



**"A World Without Walls:
"An International Conference on Peacebuilding, Reconciliation and
Globalization in an Interdependent World"**

Conference Book



"A World Without Walls"

"An International Conference on Peacebuilding, Reconciliation and Globalization in an Interdependent World"

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Forum Report

The 'A World Without Walls: An International conference on Peace Building, Reconciliation and Globalization in an Interdependent World' took place from Saturday the 6th to Wednesday the 10th of November during which the crucial issues surrounding peace building and reconciliation were examined from a multitude of perspectives. The program brought together a group of speakers consisting of 24 leading figures from international politics, academia, and civil society, and more than 100 participants, to discuss salient issues surrounding the role of peace building and reconciliation in global politics and civil society. Among the speakers were Professor Anthony Giddens, former Ecuadoran President Alfredo Palacio and Dr Johan Galtung. The lectures covered a wide variety of topics concerning conflict prevention and reconciliation around the world, and what needs to be done for the future.

Forum Speakers

- **Dr. Alfredo Palacio** (Former President of Ecuador)
- **Ali Ahmad Jalali** (Former Interior Minister of Afghanistan)
- **Ana Trišić-Babić** (Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina)
- **Prof. Anthony Giddens** (Professor Emeritus at the London School of Economics; Life Fellow of King's College, Cambridge; Former Director of the London School of Economics)
- **Arno Truger** (Director of the Austrian Study Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution (ASPR))
- **Dr Ariel King** (Founder of the Ariel Foundation International Women Impacting Public Policy)
- **Amb. Dr. Cynthia P. Schneider** (Former Ambassador of the United States to the Kingdom of the Netherlands)
- **Dr. Erkki Tuomioja** (Former Finnish Foreign Minister)
- **Prof. Dr. Fawaz A. Gerges** (Professor of Middle Eastern Politics and International Relations at the London School of Economics and Political Science)
- **Prof. Dr. François Heisbourg** (Chairman of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) and of the Geneva Centre for Security Policy (Special Advisor, Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique, Paris))
- **Dr. Gerhard Prätorius** (Head of Coordination CSR and Sustainability, Volkswagen Group)
- **Dr. Gerlinde Niehus** (Head of Corporate Communications Section, Public Diplomacy Division, NATO)
- **George Galloway** (Former UK MP; Vice President of the Stop The War Coalition)
- **Dr. Gerhard Prätorius** (Head of Coordination CSR and Sustainability, Volkswagen Group)
- **Dr. Gerlinde Niehus** (Head, Corporate Communications Section, Public Diplomacy Division, NATO)



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- **Prof. Dr. Gert Weisskirchen** (Former Member of the German Parliament, Former Spokesperson of the Social-Democratic Parliamentary Working Group on Foreign Affairs)
- **Dr. Hans Günter Brauch** (Political Scientist, Historian; Chairman of AFES PRESS)
- **Heinz J. Kuzdas** (Photographer and Author of "Berliner Mauer Kunst: Mit East Side Gallery")
- **Prof. Dr. Inge Kaul** (Former Director of UNDP's Office of Development Studies)
- **Ioannis Kasoulides** (MEP, Former Foreign Minister of Cyprus; 2008 Cypriot Presidential Candidate)
- **Lord Jack McConnell** (Former First Minister of Scotland)
- **Sir James Mancham** (Former President of the Republic of Seychelles)
- **Dr. Jan Oberg** (Director & Co-Founder of the Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research)
- **Janez Janša** (Former Prime Minister of Slovenia)
- **Joaquim Chissano** (Former President of Mozambique; Former Chairperson of the African Union Former President of Mozambique)
- **Dr. Johan Galtung** (Norwegian Mathematician and Sociologist; A Principal Founder of the Discipline of Peace and Conflict Studies)
- **Prof. Dr. Joris Voorhoeve** (Former Defence Minister of Holland and Professor of International Security Studies at Nederlandse Defensie Academie)
- **Dr. Leonie von Braun** (German Judge (Berlin Criminal Court); Chair of Amnesty Germany's coordination group against Impunity)
- **Dr. Luc Reyckler** (Professor of International Relations, University of Leuven; Director of the Center of Peace Research and Strategic Studies (CSIS))
- **Marcia Barrett** (Lead Singer of Boney M)
- **Marina Pendes** (Deputy Minister of Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina)
- **Merethe Stagetorn** (Defense Lawyer for the Danish Supreme Court)
- **Dr. Miomir Zuzul** (Former Foreign Minister of Croatia, Former Croatian Ambassador to the United States)
- **Nouzha Skalli** (Moroccan Minister for Family, Social Development, and Solidarity)
- **Prof. Dr. Oleg Kolobov** (Dean of the Faculty of International Relations, Lobachevsky State University of Nizhni Novgorod, Russia)
- **Ribal Al-Assad** (Founder and Chairman of IMAN; Founder and Director of the Organization for Democracy and Freedom in Syria)
- **Prof. Dr. Rudolf Bernhardt** (Former President of the European Court of Human Rights; Professor, Max-Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law)
- **Dr. Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga** (Former President of Latvia)



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Summary of Events

Saturday, 6th November: The first day of the conference began with a series of introductory sessions that set the thematic tones for the days to come. The talks examined the progress of peace building since World War II, world governance crimes against humanity and the post conflict task of reconciliation. The official opening session of the event included speeches from former presidents Joaquim Chissano (Mozambique) and Dr. Alfredo Palacio (Ecuador), the former first minister of Scotland Lord Jack McConnell and Dr Johan Galtung, the principle founder of the field of peace studies. These were followed by Professor Anthony Giddens who spoke on the Nation State in the Global Age and a panel discussion on Peace building and Reconciliation in a New World Order. The day came to a close with a presentation of the SchwarzRotGold initiative, with live music, dinner and refreshments.

Sunday, 7th November: The second day further explored issues concerning creating a, less conflict-ridden world with morning lectures of Globalization and the European Union, Steps towards reducing political violence, deactivating cultural minefields between Islam and the West and the prospects for peace in Afghanistan. The after lunch sessions' focus turned to the steps necessary to transition from crisis management to prevention and the impact of the fall of the Berlin Wall on global politics. The evening component examined new strategies for peace building and reconciliation using Soft Power and cultural diplomacy and how to bridge gaps between cultural cleavages. The day came to a close with a group dinner where participants and speakers could get to know each other in a relaxed informal atmosphere.

Monday, 8th November: The third day of the conference examined a range of topics, beginning with the psychological walls between peace and intellectual solidarity and the reconceptualization of security after the Berlin Wall. The next morning session consisted of a lecture and panel discussion on the future of Nuclear Proliferation and the arms trade, followed by lectures on NATO and dialectics of Walls, the importance of Corporate Social Responsibility for peace building and reconciliation in the globalised world. The late afternoon examined the realities of a world without walls, the importance of the female perspective in peace building and increasing mutual understanding between Islam and the West. The academic portion of the evening concluded with a panel discussion on barriers to equality and coexistence, before the Gala Event featuring food, refreshments, live music and art reflecting Berlin's wall art scene.

Tuesday, 9th November: The morning session of the fourth day of the conference turned its attention to Russian-American-European relationship, and the western Balkans' EU integration and reconciliation. After lunch a panel discussion explored the impact of the fall of the Berlin Wall and future challenges in global politics, the conflict between peace and justice in international relations and a lecture and panel discussion on international humanitarian law, peacekeeping and the unspoken crime of genocide.

Wednesday, 7th November: The final day of the conference began with the presentation of selected



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participant papers, covering topics such as that dealt with overcoming cultural cleavages around the world. The final part of the conference looked towards the future with a lecture on Peace building & Biosociety, finishing with a panel discussion on the necessary actions to consolidate and sustaining co-operation to create more peaceful societies.



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Saturday, 6th of November 2010

Central Daily Themes

Tensions, Conflicts and Peace Agreements:
Historical Macrostructures and Turning Points since 1945

Dr. Hans Günter Brauch

- Few formal peace agreements after WWII. No official peace agreements after the war. The major turning points in east-west relations were the Korean and Vietnam wars.
- There are a number of schools of thoughts with which to interpret post WWII history: Pragmatic (Grotius) pessimist (Hobbes), and optimist (Kant).
- All transformations in Europe are results of big wars. Vienna 1815- after Napoleonic wars. Versailles 1919- after WWI and Russian revolution. Exception: Fall of the Berlin wall (and capitalization of eastern Europe apart from Romania)- the only entirely peaceful transition ever in the world. (although aftermath wasn't entirely peaceful)
- Security systems in UN Charter- universal system of collective security, regional arrangements or agencies, a right of individual or collective self-defense?
- Hobbesian perspective for the end of the Cold War; US technological advanced. Grotian perspective; Soviet learning (perestroika), goal to modernize USSR through reduction in military spending.
- Concerning peace in Europe; four visionaries that made a difference by putting their concepts on the agenda at the right historical moment- David Mitrany (founding a working peace system), George Marshall (from punishment to integration of Germany- led to the EEC then EU). Monnet (functional institution building- intellectual founding father of EU, helped create 65 years of non-fighting, longest ever), and Mikhail Gorbachev's Perestroika and Glasnost.

The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide – An Overview

Merethe Stagetorn

- War is not a crime, it is not forbidden. One of earliest modern examples of genocide is the extermination of Herero people in German Southwest Africa (Namibia) in 1904. Following the Herero uprising caused by building railway they didn't want, the Germans drove them into desert then



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stopped them leaving. Eighty percent of the people died.

- In the 20th century there was the genocide of Armenian population in Ottoman Empire 191, the Holocaust, Soviet Union Gulags, the Khmer rouge, the Kurds in northern Iraq, Tutsies in Rwanda, and Ex-Yugoslavia.
- And now, in the 21st century: Sudan-Dafur, Democratic Republic of Congo and others. Many have not yet been tried by a court; more than ten years can pass before this happens.
- The crime of genocide is in having the intent. People's defense is often to say they didn't know what was happening.
- It includes preventing births within group and forcibly transferring children of the group to another group, but does not include political killings (killing communists does not count as genocide)
- Preventing the symptoms that lead to genocide must include groups and organizations that cross boundaries between us and them. Hate speech should be made culturally unacceptable. The UN should pose arms embargos to prevent the organization of a genocide, and provide international security protection for moderate leaders.

A World Without Walls: Governing Globalization

Dr. Inge Kaul

- A world without borders is something that benefits only certain people. Therefore, we may need to introduce new borders. We are coming out of the period where nations aimed to privatize the world. We have now moved towards globalization, free trade, capitalization etc
- Today in the press it appears that we are living in times of war: war on terror, currency wars, competition for natural resources, rushing from crisis to crisis .
- International co operation is needed today for financial and peaceful reasons. There is a big tension between having to co-operate.
- Developing countries also want to be taken into account. As a result we are in a tightening web of global crisis.
- Throughout the world we know we should be respectful of our neighbors.
- We need to reach an understanding of complimenting current sovereignty – responsible sovereignty.
- The internet is a fantastic means for joining forces and communication across the world
- Because of the compartmental way the world is we usually do not want to be involved. Danes traditionally generous so many countries get 'free rides'.
- Today most market failure is due to private failures of the state.



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Reconciliation between Countries and Societies: the Example of the French-German Experience

Dr. François Heisbourg

- The initial impetus for reconciliation between Germany and France after the war came from the cultural groups and intellectuals in both countries.
- Without the intellectual and cultural roots between the countries, reconciliation would have been very difficult.
- The new German and French history textbooks are quite effective for young students because they have a common narrative, unlike the ones in China and Japan which still dispute their respective histories.
- Mutual rebuilding, economic entwinement, and the threat of a third World War helped play an integral role in the reconciliation between Germany and France
- Non-military acts and mutual cooperation between France and Germany since the end of the war is an important part of the EU's DNA.
- Both Russia and the EU agree that Russia joining the EU would be a bad idea because it does not make sense for both sides. Russia joining the EU is highly unlikely.
- The formula that helped Germany and France is not universally applicable. For example, Japan and China have territorial disputes, and in China, Indo-China and the Korean peninsula there are still military conflicts. When Germany and France began the reconciliation process, these were non-issues which allowed them to move forward in the reconciliation process.

Participant Paper: The Korean Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) as a bridge between the two Koreas

Dr. Arthur H. Westing

The Korean state was in 1953 also separated in two. Once again, both states went in remarkably separate ways. For 57 years, the two sides continue to work separately after what was a temporary armistice and have no peace treaty. The agreement established a demarcation line, the DMZ, that prevents access to the natural resources.

The DMZ could be used to establish a natural reserve, commemorating the conflict and protecting the wildlife and natural resources that have been preserved there.

In 1991 the Secretary General of South Korea went to Kofi Annan and proposed to create a natural reserve on the DMZ. In 1997 the president of South Korea gave a speech in the UN that the DMZ should be a natural reserve. The North Koreans deny this possibility.



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Now it is time to take diplomatic advantage to do this.

Therefore, even though it appears completely unlikely, if they do reconcile the DMZ will be gobbled up for agriculture and industrialization and this opportunity will have passed by.

This confidence building scheme could lay the foundations for peace and make one wall less in the world.

Keynote Address

President Joaquim Chissano

- Interdependence is important in the world today, brought about by the process of globalization.
- Peace building is about many things. People confuse peace building and peace keeping. Peace and the absence of war depend on peace building and the building of many things.
- After the decolonization of the continent the hope of Africans to live in peace with each other was short lived. Violent conflict has done more harm to the continent.
- The African people and their leaders have long realized the problems they have. They need unity and solidarity; however the international interest has not always helped the conflict. There is a divide between East and West - Berlin can be seen as comparable.
- Development of dictatorships was a product of the Cold War.
- In Africa everyone is aware of the importance of elections. There are an increasing percentage of women in leadership and key government positions.
- In many African countries the media is better than political parties to voice their discontent about public service delivery. This population is better informed than ever before.
- Over time peace building is reinforced not only by strengthening of democracy but by improving living standards. Democracy is developing in the right way in Africa (but not everyone will agree).
- In some cases people say that Africa was better off in colonial times than today.
- We need to learn from each other in building peace. In spite of difficulties the progress made is encouraging.

Keynote Address

President Dr. Alfredo Palacio

- South America is finally achieving an importance in the world commensurate with its potential, although in some areas there is inequality.
- A wall between South America and the rest of the world can still be found. The legacy of colonialism persists.



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- Ecuador is a good example of the uneven distribution and abuse of power. Multinational companies exploited the countries need for investment and expertise to extract oil and negotiated an unfair share of the profits.
- Countries do not have to succumb to such deals, whether from other governments or the private sector. Equitable partnerships are crucial for peaceful and mutually beneficial development.

Keynote Address

Dr. Johan Galtung

- The fall of the Berlin wall and collapse of USSR was foreseeable. Today we can foresee the decline of the west.
- There is a new category of de-developing countries. The fall of US imperialism will occur before 2020, necessitating an end to violence and coercion and the beginning of dialogue and cooperation.
- The role of state will decline. Regional organizations like the EU are the future. There will also be an alliance of Islamic countries (57 of them). The US and Israel are the only countries that still believe they have divine mandate.
- Capitalism doesn't have equality built in to it, measures that promote equality need to be added, some of which are known and some which aren't.
- The West understands mutual but not equal. West always wants a bit extra. The West's conviction that they are somehow superior needs to go.
- Media should learn to look out for the positive to be an inspiration and not contribute to apathy and pessimism. There is a solution to Israel and the Middle East, namely the 1967 borders
- Globalization was happening before the rise of the West: China and Somalia from 500 to 1500.
- With the decline of the state less people will give their lives for states. 2,000 nations in world.
- People will dedicate themselves to them more to peace

Welcome Words

Dr. Miomir Zuzul

- Conflict moves and progresses civilization.
- Reconciliation is required for peace building not the other way round.



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Welcome Words

Lord Jack McConnell

- Regional issues can strengthen the importance of identities, whether national, regional or historic. Regional configurations should not forget this as the EU has occasionally done.
- National peace building efforts are always slow, and must be reconciled with its urgency without external interference.
- Overall the world is removing in right direction, however efforts must remain positive and proactive to insure against regressing back into conflict.

The Nation State in the Global Age

Prof. Anthony Giddens

- The fall of the Berlin Wall was a transformation of society that not only affected Germany, but the entire world. Many East and West Germans, and even Churchill himself, were opposed to Germany becoming one. This has played into their identity crisis to this day.
- With today's current economic structure, the poor are asked to bear the faults of the rich countries.
- Globalization is not a single force, but rather a complex set of forces that are at times conflicting and contradictory.
- The advent of globalization does not mean the end of the nation state. Separatist movements strive to form their own nation state in even today's globalized world.
- Nation states still represent military power and identity, especially within the context of the EU
- Globalization has been driven by the age of communication. Nations are becoming intrinsically cosmopolitan as a result of intensified communication. Nations must decide how to shape their image as a result of this situation
- Being cosmopolitan is heavily influenced by integration today. The nature of integration has changed a great deal. Fifty years ago, an immigrant from Europe moving to America had to leave their way of life and culture completely behind. Today with technology, immigrants can stay in constant touch with their cultures and country from which they left through communicative tools.
- The headscarf debate is one that has evolved and grown more complicated as a result of globalization. Multiculturalism presumes a shared value of rights that are universal and should not be imposed, yet very few countries actually adhere to such an ideal.
- In Canada, multiculturalism is buoyed by institutions where immigrants have a common understanding of what it is like to be Canadian and to maintain a Canadian identity while maintaining their original ethnic identity.



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- There has to be unity through diversity in Germany. However, new frameworks need to be implemented to help foster these changes.
- No one has found a way to mix capitalism and socialism.
- There is no nation nowadays which is not struggling with its national identities. England is not anymore called United Kingdom. The reason for this search is that the national identities were based on the otherness. But in the global age nations are not territorial in the same way.
- Globalization is a complex set of forces, they often work upon one another, it's contradictory, complex and not have a single origin
- The character of immigration itself has changed from the traditional model: first generation: don't assimilate the new culture. Second generation: half and half. Third generation: totally assimilated
- Chancellor Merkel recently said: "Multiculturalism has failed in Germany" but multiculturalism has never been tried in most of the countries. Multiculturalism has been misunderstood.
- Canadian philosopher Taylor: Multiculturalism is accepting some possibilities, not all values.
- Multiculturalism does not mean letting communities grow as they want as happened in Germany and Netherlands.

Peace building and Reconciliation in a New World Order: New Actors, New Challenges, New Opportunities

Lord Jack McConnell, President Dr. Alfredo Palacio, Prof. Anthony Giddens, Dr. Johan Galtung, Dr. Miomir Zuzul, Dr. Hans Günter Brauch

- Education is the best tool for encouraging change. Funding in many parts of the world is woefully inadequate.
- The UN and WHO budget is also a fraction of the total amount invested in weapons when disarmament would mean that more funds would be available to invest in medicine. However, as long as countries feel menaced by one another (the constant state of anarchy), proposals remain unsuitable.
- The EU is not guaranteed to be of major significance in the future. There is a potential for Europe to move towards a leadership division.
- The creation of a functional EU can be achieved without the attempt to create an EU identity..
- The EU needs a new concept of peace: involving economy, structures, processes and leadership.
- Globalization processes and advancements pose challenges and opportunities – the greatest current dangers are nuclear proliferation and climate change.
- Issues like climate change have incited the need for a new society and new economy, requiring new models, abating from the British industrial revolution: low carbon economy.
- A fundamental shift in thinking is required for the consideration of long term security.



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- Iran's seeking regional power highlights the hypocrisy of nuclear states. The use of sanctions and/or military force on Iran will not work: for attaining security measures.
- The U.S. and U.K. should take responsibility and admit about their interference in Iran politics.
- China will not be the successor of the U.S: China is not interested in this role.
- It should be remembered that China lifted 400,000,000 from poverty, into middle-class.
- There should be a creation of an East Asian Community, based on Confucianism: for growth and Buddhism for wisdom, and incorporating Human Rights etc.
- The West does not understand Islam, and therefore needs to be educated to learn about Islamic culture and religion.



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Sunday, 7th of November 2010

Central Daily Themes:

Globalization, Interdependence and the EU's Strategic Partners

Dr. Ioannis Kasoulides

- International scene is both more peaceful and more complex since fall of Berlin wall.
- The EU needs to be an effective global actor and take the lead in joint responses to common challenges. EU began in encouraging interdependence to discourage war.
- During the last few decades the world has become more interdependent. More global problems have come to light and we have become aware of their global implications.
- Need an international response. The economic crisis has shown the extent that the world is interdependent.
- There is an increasing importance of developing countries, with the trend in Asia's favor. By 2013 the combined GDP of developing economies will surpass that of the developed world. The combined population of EU and US will only be 9% of the world.
- The world's gravity centre is shifting from the west to the east. However the emerging powers should not be seen as a homogenous block. EU needs to upgrade its effectiveness with external affairs with both traditional allies and emerging powers.
- The EU has established strategic partnerships with the US, Canada, Russia, Japan, China, India, Brazil and Mexico.
- Getting EU relations right with Africa is one of the hardest challenges. New partnerships are being forged with South Korea and South East Asian countries.
- Close cooperation with china is an absolute necessity. China should play a more constructive role in negotiations, especially concerning Sudan and Iran. India also important.
- Russia has once again become a global player and is trying to regain lost influence in neighborhood.
- Relations between EU and US are now in relaxed phrase, brought about by conciliatory spirit of Obama. This relationship is not only a partnership but an alliance. Will the EU and US seek to defend western interests of a universal power sharing?
- The EU and US have everything to gain from a partnership. Partnerships need to be two way.

Steps to Reducing Political Violence

Dr. Joris Voorhoeve

- In 2050 there will be 2.5 billion people. Half of the world population is younger than 25, this



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growth could mean high maternal mortality, serious problems like HIV etc.

- Human's propensity for political violence is historical and remains ever-present. Civil war is the most common, and dangerous threat, producing genocide, persecution and marginalization.
- As Europeans we should strengthen our external relations. EU is the biggest ever invention in international relations: 27 countries peacefully working together for common goals.
- Pressing priorities include:
- Small arms treaties. The worst is the possession of small weapons; half a million people are killed a year. Small arms upset entire societies.
- Reduce rampant population growth in the poorest countries. Countries with a balanced demographic situation are peaceful.
- Development cooperation. We focus too much on economic growth. We should focus institutions that defend the rule of law. Particularly reforming police offices in order to make people to trust in national security.

Deactivating the Cultural Minefields Between the World of Islam and America and the West: The Primacy of Politics?

Dr. Fawaz A. Gerges

- Today xenophobia is everywhere and is being empowered by politicians and the media.
- After the Cold War ended there was a clash of civilizations and culture.
- The divide between the West and Islam that emerged after the fall of the Berlin Wall was based on history and the ideals of Muslim expansionism.
- At the end of the Cold War, Muslims could not figure out why they were the new enemy of the West. The West thought that Muslims were the new 'Barbarians' after the Berlin wall came down, while the Muslims felt that the West was trying to imperialize the Middle East as part of a Western hegemony.
- Ironically, Osama Bin Laden and other Muslims who the West fights today, fought alongside the West against the Russians during the Cold War.
- In the early 1990s, Bin Laden and his cohorts mutilated and altered history by declaring the West an intrinsic enemy of Islam; that the west was standing in the way of Muslim states expanding. Al Qaeda said they would be the vanguard and fight for Muslim rights.
- In the late 1990s, the jihadists targeted the 'far enemy' which was the USA. They felt that if they attacked the 'snake's head' and fought back against the Muslims, then the Muslim community would be legitimized in the international community.
- 9/11 was more about the Muslim world than it was about the West. Bin Laden was not foolish enough to think he could defeat the West, but rather put them in a greater struggle which is exactly what has happened since that day.



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- The war on terror has sustained and expanded al Qaeda over the past years.
- In order to change the debate on the West vs. Islam we will need cultural diplomacy and dialogue.
- Obama said the USA should not view the Muslim world through the prism of 'terrorism'. He said Islam and Muslim people are an integral part of the American social fabric.
- Cultural diplomacy produces political results. The perception that Muslims hate the West culturally is wrong. Muslims want a free democracy, a free state, free speech, etc; what Muslims dislike about the West is their foreign policy.
- However, unless you have a political solution to work towards to, cultural diplomacy and its benefits will little to no effect.

Prospects for Peace, Reconciliation & Reintegration - Focusing on Next Month's U.S. Reassessment of Obama's COIN Strategy for Afghanistan

Dr. Ali Ahmad Jalali

- The thought in the US and EU that Afghanistan is not a fixable country is very simple minded. Before the 1960s, it even was a holiday destination country for the neighboring countries, it was a peaceful country".
- Less than a year after Obama decided to send the troops surge, people are talking about the failure of the strategy before it has even started to work. After the war we had all the conditions to recover but no plan, and today we have a plan but we don't have the conditions and the time.
- We have to change the strategy in Afghanistan. The challenge is how to find a way to not be military engaged and on the other hand we have to prevent terrorism in the West.
- There are three major actors in Afghanistan: the State, the Taliban insurgency, and the US led international community. The Afghan government should resolve the problem of the insurgency.
- The Taliban will be removed from power but not defeated.
- The story of Afghanistan is a failure of the construction of institutions. Many institutions legitimate themselves as private security institutions.
- Taliban is a general word: there are many groups under that umbrella.
- The Taliban were removed from power in less than two months in 2001, how is it possible that they are growing their power now? Distrust from the civilians in their government, support from neighboring countries, and general growing extremism in the area, doubts about the resolve of the international community.
- Future solutions have to be based on reducing the level of threat by non-military means and building the capacity to respond to that threat.
- You can't expect a country with such a history of war to reconstruct so soon. Military has to be a supporting element, it should create an environment and this should be all controlled by the



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Government. Army and police cannot develop in isolation from the government.

Welcome Address

Amb. Harry Helenius

- During the Cold War the border between Russia and Finland was closed, for the first time.
- The borders of the Cold War divided the closeness of Finland and Estonia. Finnish diplomats were not allowed to leave Moscow when in Russia.
- Tourism during the 1960s grew slowly between Finland and Leningrad. Shipping from Tallinn to Helsinki is considered by some to be one of the first cracks in the Iron Curtain, encouraging contact between the two sides
- Thirty percent of EU exports to Russia go via Finland. The walls can not only be physical but mental, it was difficult to have a perceptive insight into Russia during the Cold War.

From Crisis Management to Conflict Prevention

Dr. Erkki Tuomioja

- When the Cold War finished, it greatly reduced the chance of a nuclear war which many were worried about actually happening.
- Military spending immediately dropped after the end of the Cold War, however it has since surpassed the existing levels of that during the Cold War: Mainly the US and China.
- Security does not only relate to military force, it also relates to disease, climate change, human trafficking, and drugs.
- Population growth has made the world interdependent whether we like it or not. As a result many of our challenges are interlinked and connected. If a state cannot protect itself from conflict, then the international community has a responsibility to help those in need.
- The EU can bring a variety of crisis management solutions that no other country or region can. However as a whole, the EU crisis management system is reactive as opposed to proactive, and is plagued by disunity.
- Finland is a small country, but has worked closely with its Nordic neighbors to help UN missions.



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From Crisis Management to Conflict Prevention

Dr. Erkki Tuomioja, Lord Jack McConnell, Dr. Joris Voorhoeve, Dr. Ali Ahmad Jalali, Dr. Fawaz A. Gerges & Amb. Dr. Cynthia P. Schneider

- The US role: the USA tends to behave as if every country just were a simple political subject, but the truth is that there are countries with very rich cultures and we should approach them with this in mind.
- The problem is lack of attention to culture. "Culture humanizes whereas politics demonizes". America tends to treat everyone as a political being.
- The EU: in relation to Europe, the disappointment from pro-Europeans with the defeat of the treaty. There is a crisis of confidence among the European Union.
- The EU does not use effective delivery of the development aid.
- Crisis of identity in EU about its position in world, which is as damaging as US crisis of confidence. There needs to be clarity of what the EU stands for and its purpose. Does no longer lead the world in climate change and does not use its leverage that its development aid contribution would give it.
- Conflict prevention needs to be done on a regional basis and not from Brussels or New York.
- Afghanistan: If the situation after a war is not better that before the war, then that war was not worth it".
- The problem in Afghanistan is how the war with the Soviet Union was conducted. Afghans just became a pawn. Afghans don't fight as group but for every village.
- Crisis prevention is a something we wish it happened but never happens. Wars should never be optional; you are forced to go to war.
- We need a new international security organization. After 9/11 US acted ambitiously and unilaterally; fifty years of collective security cooperation ended the morning after 9/11.
- Pakistan is one of most dangerous country in world: weak government, lack of institutional power, nuclear weapons.
- Turkey is a great force for stability and prosperity- a bridge between east and west. There needs to be a greater role for Arab League. Vacuum of internal leadership needs to be filled.
- Neither the USA nor Europe can understand the really complex situation of some Middle East countries.
- It is the lack of opportunities creates insurgents. Conflict prevention is difficult; crises only attract attention after it has become a crisis.
- There is a tendency to blame US and ex-colonial powers too much. Internal dynamics are more important, we need to create institutional frameworks. Democracy is creating foundational aspects of society. When there is no institutions communities fall back on ethnicity and tribalism.
- Regional powers need more critical roles who have interest in stability in their neighborhoods.



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The Impact of the Fall of Berlin Wall on Global Politics and the future of Peace building in a Multi-Polar World

Dr. Vike Freiberga

- Countries used to be aligned according to their communist or democratic beliefs.
- The mid-term election results in the USA prove that the USA's power is weakening even further.
- The current economic powers are slowly losing ground to emerging economies. This was hastened by the financial crisis. This will inevitably lead to more political influence for developing countries in the future.
- The ICC is trying to work with local organizations on the ground in local communities that have been afflicted by tragedies such as rape and violence, and have tried to compensate them in a variety of ways. One of which is having surgeons and doctors who do reconstructive surgery on women who have been brutally raped.
- We are not just living in a multi polar world, but we live in a multitudinous world that requires many skills from all sectors of society.

International Politics in a New World Order: New strategies for Peace building and Reconciliation using Soft Power and Cultural Diplomacy

Dr. Alfredo Palacio, Janez Janša, Lord Jack McConnell & Ioannis Kasoulides & Amb. Dr. Cynthia P. Schneider

- Cultural divisions occur for a variety of reasons, and are not simply products of the cultures themselves. External factors can play as much a part as the communities themselves.
- Soft power can be used in a very effective, for example in poverty relief efforts. The more poverty there more likely it is for conflict to occur.
- It seems ridiculous there are 100,000 peace keeping troops under UN. What we need most is a shift away from the resources we commit to, from the easy peace keeping to the more difficult peace building.
- Often peace building mission are too slow, badly commissioned and not enough communication.
- Development challenges are essential in post conflict scenarios. Investment in institutions is crucial. Nothing happens without personal determination and nothing lasts without the institutions.
- The United Nations is in need of reform to more effectively engage in peace building and reconciliation.
- There is awareness of problems now in west
- There was much more respect for culture during the Second World War than in there has been in Iraq.
- Extremists always understand the value of culture- the bombing the Buddhists.



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- Culture can be used as a positive force; even democratizing. For example the Afghani television show Afghan Star was merit-based and very popular. It was also transforming for women.
- Increasing inter-cultural understanding is the key for establish peace and allowing for reconciliation of past grievances.

6 Civilizations, 15 Walls How to Approach Them

Dr. Johan Galtung

- Models of civilization: Western, Islamic, Hindu, Buddhist, Chinese, Japanese and Sub-Saharan Africa.
- The West tends to relate badly to the other models of civilization. It is both universalistic and singularist: they see themselves as superior.
- Other civilizations do not suffer from this tendency. China for instance, the community is the primary unit, not the individual
- The European Union can serve as an example for the rest of the world: Japan and China can cooperate more for mutual benefit and Afghanistan and its surrounding neighbors can create a form of union.
- It is important to learn from each other, not simply try to teach or dictate to one another: to take the best aspects from each and incorporate them.
- The UN is in serious need of reform, beginning with the abolishment of the Veto powers of the S5, and the Security Council should be vastly expanded.



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Monday, 8th of November 2010

Central Daily Themes:

Response to the fall of the Berlin Wall: Reconceptualization of Security

Dr. Hans Günter Brauch

- Three reasons triggered the reconceptualization of security in today's world: the end of the Cold War, Globalization, and the transition from the Holocene to the Anthropocene (where humans have begun to have a significant impact on the world's environment)
- The need for security creates proactive actors.
- We face two new security challenges: Terrorism and Climate change while globalization has created new actors (terrorist, organized crime) and processes (uncontrolled financial flows and speculation).
- International security: the UN and the League of Nations.
- Alliance security: NATO, Warsaw Pact.
- Human security: Freedom from fear, freedom from want, freedom to live in dignity
- There is now a need for environmental security: Global climate change and international, national and human security.
- Climate change is a threat multiplier of existing trends, tensions and instability, that overburdens fragile and conflict prone states and regions.
- Climate change and International security are interlinked. There needs to be a stabilization of temperature increase at 2 degrees in global average temperature by 2100.
- A combination of sustainable development strategy and peace policy will be needed. We need an anticipatory learning in order to prevent the natural disasters.

Peace, Intellectual Solidarity and Psychological Walls

Dr. Luc Reyhler

- Good fences make good neighbors.
- North Korea is really living the Stalinism and the DMZ is like a museum of the Cold War, you can't believe it exists these days. Both countries long for the normalization of relations, even reunification.
- There are many known steps to take towards building stable peace: the lack of weapons and violence, a positive neighborhood and political-psychological environment, the decrease of multipolarities, dealing with the past, the fall of psychological walls and enhancing dialogue.
- Psychological walls can be intentionally created. Factors which sustain psychological walls include



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the existence of an unfair playing field born from inequalities.

- So much of the debate of the African economical problem is being taken by white actors. This is another kind of colonialism.
- Most universities are divided into different disciplines. Inter-disciplinary research is still not enough, and much work still falls prey to reductionism.
- The failure on the war on terror is the failure on the empathy.

The Future of Anti Nuclear Proliferation and the Arms Trade - An Overview

Nuclear Abolition and Alternative Defense

Dr. Jan Oberg

- Weapons come from the walls within our own mind. Einstein said everything has changed but our way of thinking. Today's Nobel Prize winners have policies that go against the original will of Nobel.
- The ballistic missile defense system is not defensive. Mutually assured destruction is not a defense system.
- Nuclear war could start from a variety of ways: technical or human failure, more countries acquire them, doctrines treat them as conventional, small terrorist groups
- There has been a practical Non Proliferation Treaty breakdown; Ballistic Missile Defense boosts belief that nuclear war can be won.
- Less than one thousand people decide the policies for 5.6 billion people. This is not reflective of a true democracy. No country has ever had a referendum on nuclear weapons.
- public opinion ignored, democratic deficit
- While states have cut back on public spending, they have increased their military spending in sixteen of the nineteen G20 countries.
- There needs to be a focus on possession not proliferation, the Ballistic Missile Defense system should be abandoned.
- We should encourage alternative thinking for security and defense; conversion of military R&D, production, deconstruction of MIMAC through democratic control.
- Global priorities must be better organized: the new climate agreement will be \$100 billion, while the Global Arms trade for 2009 was US \$58billion.
- The Arms Trade is now a systematic structure. States are now main actors – assisted by private dealers – investment, trade and aid patterns have become intertwined (when you export weapons you can also become an aid donor – called tied aid). People are paying the price for this lack of non-transparency through corruption, drugs, prostitution etc.



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The Future of Anti-Nuclear Proliferation and the Arms Trade

Dr. Jan Oberg, Dr. Hans Günter Brauch, & Dr. Luc Reychler

- West needs enemies to justify existence, and these enemies are constructed. 9/11 was used to create an enemy when in reality it does not compare to the amount of murder and deaths from preventable causes in America every day.
- This artificial creation of enemies creates a demand for weapons
- Countries are required to export weapons in order to reduce their price internally
- The weapon industry is based on a male fascination with weapons and does not stem out of any real need.
- Problem in Belgium; the walls between Flemish and French can be easily overcome.
- Needs to be more training for peace, it is not treated as seriously as training for war. Peace building is a professional task. There are many cases where weapons may be required for peace-building but that does not mean there are not too many weapons in the world
- Nuclear weapons are not something to be tamed, they should be abolished completely. They are not something that belongs to human civilization, individuals should not have the power to kill millions
- Copenhagen was an indication of the true state of global politics; acceptance that great change is needed on the ground but is only happening in speeches.
- Decision-makers, particularly in relation to climate change, need to be reminded of the right of future generations to life.
- Agenda of UN Security Council should be broadened to consider factors in their decisions such as women's rights and this is starting to happen as it is pushed by the smaller countries
- Japan is a strong supporter of the abolition of nuclear weapons but many Japanese people are unaware that they are the 5th largest nuclear power. America should remove their weapons and bases out of Japan.

Lecture Series - NATO and the Dialectics of Walls

Dr. Gerlinde Niehus

- Walls restricting freedom are erected out of feelings of fear, there are both good and bad walls.
- Security environments are threatened by threats which transcend borders. The most threatening threats are the ones we cannot see – non-conventional and those of non-military nature.
- Terrorist groups have established themselves around different regions, globally – so the threat is still with us – due to instability within the regions they come from.
- Globalization processes are irreversible, and enhance the flow of crime and violence to which democratic states remain vulnerable. Thus many new global challenges have emerged and con-



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tinue to grow.

- We thus require NATO to engage beyond our own borders, NATO must grow.
- A world without walls is not necessarily required for peace as they can offer freedom and security. Collective defense is not obsolete, but we must find new ways of interpreting it within our new environment- To be currently effective it needs to be modernized (reform and resources).
- NATO should deal with asymmetric methods, including cyberspace.
- NATO needs to deal with cyber defense of our systems and those of our allies – EU also has important role to play.
- Transforming walls to bridges through crisis management; stabilizing, reconstruction and building bridges through partnerships.
- Military capability is necessary but is not sufficient, the future will need better plans and operational capabilities and be better connected with other players including the UN.
- NATO believes the cost of inaction is greater than action.
- NATO partnerships: a way of building bridges and avoiding walls to be built in the first place.
- NATO has 20 partner countries, including Togo and Australia – these partners are thus able to help shape formations of arrangements etc.
- NATO can then become a security hub: benevolent walls provide for peace, security, freedom. Walls are not static as they can be transformed into bridges.

The Importance of Corporate Social Responsibility for Peace building and Reconciliation in the Globalized World

Dr. Gerhard Prätorius

- Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is a voluntary approach which goes into various aspects of society, including civil society etc.
- CSR is a commitment to improve community well-being through discretionary actions.
- CSR is a new form of business governance which is greater than legal compliance towards accountability and transparency. It is dialogue orientated, with value and strategy-based components tied in within economic processes of a business/company.
- It includes sustainable development, lowering ones ecological footprint, and confronting resource scarcity.
- Demographic changes will be important, including megacities and the global middle class that is expanding at a rapid pace.
- Measuring well-being is a new emerging discussion – there is no development shown between economic level and happiness.
- It is important to draw new dialogues and partnerships and bring private and public sectors to-



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gether. Under the challenges of globalization, it has become necessary.

- Volkswagen as an international business needs to interact globally not nationally and thus has adopted a global view. He suggests Volkswagen is on its way in reaching its 2018 strategy, which includes becoming a leadership in environmental stability.
- CSR is thus Volkswagen's contribution to environmental sustainability
- CSR in practice: stakeholder involvement with increasing expectations – what are Volkswagens CSR ratings? They are at the top of companies which integrate issues of core CSR issues are paramount.
- Very important now to "think blue" – technical solutions are not enough – must make opportunities to use these opportunities – sophisticated technological solutions therefore must be used and applied.
- Corporate citizenship as a global responsibility - it is in their own interest to have employees which are involved and educated internationally and nationally in CSR.
- Growth will come from civil society at all levels who expect businesses to maintain a greener approach (tangible efforts) – thus taking CSR – accountability and transparency.

Is it a World Without Walls?

George Galloway

- The West has double standards on the Palestinian question.
- The Palestinians were dispersed throughout the world 62 years ago, their country was wiped out off the map. They are many in Lebanon and Syrian but you can find them all over the world in countries like Brazil.
- It is wrong that Palestinians, who are the victims of a massive act of expropriation, that are called the terrorists.
- There was a second wave of massive expulsion of Palestinians in 1967 with the occupation of the West Bank of the Jordan river, the east side of Jerusalem and Gaza strip. This was completely illegal, has never been punished
- The world's biggest law breaker, Israel, has never been punished. How do you think the Islamic world sees this? When you claim that your system is based on the other countries adherence to the rule of law, then you are exposed as hypocrites.
- Israel has been granted a license to kill and to harm by the Western countries. It is just not moral but dangerous what we are doing. The Al Qaeda phenomenon, the self burning in Madrid etc. we have to stop this.
- I am not a supporter of Hamas but I am a defender of self determination. But we have to face the truth: In Palestine four years ago was the first truly democratic elections ever in the Islamic world.



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- Americans are trying to take democracy to the Islamic world but at the same time they allow walls like the Gaza strip. If we don't deal with this misunderstanding, we do not know what is going to happen next.
- Hamas are not Al Qaeda. Why do we pretend they are? Al Qaeda is a pan-Islamic terrorist organization, Hamas is a liberation movement. We pretend Hamas and Al Qaeda are the same to justify the wars we are doing in the region.
- Today's wall of Islamophobia is a much more significant world than the Berlin Wall.
- I am a man of the left. I am not against Jews: Chomsky was a Jew, Trotsky was a Jew, Einstein was a Jew. I have never in my life felt or said an anti-Semitic word.
- The myth of the Jewish people: it is likely that a big number of Jews are not Semitic in and out of Israel. There are millions of Jews who support justice to the Palestinian people.
- Walls in the world continue to grow and be built – some of concrete and some invisible, which are far more divisive than concrete walls and are a barrier to many things –people must walk in the other's shoes.

Progress in Gender and Development in Morocco

Nouzha Skalli

- For more than twenty years the Berlin wall was a terrible sign. Walls that generate exclusion and terror must be torn down.
- Morocco promotes the values of the multiple cultures: Arab Bereber, African, Andalusian, and is open to French and Spanish culture.
- The UN summit held last year in New York establishes two problems: poverty, violence towards women and development.
- The Moroccan society is developing thanks to the commitment of King Mohammed VI.
- There is a plan to fight disparities in Morocco: between men and women, economical etc.
- Equality of the Moroccan members of marriage, possibility that the women can give the Moroccan nationality to their children, agenda for gender equality 2010 2015.
- Gender responsibility is highly advanced in Morocco. Since 2002 Morocco has been implementing different strategies on violence against women. The first national survey has been launched.
- Women are trying to achieve equality in different fields in the job market and decision making positions. I am one out of 5 women at the head of a Ministry in Morocco.
- It is very important to give the voice to women in the religious field, because the Koran speaks specifically to men and women.
- The challenge is equality: not to give the same to all but to give more to those who have less.



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Islamic Culture in the West

Ribal Al-Assad

- The concept I want to promote is pluralism: a meaningful dialogue between East and West.
- The vast majority of us see multicultural lives every day. Globalization has brought people together in a way that strengthens our societies and economy.
- The Arab world remains unknown for the majority of the West, and from there comes the fear and the suspicion. Can we bridge this cultural gap when many Westerners still think as two separate civilizations?
- The War on Terror is a terrible act of simplification. The use of the term Islamo-fascism means nothing to Muslims. Civilizations are not clashing, they are diverging.
- Violence in the name of Islam is repulsive.
- The message from the religious and political leaders is of hope, yet we see war every day.
- Cultural diplomacy, in my view, has to work together with the political efforts. We need tolerance, education and democracy.
- There are countless people over the world who have been born under repression. Hope is what remains and hope is persistent.
- Our generation has opportunities nowadays that our parents would have never dreamt of. As we march forwards, those left behind seem smaller and smaller. Like those who have not internet.
- We have to support the free movement and the exchange of ideas.
- Obama sent a message that was of dialogue. The Syrian government should allow more media and internet freedom. They have been diminishing human rights.

A World without Walls: Barriers to Equality and Coexistence

Mark Donfried, Janez Janša, Nouzha Skalli, Ribal Al-Assad, George Galloway, Dr. Miomir Zuzul & Dr. Jan Oberg

- There are long term and short term goals: Europe's institutions need reforming in the short term, removing barriers and increasing understanding is a long term one.
- Civil society and the younger generation will play a big part
- Merkel was wrong to have said that multiculturalism has failed, and is playing a similar game to that of Sarkozy in France
- Immigration is a false issue deployed by the right to distract the public from other more important issues. The same applies to the debate on religious dress.
- Opposition to multiculturalism is support for a monoculture; that is a fascist position.
- Coexistence must be seen as a positive thing, where differences are accepted. Assimilation does



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not make for a vibrant society.

- Anti-immigrant opinion and political kowtowing to it is the cost of democracy.
- We need to overcome our parochial urges, from the nation-state down a broader worldview needs to be adopted.
- Non-violence is paramount. Conflict is never worth more than its inevitable costs.

The Power of Music to Bridge Cultural Barriers

Marcia Barrett

- Music holds the power to heal, to bring peace to people and to bring people together in celebration of their shared humanity.
- We live in a world where people die every day in conflicts that have their roots in misunderstanding, mistrust and miscommunication. Listening to each other, to understand each other's cultural is a chance at reconciling people divided by violence and cultures torn by conflict.
- Music holds the power to bring people together. Whilst it differs from culture to culture, it is a medium that demonstrates our shared humanity. When we listen to music we open our minds to a wider understanding of the experiences of others and how our these experiences connect us as human beings. We may all speak different languages



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Interviews

An Interview with Prof. Ali Ahmad Jalali

(Distinguished Professor at the Near East South Asia Centre for Strategic Studies or the National Defence University in Washington, D.C. and former Interior Minister of Afghanistan)

Interview conducted by James Hood & Ana Lucas Palomares



Q1. You spoke of the West's superficial understanding of Afghanistan in terms of its divisions. You spoke of decentralisation of the state and you stated that there needs to be a level of centralisation when it comes to Afghanistan. Can you elaborate on that in terms of striking the balance for each section of Afghan society to feel politically represented and what changes need to be made?

Afghanistan has always been a country with a strong nation and a weak state. In order to create a balance between the divisions of ethnic groups, tribes and religions, there was a universal tendency and conviction that there should be a state. How strong should that state be? As strong as it can deliver services and protect the population. However, it does not mean that they are better off with a decent life system that can reduce the power of a central state. When the state was weak, it collapsed because when there is no state people stick to their local networks and compete for power and turf. This situation has changed in the past thirty years because of the collapse of state institutions, in addition to civil war and foreign intervention. The war actually created stronger regional power brokers and regional networks. The leaders of the networks tried to justify and legitimize their leadership by invoking ethnic preferences. However even during the civil war, there were no calls for secessionist movements; they were all fighting for their share of power of a unified Afghanistan. Over ten years, two trends took place, both actually failed. One was the decentralisation of power because the networks throughout the civil war ceased control of provinces. The centre was weak, however people resented that, and they wanted the government to bring a sense of stability and security to the country. However, when the constitution was adopted in 2003-2004, it was the basis to create a strong central government but they did not have the institutions to deliver services to the region. Now there should be a balance between the centre and peripheries. The centre should maintain the integrity of the nation, deliver services and create institutions.

Q2. How important do you think the neighbours of Afghanistan are for Afghanistan itself and its security and cooperation?

Well the situation in Afghanistan is no longer a local situation. It is local, regional and global. In order



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to bring a solution to Afghanistan you have to have the development of all of three dimensions. Locally, the key to success is building an Afghan government that can win the trust of its people, protect the population and establish the rule of law, and in order to do that, it has to control the state. For the regional dimension, the neighbouring countries can create problems for Afghanistan and they can also be very helpful. If Pakistan actually removes the safe havens for insurgents who are fighting in Afghanistan then it will go a long way toward creating an environment for peace in Afghanistan. Globally, if the international community helps Afghanistan to build the capacity to fend for itself and, at the same time pressure the other actors in the region to become more co-operative in bringing peace to Afghanistan, this will help bring peace. Therefore, it is a combination of local, regional and global cooperation in order to bring peace and stability to Afghanistan.

Q3. There has been recent speculation of Russian involvement in the Afghan theatre. What do you make of this possibility and do you believe that the Russians can bring fresh ideas to the debate in regards to their experience?

There was no Russian involvement in Afghanistan. There were only some counter narcotic operations that Russia cooperated with NATO in against drug labs in the Eastern part of Afghanistan. This kind of cooperation that has always been accepted in Afghanistan because this is the international cooperation you need in order to respond to this challenge of narcotics in the country. However, the kind of cooperation that the Afghan people and NATO are looking for from Russia is to facilitate the logistics of the NATO forces in Afghanistan. That's why Russia actually agreed to let the supply services of NATO forces report to Russia. On the other hand, even during the war with the Taliban, Russia cooperated in making its airspace available to NATO forces, but within Russia, Afghanistan, and NATO all of them made it clear that they do not want Russian troops in Afghanistan to come back because this is a sensitive subject. But strategic cooperation is always welcome in Afghanistan; Russia can be a strategic contributor to the stability of Afghanistan.

Q4. In the Western media, there is often the impression that the present and future global political is defined by the confrontation between the West and the Muslim world. How does this issue play in other non-Western media outlets?

Well I don't think that is the case. The people who fight in Afghanistan are Muslim against Muslim. Those who fight in Iraq are Muslim against Muslim. It is not a clash between Muslims and non-Muslims; it is a clash between Muslims, but also between Muslims and others. It is more political than religious. So therefore in Afghanistan no one believes they are fighting because they are Muslims against the Taliban, the Taliban are Muslims too. The clashes are based on mostly national and political reasons, not religious ones.

Q5. What do you see as the role of cultural diplomacy in terms of bringing the different groups together in Afghanistan and how can this be incorporated in the current approach?



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In general terms, people fear each other because they don't know each other. They don't know each other because they do not contact each other. So understanding, building understanding among the people and population facilitates resolving these very difficult issues. Therefore, the Institute of Cultural Diplomacy can be a source of influence for bringing people together, better understanding which actually can contribute to resolving political insecurity issues.

Thank you for your time.

An Interview with Professor Anthony Giddens

(Professor Emeritus at the London School of Economics; Life Fellow of King's College, Cambridge; Former Director of the London School of Economics)

6/11/2010 - Conducted by Jack Hood and Elizabeth Hurst



Q1. How has globalisation impacted upon the concept of the nation state?

It must be understood that globalisation is not a single thing. It is a set of influences; increasing interdependency, a conflicting swirl of influences. So in terms of the nation-state, some get powers taken away from them, but you also get a push down effect because you get pressures towards local and regional autonomy, you also get a lateral effect because of trading and other relationships which cross national borders. For example the increased economic integration between Barcelona in Northern Spain and Southern France. Thus one can derive a sense of push and pull effects. My main theme is that when there is such a situation one has to in an active way, rethink the identity of the nation. You cannot any longer base a nation's identity on the divisions you have with neighbours. It always used to be the case you did that. So British identity, for example, came from divisions between the British and the French. A lot of national identities were born out of warfare. We hope there will not be any significant wars between nations, so we have to look for a different mechanism to establish national identity. No matter what country you go to, that country is struggling to re-define itself: what it stands for, what its history is, what its future should be. I propose to talk about immigration, because in Europe that is a big topic and is very much bound up with the identity of the nation.

Q2. How do you think the Nation State has been changing throughout the years since? Would you say that as the nation-state has been changing over the years since you wrote "The Nation State and violence" in the 80's? Would you say that the ability to use violence is still the



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defining feature of the nation-state?

I think nation-states retain more power. Much of law is still in the hands of nations. We do have structures of international law, but as can be seen by the case of Iraq, it is relatively easy to break those laws: International law doesn't have enough teeth to make it whole, whereas the nation-state does. It has the power to force compliance. If you look at the state in the international situation, we have multinational institutions, but where are the main governing bodies of the world? They are probably in the organisations of nations: so the G20 has emerged perhaps as the prime talking shop in world society - consisting of nations. And I suppose it can also be seen to be complementing the UN, but it is not simply straight forward a multi-lateral organisation. So although nations have lost a great deal of power, they are still significant players in the global system, especially when they get together.

Q3. Presumably national agendas get in the way of multi-lateral organisations and their aims. Would you say that national-identity and the nation state as an entity obstructs those kinds of organisations?

There is a dislocation between the global problems we face and the continuing pre-remnants of the nation. For example, in the last two years I have been intensively working on climate change and the effects of climate change, and we are really struggling to get a transnational agreement, and that is partly because individual nations generally seek to put their own interests first. The United States is the prime culprit at the moment: for whatever domestic reasons within the US. President Obama has not been able to get any sort of climate change legislation through congress. The US is pursuing a lifestyle that is incompatible with a sustainable global economy. The US is 4% of the world's population, consumes 25% of the world's energy, and generates 25% of the world's greenhouse gas emissions. So nations indeed are indeed able to inhibit the kind of policies we need, however, on the other hand, you have to be realistic about it, recognise that this is the case and try to work with the existing framework of states. In the case of climate change, I never expected much in the case of Copenhagen because I always thought that the global geopolitical divisions would be too great which proved to be the case. What we have to do now is work with those divisions, not pretend they do not exist. And we just don't know if we can do it: whether we have the capabilities to control the forces which we have unleashed on ourselves.

Q4. What would your prognosis be for the upcoming summit in Mexico be?

I have some optimism for Cancun because the proposed expectations are much lower than the case of Copenhagen. I doubt there will be any form of a binding agreement, but there may be significant advances in certain key areas: deforestation, replacement to clean development program (which expires in 2012). We will have to see if we can make something of the Copenhagen Accord. Over 150 nations have now submitted plans. Although these plans do not add up to the required emission reductions, they are quite substantial. What is really required also is innovation, which should be as much of



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the driving force as regulation. We also need business people. I am interested in, for example, a new form of Latin American leadership on climate change issues because the Brazilians have become quite prominent in this field. We wrote an open letter, myself and a scientist named Martin Rees, to act as a wakeup call before Cancun which is being published in 15 newspapers in 50 countries around the world. So out of this, you could make a pattern of response which could be quite important, so I am not one of those who simply write Cancun off.

Q5. What would be your thoughts on the political discourse not only in the United States with the recent midterm election, but also in the UK with the recent elections?

Well we can start with climate change which is an issue that confronts all of us. In the UK we have collaboration, but in the United States there is complete polarization between Democrats and Republicans. Only 16% of Republicans said that climate change was dangerous and was caused by human activity, while Democrats were at 60%; that is disastrous. Politically, there are issues that transcend the left and the right, and climate change is one of them. This means you can't simply push politics back into a simple left-right division. I wrote a book called "Beyond the divide of left and right"-and I still hold this to be the case now where you have two levels of intersecting politics. A left-right division over issues such as inequalities, the role of the state, and other traditional issues. Then you have an overlapping set of issues which are to do with our interaction with nature-some of the big risks and opportunities we have created, we have to put all those together in a package. The left isn't doing very well with that as there are very few social-democratic parties at the moment in power in European countries. I was very much a fan of President Obama, but now I find it hard to see Obama as a centre-left leader because I no longer see what his progressive project actually is. We need to rethink the left of centre political philosophy, but there is a good chance that left of centre parties could be back in power in Italy, Germany, France, and the UK possibly. This is dependent on how incumbent right wing governments manage the recession and austerity. My starting point would be to treat austerity as an opportunity because it could be treated as a form of 'realism'- that is we are living beyond our means. Do we really want to live in a runaway, capitalist system where GDP is the only measure of growth? I don't think so. You can't possibly deal with climate change unless you have a long term perspective and we have to find a way to generate that across party lines, we need to look beyond the temporality of elections. The fate of the world depends on us finding an effective framework. At the moment we are at a great time of uncertainty, not only economically but in other areas as well, concerning what the future will be like, both locally and globally. I don't think China is able to carry the world economy.

Q6. To me it seems there are two Americas talking across each other, they're talking about the same thing but envisioning themselves in the same time, being very destructive in the confusion of what American identity is. Is this what is currently wrong with American politics?

It is, there was a time when people said there is a problem that the main parties are too similar, but when there is too much division it is also a big problem. This is happening in the United States at the



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moment and its very much bound up with the idea that the Tea Party has the narrative of the nation, it doesn't want to see it as a multicultural nation but wants to trace its roots back to the original white settlers. There is a lot of blatant racism in the attacks of the right against President Obama which they can't express openly, but I feel that a lot of people just don't want a black president. I can't prove it as they aren't going to say so; they're going to wrap it up in the mystique of what the Tea Party stand for. America at the moment looks a bit dysfunctional and it's difficult for the world community as it's not just the political situation, it's also that the American way of life just is not consistent with the kind of world we have to create, it is based on a mixture of cheap energy and cheap credit, and we know that can't go on. My brother lives in LA where the whole city is busy with cars; it's a metaphor for dysfunctional America. In politics you have the decision of the Supreme Court that there will be no limit on political contributions and so all politicians are spoken for, you can't get to the top without enormous financial backing and most of that comes from individuals with partisan interests or corporations with partisan interests. I think the US is in a very difficult passage of its history. It's true that in US there needs to be a complete rethink of what it means to be American and that is a very difficult task, the American mentality of SUVs exists on both the Left and the Right and it's still very strong. There is still the wide-spread idea that the government should get off our backs and the Tea Party is radicalising. That's ludicrous as now they're voting for the movements that led to the financial crisis, and so I find the return of the republican right in American very paradoxical. Of course we don't know yet where it will lead as the Tea Party is so radical that it could still split the Republican vote, so we don't know what will happen at the next Presidential election. On climate change I feel very disheartened with what is happening on the federal level, there is some action on the state and city level which I guess is a positive aspect of decentralised system, in Colorado for example they want zero carbon economy.

Q7. How can a government or an NGO create a situation where we look to the other and how can we create understanding and not focus on the extremes?

Within nations you must support multiculturalism, not only in political philosophy but there needs to be an understanding of what it actually is, and there's problems with this for example with Chancellor Merkel. It should stress dialogue which gives you unity; it should not be about national narratives but narratives of relatives. It also applies to Islam, there's no place in my view for Shari law in society, you need to extend the principle of tolerance which is enshrined in the democratic system and there are limits to that. However these issues are very difficult to manage, perhaps it is a mistake to focus too much on Islam that can become a kind of scare tactic on both sides. There are issues there though, such as that of home-grown terrorists. It's difficult for secular societies to deal with religiosity, and it's difficult for a democratic country that respects human rights to deal with a religious system where at least amongst some believers those rights are flouted. The position of women is an example of when that can be difficult, it is not as straight forward as it seems, I once wrote an article on headscarves and looked at opinions from around the world, and many women see it as an article of liberation and adopt it freely as part of their identity, as a part of the emancipation and not the oppression of women.



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Professor Giddens, thank you so much for your time.

Interview with Dr. Ariel King

(Founder of the Ariel Foundation International Women Impacting Public Policy)

9/11/2010 - Interview conducted by James Hood and Ana Lucas-Palomares



Q1. You have been widely published on topics such as HIV/AIDS, international health policy and medical ethics. With various countries having to deal with these issues on different levels, does it seem realistic to focus on international peace building when there might be other priorities?

That is a wonderful question and an extremely insightful question. There was a big meeting at the United Nations in New York about a month ago on this issue and it was such a big meeting that it was just before the general Assembly where all the countries meet. I was actually at that development meeting where all member states were in New York to speak about this. Parts of the millennium development goals (or at least six of them) are considered health issues. So when you are asking what are the most prioritized health issues, I believe the first is just before a child is born. This seems like something very simple, but if you can actually think about when the child is conceived and the development process that is an important place to start. What does that mean? Well, if we have these ideas. These ideas mean nothing unless they are practical. So what first? Nutrition. They have to have vegetables and food that is nutritious and should be able to drink clean water. These make a difference to the child that is developing within the woman. Also, if the woman is HIV positive for example and you don't want that baby to be born HIV positive then what can we do? Well we actually know that transmission can be brought down by 35% if we give that mother medication before the child is born. It seems like something that can be done. Besides that, food security is another issue. There are so many places where there are natural disasters and people cannot produce enough food. Also, in terms of health in general there is violence. Sometimes we do not associate this with health but actually it is relevant. If you look at gun violence it is not just a developmental country problem. It is still one of the millennium goals to keep life. So something has to be done to combat violence against women, children, as well as rape and gun violence.

Q2. How would you characterize the progress of the Millennium Development Goals regarding health proficiency?

Good question. To be extremely honest if you look at all the countries including the ones that we con-



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sider so developed-the EU, Germany and America, we are not winning. Why? The answer is we do still have a division in our society, and that division is not just cultural, racial or religious, it's really economic. Economic division unfortunately has people on the other side of the economic divide. So we might be winning in the EU, but there are people within the EU who are really living in third world poverty. It might look different, because they are in a nice building and it looks different from a hut or a shack. But the education is not there, and while they can go to the school, it does not mean they are being educated. The nutrition is not there, there is violence in the household, and they don't feel integrated. So when you ask me how are we doing with the millennium development goals, even those that should be doing well, including America, who has one of the highest rates of children who actually die before the age of five, and one of the highest rates of children who die before child birth. Why is that? (Even more than developing countries) So basically none of us, not one single country is meeting all of the millennium development goals, and very few are maybe meeting two of the eight. We can speak about what we need, but if you don't put resources in terms of money, people, and commitment then it's just lip service. You can't expect lip service to give you what you need in terms of actually allowing goals to be fulfilled.

Q3. In our conference we address the issues of genocide such as the ones in Rwanda and Darfur. Do you think enough is being done by the UN and individual states to end massacres in various areas of the world?

There was a UN meeting in January, looking at security, women, and peace building. One of the issues that came up again was a very simple issue. When there is war and violence, and not peace, usually women and children, among others get displaced . They leave their homes; they leave what they know and what they don't know. When that happens, and they are in these so called internal displacement camps, sometimes men and even young boys are pulled out to go to war. If they can walk, they are usually taken to be part of the war. But one of the difficulties they have their now, and it's not just in Congo, but it's rape as a form of violence, and not just that, but also genocide. When we talk about 'genocide' we can't just use it lightly. Genocide means the deliberate actions to eliminate a group of people, and you ask how is rape that? What they want to is to destroy the individual, their will to live, their sense of security, and destroy their entire world. If they just happen to impregnate them, not only have they destroyed their will, they basically say "look what I am leaving behind". So now we are looking at rape as a real tool unfortunately for genocide. What was really interesting about this meeting, they decided not only were they not doing enough, but they were also partly responsible for some of the difficulties within these camps. It's not just a matter of we didn't know about it, or see it, but they did know and they did see it. It's not just a matter of peacekeepers saying, this is what we are supposed to do, and unfortunately some of those peace keepers have perpetuated some of those rapes. For one of the first times, there are people who are leading parts of the UN and are courageous enough to say we have made mistakes and have done something wrong, and we think there are ways to correct it. And not only are we not perfect, but we have to hold ourselves accountable. That is one of the areas



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that they are starting to hold themselves accountable for, including asking women to be a part of peace and security and negotiations with rebels afterwards Really looking at any kind of peace-building as it necessitates women to be a part of, because without that you have no peace-building as women are a major part of society Even more importantly they are the ones who raise the children who will be the next generation. Unfortunately, one of the areas the UN is lacking in, is when these young people, especially males get a little older in these camps, many of them are not getting educated and there seems to be no way forward for them. So what they do is they actually start turning to these rebels, or the ones committing violent acts through military actions go and actually recruit these young boys who are not even men yet. They become a part of the group and they can see a way forward. So this is one of the issues that the UN's special rapporteur on violence is trying to deal with is that there is very little hope for the people in these displacement camps. Only now are they realizing that they missed something, and they have to look at what do they do in those displacement camps-looking towards education, and opening up schools with their culture. Also having programs that allow children to play, and when I say programs I don't mean something that is very sophisticated, but you have a ball, you can do all kinds of thing with a ball. Also they are looking at the fact that many of them are psychologically traumatized, and this trauma does not help in the peace building process because people don't have the possibility to be fully emotionally functioning people. We need to understand what happened, why it happened, so it doesn't happen again. When we don't do that, then we can't see a future, and we can't behave as if we want to build a future. So many of these children don't have that, and as a result of that, the peace building that should be built in the next generation doesn't happen because they haven't been able to deal with what has happened to them when they saw what happened in their own experiences. The third issue the UN is trying to deal with is basically human beings recognizing what is happening to them, and figuring how and why they can make life better for themselves in the future.

Q4. Regarding to the division that are leading to these problems, what role can cultural understanding and cultural diplomacy play in preventing the reoccurrence of conflict among nations, states, and tribes?

Some of this is happening now. When people can't be here and hear the information we are hearing, the stimulation of ideas here is different than in so many parts of the world. Bringing people together, not just former presidents and leaders, but participants are really together to understand and figure out what is it that we see-it's like taking a picture from a camera. We can look at it honestly and try and figure out what is our role in it, and is there something we can do? When I think about the various issues that the world has to deal with, what we do here is very different because we bring different types of people together who have the common goal wanting to understand what they can do to make a difference in the world. But the truth is, it only takes a thought first, and then the actions follow. In order to sit down together, and learn from each other and share ideas, and then taking this information and translate this into a program that we see happening every day.

Thank you for your time.



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An Interview with Arno Truger

(Director of the Austrian Study Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution (ASPR))

9/11/2010 - Interview conducted by Mark Warman and Elizabeth Hurst

Q1. Do you think the focus of "power-political interests" undermine efforts which seek to encompass soft power such as cultural exchange, gender issues, and increasing the significance of civil society?

Yes of course because power interests are based on the thinking that security achieved against a perceived enemy. Also the means would be mainly power means, mainly military means, and security should be based on a common security concept. Even so, military means are meant to be only a last resort, but if you look at how much money is going into this, it's clear that power instruments are also used for financial gains. These efforts are preventing soft power to take its place.

Q2. In your opinion, how best can civilian crisis intervention and traditional military efforts and interventions be combined? How can shared responsibilities be coordinated to achieve required results for a successful peace-building approach?

Well an example was in Austria last spring when the foreign minister, along with the minister of defense coming from the field of development and peace building joined efforts to think about what is needed with regard to collaboration in the field. One thing is clear, when one whole comprehensive approach in order to tackle crisis successfully, various actors have to co-operate in that regard. In order to do that, one has to recognize the differences of the various actors-their approaches, instruments, and abilities. One has to look how far we can go together and this is a major effort. There is of course a dividing line, and limits to this co-operation particularly with regard to the military and humanitarian aid. In particular, the military taking on the decision tasks to perform humanitarian aid mixes up the picture, and humanitarian organizations have to leave. But what is needed is for both parties to talk to each other, know about each other, see how far they can go together-and this is very important.



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Q3. Given the growing global interconnectedness between states, including economic and political, how do you foresee possibilities of advanced communication amongst states, governments, private institutions, and civil society in conducting policies to improve peace-building efforts and approaches? Do you think universal approaches are attainable, and what role can cultural diplomacy play in this process?

I will try to outline some of the requirements for peace building which are somewhat universal. However, when it comes to the implementation you have to look at the specific situation where you apply peace building. Again, there is a need for international co-operation and let's look at the example of the European Union. In my presentation I mentioned Catherine Ashton's reply to the request of the peace building department in the newly established external action service. When she replied we don't need a department, peace building is what we do everywhere, so we don't need extra instruments. I would say that we need both as we need to streamline peace building in all elements, but we need to establish the structures in order to execute peace building properly. In that regard, the peace building department would be an important instrument and could link the analysis for crisis with the planning for the response, along with the organization responsible for handling the crisis. When I talk about the planning and organization of the response, I also mean the training, recruitment, implementation, and finally the evaluations. Structurally, you have to put them together and have clear lines of communication established between those various elements that contribute towards peace building.

Thank you for your time.



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An Interview with Ambassador Dr. Cynthia Schneider

(Distinguished Professor in the Practice of Diplomacy at Georgetown University and former United States Ambassador to the Netherlands)

7/11/2010 - Interview conducted by Elizabeth Hurst and Ana Lucas-Palomares

Q1. In the media the 'Clash of Civilisations' has become a shorthand for the divide in Muslim and Western world relations, however the reality is somewhat more complex. How can the dialogue between the two groups be improved? Can the media still assist in this, or has it become too focused on the currency of conflict?

Well we should distinguish between the types of media; the news media always gravitates towards controversy, that's always going to be the case. But there's an increasing stance that this so called 'clash', which is a discredited theory, is based on a lack of understanding and respect, which in turn reflects a lack of knowledge. The news media is recognising that more and more, and is trying to flush out this very narrow, politically driven contention of people in the other parts of the world that we get in the West. The creative media plays as important a role as the news media. I co-founded an organisation in Los Angeles called 'MOST' that works with writers, producers and show-runners, people who work in making TV shows, to provide info so they can have more accurate and varied characters and themes related to Muslims and Islam because they are not always the 'angry terrorist'.

We do that for most Americans, and for them to acknowledge they have people from other parts of the world. Sadly that is not going to come from our education system; it's going to come from popular culture. So it's very important to change and improve what they see in popular culture. That will make a difference; not only in the United States, but many other places as many American products are exported abroad so foreign audiences see them. Things are improving as far as the media goes, both with the news media and the creative media. However, there's still a huge lack of knowledge in this sense.

Q2. Your work with the Abu Dhabi Authority for Culture and Heritage aims to unite existing research on cultural diplomacy, commission new projects and create a glossary of best practices in the field. There will also be the possibility of taking a post graduate course in cultural diplomacy; what will those students be learning and how will they be able to put their knowledge into practice?

It's more likely that students who want to study cultural diplomacy will be able to do it more readily through the course the ICD is putting together with the Dubrovnik University, because it already exists. As it stands now, the Abu Dhabi idea is just in the planning stages now. However, it would be conceived in the same way in that it is a postgraduate course that is grounded as a course in diplomacy and international relations, but with a focus on cultural diplomacy. There are different ways you can explore that. In the course I teach at Georgetown University, I focus a lot on some of the creative culture, media



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expression and interpersonal connections. Science diplomacy is also a part of cultural diplomacy, as is grassroots civil society activities. Any grassroots or person to person activity can fall into the broader realm of cultural diplomacy.

Q3. You seem to see a big role for civil society actors in that sense in promoting cultural understanding with diplomacy, do you think that can be something that can be expanded upon in American civil society?

Both civil society and commercial society as commercial society is hugely important. I just heard of a thing in Pakistan called 'Coke Studio' and it's a music studio that's sponsored by the Coca-Cola company. They are facilitating the coming together of traditional Pakistani musicians and new younger musicians and they're producing a kind-of fusion music that is tremendously popular. Everybody is listening to it, there was just an interview about this on NPR, and the person being interviewed was asked what kind of music she is listening to now and she said "Oh everybody is listening to the Coke Studio music." Commercial companies usually do this for a reason - They obviously want to sell more Coca-Cola in Pakistan. However, there are many ways they can go about doing that; they can pay for a zillion billboards, or they can do something like this. So the commercial sector is also really important and has arguably a deeper and stronger reach than civil society, which also matters a lot as well.

Q4. How can cultural differences be overcome when implementing a universal approach to peace building? Do you not see a risk in trying to work through a western ideological frame with a particular set of values and norms?

There are no universal standards; there are universal values that play out differently in different places. However, universal standards and western standards are a bad idea, for example the United States seems to have made the mistakes of thinking that the most important thing about democracy would be getting people to vote and we have seen that this is deeply flawed.

If you vote in a transparent, just, fair and incorrupt way, that's fine. But clearly there are many places where this does not happen. For example, you have a country like Egypt who can call itself a democracy which is just a joke or Pakistan, Afghanistan, or Iraq; they have not worked out very well.

Q5. As an expert on relations with Muslim communities and a former ambassador to the Netherlands, what are your thoughts on the divisive climate there following Theo Van Gogh's murder as well as Geert Wilder's populist rhetoric? Do you see a risk for peaceful initiatives?

The Netherlands is a country that is famous as a place of tolerance and it is a place of tolerance, but if you think of what that word means 'tolerance' it is not so great. In the 17th Century it was wonderful because in many parts of the Europe Jewish people were not killed, for example, so it's better to be allowed to live and thrive economically as they were in Amsterdam. However, tolerance does not mean accepting, it means that I will allow you to be there and put up with you, and in my experience that de-



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scribes the general feeling in the Netherlands. Of course there are exceptions to this. However, there is a general feeling among the population toward immigrants, particularly immigrants from North Africa, the bulk of the Muslim immigrants in Holland come from Morocco, and of course there is a tradition of Indonesians living in that country. Like many European countries that are not used to having large immigrant populations, Germany is the same; it is just not part of the national fibre of the country that accepts newcomers and opens up their society to them. The Dutch are incredibly generous, they are very happy to give money to North Africa, Asia and India. But we're finding that they don't really want those people to be living in their country.

In the beginning this happened when I was the ambassador, there was an interesting reaction. It was kind of a politically correct reaction which was "Okay, these people have moved into our country, and they have their own way of living and we're not going to behave in a colonial way and impose our way of life and our language on these people and respect their traditions." The result of that was kids who were Muslims missed half of the school year because they took all of the Dutch holidays and all of the Muslim holidays. Jobs require people to learn Dutch and of course they couldn't get jobs, and the fact is you have to learn Dutch if you want to survive in their country. So they adjusted and made it a requirement for language instructions and they became stricter about benefits, such as unemployment benefits, because initially they were so generous that tonnes of people came and they didn't have to work because they received so many benefits, word spread and more people came.

They have become much more sensible about it, but there is still a lot of racism in Holland and Geert Wilders, I knew him as a very normal person. Apart from the weird hair, he behaved like a very normal person, and then as this tide of reaction against immigrants rose in Holland, he figured out he could make a name for himself by being a racist, so that's what he did. It's really shameful, but what is horrifying is that he has this surprising amount of support, he made that calculation because he figured out there was popular support for it. It is interesting what is happening in Holland right now because the government is becoming integrated, both in municipal and the federal government you find mayors of cities, such as the Mayor of Rotterdam is a Muslim. It is one of the biggest cities in Holland and it has an 80 per cent Muslim population, so it's a good idea. This is changing in the government scene which is a very good thing; however, there is no change in the private sector. This is the same for women as there are no women in Dutch business in any positions of authority. There is a handful of exceptions, but basically there are no women in positions of authority in Dutch business. The dangerous situation that is emerging in the Netherlands is there is very little economic mobility for minorities in Holland.

Anti-discrimination laws are needed to protect people as well as quotas, that's what it took in the United States. I don't think any European state has the anti-discrimination laws that we do in the United States. It's in the constitution of every country just as it was in our constitution also, but that didn't stop people from being killed, lynched and certainly being discriminated against in the workplace. It was only until the Supreme Court decided to make it illegal to discriminate on the basis of race or gender or any other attribute that really changed things, along with quotas, which remains a very controversial thing. Society won't change in this way without being forced to, and once you force them after twenty years



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or so, the change has taken place and it takes hold. But you have to force people.

Thank you for your time.

An Interview with Dr. Erkki Tuomioja

(Former Finnish Foreign Minister)

7/11/2010 - Interview conducted by Joel MacMillan and Bea Latham

Q1. You are a declared atheist, but in your opinion what role does religion play in global conflict, and also in the peace-building and reconciliation process?

For the time being, it is playing a largely negative role in several conflicts. But on the other hand, for reconciliation to work we need to have inter-faith dialogue, however we should not exclude anyone who does not subscribe to any religion. Since I do not subscribe to any religion, I want to remind you that we should not be left out either. But like many things, it can be a force for good, or also a problem, but we should strive to make it part of the solution, and not part of the problem.

Q2. When Finland held the rotating presidency of the EU in 2006, you were a strong advocate for an immediate stop to the Israeli-Lebanon conflict. What were your thoughts on the most recent peace talks held in Washington, and has the conflict reached a point where new approaches need to be taken to help broker a peace deal?

Like every war, it presents itself in the post-war situation an opportunity for peace-building. There is, for a short while, a window of opportunity, which was also the case after the Lebanese war, but no one really took advantage of this time. Unfortunately today, we are facing yet another potential conflict that could erupt in Lebanon, or it may be Israeli intervention, but it could have consequences in the whole region. It would be imperative to have a real peace process going, but I don't see any signs of it, and I don't see anyone who really thinks this round is going to lead to anything as it's mostly being done to impress those in the international community, but I don't see any real commitment to the peace process. We have difficulties with the Americans; President Obama has put the Middle East high on his agenda and this should be supported. But after the mid term elections, his domestic support is melting away, and that can cause problems for the elections in two years time as the window of opportunity will be closed. The European Union, which played for various reasons, because other actors at that time were not able to take the lead, played a positive role. There were a lot of expectations in 2006, but whatever momentum we had has been lost in Europe for several reasons. Perhaps there was a lack of urgency, or changes in the composition of some governments. But the result is in the end that the European Union is on the sidelines, although if the European Union was able to get it's act together, most of the actors in the region would welcome that because the European Union is perceived to be



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more of an honest broker than anyone, because Europe can have no other interests other than peace and stability in that neighbourhood.

Q3. In early October, Finnish President Taria Halonen suggested that women should play a greater role in the peace process. She said if there was a mutual understanding among Palestinian and Israeli women, they will be able to play a larger part in the peace process. Do you agree with these sentiments?

I do, and that is part of what we have actually been trying to do in Finnish foreign policy efforts, gender equality and the role of women is always stressed, and that is also in regards to long term conflict prevention. This also applies to the Middle East, but we have a problem of not only women talking to each other, but also men talking to each other over the Israeli-Palestinian divide is absolutely vital. But when we do see women involved, that has a very beneficial effect, and that has been recognized the United Nations by the woman's role in peace building. We are great supporters of that initiative.

Q4. In September of this year, Finland and Turkey formed a group named "Friends of Peace Mediators". The group said they would meet regularly and help strengthen the UN's mediation role. How effective do you think groups like this are in the peace-building process, and do you see more groups like this being formed in the future?

I believe the original intention was to present a resolution for the general assembly which would be adopted on a consensus basis while working together with Turkey particularly, and involving other countries. This is the type of coalition building for positive peace building, and the government has ambitions to make Finland a great power in mediation, but I am not sure you can 'declare' yourself a great power in anything, you have to earn it. We do have some good examples though, the best well known one being President Ahtisaari with the work he has done throughout the world, and his work with the Crisis Management Initiative. This initiative brings together parties from several different conflicts. But it also teaches and educates a younger generation of peace builders and mediators which are needed at all levels, not just between states and parties at war. (Regionally, locally, and even in some villages) Our peacekeepers are relatively good at this because the Finnish experience in any operation is that you must try as soon as possible to build confidential relations with all the parties on the ground to engage in bridge building between the different communities, and be a party yourself. You don't have to endanger your own military security, nobody ever doubts that. If peacekeepers only talked to local people through the sights of an armed gun, you are not going to get anywhere.

Q5. The Global Peace Index is released ever year and Finland always scores quite well as do the other Scandinavian countries. Why do you think this is, and how can Finland serve as a model to other smaller size democracies which may have ranked lower in the index?

Well, I would evoke what is called the "Nordic Model", and what the Nordic Model of world affairs



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is based on is a high level of social security, investing in human capital, stressing equality and gender equality, and a relatively small income level differential. This has been shown to work, but these "beauty contests" you refer to where countries are evaluated on the basis of factors such as competitiveness, lack of corruption, involvement in global activity, and education among other factors. All the Nordic countries are found to be among the top, or close to it, and the reason behind that is the Nordic Model. So Nordic corporations, now that all Nordic countries have a common globalization project as initiated by the Nordic Council and the Prime-Ministers. One aspect of that is to present the Nordic model as an example and be engaged in, how does it work, and how can we adopt features of it elsewhere?

Q6. Could the Nordic Model be adopted to similar size democracies that are similar in population size in places like Asia, Africa, or Latin America?

There are of course many different histories and different cultural backgrounds, so we would not think of saying our model is the only one. But the fundamentals, yes they are and they can be used. It's true that it is particularly relevant for small countries, but with globalization processes doing away with frontiers, this perhaps becomes more relevant for larger countries. The reason being they cannot solve their own issues merely within their own frontiers as you used to think, but you are part of the global world economy and interdependence in both things good and bad.

Thank you for your time.

An Interview with Prof. Fawaz E. Gerges

(Professor of Middle Eastern Politics and International Relations and Director of the Middle East Centre at the London School of Economics)

6/11/2010 - Interview conducted by Christina Latham and Joel MacMillan



Q1. As an expert on Islam and Muslim communities, what do you make of the recent Sarrazin controversy here in Germany and the risky ensuing climate that such an affair can have on relations between the Turkish diaspora and others?

Well I really don't know much about the German scene, so I think I am the wrong person to ask. However, this is really an indication of not only Germany, but throughout European and even American societies and the whole question of identity politics-

Islam and Muslims becoming a critical variable in Western societies, xenophobia, and fear of the other. These questions are becoming very critical questions in almost every Western Country at the moment.



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Q2. You are working on a book entitled "The Rise and Fall of Al Qaeda: What American and Western Politicians Don't Want You to Know". Following through, what is your analysis of the current state of Al Qaeda in the tribal regions of Pakistan, and its global affiliates?

You're talking about multiple questions within a question here. My focus is particularly on Al-Qaeda central which exists mainly in the tribal areas of Pakistan along the Afghan border. At the height of its power in the late 1990's, Al-Qaeda had between 3,000 and 4,000 fighters. Now, Al-Qaeda is down to almost 200 fighters, most of its seasoned lieutenants have been killed or captured. Osama Bin Laden and his second in command Ayman Al Zawahiri are hibernating deeper and deeper. The consensus among Western intelligence is that Al-Qaeda is in disarray, and have not only suffered a major catastrophic defeat, Al-Qaeda has lost Muslim minds as well. There is also a splintering within Al-Qaeda itself. So on multiple fronts, operationally, in terms of Muslim perceptions and attitudes, and also the internal cohesion of Al-Qaeda, every single factor tells us that they are a shadow of their former self. This does not mean that Al-Qaeda is not dangerous. It's one thing to say that strategically, Al-Qaeda has been defeated, but on the macro levels there are still plots and attacks being hatched against Western interests and Muslim societies by various affiliates and networks. While on the macro-strategic level, the war against Al-Qaeda has been won, both militarily and also in terms of the Muslims hearts and minds. On the micro and tactical level, some threats do still exist.

Q3. Your lecture focused on bridging the cultural gap between Islam and the West. In order to do so, what would your top three priorities be and where does cultural diplomacy fit into this frame?

Well my major argument today, is that cultural diplomacy is very critical, however, on its own will not produce the desired results. That's the critical relation between the world of Islam and the West is the condition of cultural issues. What poses the relations between the world of Islam and the West are not really cultural grievances, they are political grievances. Unless you invest in trying to resolve the political grievances that poison relations between the two civilizations, you can invest as much as you want culturally, the results will be meek. I'm not suggesting that cultural diplomacy is not important, it is important to de-activate some of the mine fields, to prepare the foundation for co-existence, and to prevent the plunge of some deluded young man in the West to extremism. Unless you address the fundamental political fault lines that exist, cultural diplomacy's input and influence will likely be weak. You might say, 'What am I talking about?' All the surveys and studies we have seen, you have a hierarchy of critical issues, the most important of which is the Israel-Palestine conflict. This is the most fundamental issue that poison relations. The second one is America's relations with autocratic regimes in the region. There is also a widespread perception that America and the West maintain and sustain the corrupt autocratic regimes in the region, and that the West is a partner in the oppression of Muslims. Thirdly of course, is the issue of economic investments; economic decline undermines the basis of any kind of liberal order. On average you have between 45% and 50% of Arabs and Muslims who either live in poverty or below



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the poverty line, and a third of the population is malnourished. The entire Middle East is an institutional wasteland. How do you rebuild the entire institutional wasteland in the region? While cultural diplomacy is a very critical, unless the pivotal political fault lines are addressed, my fear is that most of the investments in cultural diplomacy will have limited returns.

Q4. Various observers have mentioned the stalemate in which the Israeli-Palestinian finds itself in at the moment. What is your analysis of the current situation and how do you think both parties can move forward from here in order to achieve a comprehensive and lasting solution?

I don't think they are moving anywhere. The last few weeks have clearly shown that there is no foundation for any kind of peace agreement between both parties despite the investment of Barack Obama trying to help bridge the divide between Israel and Palestine. You have a right wing government in Israel that does not subscribe to a settlement based on a two state solution. The reality is that you say let's strap and package it any way you want. Land is more important for the Netanyahu government than a peace process solution with the Palestinians. They are given a choice between peace building and land grabbing, and obviously Netanyahu and company go for the land grab. That is why, in the next two years we shouldn't expect any major shift for a variety of reasons. You have a very popular right-wing government in Israel; the Palestinians are deeply divided between Hamas in Gaza, and Fatah in the West Bank. Barack Obama who has made resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict his strategic priority, is now a much weakened President two years after he arrived at the White House. Unfortunately, I don't see a lot at the end of the tunnel at this particular moment, but I hope I am wrong.

Q5. You have written two books on Jihadism and Islamist Militancy. In light of the recent security threats in Britain, France and Germany, how would you define the state of the radical groups in Europe? Are they gaining momentum or are they on the defensive?

This is the difficulty when you talk about security and terrorism; we have to be precise in what we are talking about. What has emerged onto the scene is what is called "bottom-up" radicalization or home-grown extremism. It's extremely dangerous to lump different phenomenas and say there is a strategic security threat in society. Home-grown radicalization needs to be studied and examined. Why do you find small minorities of young Muslim men in the West joining militant groups? What is the real tipping point? What lies at the heart of this self-radicalization? The fascinating thing is that Al-Qaeda is not coming to them, they are going to Al-Qaeda, and this is what I call a bottom-up approach. You have individuals who live in Germany, Britain, and France who are relatively well integrated into Western societies. Yet they are reaching a particular point where somehow they feel their identity is under threat. They are migrating to another country so they can come back and attack their societies. That's an alarming phenomenon, but it is a phenomenon that is very small. We're not talking about a flood of recruits or armies, and I'm not underestimating the danger of this particular phenomenon, but it is really limited. We're talking about individuals who are self-isolated, deluded, angry, and think their



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own identity is under threat. In Germany according to all of the evidence we have, there are about 70 people who are now outside the country in Pakistan's tribal areas. In France and Britain the numbers are similar, and now we have Americans who are joining this "home-grown" movement, and that's why the American security establishment is very alarmed at the number. We're still talking about fewer than a hundred people, but still it tells you about the mutation and the transformation about the notion of security threats.

Q6. You are of Lebanese origin. What would you say are the main challenges ahead for this highly unstable country that has to deal with influential religious minorities as well as well-armed militias?

I really worry greatly about Lebanon as they are on the verge of another civil war. As a student of history, we teach that wars are the exception to the rule. But the history of nations can be studied in Lebanon, and you reverse this premise and say periods of stability and calm are the exception to rule, and war is the norm and the country moves from one war to another. At the end of the day, the Al Hariri tribunal could provide the spark to ignite the next conflict in Lebanon. Based on everything that we have heard, the tribunal will likely indict Hezbollah. Hezbollah has made it very clear that if the indictment is politicized, they will take actions into their own hands, and Hezbollah is the most powerful state in Lebanon. Forget about everything else, the most important institution in Lebanon is Hezbollah, and they call the shots. If Hezbollah decides this is a question of survival, I fear that we may witness a bloody conflict. The next conflict in Lebanon will not be one in the traditional sense between Christians and Muslims, but it will be a Sunni-Shiite conflict. It will be a bloodbath because of the extent of mobilization and a sense of fear in both camps.

Thank you for your time.

An Interview with Francois Heisbourg

(Chairman of the IISS and of the Geneva Centre for Security Policy)

6/11/2010 - Interview conducted by Naeem Meer & James Hood

Q1. Alain Juppé and Hubert Védrine, former French Foreign Affairs ministers, recently published an editorial in Le Monde stating their concerns regarding the direction of France's foreign policy as well as its diminishing stature on the international stage. What are your thoughts regarding the current standing of France in the sphere of geopolitics?

I think there are two questions in your question. One question is really about the machinery of foreign policy, which is what Alain Juppé and Hubert Védrine were ostensibly writing about. That was, of course the big budget problems of the French Foreign Ministry, the lack of weight of the Foreign Minis-



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try, and the production of foreign policy as compared to the President's office. That's a serious problem, and is one which is shared with other countries, notably the United Kingdom where the Foreign Office is going to suffer a twenty-five per cent budget cut which is rather impressive and not very reassuring. If you have this kind of situation, the re-marginalisation is not good for the standing of the country in the long run. But then you have your companion question which is the current geopolitical weight of France, it has a big drawback and an advantage: the drawback is one which is shared with Europe generally and the European Union of course as an institution and that is we appear as being amongst the losers in the great financial crisis. The winners are China, India, Brazil, the emerging powers and, unlike the United States and Japan, which have single governments, Europe is not a politically and strategically united entity. As a result, we suffer more than the United States and Japan from attacks on the markets and the rating agencies and all of this has a recessionary effect on our economies and on the morale of our citizens. The negative impact on the morale of our citizens is very important, and there is a broad sense of the geopolitical declines of Europe. That's not specifically French problem, but one that France shares with Europe as a whole. The French advantages remain those which we have had in the previous years. We have a serious defence policy and a serious defence establishment, are members of the permanent Security Council, are recognised as a nuclear power, and have the ability to punch above our weight. We saw this most clearly during the war between Georgia and Russia. It is unlikely that other EU Presidencies could have operated as effectively as the French Presidency at that time, so the old lion still has some claws and some teeth. But our problem of course is that Europe's place in the world, Europe's assets in the world, Europe's divisions in the world drag us back, as well all other European players.

Q2. Up until 1991, the North-Atlantic Treaty Organisation was an essential deterrent to the Warsaw Pact as well as a tool to increase inter-state cooperation in a Cold War climate. Does NATO still have a role considering the disintegration of the Soviet Union and, if so, what do you believe it should be, perhaps in relation to overstepping boundaries with the UN?

I don't think there are boundary problems with the UN. That is a question which posed itself at the time of the Kosovo war in 1999, where indeed NATO acted on the basis of a wobbly UN Security Council resolution and the border issue was a problem. That was eleven years ago, and I would not put that on the list of hot problems and indeed, to my knowledge, it has hardly appeared in the discussions on the NATO strategic concept which is due to be put through the heads of states in Lisbon at the NATO Summit at the end of November. But more generally, NATO did play a very important role in the re-establishment of stability in the Balkans during the 90s and in the early years of this decade. We now have another cycle which opened with the NATO presence in Afghanistan. The NATO presence is not producing the effects which they expected it to produce, and it is a serious crisis. There is a very broad sense that there is no clear *raison d'être* for NATO. What does this tell us about the future? For me it tells us two things: One is that NATO continues in its core business to have one comparative advantage which is strictly military-which is about the production of interoperability between the armed forces of the member states of the organisation. This is essential if one wants to have military forces which are able to work together, this is a functional role, it's an instrumental role, it's not high politics or high



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strategy but it's quite important that remains. The second role, and one that will get a lot of discussion in Lisbon, is particularly in the bi-lateral relations between NATO and Russia, is the role that NATO can play in terms of establishing a new relation between Russia and the Atlantic community. There are very strong signs in a change of position in Russia, not simply in terms of the various bilateral foreign policies of Russia, the reconciliation with Poland, the settling of the territorial dispute with Norway, or the reset of relations with the US. But there is a broader sense that Russia, for a variety of reasons is now looking in a very interested manner at cooperation with NATO outside of Afghanistan. This has already begun with the reinforcement of the northern passage of supplies through Russia and Central Asia to Afghanistan. I would not be surprised if we had some sort of agreement on missile defence, which has been a big source of dispute between NATO, the American and the Russians, and may actually turn into an area of agreement. That is something that would produce a very different kind of positioning of NATO, and also a new road for NATO. It will be based on the assumption that you will have a conceptual interface between Russian and American missile systems. They will not assent to subordination to American military industrial interests, but I would expect that Russia would agree that there should be shared early warnings, data exchange, and a solid technical and political interface between the American and Russian components of the system.

Q4. Since 9/11, terrorism has emerged as a substantial threat to both Western and Arab states. Where do you stand on the current debate regarding short-term methods to prevent acts of terrorism and the long-term solutions needed to de-radicalise the fringe elements of populations and religions?

I am very disturbed by the notion that terrorism should be dealt with as a problem of great numbers-it should be treated as a social phenomenon. Terrorism is not a social phenomenon; it is a criminal phenomenon that involves a small number of people. What should apply is the law of small numbers not the law of great numbers. Small numbers means you should use normal intelligence, security, police, and justice methods to deal with the would-be terrorists. But this is not the same thing as dealing with the social issues posed by discrimination, exclusion, and injustice. These are broad political social issues which should not be driven by a security situation. I am not in favour of a security state or applying the security paradigm to the broader situations such as when people talk about counter-radicalisation. I have the impression that it has become cat's paw for securitising the approach to what are essentially social and political issues, and should be dealt with by the tools of political action and social science.

Q5. From the mid-nineties onwards, the European Union has attempted to formulate a comprehensive role for itself in the field of conflict prevention. The Artemis mission in the DRC and the anti-piracy task force in the Horn of Africa are good examples of this. Do you think the EU is failing in its approach to a unified defence force, and what would your recommendations be for the biggest contributors in this respect: France, Britain, Italy and Germany?



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Europe's comparative advantage of the old industrialised countries is not in employing low-paid, low-skilled, numerous soldiers. The Vietnam model, the Algerian war model, the colonial models, these are simply not doable, nor are they desirable. In the EU, because we were able in the Balkans to have success in security and stabilisation missions, we somehow believed that this could be extrapolated in Asia and Africa. Well the Balkans are small as Kosovo is the size of the German state Brandenburg; it has two million people. So when you put 45,000 soldiers in Kosovo as we did in 1999, that makes a big difference, same with Bosnia which is only twice as large. But that is not doable in Africa, nor in Asia. So what can we do? In military terms we can create explicit divisions of labour operations. This was the Artemis model, a very small number, 2000 soldiers, which are high-skilled, three months in and out, creating the basis for a much larger long-term presence by blue helmets. 20,000 blue helmets have been there since. Is the situation great in that part of the world? No. Is the situation better than if we didn't have Artemis? Yes, it's a lot better. We haven't had genocide in Ituri, and without Artemis we would have had genocide in Ituri. Another example was the election mission in the Congo. We had a relatively small number, 5000 EU soldiers, many of them German, who served as the anchor and corset of a much larger number of blue helmets from all sorts of nations of the UN. These kinds of the things the EU know how to do, but there are very narrow limits of what we can do in this respect. In Afghanistan we have now close to 25,000 European soldiers, and this is not sustainable. This is not the sort of thing we know how to do, and I would add it's not successful. Therefore if one is dealing with prevention of conflict or dealing with the consequences of conflict, other forms of presence would appear to correspond more directly to the EU, including of course cultural diplomacy.

Thank you for your time.

An Interview with George Galloway

(Vice-President of the Stop the War Coalition and former member of British Parliament)

9/11/2010 - Conducted by James Hood & Joel MacMillan



Q1. You spoke of the mistake made in understanding the Muslims. Could you give us an expanded comment on where the fault lines lie in the media and among politicians, and what you refer to as popular 'Islamophobia.' How we can bridge this gap?

Well firstly the usually false conflation of genuinely dangerous global terrorist movements with local country based resistance movements, in an attempt to demonise and criminalise them. I will give you two examples: Hezbollah in Lebanon are a national



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resistance movement seeking to expel, and succeeding in large to expel, the Israeli occupier from their country, who has regularly occupied their country and has for decades. They had nothing to do whatsoever with the international terrorist phenomenon of Al-Qaeda and the Al-Qaeda mindset. Hamas even more so is a national liberation movement, of an Islamic colour. It is not interested in the shortness of skirts in Berlin or how they live their lives in Stockholm, London or Madrid. It has only one interest, and that is to liberate their country from illegal occupation. It is not even all of their country-as a matter of fact, their offer is a 49 year cessation of hostilities with Israel, on the basis of the 1967 borders, which is only 23% of historic Palestine. I don't know about you, but 49 years is a long time for me. I wish that Britain would never be at war with someone for 49 months. So that's the first problem, the false conflation of these very distinct, separate phenomena. The second is the equation-again false that Muslim equals fundamentalist equals extremist. My wife is a Muslim, and if you saw her you would never dream of thinking she is an extremist, but she is a sincere Muslim. So the kind of Pavlovian response that so many people have towards Islam, towards Muslims, is of course a self-fulfilling thing because the more Muslims are treated meanly, spoken of badly, written about in a scandalous, traducing way, the more of them you are driving to the extremes. There is a total failure to understand that we have seen this movie before. In this country, as well in others, people didn't like the way the Jews dressed, the way they treated their women, how their women dressed, what food they ate, what language they spoke at home, their failure to integrate into German society or British society, and they kept to themselves and lived in ghettos. We've seen all this before and we've seen where it ended, and yet we're intensifying this very same process in Europe. Whilst France is in flames and its economy falling off a cliff, Sarkozy is introducing laws to deal with how Muslim women dress. It is happening here in Germany with Merkel's latest pronouncement on immigrants, it's happening in Britain with far right politicians and so on.

Q2. I was interested in your solution of a single democratic state between the Jordan river and the Mediterranean sea. However most people would be talking about a two state solution and they always stress the word viable when it comes to Palestine. How viable would a Palestinian state be, were a solution found tomorrow, what would be necessary for Palestine to be viable?

First I should tell you, as I told our Israeli friend, I supported the Oslo agreement. I was a comrade of Arafat, it was his agreement and I supported it. I supported two states, but they haven't been created, and it's been now 16 going on 17 years. Not only is it not going to be created, but the very material basis for it being created is disappearing before our eyes, with the wall and the settlement building and the ethnic cleansing of Jerusalem. There is no possibility for a viable Palestinian state emerging, and the only Palestinian state that could emerge in these circumstances is a kind of South African apartheid homeland, dotted around, and Balkanised. It is completely untenable, unviable, and that's why I now return to the principles that I genuinely believe in, which is for democratic secular states. Why should this state be any different? Why should the settlers in this state be treated any different from the settlers in other colonial situations like the white South Africans? The picture is exactly the same. I don't think there is going to be, my usual answer is, 'OK show me, and give me this Palestinian state let me see it.'



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Of course they never produce it, and has never been created. So why should I argue for something that I'm sure is not going to happen, and know it will not resolve the situation, rather than for what would be the fairest and most democratic and morally superior position.

Q3. Could you expand further on your opinion on other cases where people and nations would like to create their own state, and the tendency of the international community for their own reasons to avoid discussion of where a state succeeding might be a more appropriate and less destructive solution, for example in Sudan or Sri Lanka?

Well generally I am against countries breaking up; one of the bases of my own politics in Scotland for example has been opposition to Scottish independence. Britain is a small country in a small world, and we don't need another Berlin wall between Scotland and England. I was against the breakup of Yugoslavia and the USSR. Sometimes these things are unstoppable, and you have to make the best of them, but I am against encouraging them. Germany for example encouraged Croatia to succeed from the former Yugoslavia. The West and Israel are not only openly encouraging, but financing and arming Sudanese separatism. It's not a small country, but it's one country that's now potentially vastly wealthy, and now people want to break it up. I am against the breakup of Sudan, and if it happens, it will be unstoppable and again we will have to make the best of it. There are profound dangers in doing what we, or many countries have done in relation to Kosovo. Kosovo is a part of Serbia, and Serbia is a member state of the UN. Some countries, including my own, have recognised the succession of a part of Serbian territory. Well of course we saw the first consequence of that in South Ossetia. Here the Russians said 'well if you can recognise the succession of a part of Serbia, we can recognise a succession from a part of Georgia and that becomes very dangerous helter-skelter in the world.

Q4. What role do you think the media are responsible actors in the whole situation, what is the perspective from the Palestinian media?

Well I think first the good news is that fewer and fewer people in the world are reliant on the mainstream media as we know it-on the corporate giants. Both because in the digital age the cost of entry into the world of media is much less than any owner of a curry shop in England has. So the proliferation of TV and radio in the satellite age, and the internet age is undermining very severely (even the National Enquirer has gone bankrupt) many of the big newspapers. In the US, they are on the point of bankruptcy. The emergence of Al-Jazeera in Arabic and in English, press TV for whom I work in English, teleSUR, Chavez station in South America and many others that are on their way. Press TV are about to start a Spanish language television station and so on, so people who want to find the truth of some balance have never been in a better era to find it. Secondly, even in the countries that have supported Israel to the hilt, including the US, there is now a profound alienation with Israel. There was a poll conducted by Haaretz-the Israeli newspaper so no bias in the United States. Just in the last few weeks, they found that 49% of Americans described their attitude towards Israel as either 'cold' or 'very cold', and 63% of Americans agreed that their country was seen as being 'too close' to Israel. If that's true in the



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US, imagine what it's like in Japan and in the rest of the world and so on. Even Fox News can't fool all of the people all of the time. I feel very optimistic about the future in terms of public opinion and media. I myself have two television shows, a weekly radio show, a newspaper column, and I'm about to start a radio show in the United States, so there's a search for balance going on in the world.

Q5. The recent nuclear agreement between France and the UK was seen as a breakthrough but in your opinion do you think this was routed more in security or in finance?

Definitely finance. The bloated military budget of the UK has now taken on a more disproportionately bloated size. In the current round of savage public spending cuts, the defence budget was cut scarcely at all, whereas other budgets were cut from 25-40%, of course because we appear to be sunk in what might turn out to be a hundred year war in Afghanistan. Britain can't afford its military deployment, and the pretence that we are a world power. We are a country of 60 million people, off the coast of mainland Europe, whose economy is on the floor and whose empire died off half a century ago, and it's about time the British people realised and accepted that. A means of avoiding acceptance is to effectively merge the carrier fleet of Britain and France, and of course what I have just said about Britain is also true of France; it's a financially driven solution, not very popular in the tabloids who seem to imagine that one day we might be at war with France again. Over what I'm not sure, and therefore how can we share a navy with them, what if Napoleon comes back? It's all rubbish.

Q6. In regards to Iraq and Afghanistan, the reason some people still support the troops in Iraq and Afghanistan is the idea that that if you break it you bought it. What would happen if troops left Afghanistan?

Let's deal with Afghanistan because most troops have left Iraq and its well and truly broken, but not bought. We're already talking with the insurgency; even whilst denouncing people like me who called for them to talk to the insurgency, when they were in fact talking to the insurgency which is the normal thing. In Ireland, you know very well as long ago as the Heath government in the 70s, there were secret discussions with the IRA. So this conflict cannot be resolved by military power no matter how many hundreds of thousands of soldiers you surge there, it can only be solved on a negotiated basis. The bones of the negotiated settlement are today, available the same as they were anytime over the last decade. Our only legitimate interest in Afghanistan is that it is not used as a base by Bin Laden and Al-Qaeda. The Afghan insurgency is ready to agree to that now as it was at anytime in the last decade, and according to Bob Woodward's latest book "Obama's War" there are in any case fewer than forty five Al-Qaeda still left in Afghanistan. (that's Woodward's understanding from the generals in Afghanistan) Al-Qaeda of course has proliferated everywhere else, in Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Europe, and North America. The sledge-hammer that came down on the hornets' nest could only send the hornets spinning everywhere, and that's exactly what has happened.

Q7. When it comes to recognising war crimes, whose fault is it when it comes to the double



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standards of identifying war criminals and prosecution of them?

In my opinion it's in the timber of the whole structure. International justice is for the winners, it's for the powerful to publish the Tin-pot tyrant, not the big tyrant. If there was any justice, George Bush and Tony Blair would be on trial. They are guilty of what Nuremberg described as the gravest of all crimes, the launching of aggressive war on a basis which turned out to be false if not fake, in defiance of the United Nations. It was also in breach of international law, and the Secretary General said, 'what's not to try?' Why are they not on trial, and why are they on a lecture circuit picking up millions of dollars. Blair that is, people wouldn't pay much to see Bush. You can only conclude that international courts are for Tin-pot dictators like Charles Taylor, Milosevic, and so on.

Thank you for your time.

An Interview with Dr. Gerlinde Niehus Head

(Corporate Communications Section, Public Diplomacy Division, NATO)

8/11/2010 - Interview conducted by Joel MacMillan and Christina Latham



Q1. What is at stake for NATO regarding the mission in Afghanistan? The Netherlands have already finalized their missions there, Canada intends to withdraw troops next year, and there is domestic pressure from the public in countries such as Germany to withdraw from Afghanistan. If there is a lack of support among NATO members, how can the mission in Afghanistan be realized?

What is at stake for NATO, in many ways is our allied security—meaning the security of our populations and countries which is at stake also from Afghanistan. As you know, Afghanistan has been a safe haven for Al-Qaeda, for many years. They perpetrated the atrocities of 9/11 against the United States. So we have an acute interest in helping Afghanistan become a stable and peaceful place in that region. That's essentially what the NATO mission is about as we try to empower the Afghan government and security force to make Afghanistan a safer place for the good of all of us.

Q2. Cultural diplomacy serves a purpose when it comes to reconciliation and peace building. This was evident as this past July, NATO suggested that Muslim countries play a greater role in helping achieve stability in Afghanistan. What type of role can these Muslim countries play in helping achieve stability and peace?



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It's an essential part of cultural dialogue. We have a Muslim population in many of our NATO countries, by no means Turkey alone. Diverse culture, and for that matter diverse religions enrich us all as they are tolerant, not dogmatic and violent. We can learn from each other, so in that sense I welcome a dialogue with the Muslim world because we can see things from different angles by listening to them. They can help us to better understand in what goes in certain areas of the world. We can mutually benefit from each other in a constructive fashion.

Q3. In March of this year, Russia criticized a NATO idea to eliminate all poppy plantations in Afghanistan to eliminate the drug trade which helped secure financial resources. Russia claimed that farmers would be left without a livelihood in one of the poorest areas in the world. What are your thoughts on this strategy, and is it realistic to expect that the drug trade can be eradicated in Afghanistan?

This is a bit of speculation, because it's difficult to say. NATO, along with intensified co-operation with Russia, is addressing the drug problem more systematically. But clearly there are many who have an interest in maintaining the current situation, one being the farmers who grow that crop. The intermediaries or people who make money off it have more to gain and lose from something like that. I don't have a magic wand to solve this problem, but what will matter most ultimately, if we together with the Afghan government and population, and the international community gradually establish a more peaceful environment, the pressure to grow crops will decrease because there are more options for these people. For the time being, they often have no choice. The more we provide them with an environment where they can choose better ways of living, then that problem will relatively decrease in importance. It won't happen overnight, and it will be a long haul, but with more forceful development reconstruction, it can gradually decrease in relative importance.

Q4. One of the challenges regarding the mission in Afghanistan, has been the Afghan/Pakistan border. In recent months NATO has violated Pakistani airspace on numerous occasions, and this has resulted in tension between both sides. How would you characterize the assistance Pakistan has given NATO, and what can be done to improve the relationship between both sides?

We have a good and constructive dialogue with Pakistan which is growing in importance. We're not the only ones as the United States on a bilateral basis has made strong efforts vis-a-vis Pakistan. I am not sure I would agree with you that NATO has violated the Pakistan airspace according to the information I have been given as it was part of the mission in Afghanistan. We know, and this is something you can find in the papers, that part of the Taliban take refuge in Pakistan, so we have an interest in working with the Pakistan government. We don't want Pakistan to provide a comfortable place in their country because then we are shipping a problem from one side of the border to the other. The current government in Pakistan has been rather forthcoming and understanding, and it's not an easy solution. But they are committed to working with us and the international community to address the problem.



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Q5. President Obama has suggested and outlined a plan to eliminate all nuclear weapons. However, the United States has the second largest collection of nuclear warheads in the world. What are your thoughts on Obama's vision? Is it realistic, or will we always live in a world in which various countries possess nuclear arms?

Well Obama has made it clear that this is his vision. I recall when he made this statement prior to Prague, and reiterated it at the NATO summit in Strasbourg at a big town-hall meeting where he gathered some 8,000 students. It was a very moving moment, we collectively felt that this was a vision to strive towards and adhere to. Maybe it's a long term vision for the future, but it's certainly something we should aspire for. Having said that, like it or not, we have to acknowledge there are nuclear weapons in the hands of actors who are not necessarily responsible. We would expose ourselves as NATO nations and populations if we didn't have a minimum number of nuclear warheads ourselves. So that would severely damage our security and we can't afford that in the near future. We are expecting at the upcoming summit in Lisbon to renew the mandate to work towards Obama's vision on one side, but also to retain the nuclear deterrents as the ultimate assurance of security.

Thank you for your time.

An Interview with Dr. Hans Günter Brauch

(Political Scientist, Historian; Chairman of AFES PRESS)

6/11/2010 - Interview conducted by Ana Lucas-Palomares and Joel MacMillan

Q1. What would you say is the most important thing we can learn from the reunification of Germany, and how can such a lesson help other countries to prevent future conflict?

The first major lesson, as I indicated in my lecture, it was the first and only global transformation that was peaceful. It was the first unification of Germany that was peaceful, the previous ones were all associated with wars with our neighbours. This was really the biggest event that occurred that triggered the reunification of Europe. The fact that so many young people from all parts of Europe are here today is a sign of hope. This also, however, requires a tremendous amount of responsibility and I indicated the fears that were associated in the event, and I recall very well the French students, they were all very concerned, as the French and British debate was at the time, on how would Germany use its power. It is very significant that now, with the EU's 27 members, war is no longer a possibility. Also as a German I would say the fears that were determined by the historical setting could be allayed with further integration.

Q2. How did the fall of the Berlin wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union encourage the



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international community to re-evaluate issues of global security and vulnerability?

There were different perspectives in 1990. Many of the policy makers were trained in light of the WWII and the Cold War experience, and that determined their thinking, their planning and so on. There were some efforts between 1990 and 1992 to test the collective security system. For example in Iraq, it was the EU and the Security Council Ultimatum, so it was not a war by the UN. But it was a conflict sanctioned by the UN Security Council once Iraq did not abide by the ultimatum. In Europe we had the regional organization that came out of the conference on security co-operation, and this initially played a bigger role in Yugoslavia with the UN. But the organizations are so weak, they don't have resources and they don't have components to use force, and sometimes you have to use force. The turning point was the various conflicts in Yugoslavia. With Milosevic it started when he played the nationalist card in Kosovo, and this incensed a fire of nationalism. Looking back, in 1990 they were lacking the clear, united European signals with regard to Yugoslavia. Gorbachov was different, contrary to the Chancellor who compared him as the new Goebbels. But in 1990, what I think was an error was the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia and it was understandable for a lot of reasons. It also triggered fears in France and the UK because of the German role in WW II. This lack of historical sensitivity at the time reinforced fears of the German role. It was not wise that we went ahead of the EU agreement implementation; we should have been much more restrained. The second thing, is that there was no perspective for membership of Yugoslavia in the European Union. The EU membership was the carrot and the stick. The stick part being, if you play your nationalist policies, trying to get into power with the nationalist card, you will not join the EU. It was a very clear signal that it was not public advice, it was soft negotiations. But for the security and independence of the Balkan countries, the membership in the EU was so crucial for the economic independence from Russia. There was learning from the missed opportunities in Yugoslavia, but 300,000 people paid for it with their life. I'm not so sure it could have been prevented, but looking back the lack of historical sensitivity of various German politicians and lack of planning played a big part. What is needed, and this is not always easy is a longer term planning perspective. Not just day to day reactive politics, but to have a perspective of change, but also to have the realistic tools and instruments to implement those change in a peaceful way.

Q3. France and the UK recently signed a nuclear treaty. Do you consider this agreement a result of austerity measures, or do you feel that it will legitimately strengthen security between both states? Bearing this in mind, what do you consider the future of non-nuclear proliferation agreements between states to be?

Well this is a result of the bail out of the banks, however sometimes crisis leads to innovation. Now you have two Conservative governments who co-operate on issues that have been so vital to the national soul, both in France and the UK. But it's designing our symbolic nuclear forces, and the nuclear component is a thing of the past, but they are very important symbols of difference. I am happy that the Germans never had the ambition to join the nuclear club. The public sentiment in Germany have



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changed significantly since the second World War, and a new generation with totally different visions has grown up. This is a sign of hope, but in a lot of countries there are still things that can be done better, but my hope is co-operation. However, as it relates to your question I think move is related to economic measures such as Gorbachev with Perestroika. Secondly, the nuclear component is not as necessary anymore, and also let's hope the new treaty gets through congress, and that Medvedev and Obama's vision is back on the agenda. I hope the UK and France go ahead with reducing the nuclear component to what both consider is minimal. This is a national decision and it also has to do a little bit with national pride and distinctiveness as a permanent member of the security council. However, militarily speaking, the nuclear component has outlived its time. With regard to the new nuclear powers, I'm not so sure you can contain them. There are still a lot of nuclear weapons available, and the United States will not give up all of their nuclear weapons, nor will Russia, China, or India. But the hope is to stop the proliferation jointly, and in that regard, the signals in Obama's speech in Prague was crucial. It pointed the responsibility of the nuclear powers in the non-proliferation treaty for their own reduction, and this has long been ignored. Let's hope for the better that the austerity measures trigger a major change, that probably only two conservative governments could do together.

Q4. The work of UNU-EHS looks to improve the in-depth understanding of "cause and effect relationships", in order to find ways to reduce risk and vulnerability within a global context. How can cultural diplomacy help in deepening international understanding of the plight of more vulnerably countries?

I am a fellow at UNU-EHS, but I do not work there. Their mandate is to look at the environment from a human security perspective. They look at the impact of climate change, and also environmentally induced migration and they have put some of these issues from a human security perspective. They are one of the many voices within the UN system, and they have done a tremendous amount of work in the last six years to enhance visibility. It has a high visibility as an area from let's say change from a functional perspective, and to enhance co-operation among scientists. But not just to do science for science' sake, but for science to have an impact on helping poor countries in enhancing resiliency. Hazards you cannot prevent, but people die because of the high social vulnerability and this can be reduced by better training, infrastructure, and so on to reduce the human casualties.

Thank you for your time.



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Heinz J. Kuzdas

(Photographer and Author of "Berliner Mauer Kunst: Mit East Side Gallery")

8/11/2010 - Interview conducted by Mark Warman

Q1. An artist recently painted a part of the Berlin wall which sold for €500,000. Why did the Berlin Wall attract so much attention by street artists and why does it still have an allure both for artists and buyers?

You know this was a unique place where people could express themselves, it could not be stopped by the West Berlin police for example. Of course it was also some kind of damaging of property, that's how people talk about graffiti in general but then this was an open space, a special space where people could go there and express themselves. People from school classes from all over the world came they had in mind they were prepared to do something and also artists from everywhere and groups from China, from Philippines, from everywhere.

Q2. Much has been said of the opportunity for expression that the Berlin Wall provided street artists, but do you feel that it ever played the role of cultural diplomacy, not only expressing ideas but also spreading them?

I think people actually came from all over the world to take photographs with themselves and the art at the Wall. I know that Leonardo DiCaprio said that this is his favorite photo, that he was taken in front of the Wall, in front of the heart, and he still likes this photos.

Q3. Do you feel that tagging and other forms of graffiti, which can often be considered vandalism, undermine the credibility of those who have something to say through their art?

Well, you know, I have of course, I respect everybody who expresses themselves somehow and I don't differentiate so much between graffiti and art because the limits are really very opened but I personally am not so much for this kind of writings but I consider that so many people like it. I really think art should replace the whole publicity, there is too much publicity in all over the cities and I would like to have it exchanged by either graffiti well done, there is of course less and it is the same with art.

Thank you for your time.



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An Interview with Ioannis Kasoulides

(ICD Advisory Board Member, MEP, Former Foreign Minister of Cyprus; 2008 Cypriot Presidential Candidate)

7/11/2010 - Interview conducted by Ana Lucas-Palomares and Elizabeth Hurst



Q1. What are your views on the European Union's ability to speak with one voice and their ability to be united on how it deals with its neighbours and other strategic partners

Well this is a process, it is not a question of whether from today the European Union can speak with one voice. It is an ongoing process, it is a process that is ever evolving and it is evolving successfully. Despite the flaws and criticism regarding the European Union the fact that it is unique kind of example where 27 countries join themselves together to do things with one voice. One can say that, at present, this is the most successful part of the world. If you look at the economic crisis and you look at the repercussions for the economic crisis you will see that the European Union had a better response than any other part of the world. I would say better than the United States. In the United States there was no social environment to face the ten per cent unemployment whereas the European Union had the social stabilisers in order to face these kind of upheavals. For instance in Germany the biggest industrial of the European union, the so-called Kurzarbeit was introduced to say that the workers themselves have agreed to work lesser hours and get less pay in order to save jobs.

Q2. Another thing you discussed was Europe's partnerships with countries such as China. How does that relate to relations with other regions, such as China's operations in Africa. Europe has a long history with Africa, what is your opinion in what has been called a 'second scramble for Africa' in terms of resources?

The important thing here is that we have to deal now with an important world player which is China and I don't think that with China we can achieve anything by imposing from outside or by patronising from outside. The best way to achieve things in order that China embarks on the same road with all the other world players is to have good relations and dialogue with that country and in this dialogue, the issue with Africa, the issue of protecting dictatorial regimes like in the Sudan, and not only in Africa we have Burma and Iran, are issues for dialogue between the European Union and China. The same thing applies is to whether China, which is very active in Africa because it is interested in the natural resources that do exist in Africa, is playing a fair game with all others interested. But I believe in Europe we have to do more to the African nations. We have not done enough and we already have the problem of be-



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ing ex-colonialist powers who have not done enough at that time ,so it is a fair competition with China; may the best win.

Q3. We are currently in Berlin, the former site of the Berlin Wall, and there is of course a division in Cyprus. What progress is being made in terms of overcoming the division within Cyprus?

For the last two years there has been a negotiation process that has been taking place. In Cyprus, the fact that these negotiations continue is a really good development because it means they are advancing, albeit slowly. One change in these inter-Cypriot negotiations is the fact that Ban Ki-Moon has invited the two leaders of the two communities to New York for a meeting on the 18th of November which means that he is going to try to upgrade the significance and the place of the negotiations. I hope that if there is success now on the fact of property, which is the most delicate issue on the issue of state, then the road for settlement will be opened. But let's not forget that the problem of Cyprus, like elsewhere, is not a contained problem among the actors within Cyprus. There is a great role to be played by Turkey; Turkey is calling the shots withing the Turkish Cypriot community and it depends if Turkey has decided that the time has come to solve the problem now or shall Turkey wait to play this card when it's card when it's time to accede to the European Union.

Q4. What role can outside actors, such as the EU, play in order to facilitate a political settlement? Also, what role can or is civil society playing in Cyprus to promote a peaceful resolution to the division?

The civil society in Cyprus over the years has increasingly played a role in the question of reconciliation and the question of better understanding. There are many NGO's and groups that are organising these kinds of meetings and projects and events and since 2004 the demarcation line has opened for people to cross. The European Union ought to have played a much more important role than the role it plays at the moment. The European Union is stunted by the fact that whole negotiation process is in the hands of the UN whereas the European Union, which has the only existing leverage over Turkey, in lieu of the fact that Turkey is a candidate country to join the European Union, could have played a much more important role in helping achieve a settlement. Let us hope that at the second stage of this effort the European Union will come in, otherwise we will realise that because of Cyprus, the negotiations of Turkey with the European Union will sooner or later come into trouble.

Q5. On the issue of the social settlement between the two sections of Cyprus; what role can cultural diplomacy play moving into the future when, hopefully, a political settlement is reached?

Despite the division and the numbers of years that the two communities remained apart, it has always



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been the case in Cyprus for decades and decades, particularly when they were living together in mixed neighbourhoods, towns or villages that they got along very well. One of the reasons is religion is not a point that divides people in Cyprus because, on both sides, they are not very religious. For instance, Turkish Cypriots are very secular and the Orthodox do not mix religion with personal relations. On the other hand, the trade union movement has a united front at the moment from both sides of the divide and the businesspeople do get together and there is a good prospect regarding this. What is the biggest impediment is that the dispute has lasted for such a long time, for almost a generation. This has made people accustomed to live separately and not have the mindset, the fact that they shall have to consult each other before they decide. This is what is creating the difficulties nowadays.

Thank you for your time.

An Interview with Lord Jack McConnell (Former First Minister of Scotland)

6/11/2010 - Interview conducted by Elizabeth Hurst



Q1. You were an ambassador to Malawi for the Clinton Hunter Development Initiative which was a project between Malawi, the United States, and Scotland. Development aid to Africa continues to be a divisive subject among people working in the field of development. What are your thoughts on this subject, and is development aid being used properly in your estimation to help under-developed countries in Africa?

Generally development aid is making a real difference, and it's important that those of us who care about what's happening in the south, Africa and elsewhere promote the fact that aid is working, it is not failing. There may be problems in individual governments, there may be problems with individual projects, there may be problems with money perhaps not always being spent perfectly, but that happens in every European country, that happens in America, that happens in China, it happens in countries that have resources but have problems with their governments as well. I don't think we should lose sight of the fact that countries across sub-Saharan Africa are growing faster than they ever have, the health of the population is better than it is ever been, more people are in school, more people are getting clean water and with consistent aid over the years all of these facts will improve even further. I think it is very important that we stand up for development aid as one of the mechanisms, but not the only mechanism, that will help to reduce inequalities and create a healthier and safer world for those that live in the south.



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Q2. Last month at the UN Summit, Ban-Ki Moon stated that the Millennium goals can still be met, but a lot of hard work still needs to be done. In your estimation, do you think it is realistic these goals can still be met, and what needs to be done to ensure they are met?

The reaffirmation in September was really important, because I think there was a pulling back, first of all in the richest countries in the world, with some notable exceptions such as the UK government which has stuck to all its commitments, but there are a number of other rich countries that are reducing their commitments and are not meeting the promises that they have made, and that is not helpful, and there are some countries in the south where perhaps the motivation or the belief that real change can take place isn't as strong. There are African leaders, however, who are moving towards achieving the goals and believe that everyone needs to keep that focused, for example I know the president of Malawi and that country is on course to meet some of its goals, but not all of them. He says that Africa is not a poor continent, it is the people that are poor, the continent is rich in resources but the people are not rich. We need to maintain our focus on these basic things like clean water, health, education, maternal rights and decent maternity services. These goals are transformative, that's why they were chosen in the first place, so I think the reaffirmation of them in September was really important, I think it maintains the pressure on the developed world to support the achievement of the goals, it maintains the level of expectation on the individual governments in Africa, and it also maintains pressure on the international institutions. It is very easy for them to be diverted and spend all of their time talking about Afghanistan or Burma or something like that, but this is the biggest challenge for the world, and it is a disgrace that at the start of the 21st century people are still living in these conditions and we can do something. The goals were set up to achieve that and I hope we can double our efforts.

Q3. People can always fall into cynicism about the goals. Do you feel cultural diplomacy can play a role in convincing people that these goals are still worth reaching?

Absolutely, most of the discussions on cultural diplomacy that take place in Western Europe tend to be about either the history of east-west relations in Europe and the implications today with the borders of the EU to the east, or the situation in the middle east and the Afghanistan/Pakistan area, and their implications for us here in Europe, and how we need to understand each other better etc, and all that's really important, but there is also a massive range of cultures and communities below the equator as well, and I think it is real important that we don't just have a major political commitment from the north to the south, or an economic commitment, either through aid or opening up trade, but that actually we build genuine understanding and we understand how the world looks from that location and not just does ours. It is then possible to see the lengths between Brazil and west Africa are closer than the links would ever be between Europe and Africa or North and South America, there's a cultural affinity there that could be really powerful in terms of development and growth and security in the years to come, and there are lengths obviously in other parts of the south and south-east Asia for example where countries are transforming. We are not in the seventies anymore with the war in Vietnam, Pol Pot in Cambodia and so on, there are countries growing there, not just China. There are different kinds of populations,



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the Muslim population in Indonesia for example, and I think in the north we need to properly, culturally understand and relate to those continents and the individual communities within those continents. If we do that, then the decisions made in international institutions and the way the world operates and cooperates is going to be much more successful.

Q4. We are currently days away from the 21st anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall. How can the reunification of Germany serve as a model to other divided states?

It would be wrong to say that the reunification of Germany was an entirely peaceful constitutional change, because for the decades before it may have been stable but it was not peaceful for those who were suffering, or those who were killed trying to be free. In what happened at the end of the 80s and in what has happened here in Germany there are significant symbols of hope that it is possible to bring together communities that have been divided artificially and do that in a positive liberating way. Not everything is perfect today at all but you just have to be in Berlin to see how there is a new life in this city, that is genuinely international as well as crossing the old border between East and West Germany and I think it is a really healthy symbol of what is possible. I think that makes Berlin a great location for the ICD but I also hope that it acts as a symbol for places such as in the Balkans, for example where there are still significant divisions, perhaps based more on identity than ideology, but divisions of identity can be sometimes much more violent and dangerous than divisions of ideology. It is really important that what happens here is documented, the bad part before and the good part after, and that is then used elsewhere, and I sense that is what the Berliners want to do and I support them in that.

Q5. During the reunification process in Germany, the Allies played a significant role in helping the reunification process, however that was a unique situation as Germany was occupied for several decades after the war ended. What role should international organizations such as the UN play in the peace-building and reconciliation process, and should states have more autonomy when it comes to said processes?

The only sustainable strategies that are likely to work in a post-conflict environment when a state needs to be rebuilt or potentially in a modern sense built for the first time, with proper institutions and the rule of law, all the key elements in addition to services and a growing economy, is for that strategy to be preferably created but certainly developed and agreed by the national government and the people of that country. I think the international community's role is to act much more quickly to help create and develop that strategy. I think only in extreme circumstances can parts be imposed, and that's really only for short-term advantage. For long-term sustainable success there has to be national ownership, but in order for that national ownership to happen quickly enough and the people who have been affected by the conflict to see a peace dividend, the international community has to be on standby and be in there quickly, with personnel, with resources, with advice, always on the basis of advice that is designed to build capacity in the country, not to replace it or duplicate it and certainly not to direct it.



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Q6. Do you see a way that quicker actions can be encouraged in those cases?

Yes there has been a small amount of progress in last eighteen months, particularly in the UN realising that some of the problems that were identified 10 years ago are only really now being properly addressed, and there is now a lot going on in the UN to improve the leadership of individual missions, to have money available more quickly, for missions to provide advice and capacity to try and help the rebuilding process. However, it is still too fragmented, even within the UN, and beyond the UN it is even more fragmented between the UN and sometimes the EU, between the UN and the World Bank. I've seen individual countries in Africa where the UN and the World Bank take completely different approaches to what was strategically important in that country, meaning the individual government was totally confused about what the international community was prepared to help with. I've seen the UN and the EU in exactly the same area with the same purpose doing completely different things, and these things that are uncoordinated like that are completely destined to fail. Everyone talks about cooperation but nobody actually wants to be coordinated by someone else. There's going to have to be some give and take and I think the UN is the body with the legitimacy, again it is not perfect, but it needs to take more of a lead, and the other international organisations need to work under its umbrella more. Within that context, everything then needs to move more quickly. If we can make that happen then I think there will be more success.

Lord McConnell, thank you for your time.

An Interview with Dr. Jan Oberg

(Director & Co-Founder of the Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research)

8/11/2010 - Interview conducted by Joel MacMillan



Q1. Where does the greater danger of human or technological failure lie: with Russia or Pakistan?

It's a combination of technological, human, and structural failure. As I said this morning, the theory of deterrence has this one precondition that human beings are rational in periods or moments of extreme stress. For all we know about psychology, people generally are not that rational when working under heavy pressure. Technology is not fail-safe either, as we have had these failing systems and indications on radars that turned out to be birds. If a human being found out that it wasn't a threat, we would have had a nuclear exchange. When I say structure, I mean also that this is unfortunately, the danger that overwhelms us all because it is in the hands of so few people who are outside of democratic control. If people want to



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have these terrible weapons, then let's have a democratic decision about them, instead of having this democratic sword hanging over us without any legitimacy in democracy. I'm not talking about dictatorships or nuclear weapons, they don't fit in a democracy because of the structure they have—they are a secret society. They are god like powers, and I question if humanity is capable of handling them.

Q2. Which is a greater priority? The reduction of small arms, or nuclear weapons baring in mind that small arms are responsible for over 500,000 deaths a year?

It's very true that modern warfare uses conventional small and large arms which are responsible for the deaths, but not nuclear weapons. However, nuclear weapons have killed people at the test site and Japan, and have created long term consequences of radioactivity. Today, you have large areas of Kazakhstan where nobody can go because this was a test site of the Soviet Union. So nuclear weapons do kill, and you can say the risk is very small, but if it happens it will result in a mass killing. A gun, missile, or an aircraft will not mass kill, whereas you can say that the probability of that being used in conflict is higher than nuclear weapons. We have had many conflicts where nobody got the mad idea to use nuclear weapons, so you can ask yourself the question 'are they unusable'? For the same reason you can say, in a conflict, if you want to achieve something like a territory or a goal, what would be the purpose of using nuclear weapons? Destroying what you want to acquire. The second thing is there any political goal definable that would justify the killing of say a hundred million people. Is there something anybody on earth could want so much that it's justified to kill 50 or 100 million people, and my answer is no. You can argue that maybe these weapons are enigmatic structures because to a certain extent they keep us away from fighting a war because they are so terrifying. But if it happens that way, it could be the end of all of us. I don't want any technology that could put an end to humanity, it's such a beautiful world.

Q3. In your presentation, you spoke about the security council and how they are the 5 largest spenders on military respectively. Do you think the security council needs to be re-evaluated, and do you think the G4 (Japan, Germany, Brazil, and India) are a viable alternative?

I think it's a question of how we see what the UN is. Before we talk about reforming the UN, we should know what UN is. The UN to me is not just the headquarters in New York, it's all the organizations that belong to the UN family for food, health, communications, or agriculture as well as the missions it does around the world. In the eyes of most though, it's just a skyscraper in New York. So before we talk about that, let's think of how each member state can make the UN stronger. The problem was first expressed by the first secretary of the United Nations, the Norwegian Trygve Lie. In 1948 he said the following, "the UN can never be stronger than what its member states want to make it". My reform of the United Nations begins with each member state grading the United Nations in their domestic and international policy. Therefore, Sweden should be willing to pay more to the UN, and put more people at the service of the UN, it should send it's best people—those who decide UN missions should come up with clear mandates, and they should budget it much better. Even before we talk about changing it, we should treat the UN in a decent way and not in this indecent way in which the world treats it. It's



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not the fall of the United States which pays 30% of its budget, it's the fall of the others who don't do much else. We can keep on blaming the USA dominating the UN, but that's wrong. It's not the fault of the UN, it's the fault of the others who don't do their duties. We have countries around the world who sent their most incapable policemen and soldiers, who were so bad at home that they sent them off to the UN missions to get rid of these idiots. I would like to have a parallel development council taking the structural violence problems together with the direct violence problems, to look at security and development in one go. My definition of peace, to put it crudely is to develop security in secure development. You can't have peace if you don't deal with military and security. Peace comes from changing the world, alleviating poverty, creating some kind of equitable chance for everybody, and dialogue among different societies. So we need another council, and you can talk about the composition, because the over-arching thing is how does each member state treat the UN better, and what new institutions do we need? We need a people's assembly, a facility which I would call a "hearing institute" where people with grievances about to start a war can get a hearing in the UN, either a new people's assembly, or the current general assembly. You can have the parties in conflict coming and being asked questions that everybody knows the issues better than coming out of the mouths who are in the conflict. Imagine you had all of the Yugoslavian parties coming to a big hearing where they would be asked intelligent questions about what their problem is. We would have been much better, in that case to treat Yugoslavia in a more intelligent way than what we did, because no one knew anything about the complexities of Yugoslavia. Therefore, everyone falls into the stupid Western, Christian idea that there are two parties in all conflicts and that one is black, and one is white. I've never seen this in any conflict. So before we talk about who should sit in the old council, let's look at the institutions we need the UN to be, this includes better money. Finally, I feel the headquarters should be moved out of the United States and move it somewhere else, have more headquarters, or have it rotate.

Q4. You spoke in your presentation about the documentary, "Fog of War" which is a documentary about Robert McNamara. He seemed to be very remorseful discussing some of the decisions he made while the Secretary of Defense, which is certainly rare to see from an American official involved in a military conflict. In just a few weeks, President George W. Bush's memoirs will be published. Bush seemed to be remorseful about the situation in Iraq, despite the fact that the UN could not find any nuclear weapons. What does this say about their leadership capabilities respectively?

I don't believe George Bush for a second. Before he's worked for over thirty years at being remorseful and trying to understand going to Iraq as a pensioner, and talking to Iraqi leaders to understand what went wrong, until he has done what McNamara has done, I think this is purely ghost-writer lies. This is deception, and he is trying to cover himself up, by saying he is so sorry. If he was so sorry, then why didn't he say it at the time? He didn't apologize for the mistake as best I can remember, he said we're getting rid of Saddam. That was a damn high price to pay for that-4.5 million refugees, 2 million of which were killed. Secondly, Saddam was made by us, and a result of our policy. If you want to learn



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anything from Iran, then stop the arms trade, these guys come up because we give them weapons and they become a megalomaniac. The West gave him (Saddam Hussein) all of his weapons, and Rumsfeld met him in the 1980's, and they talked about a variety of things when Iran was our enemy, to quote "The enemy of the enemy is my friend." Until I see George Bush having spent the rest of his life saying how sorry he is, and doing something concrete to correct his mistake I don't believe the man for a moment. He's a war criminal and he should be judged according to that. McNamara was a war criminal to, but I have a big heart for a person who can say 'forgive me for what I did.' A criminal who can say I am sorry for what I did, is a better criminal than who says I am not sorry at all.

Thank you for your time.

An Interview with Janez Janša (Former Prime Minister of Slovenia)

9/11/2010 - Interview conducted by James Hood & Elizabeth Hurst



Q1. As Prime Minister of Slovenia from 2004 to 2008, what direction did you give your country's foreign policy, and what accomplishments did your government achieve in the field?

During this time Slovenia was a leading country of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and in 2005 we focused on the eastern part of the EU, the Caucasus, the Caspian region. We tried to maybe not solve the conflicts but contribute to the understanding of those conflicts in the EU and the European region. At that time we also succeeded in making this organization proceed with its work; at that time there was problems with the budget, with the resources for this very important organization. Neither the US or Russia wanted to pay for the budget, we somehow mediated those issues and succeeded in making sure the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe could continue its work. The biggest challenge was the business of the EU, so Slovenian foreign policy was very much at that time European foreign policy. We studied the political situation in all continents because they negotiations concerned United States, Japan, Latin American countries, but maybe the biggest concrete issue was the declaration of the independence of Kosovo in February 2010, when we did everything we could to prevent a conflict which was predicted by nearly all analysts and political experts and also journalists. We somehow succeeded in convincing perhaps not the entire populations but the leaderships in Serbia and in Kosovo that they have only one possibility to remove the border again, and this possibility is the European perspective. The EU was used at that time as a carrot, as a tool, and this was quite successful. Slovenia was in a tried position because we had knowledge about the region, about the situation.



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Those European and other states which didn't recognize the reality and support Kosovo's independence contributed to the efforts to prevent conflict with the police forces and other personnel which were sent there after this declaration. There were other issues but maybe this was one of the most important.

Q2. You intervened on the theme of humanitarian law and genocide, the theme of your presentation. The worst atrocities of the Dafur conflict took place while you were in office. What actions did you take on an international level in response to this event? Furthermore, what path do you think the international community should undertake to help end this conflict?

Dafur is clear proof that only talking and adopting paper resolutions at international forums is not enough. You have to really have support behind it and also real determination, and there were times when not only me but all those who wanted to do something in Dafur were very disappointed. We discussed this issue and everything stopped at one question: who will contribute the police forces, who will contribute the helicopters for those police forces, who will contribute sufficient amount of money for humanitarian relief? When the discussion turned to those issues we almost always ended short, with just a contribution and determination to do something. The measures taken were not adequate, the people there were not properly equipped, and the international community only created excuses, not solutions.

Q3. What can be done to solve the core problems in the way that international organizations work to make them more effective in solving the most pressing and often seemingly intractable problems in international relations?

We have to change the way the UN and other multinational organizations work. We have to link the legal basis, political determination and adequate contributions in one decision, we should not decide something and declare it a big success, and afterwards at the next meeting discuss who will contribute something and we stay short of the real possibility to decide it. The procedure itself should be joined into one move, one transparent clear action. The world public should be able to follow decision-making processes from the beginning to the end, and if we guarantee such an approach then there is no hiding space for those who want to create excuses.

An Interview with Joaquim Chissano

(Former President of Mozambique)

6/11/2010 - Interview conducted by Joel MacMillan

Q1. You have played an integral role, and have seen Mozambique evolve as a colonial, to an independent state after it gained its independence from Portugal in 1975. You are credited with building peace, and opening up free markets to help build socioeconomic stability in



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Mozambique. How can Mozambique serve as a model to other African states that have faced similar challenges?

Well it's true that we have done a lot but we have also come out from a lot of suffering. We had a struggle for independence and after independence we faced some difficulties because another war of destabilisation was imposed on us by the minority regimes of the region. We succeeded in bringing that war to an end and started a process of reconciliation. Of course we are a case to be studied but not a case to be taken to be utilised as it is elsewhere because each country has its own history. It is necessary for all those who want to get inspiration from our case to study their own past history and accommodate what is good, because we also were inspired by others who fought, for instance from Algeria, Vietnam, China, India, South Africa and the US. We were inspired by all of these but we could not copy any one of them; we had to be creative to build our own future. At the beginning we had to find the support where it was easier to find it, which were then socialist countries. Very soon after, because we had our own experience, we understood that we had to work differently and we started another process so that when I became president we had already started working intensely to consolidate our independence in terms of the relationship with the world. We did not want to rely on one side of the world, because we didn't want to be against the other side of the world, we wanted to be ourselves. This is what is very important here. So yes, Mozambique can be a reference point but not a point from where one has to copy everything.

Q2. Upon your retirement, you were appointed to the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General and helped to bring a comprehensive political solution to the problems surrounding Northern Uganda. What needs to be done in your estimation, to bring peace and stability in those regions? And who should have more responsibility when it comes to the peace building process, the UN or the individual state?

What we were trying to do was to try and find a peaceful solution, at least negotiated solution- violence had been there already so it's a forced expression to talk about a peaceful solution, and rather we should talk of a negotiated solution. We were about to reach this but a certain number of factors contributed to the loss of confidence which we had already instilled in the two parties, the Ugandan government and the Lord's Resistance Army. We lost that partly because the rebels were afraid to be taken to the International Criminal Court in The Hague, and so the attempt to resolve the conflict by military ways was resumed. This has caused dispersion of the rebel forces and we may even say the weakening of these forces, but we will not be satisfied until we find out where they are. The most important thing is to address the causes of conflict. This is being done with the cooperation of the whole UN system. As a special envoy of the Secretary General of the UN I had to work with this, all the UN organisations as well as other organisations which were not a part of the UN family, including civil society from Europe and America who were trying to help to create better living conditions of the people in Northern Uganda and other parts of Uganda too. All governments should be involved in trying to find solutions by addressing the root causes of conflict which range from poverty to the discrepancies of distribution



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that is demographic distribution or distribution of wealth which come from traditional regimes in the past through the colonial period or the religious divide which existed there. All this has to be tackled and many players who were the basis of this should now be players in a positive way. Of course the main responsibility is that of the governments of the day who should find the best approaches. It is the responsibility of the local authorities, of local civil society, to try and build on whatever which unites the people and decrease the importance of what divides.

Q3. AFRICOM is a very divisive issue in the international community, and most importantly the African continent. While some see it as American imperialism, others see it as an effective resource to help deal with various challenges that some African states face. Do you think AFRICOM would help bring a level of stability to the continent as a whole, or do you think that it would create more problems for Africa as a whole?

Well I think that in the past the US needed to have observation points to deal with its responsibilities in global security, especially at a time when they had an enemy in the other part of the world in the east, more precisely the Soviet Union. Today I think what they should think about is how it can enable the countries of Africa to take care of their own defence. In other words it should become a project on what should be done so that it becomes irrelevant. I would not say that they should go immediately, I'm not an expert on this matter, but one has to make a thorough analysis and the Americans themselves should make an analysis to see how can make this instrument a positive one in the present day since they have no more enemies. They were speaking about big superpower, but I think that the tendency should not be to speak about superpowers so that we enhance the notion of equality and equity in world relations.

President Chissano, thank you so much for your time.

An Interview with Dr. Luc Reyckler

(Professor of International Relations, University of Leuven; Director of the Center of Peace Research and Strategic Studies (CSIS))

8/11/2010 - Interview conducted by Elizabeth Hurst

Q1. You are a professor of International Relations at the University of Leuven. We seem to be living at a time where some Western governments are struggling to communicate effectively with their Muslim citizens. As a result a growing divide is building up between various communities, and extremists on both sides manage to hijack the debate. Do you see this pattern evolving, and if so, what eventual shifts can be expected?

I think more and more people in the decision making process are becoming aware that the way we



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are coping with that part of the world - with billions of people - is not very productive. Secondly, in explaining what I mean by re-approaching them, for example when you look at the Middle East, we have military there with weapons, and it's increasing. Look at the Middle East from an Iranian point of view, they are surrounded by military, there are sanctions, and also psychological stigmatisation. This doesn't work in the real politics. In real politics you have to negotiate with friends and enemies and not to promote and to devil - it is like Cromwell was doing with the Catholic spinning 350 years ago. We should begin to differentiate. When you go to Malaysia, Indonesia, you can see that it is different. We should stop supporting authoritarian repressive regimes. Again, it comes with certain names, like Egypt and Saudi Arabia. This is not working, because then you create tensions within the country, to reduce the legitimacy of the government, and then you want to support it by sending more and more weapons. Think of the latest buying of weapons - it was enormous.

Q2. How would you characterize the relationship between religion and democracy in the 21st century, given that both often manage to be integrated into political debate and political discourse? Do you feel that religion can play a role in the peace building process?

First of all regarding democracy we should be very clear. So I ask you when do you think America became a democracy, when do you think Belgium became a democracy - a full fledged democracy? For example, in Belgium in 1960, we got rid of Congo because we had second class citizens. I've written an article on the religion of conflict, and religion is not really a reason of any conflict in the way that it is used. When it is used for reasons of power, it can be very negative. But on the other hand, when you go to the roots of all religions, you see that it is about many similarities with respect to people stressing the spiritual nature of all people. Recently, I was re-reading a book about dystopias. The author went to all the religions in the east and the west, and he found more similarities than differences. The only difference is how people interpret things like the bible, the old and the new. This has been used for killing people and many other things.

Q3. Do you think there is a possibility for transforming the destructive nature of religion?

Instead of talking about the book or books, take for example in the Muslim world there are stories about love of the nature and the world. We should not misuse or steer religion into something else, but of course you can criticize the way that religion discriminates against women. In religion, people are looking for meaning. It's not only thoughts in your heart; it's also about spiritual costs. So essentially it's a search for purpose.

Q4. A strategy that has been taken against Iran amongst the United States and the EU, has been to levy sanctions against them in order to deter their nuclear program. However, sanctions greatly affect the citizens, and they are the ones who suffer a great deal. How effective are sanctions in your opinion, and what approach needs to be taken by Western Countries when dealing with Iran, considering despite sanctions, Iran has moved forward with their



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nuclear program?

I'm happy to talk about Iran, because it is a sensitive subject. Iran is very interesting, because the way we approach it is counterproductive. There are different generations of sanctions, first originally because the west was supporting the Shah, but then in 1979 when the new power came into effect, there were new sanctions because some of those guys occupied the American embassy. The economic sanctions are not very productive because politically, it was still considered at the time that America was evil because it was trying to control the government of Iran. When you look at a map from the 1960's until now, the presence of America surrounding Iran, you have a security dilemma. This country becomes isolated, and insecurity is increased and then you get a feeling like what you had in South Africa or Israel. They didn't want to use nuclear weapons. To use nuclear weapons is about deterrence, it's intelligent non-use of weapons. One should seriously begin to engage and to talk with Iranians especially if we want to stop the "scapegoating", but also if you want to resolve Iraq and Afghanistan. If you want to get and stabilize the regimes that were created, you need to co-operate with them. In the toppling of the Taliban, the Iranians helped, and then Bush after a year decided to call them evil, and they are not evil people. Politics is about interest and engagement without illusions.

Thank you for your time.

An Interview with Marcia Barrett

(Musician, Lead Singer of Boney M)

8/11/2010 - Interview conducted by Bea Latham

Q1. In a previous interview with the ICD, you mentioned that you have been involved in many efforts to improve things for those less fortunate, including AIDlink, blind children in Romania and War Child. Do you think that people are more engaged with social issues today, not simply those close to them but around the world?

I actually do think so, which is a very good thing because people are understanding more. A couple of decades ago, people were just doing their thing, but today many people are involved. That is very pleasing to see that as long as artists that have a name, or anybody who wants to contribute, that they would have time where they think they can help. When you are doing it from your soul, you hope that it's effective. Nowadays, it's much better that people are contributing more to people who are less fortunate.

Q2. It is not uncommon these days for musicians and other famous artists to lend their support and fame to various causes around the world, but certainly few have done as much as yourself and Boney M to spread the message of peace and reconciliation. How important do you think it is for those people such as yourself that are in a position to promote such mes-



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sages, to do so?

Anybody can call it this or that, but when you have a name that people recognize who you are it does have some influence. You can say, well you've got your fans out there worldwide for 37 years, and a third generation of fans; if you could go out and people say 'this person is saying that' it must mean something. So it does have a good influence on helping people.

Q3. How did the experience of moving from Jamaica to South London influence your own sense of identity and ideas about multiculturalism, especially as it is being debated today here in Germany and other parts of Europe?

The thing is, in Jamaica we are multicultural-you have Indians, Chinese, and so forth, and everybody is counteracting, and that's my background. But when I came to England, it was a different climate and why are they wearing these clothes-I would ask myself 'Is that a dress?'

But at the same time it was exciting because it was different. I like to learn about people and other cultures, that makes me very curious. And understanding as to why would a person react that way, and another in this way, and what is forbidden in your culture? So it was very exciting, and my school days in England were very good, and felt English as well as Jamaican.

Q4. Music is said be a universal language, through which we can all communicate and understand each other. What role do you think music and other cultural outputs can have in fostering understanding those things that are different from us, but also to recognize the ways in which we are all similar?

Music is the key to understanding because we don't even have to speak the same language. But the minute someone picks up a drum, or someone starts to sing whether it's opera, jazz or whatever type of music it is it doesn't matter, you feel soothed. When I am at home I have to hear music all the time. When I am in the kitchen I cook better when I have my favourite CDs on, and when I am in the bathtub I would like to have music as well. I just thrive on music, and people should try music therapy.

Thank you for your time.



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An interview with Marina Pendes

(Deputy Minister of Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina)

9/11/2010 - Interview conducted by Mark Warman & Christina Latham

Q1. Reflecting on your background within human rights and gender issues, how would you suggest issues relating to gender and human rights be applied to the adaptation of a universal approach?



You must analyze the situation in all different countries. We spoke about Bosnia-Herzegovina, but in many countries you can see many differences. We have done a good job, and recognized women's rights during some laws in the parliamentary assembly, but we have a problem with women playing a part in Bosnia-Herzegovina; women don't trust other women, and that is the main problem. We have found that if you have more women in various leading positions in society, this is a sign of progress to find a better way to resolve problems in society. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, knowledge is the main problem. We must make some reform in the areas of education as many of the young ladies in our society don't have the opportunity to enter school after the "A Class", and this is related to cultural and religious backgrounds which is a problem. With money and a new adopted policy, Bosnia-Herzegovina can see a better position with women in their society.

Q2. In your speech, you talked about the role of women in the peace building process. But because of the issues related to culture and religion, how can these challenges be overcome in the future?

UN Resolution 1335, recognizes the consequences after the war, or in post conflict situations, we must involve them before in various prevention activities, or pro-action initiatives to protect the women and rules. If you have a woman in the highest position in government, and she is involved in the negotiations somewhere, it's my opinion that you can expect a better solution for society.

Q3. Another subject you touched upon in your speech is the importance of education. What practical measures can be implemented in education considering the divided nationalities of people in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

There was a time when we spent a lot of money on educational reform, but it does not reflect the real situation because we spent the money for things like school buildings, but not for educational programs. We have a problem with the past, and with the history of Bosnia-Herzegovina. For example, the books for the sixth class history have different opinions, and that is one of the main problems. The past



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twenty years of Bosnia-Herzegovina is something we don't need in the books for this younger generation.

Q4. Recently Serbia apologized to Croatia for the Srebrenica massacre. Do you feel that a similar acceptance of guilt must occur within the separate nationalities of Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to help with reunification?

We have some examples of this, but it is not enough. In front of our new government, there is that obligation, and that must be the first step. This will be a positive step for people living in Bosnia-Herzegovina for building a trust, and making reconciliation the highest level priority.

Thank you for your time.

Questions to Minister Nouzha Skalli

(Moroccan Minister for family and social development)

6/11/2010 - Interview conducted by Elizabeth Hurst and Christina Latham

Q1. As a Minister of Social Development, you are aware that development takes time. What would you say are the main obstacles that we face when it comes to peace building in society?

I agree with you when you say that the challenge of human development is more difficult than political and civil rights. This is because you can make a law for the latter, apply it and have a democracy quickly in 2 to 5 years. But for the economical, social and cultural rights, it takes time because there are a lot of challenges. There is illiteracy, and a combination of a deficit of rights. Among the obstacles to human development, there are problems such as cultural attitudes and practices of another time, and bad attitudes that can not only be corrected by legislation. The hardest thing is to change attitudes through culture. For example in Morocco, the marriage age is 18 years in the family code, but it's very difficult to enforce. When we evaluate this application now, we see a lot of progress, but the law does not apply to these changes. When a girl is pregnant at 16, you cannot refuse to marry, so we can make an exception for certain cases. Once again the hardest part is changing attitudes and practices rooted for many centuries, and there are also economic barriers because resources are limited. Development policy means making an effort to develop economic investment, generate the economic wealth, and then pass it along the people. But at the same time we must spend money for social programs, so how to balance the two? Give priority to long-term investment, and reduce social spending or in social development is also a form of investment. Especially now, with more freedoms (right to strike, freedom of expression) the popular demand is higher, but state resources are not unlimited. The hardest thing is to manage the balance between these two components, meet the social needs of the population and invest in infrastructure.



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Q2. Throughout your career you have been involved with movements that strive for women's equality. Do you think sufficient progress is being made with regards to women's rights and is there more that needs to be done?

If you ask if enough progress has been achieved, I would say no, because it would be sufficient when we will reach real equality between men and women, and parity in public responsibilities. The mentalities must change, and it will take time, more than one generation, some people now have an old mentality. It is changing quickly, but there have been centuries of women considered inferior, having to be with their children, not going out in the street for risk of harassment, and having to be married young, and if she studies too long, she will not find a husband. These are not my ideas, but they exist. But things have changed; there were no women ministers because they felt that women couldn't do it. Mentalities are changing in many areas; women can be leaders, be successful in those areas and approach politics in a new way.

Q3. Do you think there is a difference in the progress that mentalities have made between classes or between poor sections of society and which sections, is it based on education and how do these mentalities change in the long term?

Globalisation brings different influences from other places. We Moroccan people are very open minded because we are at a crossroad between north, south, east, and west as there is a melting pot of Spain, France, Africa, Asia and America. But there are also the opinions coming from eastern extremists preaching one type of intolerant Islam. Therefore, the challenge is to overcome all these influences that stem from globalisation.

Thank you for your time.

An Interview with Ribbal Al Assad

(Founder and Chairman of IMAN; Founder and Director of the Organization for Democracy and Freedom in Syria)

8/11/2010 - Interview conducted by Mark Warman

Q1. What do you think the world can learn from the German reunification in terms of peace building?

The world can learn a lot as it was a big inspiration to all of us as it freed people from East Berlin, and all of Germany. It shows that it gave hope to people all over the world that if we all work together, we can bring change to our countries. If those people were able to stand up to the most tyrannical government which was the Soviet Union, and bring down this wall, it gives all the younger generations great



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hope to break all other walls that exist.

Q2. Why is there still no peace agreement between Israel and Syria, and what opportunities exist so that an agreement can be reached in the future?

Everyone in the world wants peace today, and people are tired of wars and suffering. People want a deal for peace between Israel and Syria, where Syria should get back the entire Golan Heights in exchange for real peace. I really believe that is possible, but both sides have to work on that.

Q3. In an interview with Der Spiegel, you talked about Iran's nuclear program, and how Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad is on the verge of achieving his goal to create a nuclear bomb. You said the best hope was the Green Revolution. You also mentioned how sanctions have not worked. If sanctions do not work, and the West wanting to avoid a military conflict, is it reasonable to believe that the Green Revolution can make a difference in a country which essentially a dictatorship?

I have always said I believe in the Green Revolution. We saw how they went down the street and faced the soldiers from the oppressive regime in Iran. They showed great courage and showed the world they are there, and with a little help they are ready to change their country for the better. Unfortunately, as you know the Iranian government does not see it is in their interest to stop their nuclear program. The Iranian regime wants to control the Middle East using religion, and that's a bad thing. If they have a nuclear bomb, then they will be able to achieve that, and there will be no one in the world to stop them from taking over. Nobody would be able to stop them from doing anything and nobody wants to start a third world war. For smaller countries like Bahrain, that's dangerous as Iran has visions to reinstate the Persian Empire. We have to stop them and the whole world has to work together to encourage the Green Revolution in every way possible.

Q4. It is important for Syria, to strengthen it's relations internationally. However, there are already many issues within Syria, as you once said: 'A lot of people say that there are great investment opportunities in Syria. But how can anyone invest in a country where there is no rule of law and no security? Corruption is rife in state institutions. The economy is operated on the basis of nepotism and favouritism.' So does peace building need to happen internally before it can occur externally?

Of course Syrians would believe in peaceful and gradual change. That's why we need to put pressure on the Syrian government that they should start working on bringing in democracy. Not just by saying it, or saying our democracy is not the same as Europe's democracy: democracy is democracy. Of course each country has their own democracy, but certainly what is happening in Syria is not for democracy. Putting people in jail for saying bad things about the regime is not democratic regardless of what they say. If they don't have any change in Syria, and this change is forced upon them, this is not good. We



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have seen what has happened in Iraq, and we don't want that to happen in Syria. We don't want any foreign forces or armies to come and have a conflict with Syria, or even insiders and extremists taking arms and going against the government. Because as you have seen in many countries, nobody knows when people decide to go to the streets and start demonstrations which could end up in a struggle and we certainly don't want that because that's disastrous for everybody. We want the governments themselves, to start a democratic dialogue to accept all parties who believe in democracy and pluralism, and to work towards starting a Syria of the future far away from grudges and hatred. We have to put all of the pasts aside, and all work together. Whatever happened in the past let's leave it there and works towards the future, and that's the only way we will be able to build a modern and democratic society.

Q5. How can cultural diplomacy be used within Syria but also internationally to peace build? Syria has already had success in peace building with USA and Turkey. Could these processes and frameworks be replicated with other states to help build a more peaceful Syrian state?

Syria has not improved relations; the United States has given a chance to Syria. The Syrians tell their people "now we have a great relationship with the US", but they have not improved relations. They have been given a chance, and they should have taken it to get Syria out of isolation, and taken advantage of it. The West can help them economically, and build towards peace in many different ways. But the Syrian regime has to accept that in order to get that, they should allow universal value such as internet access. Syria has one of the lowest penetration rates of internet with something like 16%. It's impossible to say we want to have dialogue with the West when we can't even have dialogue with each other.

Thank you for your time.

An Interview with Robert Eysoldt

(Director of the "Farbwerte-SchwarzRotGold" exhibition)

6/11/2010 - Interview conducted by Christina Latham

Q1. You have twenty years experience in the media industry as a consultant and later as a content director. How did the idea to create "Farbwerte-SchwarzRotGold" come to your mind?

Well a few things made me think of it. In 1990, I was watching MTV and saw Madonna with an American flag in the song Vogue; I think it was at the start of Rock the Vote. I always travel to America and see how they arrange the flag, hang the flag; work with the flag, even within pop art. In Germany this wasn't so easy, 25 to 30 years ago even for me, the German flag was bad, it was a no-go area, when we saw the flag it was a kind of enemy. Then I had the idea to take the flag out of radical hands into more liberal hands. I worked on a song at Universal Studios with Paul van Dyk and Peter Heppner called "Wir



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Sind Wir" [we are one]; it's all about Germany getting back on track after the war. After the song, there was a pretty intense discussion about it being Nazi pop or something like that. People were getting very nervous, and I think if people are getting nervous, there must be something behind it. I wanted to take this and make something creative out of it. The idea was to create a high-level project. I don't curate it, otherwise it's like censorship, so I don't want to curate it. It's not about art, it's about what people think and what they can do to show what they think.

Q2. Following the fall of the Berlin Wall twenty-one years ago, two similar yet very different parts of Germany were reunited. What are your thoughts on the progress that cultural identity has made here, and what are the challenges that still need to be overcome?

Well I was here in '89 at the Brandenburg Gate and New Years Eve was a crazy night. I was living at the time in Cologne working for RTL and we saw it on television. In that situation when it all happened, it was too close, it was not real. I think it's getting bigger and bigger after 20 years as it becomes a historical thing, unlike when it is in the present and you don't recognize it. There is still east and west of course, because the people who are living right now who were born in another state lived a life of other backgrounds, and had other views. But it's always interesting when you bring these people together because when there is dialogue, people often talk about things they never saw because they don't go there. Most of the people from the West have never been to the former GDR, and I think you have to go there. Of course both sides definitely have to move on, and this needs 20 years or 50 years. But it's good because I see it like the wall. The first year everyone was involved in putting the wall away, now everyone is like 'where was the wall, we want to do something!' I think right now it's the time to hold on it's the normal situation; it's a good opportunity if you don't have to be too fast. It's a relationship thing, there's a movement behind it, but it's only one thing as we have the whole immigration thing going on and the discussion surrounding this. Its like this in many other countries to. I think it needs more time.

Q3. "Farbwerte-SchwarzRotGold" has a wide variety of artists participating and coming from various fields such as the fashion industry, art and others. What were you looking for in the artists you worked with and what have they brought to the exhibition?

Well to be honest from the beginning we just dropped a note in various networks. It's like a snowball thing going on, and it's always nice when people grab one of these snowballs and try to send something back. Last October was the first exhibition in Berlin, we opened something at the Münze, and I got feedback from about 50-60 people worldwide from doing this. It was interesting because weeks before, I received a package in the post with the stuff in it. It felt like Christmas because there were tiny things and big things. It's always good when you start a project and you get feedback. I started in March 2009 and in October there was an exhibition of 750 square metres with 120 portraits, exhibits. It's still ongoing, and right now people are still working with me.

Q4. German society is known for being one of the most multicultural in Europe. Major cities



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see the descendants of Turkish guest workers, immigrants from Eastern Europe and millions of study-abroad students converge and remodel the social tissue of Germany. How did you go about portraying this variety in your exhibition?

I think the whole project is kind of a mosaic; it's never going to be ready, maybe there's more black stones or more red stones or more gold stones, I don't know. I'm a networker, so it's easy when you start with your network around you. It's like dropping a stone into water, first you start with the people around you. We were in China and Tehran and it always needs somebody to begin with, so I'm not deciding that I need more immigrants, so let's look for more immigrants. The people in the portraits are people I know, so it's somehow personal too. We are taking photos, for example, starting tomorrow here of some keynote speakers and some participants maybe, so it's a bit by surprise and it's a network.

Q5. Having showcased your exhibition in numerous locations such as the Universal Exhibition in Shanghai, in what ways do you think this work can contribute to a better understanding of each other in Germany and cultural diplomacy internationally?

I think it's all about building platforms and starting to communicate. It's always good if you have a story to tell you can start right away talking about something. It's like a Trojan horse, you go there and start talking and try to look very interesting. The first thing you talk about is the project, then you talk about the German flag, and then what can you do with the Chinese flag, although I can't do something with the Chinese flag because it's not allowed. So it's very interesting, because right away on the one hand you start, everything around you in German flags, but after 20 or 25 minutes you start to talk about China, what you can do with the Chinese flag, and that's very interesting. The most important thing is that I've been building networks for many years, its building a platform and it's the easiest way to bring creative people together on an eye level. It's not something in which someone from above tells you how things have to be, it's always interesting to go in on eye level and start working, talking and doing something. The first time I was in Shanghai was September of last year, where I met a friend of mine who suggested he might have a room. That was the first time it was suggested, and then I met the people from the German Pavilion Expo 2010. Everything's a little bit by surprise of course, it's a lot of work to do, and it always came down to the fact that it's like this conference.

Thank you for your time.

An Interview with Dr. Vaira Vike Freiberga

(Former President of Latvia)

7/11/2010 - Interview conducted by Astrid Neve

Q1. After the WWII your family was forced to emigrate due to the Soviet occupation of Lat-



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via. On a personal note, my grand-parents emigrated from Latvia as well after WWII but to Australia. Do you think it is easy to preserve your Latvian identity as you spent such a long time abroad? Where is the border between assimilating to a new culture and saving your origins?

Well there isn't one, because you can do both at the same time, and that's the whole point of having a dual identity. People are not just, when they live in the same environment, think they have just one identity, but as a point of fact, you can acquire several and they don't need to conflict with each other. It's the same as whether someone has a professional identification, a family identification, a gender identification, it's very much the same. The Latvian communities that split and left for political exile felt their sacred duty was to preserve their linguistic and cultural identity to remind the whole world, that the reason they were there was because of a gross injustice that had been committed internationally during the military occupation of 1940, and then the annexation by the Soviet Union after the war. There was a special effort made, starting with the refugee camps in Germany for years when the refugees were placed in camps based on nationalities, and this is how I started to go school. We did not have proper supplies, notebooks, or schoolbooks, as no one cared if we were educated or not. But the Latvians themselves organized a school themselves, and got permission from the British Authorities. The international agency organization that used to feed us decided to scatter the 7 million refugees that had been left there in the wake of the second world war who had fled the Soviet occupied territories in Central Europe. They became dispersed throughout different parts of the world, and I have many classmates from my school in the refugee camp who went to Australia, who still do this day have a thriving Latvian community and still have their cultural day once a year over the Christmas holidays. I lived in Canada, and there are big centres of Latvians in Toronto where they have Latvian Saturday school, and the Latvian house. Similarly in Montreal they also have a Latvian community where my children went to Latvian Saturday school to keep learning the Latvian language. Both of my children grew up in Montreal, but were later repatriated to Latvia which is not their native country, but rather the native country of their mother. I was very active in this movement of keeping the Latvian culture and identity alive in generations after those that had grown up in Latvia. It was quite a challenge for me as I developed a whole theory about identity from my contacts with youngsters in Canada, the United States, Venezuela, Brazil, Australia, and various European countries.



Q2. Speaking of integration, what do you think about the assimilation of the large Russian minority in Latvia? Would you say there is a risk of cultural loss if this minority does not integrate fully, linguistically and culturally?

Assimilation and integration are not the same thing. A great many people from the Latvian exile did assimilate in their local society which means that either they stopped using their language and attending Latvian events so they could be totally integrated into local society. Or in some cases there may



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have been a Latvian husband and wife who decided that they didn't want anything to do with the Latvians, those were assimilated. Whereas the others who did come to Latvian events and maintained their Latvian culture and identity had integrated into society very well, and many of them were not at a disadvantage and they had brilliant careers in local society. In addition to that they participated in these activities that kept Latvian culture and identity alive. Canada for instance, has a multicultural program, but one doesn't need that. We did this spontaneously did this on our own, and no one asked us or pushed us to do this. However, for many decades there was no support other than our own volunteer contributions in terms of financial needs. So as you see in Latvia, all we wish is to develop a notion of citizenship, a belonging to a state, similar to the French after the French revolution, and they developed that notion of citizenship of being loyal to the nation in which you belong. And, within that nation state if there is a dominant culture and language, then you integrate towards that, but that doesn't mean you have to erase your own past. There is not an opportunity to have that one, but some other ones as well.

Q3. As we know, in recent years, many Latvians have left the country, mainly for the United Kingdom or Ireland. What consequences do you think this will have on Latvia's economy, and culture, in the long run?

Difficult to say as we do not yet know the numbers. To start with, we are not a large country, and when I started in office it was 2.3 million, by now it's 2.2 million and it's shrinking literally every day as we are losing people by the month during the economic crisis. That's a severe blow to the country as we were already, ever since we regained our independence, unfortunately the instability and insecurity of those difficult times of transition made for a severe denatality. We were losing around 12,000 people a year as more of them were dying than being born. The emigration we are seeing today is purely economical, and clearly it does not help because these are people who are active in the work force that are leaving. They are frequently leaving behind their children to be looked after by somebody else, or put in an orphanage, and in some cases leaving behind their ailing parents. On top of all of that, they return to Latvia to get free health care, and do not pay the extra monthly fees that they should be doing in places like Ireland, so in fact they are becoming a burden to us really because they should be contributing to our society.

Q4. The Baltics are known for being a stable region. What did those governments, and especially Latvia, do in order to achieve it, and how can they serve as a model to other regions in the world as one of stability and peace?

The stability comes from having had foreign troops traipsing all over the land at every historical opportunity. When at last, the Berlin wall did come down and the Soviet Union collapsed, people breathed a sigh of relief because the last thing they wanted to see was something resembling another military conflict on the European continent. We also have a very clear idea on catching up on lost time, and integrating, not assimilating into Western European culture from which we had been separated forcefully



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by the iron curtain and a totalitarian regime that put dogs, barbed wire, and armed guards that shot at anyone who tried to escape the workers paradise. Of course there was a desire to open up to that part of the democratic world, to regain it's structure of international functioning-both NATO for our security, and the European Union for everything else.

Q5. What is the importance of Cultural Diplomacy and Soft Power in Peace keeping?

Peace keeping is a complex concept because it could be put in place during a conflict or in a post conflict situation, and then it faces a certain set of challenges. Sometimes peacekeepers are brought in, just as a conflict is about to erupt, or in its initial stages, and the UN has been moving towards that model. It's much easier to bring in peacekeeping forces when a conflict is in its early phases, as opposed to trying to 'mop up' after a conflict has been going on for a long time, or there has been a severe genocide. The concepts of peace keeping have been evolving within the United Nations with a clear goal of making it more efficient, increased interaction with the local population, and responding much faster than they have been in the past. One of things I would like to add is that we are sort of commemorating the tenth anniversary of resolution 1325 in the United Nations which insisted that in all peacekeeping and post conflict situations that women should be involved among the personnel among the United Nations, and also those consulted locally. Unfortunately, the implementation of that resolution still has a ways to go in terms of reaching the aims that it hopes to achieve.

Thank you for your time.



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Participant Papers

Author	Title
Admir Duran	Action to Combat Impunity in Serbia: Options and Obstacles
Agnieszka Wedel-Domaradzka	Protection of National Minorities as a factor of stabilization and democratic safety – selected international law regulations
Alexander M. Karn	Depolarizing the Past: Can History Foster Peace?
Dr. Arthur H. Westing	The Korean Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) as a bridge between the two Koreas
Carol Strong & Mr. Joshua Gillum	Overcoming Asymmetry in U.S. Relations with the Middle East: A Strategic Paradigm of Engagement
Felix Olatunji	Towards A New Social Order in African States
Francis Agu	Wanted: a moral foundation for a multireligious country like Nigeria
Gerhard Reese (co-author)	We Are the World – And They Are Not: Prototypicality for the World Community, Legitimacy, and Responses to Global Inequality
Dr. Gohar Markosyan	Peace and Conflict Resolution Education as a best way of breeding tolerance
Jacob Frizis	When everything fails, from what will you hold on to?
Joshua Gillum	Is Islam Peaceful or Violent: Comparing Islam and Christianity to Reveal the Propaganda of Terrorism
Dr. Keith Moser	Reading Le Clézio: Simulating Empathy for the Marginalized Inhabitants of the Unwelcoming Global Village
Maria Chernyaeva,	The New Wars Debate: Implications for Scholarship and Policy
Nicoleta Vasilcovschi	Commercial diplomacy importance and the role of peace promoter in the globalization
Pamela Creed, Ph.D	Acknowledging the Role of the US Department of State English Language Fellows Program In Incremental Conflict Resolution & Peacebuilding
Phil C.W. Chan	Using the WTO for the Protection of Human Rights in China?
Raden Alpha Amirrachman, Ph.D	Tracing the Trajectory of Peace Education Projects: From the Global down to the Local Level
Radmila Jablan Stefanovic, Ph.D	Cost Accounting and Company Management In A World Without Walls
Shelly Gottfried	Understanding a state's model of capitalism: Key points regarding the Varieties of Capitalism (VOC) approach and other models of capitalism to understanding capitalism and its types
Susan Njambi	Empowering youth
Věra – Karin Brázová	Country Study: Ethiopia
Zack Tucker	United in Progress: A Proposal to Reform United Nations' Organizational Structure
Zsoka Koczan	Garden-variety tastes or the power of belonging – critical explorations in the economics of identity



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Testimonials

Azumi Hosaka 🇯🇵

Country: **Japan (living in the UK)**

Organization: **University of Winchester**

How is it that you found out about the ICD and the World Without Walls?

I participated at the last conference about Human Right and I also got an email from my lecturer.

What has been your favourite event or presentation so far, and was there any particular reason?

The presentation from Dr. Jan Oberg. I really appreciated all of the speakers as well because it was really diverse but I found this particular presentation to be central to the idea of peace building.

Have you found this conference valuable in providing network opportunities?

Yes I really did.

Is there a particular career you plan and did the experience of the conference provide you with valuable information to pursue this career plan?

It is nothing really in short term but because I am still a student. I will really use the networks I created here for my dissertations, but after I am not quite sure.

What challenges do you see your country facing in terms of cultural diplomacy?

I do not see many conflicts in my country, but I see conflicts between Japanese, Chinese, Koreans, that kind of things, but I guess there is two things. One is really getting together compared at the past because some culture is really helping young people getting together. I met many ICD members from China and Korea and they're really friendly because we're from the same culture. But we still have, when I talk to these people, sometimes are really angry about the past. They not really think it's been solved so I think that's the conflict.

Has this forum provided you with a new perspective on international exchange?

Yes, I think yes.



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Craig Ruttam 🇨🇦

Country: **Canada**

Organization: **King's College London**

How is it that you found out about the ICD and the World Without Walls?

It was included in a list served through King's College.

What has been your favourite event or presentation so far, and was there any particular reason?

I would say I really enjoyed the lectures by Dr. Gerges and Professor Giddens. I found them really stimulating. There are a couple of different lectures. I really enjoyed what they had to say. There were other lectures I didn't really agree with but that were really fascinating such as by Dr. Oberg.

Have you found this conference valuable in providing network opportunities?

I think so. I've had an opportunity to meet a lot of people. So to that extent it has been good.

Is there a particular career you plan and did the experience of the conference provide you with valuable information to pursue this career plan?

It was interesting seeing paths that people have currently. So it directly provided a bit more insight in different opportunities.

What challenges do you see your country facing in terms of cultural diplomacy?

It was interesting both hearing about domestic cultural issues and just the images of ways countries like Canada are perceived on the international stage. So I think one of the biggest challenges is trying to determine what an accurate portrait is. Either positive or negative it seems that they teeter on either side of the direction of what is actually true.

Has this forum provided you with a new perspective on international exchange?

Not necessarily new but I think it has confirmed my view that sharing between different perspectives is always useful and interesting.



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Felix Olusanjo Olatunji 

Country: **Nigeria**

Organization: **Ladoke Akintola University of Technology**

How is it that you found out about the ICD and the World Without Walls?

I found out from a friend in Nigeria. A partner in the office has been here before and he was a student there for a Master's Program and his lecturers sent information of the forum onto him and I got the message from him about the forum.

What has been your favourite event or presentation so far, and was there any particular reason?

The best for me was on the basis of peace-building, of reconciliation of which I made suggestions and I asked questions that are concerned with Africa as a continent because there are so many crises in Africa today and specifically I used my country as a case study, which is Nigeria, and the Niger Delta and Bokura). Borkura in our society means you hate western education of which there are crises; many churches, many hospitals were burnt down, many women, children even men were being killed, maimed on a daily basis in Nigeria and it is still happening. That is one of the best aspects of this forum that I gained more from, and questions were asked. There was even a particular questions I asked the former President of Latvia and she answered me and I was happy with it.

Have you found this conference valuable in providing network opportunities?

There is no doubt about so many facilities that one can gain and experience one can get from this particular conference and it has been affected because it is basically international, it is not limited to a particular region, it is global in nature.

Is there a particular career you plan and did the experience of the conference provide you with valuable information to pursue this career plan?

No doubt. I am a teacher, I teach in one of the universities in Nigeria. I teach political philosophy. There is no doubt this conference has opened me up to so many areas even in my field. Because this forum is going to affect the way I teach now. It has opened up so many avenues for me, meeting people that have diversified the globe.

What challenges do you see your country facing in terms of cultural diplomacy?

There are so many challenges like I said in Nigeria, challenges of injustice, of corruption, of intolerance when we talk about religion and ethnicity, tribalism, bigotry, there are so many in Nigeria and those challenges are affecting society because we have come to a situation where everyone is trying to say "Oh I claim my ethnicity because there is nothing the government is doing for us."

In Nigeria the government is not functioning on a daily basis, you know, you hear of kidnappings, teenage pregnancy on a daily basis in Nigeria. These are things that are affecting the social stability, the



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development and cultural diplomacy in my country and the government is not doing anything about it. What they doing is that they are playing politics with everything in Nigeria.

Has this forum provided you with a new perspective on international exchange?

No doubt about it. This forum has really confirmed that we can be one in the world. In this forum we say that we have no particular race. We are one human race. For us to have that common union we have to have borderless countries.

We need to bridge the gaps so we have to come together so we can unite as one human people not that one is coloured and one is not coloured, one is from America, the other one is a Jew. There is no Jew, there is no German, there is no Africa; there is only one human race in the world.

Maria Chernyaeba 🇬🇧

Country: **UK**

Organization: **University College London**

How is it that you found out about the ICD and the World Without Walls?

I actually met Peter Rees [ICD Program Director] personally when he visited London and he participated in an organised presentation by the German Society at University College London. So he was invited to speak about Cultural Diplomacy and the work of the ICD and he introduced the concept of cultural diplomacy, the work of the institute and about the conferences and I thought he was a fantastic speaker and almost straight away I decided I really wanted to come to this conference. I just applied, got an email from Rosie that I had been accepted, it was very last minute or me but I thought Peter Rees' presentation was so effective that I had no doubts that I really wanted to do it.

What has been your favourite event or presentation so far, and was there any particular reason?

Well I really enjoyed the panel discussion last night because I think the speakers were very willing to answer the questions. For example, I thought they were very acknowledgeable and approachable and they answer all of the questions in a very good manner. That was a discussion on humanitarian law, the last panel discussion of that night

How would you evaluate cultural diplomacy in your own country, and is there anything else you would like to reflect on?

Absolutely. It has been a fantastic experience. I met some very nice people, some really important people that will be important to keep in touch with.



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Is there a particular career you plan and did the experience of the conference provide you with valuable information to pursue this career plan?

Certainly, well I am quite keen on applying for an internship at the ICD. That's in the long term but in the short term it has inspired me to not just read journals and books but to actually go and visit the places that I've studied, for example, by talking to Jack McConnell, who has been to Rwanda. So it has inspired me to pursue a career in a war torn zone or just to go abroad and experience the things first hand and not just read about them.

What challenge do you see your country facing in terms of cultural diplomacy?

As far as I'm aware there's a structure in Bulgaria, the Atlantic Club, which is a partner of the ICD. I think if I speak about Bulgaria I'm probably not very well informed because I left Bulgaria many years ago, but I think in the UK there is a strong reliance on hard power as opposed to diplomacy and soft power, so there is probably a need for more of a balance.

Has this forum provided you with a new perspective on international exchange?

Absolutely, it has been so valuable to hear points from Africa, South America, North America, from wider Europe, from Asia. It has been very, very refreshing and it has also been really nice to hear people who come from different backgrounds, for example a physician who was a former President. So certainly the multinational aspect of it has been good.

Matthew Woodard 

Country: **USA**

Organization: **Texas Tech University**

How is it that you found out about the ICD and the World Without Walls?

My professor from Texas Tech University told me about this conference and she suggested that I go visit while I am studying abroad in Germany.

What has been your favourite event or presentation so far, and was there any particular reason?

It would have to be from Jan Oberg just because the way he speaks, it is very clear. He is very understandable and most relatable speaker of everyone. I had a chance to speak to him personally and everything he says is legitimate it is very good and I agree with a lot of his opinions about humanity. He made very good points when speaking about Mutually Assured Destruction and nuclear war and how cultural diplomacy is absolutely necessary to try and go about the issue to resolve this issue. I just found him really funny, he is an awesome guy.



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Have you found this conference valuable in providing network opportunities?

Definitely. I mean without it connections would not have been made today. It is things like this that people need in order to meet someone from another nation.

Is there a particular career you plan and did the experience of the conference provide you with valuable information to pursue this career plan?

I’m not absolutely sure but I would like to work with a study abroad organisation eventually. I am studying German and I would like to be involved in a study abroad organisation between America and Germany and other nations. I think a lot of the content in this conference opened up new doors and new ideas that I would be able to use for the future.

What challenges do you see your country facing in terms of cultural diplomacy?

Coming from America we have a long way to go. There is this weird sense of isolationism when it comes to other cultures. I think people should learn from other cultures, people should meet people from other parts of the world because in the United States you can go throughout colleges without ever having met somebody from outside of the United States, not only because of the sheer size of the country but there is just a lack of involvement in cultural issues outside of the United States.

Has this forum provided you with a new perspective on international exchange?

Yes it has. I studied abroad before to Germany, but that was the extent up to a few days ago. Since a few days ago I met people from all corners of the world from every country possible, honestly and it has helped a lot in opening my mind about cultural diplomacy and understanding other cultures and other people.

Susan Njambi-Szlapta 

Country: **Germany/Kenya**

Organisation: **University of Reading**

How did you find out about the ICD?

Well the university sent me an email saying there was a conference taking place in Berlin to do with my course, international relations and politics, so I thought I’d attend

What has been your favorite event or presentation so far?

That’s difficult. The two I really liked were Johann Galtung and Fawaz Gerges, who was talking about the different sides of Islam.



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Has the conference provided you with any useful networking opportunities?

Yes it was good, the dinners were good for meeting people

Is there a particular career you plan on pursuing and has the conference helped you in this?

I want to do something to do with the UN or humanitarian organisations or diplomacy generally. I thought it was quite helpful to hear from people who have experience in the different countries and also the critical views of the professors as to what can be achieved.

What challenge do you see your country facing in terms of cultural diplomacy?

Since I've been living in Germany for the last 10 years I think that Germany does have cultural diplomacy but it's very peculiar with double standards, they communicate and try to help countries but also pay a lot of attention to their economic needs, for example when they talk to China they have a lot of double standards, I think Germany needs to make up its mind as to what they want to achieve.

Sylvia Oitner 

Country: **Austria**

How did you find out about the ICD and the international conference?

It was in my institution which had a copy of an email from Rosie. I had to really have a close look for it though, and I guess it didn't circulate well in my institute as no-one else came.

What has been your favourite part so far, and why?

I have a few: Anthony Giddens was really interesting. Then I thought all the ideas of culture really inspired me. These talks inspired me the most.

Have you found this conference effective in providing networking opportunities?

I think it is very important to do networking events and that it works out well, because of social activities and so on. The only thing I would suggest is that - today we heard a few talks from students themselves and participants. It would be good if more time was spent on that.

Is there any particular career you plan on pursuing and did the experience of the conference provide you with any valuable information for pursuing this career path?

Yes, definitely. I did actually do some networking concerning that. Maybe working at the ICIC. So it helped me a lot, and all the new perspectives, and the very broad discourse here gave me an opportunity to rethink some theories.

What challenges do you see your country facing in terms of cultural diplomacy?

There is very little happening on this in Austria. We can learn a lot, we should learn a lot, and we need



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it at every level - national, international and local levels.

Has this forum provided you with a new perspective on intercultural exchange?

I knew lots of things before. However, here, I realised that a lot of people are stuck in theoretical perspectives. So these types of lectures are really important to interrupt the system, or to disturb systems that we think are proper.

Thomas Piper 

Country: **Germany**

Can you tell us a little about your background?

I am an independent in social sciences with an MA from the University of Art in Berlin as well as the Hamburg University, before that I studied psychology, history and architecture.

How did you find out about the ICD?

I have been affiliated with the ICD for two years. I think it was when Obama was elected and the ICD was still in the former America house which they wanted to have as their basic centre, that's when I started to participate on the programs of the ICD. So after two years or more it has become like family to me so I'm constantly taking part in the conferences and I'm always very inspired so I'm always informed by Rosie, getting the emails and newsletters, so there's constant contact.

What has been your favorite presentation and why?

There were a few. To start the Danish researcher Jan Oberg was very inspiring to me because he got to the point, he was intellectually very clear and brought in a completely new perspective, and then there was Mr. Johan Galtung, the Norwegian peace researcher, who did the same, the two worked together, and I had a very good connection with both of them, especially to Jan Oberg with whom I will definitely stay in contact, but the same with Johan Galtung. I also liked today the presentations of the so-called non-experts because they were very inspiring in terms of being refreshing and lively. And of course the speech by President Palaccio and his speech about biosociety, I has a very good discussion with him about it and I will meet up with him again, especially as I have a similar background as I studied medicine and I have an interest in biology

Have you found the conference good in providing networking opportunities?

Its a definite yes and its the thing I appreciate the most about ICD events, the opportunity to meet people you usually wouldn't. The people come from all over the world, the only thing is it makes you want to have a year to see the places where all the people come from. It is wonderful to provide a global network.



"A World Without Walls"

"An International Conference on Peacebuilding, Reconciliation and Globalization in an Interdependent World"

Is there a particular career you plan on pursuing?

I am still figuring it out, originally I wanted to work as an editor or a journalist as I'm very much a writer as well, and then I found out I would like to get into this field of cultural diplomacy somehow, so I don't as of yet have a particular career plan. It's like a puzzle, all of these conferences I've been to at the ICD bring in new inspirations, new points where I think hey, that might be a direction. I offered Mr. Palaccio any sort of cooperation, as I'd like to bring as much as I can to his idea of a biosociety.

What challenges do you see you're facing in terms of cultural diplomacy?

Since we just lately over the past two months had this very intense discussion about multiculturalism and whether it has worked and not. Chancellor Merkel said that it had failed and the former finance senator from Berlin, Sarrazin, wrote a book about why Germany should stay German, and why from his perspective it does not, so it is a very lively discussion and I think since such critical things, which usually everyone would deny at once, such as this book, are very easy just to reject, and we all would do so because it tends to be a bit racist. I think to really come to terms with multiculturalism we should also focus on the burning points, like in Berlin in Kreuzberg or Neukölln, where people who are not academics like the audience here are, for whom it is very easy to talk about multiculturalism as no one is particularly threatened by it, we have to see in particular where are the points where it doesn't work and what to do about it. If we do so such theories or books wouldn't have any base to build on and cause such controversy. The Minister President of Bavaria said we don't need any people coming from foreign countries to work here, this is of course nonsense when you see our demographic future, so I think we still have to learn as Germans how to live together and how to build up really functional multicultural society, which we are anyway, and which we will definitely be in the future in a globalised world even more.

Has this forum provided with a new perspective on international exchange?

It has underlined my interest in international exchange. I've always loved going to other countries and meeting other people from other countries. The new perspective might be to step into the shoes of people from other countries to see what their background and problems are. I think we need to be more sensitive to people from a different cultural background.



"A World Without Walls"

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Vittorio Haiorana 

Country: **Italy**

Organization: **Universita di Torino**

How is it that you found out about the ICD and the World Without Walls?

It was a unique opportunity to have real communication and real contact with inspiring people.

What has been your favourite event or presentation so far, and was there any particular reason?

Jan Oberg, George Galloway and President Palacio. They have something different to say and something more politically incorrect. This is something I look for because I can read everything else in books and the internet. These things are much harder to find in today's world. President Palacio is scientifically knowledgeable, something which only a few politicians are.

Is there a particular career you plan and did the experience of the conference provide you with valuable information to pursue this career plan?

Yes of course. I'd still like to think about it but I am very interested in contributing as a volunteer in some way.

What challenges do you see your country facing in terms of cultural diplomacy?

I like how Italy approaches the European Union but I don't like how they are linked to the imperialism of the US and they sent troops to Afghanistan because of this. I hope that in a few years, when this government will fall things will improve. I really hope for this.

Has this forum provided you with a new perspective on international exchange?

Of course, many new perspectives, especially about the real meaning of peace-building because this term has been abused. Analyzing this concept really deeply has been really useful for me.

Yadout Mohamed 

Country: **Sudan**

Organization: **International University of Africa**

How is it that you found out about the ICD and the World Without Walls?

I read a newsletter on Facebook and on some websites and last year I applied to join a forum about cultural diplomacy in Africa but I could not come at that time.

