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1814, 1914, 2014: Lessons from the Past, Visions for the Future



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1814, 1914, 2014: Lessons from the Past, Visions for the Future



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John Singer Sargent's *Gassed* (1919)



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Preface

Interesting Times

2014 marked the centenary of the outbreak of World War One and the bicentenary of the opening of the Congress of Vienna – two dates that profoundly shaped the course of history. While in 1814, towards the end of the Napoleonic Wars, the concerted powers of Europe were architects of a new international system, the leaders of 1914 have famously been described as sleepwalkers, stumbling into war.

Today we face complex interconnected challenges – from regional tensions in and around Ukraine, Syria, Iraq, South Sudan and the South China Sea to global threats linked to climate change, growing inequality, and the legacy of the financial crisis. At a time of rapid change and escalating tensions, how can a greater awareness of history help us deal with emerging threats and reduce the risk of future conflicts? What lessons from the past can help us restore public trust in the international system and in the ability of leaders to deliver solutions? And what will future historians say about the leaders of today: were they architects or sleepwalkers?

To create positive narratives for the future and revitalize efforts to build a global community, the International Peace Institute (IPI) and Salzburg Global Seminar – with generous support from Canada and Norway – brought together leaders from politics, diplomacy, and business with internationally recognized historians, journalists, political scientists, philosophers, and writers.

At a time of rapid change and escalating tensions, this high-level meeting provided leading figures from diverse backgrounds, coming from six continents, with the time and space to reflect on the lessons of the past in order to shape an international system fit for purpose in the 21st century.



Introduction

Stephen Salyer and Terje Rød-Larsen, presidents of Salzburg Global Seminar and the International Peace Institute respectively, opened the symposium. In their welcoming remarks, they stressed the close cooperation between the two institutions that led to the development of this unique and timely gathering, designed to discuss some of the most pertinent issues of today and prepare for the challenges of tomorrow.

Learning from the lessons of the past, the “collective wisdom and experience” of this seminar, said Rød-Larsen, “can transform the way we think about adaptation to dramatic and rapid changes” of our times. The dramatic crises of 2014 gave the meeting added significance and increased the sense of urgency for proposing effective recommendations to change the unstable status quo of the international system.

Renowned author and prize-winning historian Margaret MacMillan opened her keynote address with a warning about lessons from the past, for “you can find any lesson you want in the past.” Retrospective analyses of the past can lead to fallacies because knowledge *ex post facto* is always greater than in the middle of challenging times, such as today. Yet the past can warn us to avoid pitfalls. Despite the very different contextual periods, there are a number of provocative similarities between 1814, 1914 and 2014. The events of 2014 might well suggest certain shifts with long-term consequences occurring in the world – looking at these key moments a hundred years apart might hence be of real value. What are their similarities?

The worlds approaching 1814, 1914 and 2014 all underwent a process of increasing interconnectivity, whether through the Industrial Revolution, expansion of transportation and communication opportunities, eras of globalization and massive movements of capital, goods and people, or the tremendous strains in societies with increasing wealth gaps and a growing readiness for violence.



Terje Rød-Larsen



Stephen Salyer



Margaret MacMillan

All three periods experienced changes in the very nature of war. While in early 19th century France the transformation of subjects into citizens with an obligation to defend the territory heralded the beginning of mass wars, these reached an entirely new level 100 years later with new technologies that allowed for the building of armies of unprecedented size. Such deployments of men could be sent into and kept in the field more easily, becoming much more effective at killing each other. Similarly, today's rapid technological change brings unpredictable modes of confrontation and warfare.

Events in history are causal, but not inevitable. When looking at pathways of history, we need to account for economic, social, political, intellectual and religious forces, but also human agency of key decision makers. The leadership and decisions of July 1914 had the potential to fundamentally change history either way, and they did in a disastrous way.

The outstanding feature of the Congress of Vienna was a shift in thinking about international relations. Departing from the 18th century mindset of the zero-sum principle, the leaders of 1814 were able for the first time to establish a stable system that would allow every key participant to be better off by settling disputes through cooperation rather than conflict. By 1914, and already after the Crimean war, this order had broken down with increasing resort to the anarchic

Video and a full transcript of the keynote can be found online:

www.salzburgglobal.org/go/543



chain of thought and the rise of social Darwinism promoting war as an integral part of human nature and a legitimate means of survival. This led to the greatest self-inflicted calamity that mankind had ever experienced – an unprecedented loss of human lives, the destruction of empires, a decrease in wealth and Europe’s global position, as well as a period of instability that set the stage for World War Two. Post-1918 attempts at creating international institutions to mitigate the horrors of conflict failed due to the lack of objective conditions of peace, and only resurfaced more successfully in 1945. But by 2014, this period of internationalism and international cooperation seems to have come to an end, with increasing unilateralism and deviation from an established rules-based system. Like in the past, we lack good answers to questions of managing local conflicts and preventing their wider impact. Global power shifts, identity politics, competition for resources, economic instability, unstable regimes, health issues, and growing wealth gaps characterize the world around us. Are today’s international institutions sufficient to address those issues in the long run?

This first day was on-the-record and open to the press. All subsequent days’ panels were subject to the Chatham House Rule, whereby discussions can be published but not attributed.

Videos of the on-the-record panels can be found online: www.salzburgglobal.org/go/543

Following opening remarks from Hans Brattskar, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Norway, a subsequent panel chaired by IPI President Rød-Larsen gave the floor to John Baird, Foreign Minister of Canada; Edward Mortimer, Salzburg Global Seminar Senior Program Advisor; and Professor MacMillan. The panelists shared their concerns about the fundamental challenges to the current world order, illustrated by Russia’s blunt disregard of international norms, the threat posed by extremism and the lack of effective institutional responses. While socioeconomic trends are heralding shifts in the global balance of power, mistakes in leadership have generated even greater problems – such as the US “war on terror” as an open ended process or Russian

President Vladimir Putin’s anachronistic geopolitics supported by high domestic approval rates. Totalitarianism, the panelists agreed, is the shared feature of ideological perversions such as 20th century fascism and communism, as well as current extremism in the Middle East. One participant said: “ideology is back.” Social identity markers like interpretations of religion are being exploited as an excuse to maximize control and power without any clear vision of what to do with such power. In conversation with the audience, the panel examined questions regarding the risk of destructive precedents and possible mitigating policies such as sanctions.

1. Margaret MacMillan

2. Terje Rød-Larsen

3. Hans Brattskar

4. John Baird





As an introduction to this thematic block, the International Peace Institute screened a short documentary film entitled *Architects and Sleepwalkers* that was produced especially for this event.

The film recalls that the leaders who met at the Congress in Vienna in 1814, towards the end of the Napoleonic wars, were architects of a new international system, while the leaders of 1914 have famously been described as sleepwalkers, stumbling into war.

The film asks “what lessons can be learned from these pivotal moments in history to address emerging threats and reduce the risk of future conflicts? And what will future historians say about the leaders of today: were they architects or sleepwalkers?”

The documentary can be watched online: www.salzburgglobal.org/go/543/IPIdocumentary

Is History Repeating Itself?

The Architects: Lessons from 1814

What is the legacy of the Congress of Vienna? Did it contribute to a century of peace, or simply delay reforms? Is democratic reform sometimes sacrificed in the name of stability – and what are the long-term consequences? What lessons from the balance of power system resonate today? Is it time for a new Congress of Vienna?

The leaders of 1814 are generally perceived as architects because after 20 years of struggling they were able to eventually realize that they could only overthrow Napoleon and bring stability to Europe by working together. Besides the territorial settlement, these leaders – all on first name basis and without any substantial worries about public opinion – established a system of relative peace. A key lesson to be drawn from this, participants observed, is that shared experiences and a mutual understanding of each other’s perspective is a good thing. And so is the willingness to engage in finding minimum necessary requirements for cooperation despite opposition, even if the task is hard.

However, achieving a continental peace was also combined with the very pragmatic aim of establishing an institutional guarantee to thrones and borders. One-sided characterizations of the leaders as peacemakers often disregard the fact that the imperial powers, unconstrained by public laws, crushed opposition, as seen soon after the Congress of Vienna. This led to distrust by less influential countries, but also among the Great Powers themselves. Europe continued to be the playground for their ambitious games, and indeed led to clashes among the powers in the mid-1850s (like the Crimean War). Such inherent institutional weakness, a panelist affirmed, became very clear when a new generation of rulers came into power – such as Otto von Bismarck or Nicolas I. In sum, there is possibly as much to learn from the negative heritage of the Congress of Vienna as the positive one.

The lively discussion with the audience centered around the key question of whether a system analogous to the Congress of Vienna would be necessary and useful today. Should not the United Nations Security Council have such a function in a permanent manner? Does its configuration and condition allow for effective guarantees of peace? Many participants were skeptical. The reality of today seems to indicate that this is not the case. Just like the underlying aspiration in 1814 was to secure powers and privileges of European elites, the pursuit of parochial interests might doom the rigid post-1945 structure of the UN to failure in the long run. While enabling the seed of liberalism, the Congress of Vienna system was conservative in its nature – aimed at restoring imperial power balance and subsequently used to suppress revolutions.

Nevertheless, some participants proposed a regional congress for the Middle East. It was stressed that the region itself must take responsibility and ownership of any viable paths to peace. Any externally imposed solution would be doomed to fail. One participant noted that in Europe, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) can be considered to be a contemporary equivalent to the Congress of Vienna. Others questioned OSCE's usefulness in preventing conflict, particularly in Ukraine.

1. Miroslav Šedivý

2. Mark Jarrett





Mohamed Issa Abushahab



Katlego Bagwasi



Altay Cengizer

The Sleepwalkers: Lessons from 1914

What lessons can be learned from the events and decisions that led to the outbreak of the First World War? How can similar mistakes be avoided? Does the world today resemble 1914? What are crucial similarities or differences?

Historian A. J. P. Taylor once very soberly said that “the only thing people learn from past mistakes is how to make new ones,” and indeed, with crises in Ukraine, Syria and much of the Middle East, 2014 has worrying parallels to 1914. One speaker observed that history can be extremely useful in a critical analysis of ongoing decisions as well as being an important tool in forecasting and preventing conflicts. But one has to contextualize carefully. While the Congress of Vienna was about “peace in Europe,” it excluded the rest of the world.

The key context of comparison for 1914 and today is what one panelist called the “first” and “second globalization” as well as the impact of generations looking for their respective values. These values may be modernity, rationality, science, art, education, democracy – but they can also run in the opposite direction towards extremism and nationalism. “Generation matters,” particularly in looking at democratic aspirations and social changes in the world of today. It is a human tendency of young people in particular to retrospectively construct a past that provides meaning and secures anchor points. In this regard, a very aggressive, anti-Jewish and racial narrative of “German culture” developed among students at German and Austrian universities prior to World War One that was exploited by the Nazis some decades later. It was pointed out that in preventing conflict, the availability of information does not necessarily equal the use of such information – otherwise how could Austro-Hungary have taken the seemingly irrational decision to wage war against Serbia despite being aware of the massive risks?

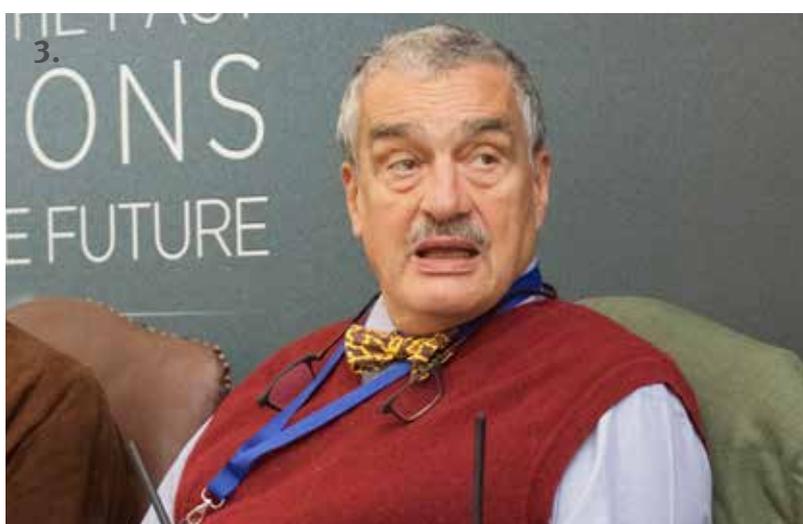
Another speaker highlighted four lessons that can be learned from World War One. Firstly, what really matters are the assumptions brought to the table by leaders – hardly ever questioned because they are being shared by individuals within a similar paradigm of thought. And yet, false assumptions lead to unsuccessful policies. Second, leaders routinely exaggerate the constraints under which they operate

and underestimate the constraints under which other leaders operate. As an example, “in 1914 every country was convinced that the other had to back down, but they felt for domestic and strategic reasons that they could not and that others would not understand this.” Parallel patterns of escalation can be found in Europe and the Middle East of today. Third, leaders consistently exaggerate the extent to which they can limit risks and control escalation, as illustrated by the Cuban Missile Crisis. And fourth, leaders are often sensitive to the wrong threats – falsely prioritized threat assessments lead to wrong policies only aggravating the problem. All these patterns can be observed in the developments of 1914, despite quite clear awareness of the situation and numerous voices pointing out the obvious dangers. In this regard, some panelists agreed that the leaders of 1914 were in fact architects, rather than sleepwalkers – but architects of their own doom.

1. Oliver Rathkolb

2. Richard Ned Lebow

3. Prince Karel zu Schwarzenberg



During the discussion, participants highlighted that an adequate analysis of decision-making must include the appropriate frame of reference – and in many cases this under-analyzed frame is honor and prestige. A parallel was drawn between some leaders of 1914 and Putin. Prestige is thus not merely a means to an end, but also an end in itself.

Lastly, the historical condition of closed decision-making – with its strengths and weaknesses – is no longer present in times of a digital revolution and exposes leaders to a much greater range of diverging opinions and actors. This factor fundamentally influences outcomes of political decision-making.

1. Ivica Dačić (l) and Miroslav Lajčák

2. Prince Turki al Faisal (r) with Ihor Prokopchuk

3. Lyse Doucet

4. Lamberto Zannier



2014: The Flashpoints of Today

Which flashpoints today pose the greatest threat to international security? How do these crises relate to each other, and what steps can be taken to de-escalate them? Is the international system fit for purpose to cope with the flashpoints of today, particularly the growing number of conflicts, including domestic conflicts and conflicts involving non-state actors? Do international institutions themselves have political personalities and interests?

Looking at the rising tensions in Ukraine, a growing war of words in South East Asia and a number of violent conflicts in Africa, or the advance of extremism in the Middle East, one is reminded of repeating patterns of conflict throughout history. But, as Mark Twain once said, “history does not repeat itself, it rhymes.” Close attention to all these conflict hotspots, then and now, is essential to prevent escalation and spillover. The intellectual focus of ongoing discussions on potential future escalation, however, overshadows the massive amount of currently ongoing destruction, one participant pointed out. At the time of speaking, estimates indicated that close to 200,000 people had been killed in Syria since the initial protests – equally terrifying numbers are coming in from Iraq and Libya, while the civil war in Yemen is continuing with unpredictable outcomes.

This session paid particular attention to the crisis in Ukraine. The risk of conflict based on ethnic or linguistic differences in Ukraine was virtually non-existent since the country’s independence in 1991, a participant from Ukraine stated, as almost all citizens in the country are said to be bilingual. The illegal annexation of Crimea, the speaker continued, was a result of Putin’s wrong expectations, namely strong popular support for the secession, the state’s weakness to defend itself and the reluctance to respond on the side of the international community. Using the example of this crisis, one participant suggested that an organization such as the OSCE has all necessary tools to engage, even though some might have to be adjusted for increased effectiveness. However, he pointed out that during the Ukraine crisis there has been a return to a zero-sum logic which, on the one hand, has made the



Marc Champion



Seán Cleary



Steven Erlanger

1. Participants on the lakeside terrace of Schloss Leopoldskron, venue of the symposium and home to Salzburg Global Seminar

2. John Baird gives an interview in the Chinese Room

3. Sebatso Manoeli asks a question in Parker Hall

OSCE more relevant, but on the other has hampered its efforts in crisis management and the realization of a common security space.

Concluding discussions touched upon the risk of double standards by great powers in regards to fundamental principles, the future role of NATO as well as clandestine proxy wars in the Middle East, and tensions between Saudi Arabia and Iran. One participant suggested that the flashpoints discussed feature another new common threat: the presence of armed non-state actors.



Redrawing the Map?

The Impact of Empires, Then and Now

Are we still dealing with the collapse of empires (e.g. Austro-Hungarian, British, Ottoman)? Some great powers are becoming more assertive, while others are playing a more diminished role on the world stage: What are the consequences? Do great powers have legitimate zones of interest? Are we witnessing a number of proxy wars among great powers?

1814 can be called an “age of empires,” gradually drawn into mortal combat with each other over the course of the ensuing 100 years. While the British and the French empires are long gone, their legacy, carved into borders in the Middle East through the Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916, remains visible on the map – but does it reflect the reality on the ground? Is the Russian Empire being revived? Can we talk of the EU led by Germany as a multinational empire? And is China emerging as a new imperial power? These were some of the questions raised in the panel discussion.

A speaker observed that the US and China do not fall into the category of empires, whereas statements by Putin such as “Russian people are perhaps the largest divided nation in the world” recalls Nazi and Hungarian fascist terminology. The key problem with the current political philosophy of the international system, another speaker noted, is that the logic of a uni- but also multi-polar world is rooted in an imperial way of thinking, marginalizing peripheries and focusing on military and financial power. A political philosophy *sui generis* is the Chinese perspective of the political and security order, which is a work in progress of translating mostly domestic traditions into international policies. One participant observed that while China’s openness towards the global economic system has pragmatically advanced its modernization programs, its political values as an emerging new power are yet to be accommodated into a framework of international norms.



Charles Ehrlich



Thomas Greminger



Oleksiy Haran

Speakers give interviews to the press:

1. Andrei Illarionov

2. Kevin Rudd

3. Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga

The goal of total political and economic control of Ukraine by Russia, as identified by one speaker, can only be prevented by the committed support of the international community for Ukraine. But it also raises the question of “legitimate zones of interest” for great powers, which was compared by another panelist to George Orwell’s *Animal Farm*, with some animals “being more equal than others” – an unacceptable attitude in a global system of international laws and recognized nation states. But the post-1945 system of politics and the age of so-called democracies (many of them projecting power externally in a not-so-democratic way) might be coming to an end after passing through a “unipolar moment.” How do we organize the globe in the 21st century? Can sustainable institutions contain what a participant described as part of “human nature” – contempt, lack of empathy, and instincts of aggressiveness and hatred? Is this human nature?



New Powers on the Block

Who are the rising powers in 2014? Is this assessment based on military power, political influence, economic weight, or some other criterion? How do new powers assume leadership roles in a multi-polar world? Should existing institutions be adjusted to more accurately reflect the diversity of actors? Do new powers threaten traditional great powers or represent new avenues for cooperation and global partnership?

The world order as we know it has lost its reassuring feeling, exhibiting a high degree of dysfunction. The sheer amount of unstable hotspots around the globe raises questions about the fundamental ability of the UN, and the Security Council in particular, to execute its core mandate of maintaining international peace and security.

In East Asia, a number of issues are key for “new powers on the block.” One participant from the region said that Asia is at the receiving end of essentially European concepts like maps and sovereignty: “Maps only came with the French and the British,” he said. China is now becoming increasingly rigorous about its territory, generating tensions with the Philippines, Vietnam, Malaysia and Brunei, gradually also Indonesia, and most worryingly Japan. China aspires to a share of ownership in the global system, without abandoning its traditional values. In this regard, ASEAN has evolved into a fulcrum of power plays, balancing the material powers but also concepts and ideas of maps and power politics. A meticulous student of the Monroe Doctrine, China has very clear ideas of legitimate claims regarding their neighborhood. Such a “Monroe mindset” – as referred to by another panelist – can still be seen in operation in US foreign policy towards Latin America, particularly Cuba, despite its anachronistic colonial origin. Similarly, some discussants agreed that the invasion of Iraq in 2003 has been the most irresponsible decision by US leadership in recent history. Not only did it destabilize the entire region, but also led directly to the death of hundreds of thousands of people.

As the discussion shifted to re-structuring the international system in a way that would make it reflect more the reality of today, some



Nasra Hassan



Walter Kemp



John Lotherington



Panellists Hardeep Singh Puri, Surin Pitsuwan, James Rubin, Antonio de Aguiar Patriota and Yerzhan Kazykhanov

participants highlighted that the extreme ineffectiveness of the UN Security Council stems from the use of the veto among the Permanent Five (P5) – China, France, Russia, the UK and the US. The use of veto has caused great damage not only to societies in conflict, but also to the very system itself. However, it is not realistic to expect those who have the veto to give it up; hence a veto restraint agreement should be the way forward, suggested one participant. The disproportional and arbitrary power of the P5 should be limited to the rarest cases. The long-standing debate of Security Council reform was also raised, with a strong argument made for more permanent non-veto members. Proposing more than just two clashing alternatives (US, UK and France vs. Russia and China – as reflected by most contemporary Security Council debates, reminiscent of Cold War scenarios), such additional countries could strengthen inclusiveness and international self-confidence vis-à-vis powerful countries, thereby enhancing multilateralism. In addition, middle and small powers have a higher interest in a working global order than great powers that believe in their own unilateral capacity to serve their own interests. “Size is not important,” a panelist urged, merely the “commitment to bring support to the table.” Economic and political integration of regions with goodwill and support from the UN system can strengthen systemic coherence in a multi-polar world. Stability and peace can be further advanced by greater inclusion of civil society, which by and large has inclusive and non-militaristic features (unlike nation states by definition) that enhance peaceful governance and conflict management. But such a diffusion of power is rather idealistic – are the players of today ready to share their power for the sake of peace and stability tomorrow?

Diplomacy and Leadership in a Changing World

Can states continue to use traditional diplomacy to solve today's problems? What impediments limit the effectiveness of traditional diplomacy today? Does successful diplomacy today require merely skilled diplomats or an entirely new type of diplomats? Who are the leaders of the future and what skills will they require? Where are women's voices in international diplomacy?

While in 1814 diplomacy was essentially a matter of personalities, leadership, and human agency, capable of delivering durable peace by balancing power through dialogue and compromise, 1914 brought about the power of industrial organization to the art and science of warfare. Time and time again history shows us that the deferral of power to military leadership can lead to disastrous results, hugely intensified by unconventional threats such as natural disasters or health epidemics. The First World War cost some 17 million lives, but



Lilia Shevtsova



Gerald Knäus



Hardeep Singh Puri



Yerzhan Kazykhanov

the following outbreak of the Spanish flu killed over 50 million people worldwide.

Today, with very different sources and vectors of economic, military, cultural, industrial, or demographic power across the globe, the world is indeed not so much multi-polar, but hetero-polar – in others words, different states have different strengths. Balancing power has become much more difficult due to the rapid advancement and diffusion of science and technology in a globalized framework. Nevertheless, conventional security thinking in national diplomacy leaves increasingly relevant science and technology driven threats largely unaddressed. Can a “new diplomacy” be developed, and how can its capacity be increased? In a complex era of uncertainty and risk, diplomacy is needed more than ever before. And yet, as one speaker noted, in its current state it is failing due to profound problems related to the very substance of diplomatic practice as well as the mis-allocation of resources. Based on this observation, the speaker identified “10 uneasy steps towards the restoration of diplomatic capacity in the 21st century” [see box].

10 uneasy steps towards the restoration of diplomatic capacity in the 21st century

1. The mandate and mission of foreign ministries should be its service as an agent of international policy, integration and harmonization across government;
2. The headquarters' organizational structures can be smaller, flatter, and organized with more effectiveness;
3. The representational footprint of diplomatic services should adapt to the circumstances on the ground;
4. Corporate management within foreign ministries must be optimized, learning from past and current mistakes;
5. Leaders need to play a more prominent role within the ministerial bureaucracy in order to promote foreign policy priorities;
6. The organizational culture on the ground can become more adventurous, with more willingness to improvise and experiment according to local circumstances;
7. Diplomatic practice itself must change – from the bureaucracy of international politics to “backpack diplomacy”;
8. Science diplomacy, so far almost invisible, can improve the service's performance;
9. The use of social and digital media needs to catch up with contemporary reality; and
10. The allocation of necessary resources are a precondition for these changes in the diplomatic ecosystem (ministry, foreign service, practice).

Diplomacy today, another panelist pointed out, is in the paradoxical situation of being successful and a failure at the same time: in many cases – such as the so-called “frozen conflicts” in the Caucasus, Transdnistria or even Ukraine – diplomacy replaces political leadership that is incapable of solving crises, yet it lacks the leverage to affect change and therefore ends up “freezing” the crisis.

Evoking the Nazi-coined terms of “Waffenkrieg” and “Propagandakrieg,” one panelist referred to the impressive realpolitik skills of contemporary Russian diplomacy – the mastery of the Geneva talks on Syria, securing an iron dome over the country and pushing for negotiations on the chemical deal, gave Syrian President Bashar al-Assad's regime double protection from foreign intervention and hence increased the leverage of Russia's bilateral interests vis-à-vis Syria.

Comparing it to the work of an architect, one speaker emphasized that the success of diplomacy lies in constructing institutions capable of withstanding huge geopolitical earthquakes. In this regard, the continuous EU enlargement has to be seen as an unprecedented success

of consolidating peace, democracy and stability across the continent. According to this speaker's opinion, the EU advanced a vision suddenly available to people in countries like Ukraine, who henceforth renounced the idea of being a Russian colony in favor of joining this community of freedom and movement. Reluctance to further pursue enlargement is a bizarre and absolutely counterproductive phenomenon, said the panelist. But it is part of an overall lack of passion and convictions that crept into European leadership with its bureaucratic overstretch. "Diplomacy is like traffic," one participant observed, "if there is too much, you cannot move."

At the same time institutions of global governance such as the UN Security Council have become absolutely obsolete and incapable of responding to the most pressing global challenges, some discussants observed with concern. Several recent examples were mentioned.

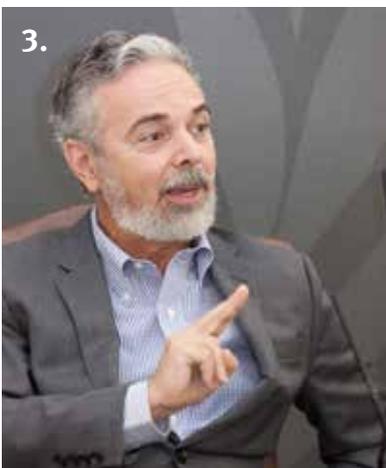
1. Daryl Copeland

2. Wolfgang Petritsch

3. Antonio de Aguiar Patriota

4. James Rubin

5. Surin Pitsuwan



Risk and Resilience

Vulnerability and Resilience: Trends in International Security

Based on its long-standing research capacity and analytic support to multilateral efforts in promoting international peace and security, IPI gave a comprehensive presentation on global trends and challenges. In a world that is more complex and interconnected than ever before, risks to stability are shifting with increasing speed of change and affecting societies beyond national borders. With this backdrop in mind, IPI has started to frame its work in terms of managing risk, and building resilience. By supporting multilateral institutions to adapt and transform, IPI seeks to contribute substantially to a more peaceful, secure, and prosperous world. To effectively address the massive challenges ahead, the multilateral system needs to adapt accordingly.

Threats not only result from shifting political, military, and economic power across the globe, ongoing conflicts, and hybrid warfare; they also stem from new dimensions of transnational importance – such as terrorism and organized crime. Other trends that must be addressed include migration and forced displacement, fragile states and cities, climate change, development and environmental degradation, humanitarian risks and resource scarcity, as well as public health, justice, and human rights, an education and gender gap, and cyber security. On a governance level, the multilateral system needs to tackle questions of inequality, inclusion and unrest, youth and unemployment, poverty and (food) insecurity, as well as corruption.

In light of this complex and extensive grid of risks, the question arises of whether the multilateral system as we know it is fit for purpose. Experience and ongoing crises seem to indicate that this is not the case. For this reason, IPI has made it its mission to focus its work program on addressing this systemic imbalance, through the launch of the newly established Independent Commission on Multilateralism [see Appendix IV].



Edward Mortimer



János Martonyi



Linn Marie Nettelvik

Coping with Risks and Threats

What are the most salient risks and challenges to international peace and security? How do climate, energy, food, and water security impact international relations? What steps can be taken to reduce risk and increase resilience to deal with these challenges? How can states and systems become better prepared for future threats and challenges, and adapt more effectively to change?

Intuitively, one would argue that larger and less volatile polities are more stable. But, as one participant pointed out, history teaches us that, conversely, the larger and the more centralized a country the more fragile it becomes. The most stable system in history, one panelist argued, was the city state. Scale, rather than democracy, proves to be more important for stability. A horizontally spread system of bottom-up decision-making is what gives a system resilience. Centralized statehood becomes even more of an instability factor when imposed onto a region. Indeed, can it be said that the continuous conflicts in the Middle East relate to concepts of statehood and borders that did not develop to its current form organically in the course of history?



Josef Joffe



Nassim Nicholas Taleb



Martin Nesirky



Sundeep Waslekar

It was pointed out by participants that the key risks and threats that will seriously undermine current geopolitics are water – both as an instrument of cooperation and conflict – and natural resources. Other threats include the continued danger of nuclear weapons – something leaders of 1814 and 1914 did not have to be concerned about – and new scientific advancements such as genetic engineering.

Quoting the historian Niall Ferguson that the world is “not a clash of civilizations, but a civilization of clashes,” a panelist reckoned that the conflict-potential is particularly high within and among Islamic systems of governance that face the challenge of failed states such as Iraq, Syria, or Libya. Contrary to the political scientist Francis Fukuyama’s assertion about the end of history, “history never ended,” one speaker maintained – indeed it returned with Putin’s opportunistic approach to power politics as well as “revisionist games” with China, Iran, and Russia all “wanting more.” Strategically fatal moves on the part of the US such as its withdrawal from Iraq, a panelist said, could lead to the rest of the century being dominated by small-scale hit-and-run non-state warfare in various places where statehood will be difficult to restore.

One participant stressed, conflicts have shaped humanity whether we accept it or not, and we should see each conflict as a chance to turn it into something better, something that can be exploited for advancing the good.



Oleksandr Pavlyuk



Andrea Pfanzerter



Clare Shine

Adapting to Change: Fixing a Broken International System

Is the international system fit for purpose? Can existing international institutions evolve and adapt, or do they need to be replaced? If the system is broken, who can fix it, and how? What place and role is there for new actors (including regional organizations, the private sector, and civil society)? Do the old rules of international relations still apply, or have too many been broken? How can the rule of law be restored in international relations?

1. Michael Møller

2. Christian Wenaweser

3. Albert Ramdin

4. Amre Moussa



Is the international system broken? Yes and no, panelists deliberated. Within the UN, specialized agencies such as the World Health Organization and the Food and Agricultural Organization are “working fine,” as are, by and large, the UN’s peacekeeping operations. On the other hand there are failures of the system, particularly in the UN’s key mandate of maintaining international peace and security, in the field of human rights, and also the implementation of Chapter VII of the UN Charter. Structurally, the system is paralyzed by the management of superpowers that use double standards and open protectionism of countries that continue to commit clear violations of international law, human rights, and international humanitarian rules. The UN does have an incredible potential of human and intellectual capacity that could be used in a much better way.

There is an understanding of the problem and the complexity of possible solutions, but the rigid structures do not enable such an understanding to be implemented. The system, a UN representative asserted, does not require a reform, but it needs to be restructured – with special attention to inclusivity and legitimacy. “The UN has lost its credibility,” some panelists said, not least due to its absence and marginalization from increasingly important global challenges as previously presented. The organization, another speaker summarized, “has devolved into becoming a global NGO which does a lot of commentary but provides little action.” Security Council paralysis and the erosion of the rule of law (e.g. the illegal annexation of Crimea) is an increasingly re-occurring phenomenon due to great power interests. But the UN has real impact in areas of the world that seldom make the news (such as the UNHCR, the UN Refugee Agency) and fails to receive the recognition it deserves. Modern societies are shaped by media, favoring the sensational over the statistical, one participant concluded. For this reason, the UN is embarking on an “ambitious perception change program,” an official informed the audience, addressing the issue of public awareness, trust, and relevance: “There is not a single individual on this planet that in any given 24 hour period is not touched by something that has been done, decided, or implemented by the UN. We have not been able to pass this message on.” But, some interjected, changes within the UN that could increase its effectiveness are also hampered by vehement resistance on the part of the staff as well as certain member states that benefit from programs that are operationally totally obsolete.



Christian Strohal



Christian Ultsch



Yevgeny Volk

On a more positive note, a lot has been achieved. Sixty years ago the Western hemisphere was characterized by authoritarian regimes, now strong institutions dominate, resolving disputes through dialogue. Nation states have much more independent foreign and economic policies, and regions are becoming more and more inclusive. The role of the UN, in this regard, must also be to strengthen regional organizations and cooperation between them, encouraging regional efforts, and advancing bottom-up integration into a coherent international system. Regional dynamism should reinforce the international order, rather than undercut it.

In the Middle East, for instance, there is an important role for the Arab League to develop a new, common security system, re-establish respect for international humanitarian law and, perhaps, establish a new regional tribunal along the lines of the International Court of Justice.

Participants of the symposium
1814, 1914, 2014: Lessons from the Past, Visions for the Future gather on the terrace of Schloss Leopoldskron for their group photo – a tradition of Salzburg Global Seminar since 1947



Press Conference on the Middle East

During the session, the idea was coined to develop a “Congress of the Middle East” on the model of the Congress of Vienna. Introduced by Salzburg Global Vice President Clare Shine and moderated by IPI President Terje Rød-Larsen, former Secretary-General of the Arab League, Amre Moussa, and former Saudi Director of the General Intelligence, Prince Turki bin Faisal Al Saud, discussed this idea during a press conference.



The Middle East is currently undergoing a major period of change. In anticipation of the end of these transformative times, there is a need to contemplate a new and inclusive regional security system. “We need a new plan worthy of the 21st century and a response to the needs and aspirations of the people,” Moussa said. Regional governance should promote stronger cooperation, a Weapons of Mass Destruction Free Zone, the normalization of Arab relations with Israel (with recognition in exchange for a withdrawal from and acceptance of the Palestinian state, as unanimously proposed in a 2002 Arab League initiative), and it should stay away from promoting sectarian fissions by addressing problems in Iraq, Syria, and Libya in a joint and effective manner.

There needs to be an inclusive discussion on whether a “renovated” Arab League is sufficient to



effectively operate in such a long-term context of regional governance, or if an entirely new initiative will be necessary. In any case, it was mainly bad governance and bad policies supported by big powers that led to the rise of actors such as the self-declared Islamic State. This needs to be addressed urgently and simultaneously on many levels.

Prince Turki added that the P5 of the UN Security Council have a responsibility to make such a proposed WMD-free zone a reality, and further ensure that sanctions would be imposed in the case of non-compliance. Interference in the internal affairs of other states through non-state actors such as Iran-supported Hezbollah, he continued, is another unacceptable challenge in the region.

Responding to Rød-Larsen’s questions whether political programs of some extreme Islamic movements in the region, as well as the Charter of Hamas, resemble totalitarian claims of terror being a legitimate and, indeed, necessary means to achieve their goals, Prince Turki pointed out that this phenomenon is not confined to the Middle East. Extremist groups in Europe also gained certain legitimacy by winning democratic elections and continue to spread attitudes reminiscent of fascist ideologies.

Appendix II

Press Conference on Ukraine

A press briefing was held on the crisis in Ukraine, moderated by Walter Kemp, IPI’s Senior Director for Europe and Central Asia, with Ihor Prokopchuk, Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the International Organizations in Vienna; Andrei Illarionov, a senior fellow at the Cato Institute’s Center for Global Liberty and Prosperity; and Thomas Greminger, Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Switzerland to the OSCE.

Prokopchuk expressed major concern about continued conflict and the growing support as well as direct involvement of the Russian Federation, deploying heavy weaponry and sophisticated military systems into Ukraine. The peace plan proposed by the President of Ukraine, Ambassador Prokopchuk ascertained, provides a sound basis for the resolution of the situation through a decentralization of power, conditional amnesties, and guarantees for cultural interests and freedoms in terms of financial resources.

Russia, also has a “peace plan”, Illarionov, a former economic policy advisor to Putin, noted. This plan calls for federalization instead of decentralization, a non-block status for Ukraine and implicit Russian

ownership of the gas transportation system. Putin has never shown any willingness to compromise in this regard and will continue executing his plan of action until Ukraine is under his control or ceases to exist as an independent and sovereign state. The annexation of Crimea was not a sporadic operation, Illarionov explained, in fact, it was planned for 2004 but not implemented due to insufficient preparation. He made it clear that “only the use of force or readiness to use force” by another powerful state, as threatened in the 2008 Russian-Georgian war, “can stop this war.”

Prokopchuk agreed that massive support and assistance by the international community to Ukraine will be essential in countering the Russian aggression – in financial and law-enforcement/military terms, but also through capacity building and infrastructure building initiatives.

Greminger noted that the OSCE has the tools and mechanisms available to mitigate and resolve the crisis – such as the Representative on Freedom of the Media, electoral observation, or the Permanent Council as a dialogue platform. In the end, however, it depends on the political will of the participating states to make use of these instruments.



Cultural Program

Drawing on the long-running interest of Salzburg Global Seminar in culture and the arts and their role in conflict transformation, as well as the cultural heritage of its home at Schloss Leopoldskron, birthplace of the Salzburg Festival, the session included a complementary cultural program.

The Story of Then: Music from 1814 and 1914

As is the tradition of Salzburg Global Seminar, on the final night of the symposium, a concert took place in the Great Hall of Schloss Leopoldskron. The Salzburg-based Stadler Quartet, accompanied by Swiss-born pianist Ariane Haering, performed a program of music from 1814 and 1914, specially curated by Salzburg Global Program Director, Charles Ehrlich. Ludwig van Beethoven's 1814-written Piano Sonata in E-minor was originally composed for a private salon audience (much like that gathered in Salzburg), rather than to be performed publicly. Franz Schubert's String Quartet Nr. 8, op. 168, was selected in reflection of Salzburg Global Seminar's long-running commitment to youth (having been founded by three young Harvard men in 1947); at the time of composition, Schubert was just 17 years old.

Of the 1914-composed pieces, Igor Stravinsky's Three Pieces for String Quartet provided a Russian perspective on the year. Maurice Ravel's Trio for Violin, Cello, and Piano Third Movement, Passacaille (Très large), was particularly reflective of the era as Ravel rushed to finish the piece because he wanted to enlist in the French army and thought the war would end too quickly. Anton von Webern's Three Small Pieces for Cello and Piano, op. 11, was also written in 1914, but it was in 1945 nearing the end of the Second World War that Webern died – shot by mistake by an American soldier in US-occupied Austria.

Fearing that Webern might be too “heavy” before the final gala dinner, Ehrlich also scheduled for an encore from Franz Lehar's *Merry Widow*. Although not composed in either 1814 or 1914 like the other pieces, the operetta by Austro-Hungarian composer Lehar was written before the First World War and was a thinly-veiled parody about the Montenegrin crown prince, which was very typically light-hearted for of the period.



Appendix III

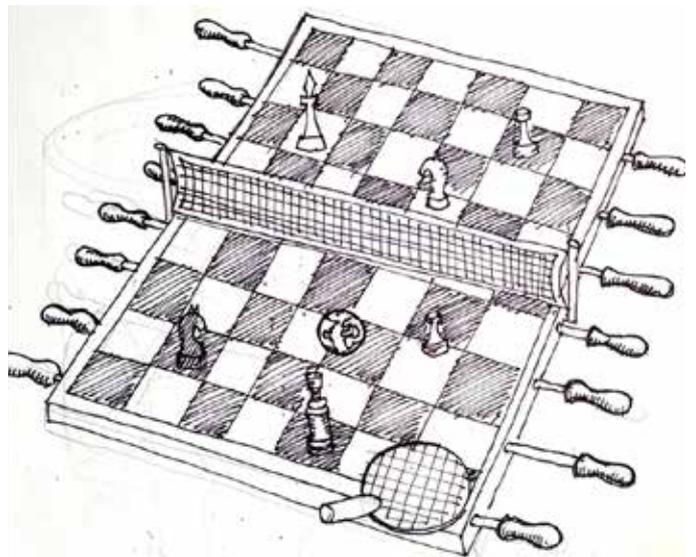
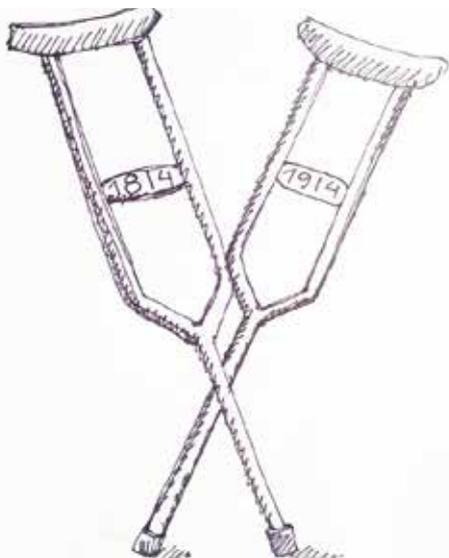
**The Story of Now:
History Through the Artist’s Eyes
– Ray Bartkus**

A refreshing supplement to the session was provided by an aperitif talk with New York-based Lithuanian graphic designer and artist Ray Bartkus, who was present throughout the four-day-long program and who specializes in editorial illustrations on themes of contemporary politics with a highly appealing visual composition. Commenting on the challenge of illustrating cover stories of magazines, Bartkus said, “With my illustrations, I want to inspire people to read the article behind the illustration.”

Bartkus presented an astonishing number of ingenious and thought-provoking sketches on the topics of the symposium, inspired by the historical aspects as well as the policy discussions of the session. Elements in his illustrations ranged from telescopes to look at the world in the past, present and future; bursting pipes in the shape of the date “2014” showing a leaking system in desperate need of repair; crutches (in the shape of the



dates 1814 and 1914, and inspired by one of the participants who had broken her leg two weeks prior to the symposium) that can help us walk just like the lessons from the past; and a curious board game that was a mix of chess, ping-pong and table football – one system with different rules and games being played by different actors. Bartkus observed, “We are a bit like a walking egg, stumbling around without knowing what exactly will hatch.” The presentation was tremendously well received by the symposium participants, who appreciated the unusual perspective provided by an artistic impression and left inspired for the remainder of the meeting.



The Independent Commission on Multilateralism (ICM)

The United Nations was formed seven decades ago. Since then, there has been a dramatic evolution in the nature of threats to international peace and security – as well as a proliferation of new challenges. There is now an urgent need to independently review the current multilateral system and to make it fit for purpose. Established with support from the governments of Canada and Norway, the ICM is a two-year process designed to analyze the changing nature of contemporary challenges, and make recommendations to strengthen the multilateral system.

The commission is chaired by Kevin Rudd, former Prime Minister of Australia, and co-chaired by Børge Brende, Foreign Minister of Norway, and John Baird, Foreign Minister of Canada. IPI is serving as the secretariat under the leadership of IPI's Vice President and the former Permanent Representative of India to the UN, Hardeep Puri, who is the Secretary General of the Commission.

The work of the Commission will be undertaken through a structure comprising:

- An Advisory Council of Eminent Persons who will meet at least once a year to provide advice and to serve as a sounding board for the Commission;
- A Ministerial-level Board expected to meet every six months with each Minister serving in his or her personal capacity;
- An Ambassadorial-level Board expected to meet every six months. Each Ambassador will serve in his or her personal capacity.

The above three-tier structure will be supported by a Working Group made up of participants from governments. Under the direction of the Secretary General, and in close cooperation with the Chair and Co-chairs, IPI will take the lead in drafting the final report of the Commission.

More information about the ICM can be found on the ICM website: www.icm2016.org



Kevin Rudd (left) and Hardeep Singh Puri (right) will serve as the Chair and Secretary General, respectively, of the ICM

Appendix V

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Peace Institute**

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Louise Hallman is the editor at Salzburg Global Seminar. In her role she creates, commissions, and edits content for SalzburgGlobal.org; manages social media platforms; edits, writes and designs Salzburg Global's session reports; contributes features to external publications; liaises with visiting members of the press; and manages other in-house journalism and marketing projects. Prior to joining Salzburg Global in April 2012, she worked for the World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers as a project manager and editor, and the International Press Institute as a press freedom advisor and in-house journalist. Ms. Hallman holds M.A. degrees from the University of St. Andrews in International Relations and Middle East Studies and Glasgow Caledonian University in Multimedia Journalism.

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www.ipinst.org/2014/08/high-level-forum-examines-lessons-of-1814-and-1914-for-today

Salzburg Global Seminar

Salzburg Global Seminar is an independent non-profit strategic convener founded in 1947 to challenge present and future leaders to solve issues of global concern. Salzburg Global's program is designed around three cross-cutting clusters – Imagination, Sustainability and Justice – that reflect the values underpinning everything the organization does. Salzburg Global uses this framework, to map issues and support changemakers across generations, sectors and scales. Working with the world's leading public and private organizations and philanthropic investors, Salzburg Global engages its network of Fellows across six continents to accelerate breakthrough thinking and collaboration to tackle complex challenges.

International Peace Institute

The International Peace Institute (IPI) is dedicated to promoting the prevention and settlement of conflicts between and within states by strengthening international peace and security institutions. Originally founded in 1970 as the International Peace Academy, it was first devoted to the training of military and civilian professionals in peacekeeping. IPI operates as an independent, international not-for-profit think tank with a staff representing more than 20 nationalities, located in New York across from United Nations headquarters, in Vienna and in Manama. To achieve its purpose, IPI employs a mix of policy research, convening, publishing and outreach.