals, four pillars should be the outcome of international community intervention: security, stability, institution building, and reconciliation.
- One of the mistakes made in Afghanistan is that the international community is trying to impose all initiatives from the top-down rather than looking from the bottom-up: that is the

real issue for cultural diplomacy. The key in any negotiation is trying to see the opposing perspective. There has been a huge failure of the international community to recognize and assume this position.