



CHATHAM HOUSE



Power and Responsibility: The Changing Role of Non State Actors

Programme

Wednesday 1 and Thursday 2 December 2004
Palais d'Egmont, Place du Petit Sablon, 1000 Brussels

Please note that the conference will be held under the Chatham House Rule, which reads as follows:

When a meeting, or part thereof, is held under the Chatham House Rule, participants are free to use the information received, but neither the identity nor the affiliation of the speaker(s), nor that of any other participant, may be revealed.

Tuesday 30 November 2004

20.00 Informal Dinner (Meet in the Hilton lobby at 19.15
Café du Vaudeville, Galerie de la Reine 11, 1000 Brussels)

Wednesday 1 December 2004

08.00 Welcome Coffee and registration

Introduction

Chairs	Etienne Davignon Chairman IRRI-KIIB	Victor Bulmer-Thomas Director Chatham House
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09.00 Opening Remarks by the Chairs

Plenary I: Changing Nature of the Debate

09.20 August Reinisch
Professor
University of Vienna

Plenary II: The Forces at Work – Chaired by Victor Bulmer-Thomas

Chair Victor Bulmer-Thomas

09.40 Market actors

Louis Turner Director APTN	Nicholas Dungan Director Dungan Associates
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10.00	Discussion
10.20	Non Governmental Organisations
	Gorik Ooms General Director Médecins Sans Frontières, Belgium
10.40	Discussion
11.00	Coffee
11.30	Religious Actors
	Yasin Ceylan Professor University of Ankara
11.50	Discussion
12.10	Extra-Legal Non State Actors
	Dominik Enste University of Cologne
12.30	Discussion
13.00	Lunch
14.30	Breakout Session 1: Human rights and Development
Chair	Claude Misson Director General IRRI-KIIB
Speaker	Lotte Leicht Director Human Rights Watch , Belgium
14.30	Breakout Session 2: Environment, Wealth creation and global business
Chair	John Volger Chair British International Studies Association Environment Working Group
Speaker	Robert Falkner London School of Economics
14.30	Breakout Session 3: Security, Faith and global society
Chair	Rebecca Horsewell Chatham House
Speaker	Kim Cragin RAND
16.00	Coffee

- 16.30 **Breakout sessions 1, 2 and 3 continued**
- 20.00 Dinner (Meet in the Hilton lobby at 19.15
 Au Vieux Saint-Martin, Grand Sablon 38, 1000 Brussels)

Thursday 2 December 2004

- 08.30 Coffee

Plenary III: Summary Presentations on Breakout Sessions 1, 2 & 3

Chair Victor Bulmer-Thomas

- 09.00 Jean Paul Marthoz
 International Press Director
 Human Rights Watch
- Fanny Calder
 Sustainable Development Programme
 Chatham House
- Jacques Scheuer
 Professor
 Université Catholique de Louvain-la-Neuve (UCL)

Plenary IV: Global Themes

Chair Victor Bulmer-Thomas

09.30 **World Economic Governance**

Paola Subacchi
 Head of the Economics Programme
 Chatham House

09.45 Discussion

10.00 **Media and Technology**

Susan Moeller Professor Philip Merrill College of Journalism	Maarten Botterman Program director for Information Society Policy Research RAND, Europe
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10.20 Discussion

10.30 **International Law**

Pierre d'Argent
Professor
Université Catholique de Louvain-la-Neuve (UCL)

10.45 Discussion

11.00 Coffee

11.30 **Breakout 4: Complex emergencies: the case of Afghanistan**

Chair John Tesh

Head of the New Security Issues Programme
Chatham House

Speaker Jonathan Goodhand
SOAS

11.30 **Breakout 5: The African crisis, development (Central Africa: The Great Lakes + Angola)**

Chair Renier Nijskens
Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy, Mozambique

Speaker Christopher Clapham
Professor
University of Cambridge

11.30 **Breakout 6: NSA and Policy forming: the shaping of US Foreign Policy**

Chair Nicholas Dungan

Speaker Michael Cox
Professor
London School of Economics

13.00 Lunch

Plenary V: Summary Presentations on Breakout Sessions 4, 5 & 6

14.15 Philippe Copinschi
Professor
Institute of Political Studies Paris

Nicholas Dungan

Plenary VI: Debate “State versus Non State Actors”

Chair Etienne Davignon

14.45 Open debate

Plenary VII: Global Governance – A new Framework for the role of Non State Actors in International Affairs?

Chair Etienne Davignon

15.30 Jan Aart Scholte
Director
Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation at Warwick
University

Conference Ends – Closing remarks Etienne Davignon

16.30 Etienne Davignon



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Power and Responsibility: The Changing Role of Non-state Actors Briefing Paper

Wednesday 1 and Thursday 2 December 2004
Palais d'Egmont, Place du Petit Sablon, 1000 Brussels

Purpose of the Project and the Conference

The Non-State Actors Project developed jointly by the Belgian Royal Institute of International Relations and by the Royal Institute of International Affairs at Chatham House has a simple yet sweeping purpose, namely: to heighten the awareness of international relations experts, policy practitioners and other interested professionals to the changing role of Non-state actors in international affairs. The Project aims to assemble in one place — and, in 2005, to publish in one volume — a thought-provoking review of the role of today's Non-state actors, the issues they influence and the impacts they produce.

This Palais d'Egmont Conference on 1 and 2 December 2004 represents the first attempt of the two founding Institutes to treat all the major themes of the Project in one group. From this conference will emerge further workshops and conferences, which will provide the opportunity for in-depth, subject-specific analysis, as well as a multi-authored book and companion book of readings, followed by the establishment of a permanent joint programme between the Belgian IRRI-KIIB and Chatham House.

We welcome your participation, your ideas and your suggestions for the future of the project.

Plenary I: Changing Nature of the Debate

This introductory session will analyse the changing nature of the debate in relation to Non-state actors and its repercussions.

This session will look at the basic trends:

- Are we dealing with a phenomenon, which has actually been growing steadily in recent years?
- If Non-state actors have increased their influence in recent decades, why is this the case?
- Will this trend continue or declined?
- How will the power balance change between the State and the Non-state actor?
- Is the distinction and balance, both in terms of power and responsibility, between the state and the Non-state actors being blurred? What guideposts can bring some focus?
- To what extent are Non-state actors in emerging States becoming increasingly important? What are the implications and impact of this on the role of the Non-state actor?

The session will provide an opportunity to introduce some of the theories about the rise in Non-state actor influence, including:

- The impact of the ICT revolution, facilitating alliances between hitherto isolated Non-state actors.
- Ideological developments, such as the increased mistrust in the State and the growing faith in the concept of 'global civil society'.
- The loss of state monopoly on traditional State-like roles.
- End of the bipolar stability of the cold war.
- Globalisation and its impacts – increasing economic, social and political interdependence and co-operation.
- The anti-globalisation movement and the search for the "authentic".
- Competition among States and Non-state actors alike.
- Global rivalry for natural resources

And an initial discussion of the policy issues thrown up by this phenomenon

- To what extent are States and inter-governmental organisations losing power to these

new actors?

- In so far as the Non-state actors have influence, can one generalise about their goals?
- Can one generalise about the reasons for their success/effectiveness?
- To whom are Non-state actors responsible?
- How can Non-state actor behaviour be controlled/regulated?

Plenary II: The Forces at Work – the actors

For the purposes of this project we will define Non-state actors as “an actor not pursuing the interest of a State or government”, but believe that a more precise and consensus-built definition should be created. We have chosen to focus upon four main categories of Non-state actors. However, any comprehensive coverage would include; for example, policy advocates and analysts such as the professional lobbyists, the traditional policy institutes and the newer think tanks; single-issue political parties and ‘moguls’. All deserve analysis for their political impact and their influence should be discussed in the breakout sessions.

- **Market Actors** primarily include the multinational business community, and the professional support institutions (law and accounting firms, credit-rating agencies, pension funds, industry lobbies, standards-setting groups etc).
 - Do multi-national corporations wield political power or influence? If so, is this independent of their just doing business?
 - Why has corporate social responsibility come to the fore?
 - If the world economy’s centre of gravity is moving towards economies such as China and India how will this change the role of MNCs in the world system?
 - Is the State the biggest market actor?
- **NGOs** often referred to as “the third sector”, include actors such as charities, not-for-profit organisations and other groups concerned with issues such as human rights, the environment, labour conditions, and development.
 - Why have NGOs become more influential in recent decades?
 - Where do they get their legitimacy from?
 - To what extent have they been co-opted by States and inter-governmental organisations?
 - What are the current accountability, legitimacy and governance issues?
 - What are the consequences of the emergence of global civil society on Non-state actors

and the State?

- **Religious Actors** including actors such as the Catholic church, the neo-conservative US evangelists, Islamist fundamentalists, Jewish extremists and “new wave” religions.
 - How strong is the link between politics and religion?
 - Can the State be secular? Can the Non-state actor be secular?
 - Is religion a motivating force behind many Non-state actors?
 - Is the current academic focus on Islam, shielding the analysis of the resurgence in the influence of religion?
- **Extra-Legal Actors** including actors in the trade and production of drugs, actors in the people-trafficking industry, money-launderers, actors in the illegal arms industry, rebel groups, terrorists and other extra-legal actors making up the “shadow economy”.
 - What distinctions have to be made between various extra-legal actors? (Ideological/economically-driven/criminal?)
 - Has the influence of such actors been increasing?
 - To what extent are they taking advantage of the gaps between national authorities?
 - Post 9/11, are States reasserting their control over these actors?
 - To what extent has the international legal system been extending its reach over such actors?
 - Is the immediate challenge to government more from the shadow economy than the more spectacular extra-legal groups that dominate the current discourse?

Break-out Sessions 1-3: The Issues

These sessions aim consider the assumptions and conclusions derived from our knowledge of Non-state actors and the extent to which they succeed in influencing issues.

In examining the issues we should aim to answer the following broad questions:

- In relation to the issue in question (development, human rights, security etc) which are the key Non-state actors and how do they relate to other Non-state actors, now and in the future?
- In relation to the issue in question, to what extent do the Non-state actors concerned depend on relations with States, now and in the future?

- What is the (say 5 to 10 year) outlook for the actors or issues being discussed? What can be done to shape the intellectual debate and policy impact of the Non-state actor?
- To what extent are these Non-state actors merely an extension of the State?
- Are Non-state actors part of the solution or the cause?
- To what extent does the issue in question, and the impact of Non-state actors, lead to the conclusion that new global governance rules and structures are needed?
- Have the imperfections of the State-centric system made international system more vulnerable to the positive and negative effects of various Non-state actors? How can this be addressed?

The issues selected for the breakout sessions represent some key debates in which non-state actors exert influence. They by no means present an exhaustive list and have been paired to stimulate deeper inter-issue discussion.

Breakout Session 1: Human Rights and Development

- What is the relationship between human rights NGOs and the international judicial process?
- To what extent have developmental NGOs led the development debate?
- What lessons Non-state actors learn from the co-option of developmental NGOs by bodies such as the World Bank?
- What are the implications of the perception that developmental NGOs are an extension of States' foreign policy agenda?
- Are human rights intrinsically linked to the notion of the state?
- What role have Non-state actors played in shifting the focus from civil and political to economic, social and cultural rights? Is this a positive shift?
- Is the role of the Non-state actor in advocating human rights challenging or complimenting the powers of the state?
- Has the shift from aid to new humanitarianism gone too far in giving power to the Non-state actor?
- How can Non-state actors help to shape human rights and development to create an equitable globalisation?
- How has "the rise of the individual" affected the power balance of the State and Non-state actor?

Breakout Session 2: Environment, Wealth Creation and Global Business

- To what extent can environmental Non-state actors be captured for trade protectionist purposes?
- Who decides the minimum standards of accepted corporate behaviour with respect to environment and wealth creation?
- How can concerns for environment and equitable distribution of wealth be reconciled with “big business” and market forces?
- How can one curb the adverse effects of Inter-state and State/Non-state resource rivalry and its implications for the environment, business and wealth creation?
- “Climate change is a far greater threat to the world than international terrorism” (Sir David King UK Government’s chief scientific adviser 9/01/04). Are both States and Non-State actors focusing on the wrong agenda?
- The Rio Earth Summit is generally felt to be a seminal event in the treatment of NGOs by the United Nations, how is that event now interpreted?
- Given that the United Nations was already moving on environmental issues in the early 1970s, how did environmental NGOs fit into the process, which produced Kyoto and the ban on CFCs?
- What are the future trends in the role of environmental NGOs?
- Has the failure of the state to adequately address issues of environmental protection, just wealth creation and the forces of global business resulted in the transfer of these tasks to the Non-state actors?

Breakout Session 3: Security, Faith and Global Society

- Is faith the new ideological battleground of the post cold-war era?
- Does religious terrorism represent an entirely new Non-state actor phenomenon? If so, how does it challenge our understanding of Non-state actors? Are new mechanisms needed to deal with this trend?
- Has the rise of Non-state actors and the argued declining State legitimacy increased our perceptions of insecurity? If so, has this contributed to a resurgence in faith and religious ideologies?
- Is religion a destabilising force? If so are Non-state actors promoting or combating this?
- Is the “clash of civilisations” disguising the power of Non-state actors and simultaneously devaluing the contemporary role of religion?

- What does the rise of evangelical Christianity in the US illustrate about the interaction between religion, security and politics?
- Are NGOs the vehicle of a particular value system?
- Does the recent outsourcing of military capabilities represent the surrender the last “bastion of the state”?
- How are Non-state actors reconciling the concepts of pluralism, security and faith?
- Have the inequities of globalisation increased the motives and power for the rise of extra legal Non-state actors? Is it possible to combat this phenomenon?
- To what extent does the States’ use of the power of fear influence the role of Non-state actors in the realm of religion and security?

Plenary IV: Global Themes

This session aims to examine some of the wider themes involving and impacting upon Non-state actors. We have identified these overarching themes as they represent major components affecting the international system and should thus be analysed before looking at case studies in the breakout sessions which will follow.

World Economic Governance

The world economic governance institutions have been a stage for conflict between the Non-state actors themselves and the State-system. The Bretton Woods system has come under direct attack from an increasing number of Non-state actors. Some Non-state actors have attempted to reinforce and further embed the current system with for example Multinational Corporations, lobbying to get issues such as the opening of financial markets onto trade agendas. Conversely, many Non-State actors have been part of the globalisation backlash, for example the European Social Forum. These trends perhaps illustrate the possible susceptibility to change of the world economic system and the respective, previously underestimated, strength of the Non-state actors.

- What influence can various Non-state actors (such as MNCs, industry lobbies, NGOs) have in influencing underlying economic ideologies?
- How has the influence of such Non-state actors on policy-making in bodies like the WTO and the World Bank changed over time?
- What are the implications of the UN’s “global compact”?
- What long-term effects might the anti-globalisers have on international economic institutions?

- What is the policy importance of ad-hoc industrial standards-setting (such as computer operating systems and mobile communications) in which industrial interests dominate?

Media and Technology

In recent years, technological advances, increased communication abilities and growing media infiltration and power have facilitated the rise of Non-state actors. This has contributed to altering the dynamics between the State and Non-state actors.

- Has the role of the Non-state actor been exaggerated, both in perception and reality, by the media?
- What has the role of the ICT revolution played in empowering Non-state actors?
- What is the impact of dual-use technologies?
- The distinctive impact of the digital and biotech revolutions?
- How have trends in the globalisation of the media impacted international relations? (consider for example Radio Free Europe, CNN, Al Jazeera)
- Has the miniaturisation of TV production shifted the power relations between NGOs and better financed bodies such as MNCs?
- What is the impact of global media empires such as that of Rupert Murdoch? Is power concentrated in the hands of the few?
- Has the media as a Non-state actor widened or closed the gap between the developed and the developing world and different regions of the world?
- Have we reached the stage of technology and media fatigue?

International Law

International law defines the norms of permissible and impermissible international behaviour, governing the behaviour of both States and Non-state actors. However, there is a persistent tension between the emphasis of State supremacy and the need for international relations to be based on the rule of law. The current international legal system's abilities and failures directly impact the Non-state actor vis-à-vis one another and the state.

- Have the effects of international law increased or decreased the power of Non-state actors?
- Does international law enable states to control the behaviour of Non-state actors?

- Can international law dictate the moral, social and cultural climate for States and Non-state actors?
- Has the lack of an international executive with no compulsory jurisdiction created space for both the negative and positive aspects of Non-state actors? If so, how can we combat this?
- How far has the notion of global civil society been adopted into international law and what are the implications for Non-state actors?
- Have Non-state actors expanded the relevance and remit of international law?
- Is international law fundamentally flawed by the anarchic nature of the international system?

Breakout Sessions 4-6: Case studies

These breakout sessions are designed to bring together the issues and impacts relating to Non-state actors and provide an opportunity to analyse specific case studies.

Breakout Session 4: Complex Emergencies: the case of Afghanistan

- Is it the role of the State or the Non-state actor to intervene in cases of complex emergency? Which actor is better suited?
- Has the myriad of agencies working within complex emergencies clouded and this undermined their abilities to co-ordinate and provide effective assistance? If so, how can this problem be resolved?
- Do failed States act as spawning grounds for extra-legal Non-state actors? If so, how can this be combated?
- Do the recent elections in Afghanistan reflect the success of the State?
- How can the extra-legal Non-state actors be controlled in complex emergencies such as Afghanistan? Is this best achieved through the state itself, external states or other Non-state actors?
- Do Non-state actors act as a stabilising force in complex emergencies?
- Should Non-state actors adopt a more proactive, as opposed to reactive, approach to development in situations of complex emergency?
- Have Non-state actors been successful in developing long-term solutions to complex emergencies?

Breakout Session 5: The Crisis in Central Africa, the Great Lakes and Angola

- What roles do Non-state actors play in highlighting the issues of failed states?
- What role have Non-state actors played in creating the crisis? (tribes/clans, religious groups, extra-legal economic actors, militias, mercenaries, NGOs)
- To what extent have Non-state actors both exacerbated and/or improved the crisis in Central Africa, the Great Lakes and Angola?
- How can Non-state actors provide solutions to the problems facing failed and failing States?
- Does these cases raise questions about the relationship of Non-state actors to official Development institutions (such as the IMF, World Bank and United Nations)?
- What have Non-state actors and States learnt from their failures in Rwanda?
- How can States and Non-state actors overcome the challenges of for example corruption, resource rivalry and tribal conflicts and ensure that development can be efficiently implemented?

Breakout Session 6: Non-state Actor and Policy Forming: the Shaping of US Foreign Policy

- What is the actual and effective influence of policy institutes/think tanks in shaping or challenging US foreign policy?
- Where in the administration is such think tank/academic influence most likely to be felt (Congress, State Department, NSC)?
- To what extent is US foreign policy shaped by Non-state actors? What is the influence of for example US Christian fundamentalists and the pro-Israeli lobby groups on Middle East policy? Is it exaggerated or genuine?
- Have U.S. foreign policy makers an aversion to NGOs and other non-state actors, especially those arising out of civil society outside the USA?
- Has Al Qaeda, as a Non-state actor, succeeded in hijacking the U.S. foreign policy agenda? What does this show about the power of the Non-state actor?
- Could the United States could sponsor, or even endorse, a new system of global governance giving greater prominence to Non-state actors?
- Does the U.S. government use Non-state actors as proxies for governmental action? Does this weaken or strengthen the abilities of Non-state actors?

Plenary VI: Debate – “State versus Non-state actors – the State fights back?”

This session will be an open debate in which points will be taken from the floor. Please consider the following questions:

- How are Non-state actors affecting the activities of states? How is the State affecting the activities of Non-state actors?
- Is it possible to clarify the blurring boundaries between the State and Non-state actors? What would this achieve?
- To what extent are Non-state actors simply an extension of the State?
- Is the State losing legitimacy rather than sovereignty? Is this the ‘real fight’ between the Non-state actors and the State?

Plenary VII: Global Governance – A new framework for the role of Non-state actors in international affairs?

In light of our examination of the forces at work, the global themes and the applied case studies, what is the role of Non-state actors, what is their ultimate influence and what should be the way forward? Non-state actors and States are interacting in an uncharted landscape, that needs more thorough definition and analysis, whether this be for the purpose of dealing better with the status quo or for ultimately creating a new framework for global governance.

- How do Non-state Actors fit within current emerging forms of international governance?
- To what extent is a new system of global governance required?
- If a new system is needed, what should it entail and what should be the role of Non-state actors?



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PARTICIPANTS LIST

- **Samina Ahmed** - Director of the ICG South Asia Programme. Ms. Ahmad oversees ICG work in Pakistan, Afghanistan, India and Nepal. Previously, she has been a research fellow at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard. Her areas of expertise include South Asian affairs, democratic transitions in authoritarian states and ethnic and religious conflict.
- **Mohammad Amin al Midani** - President of the Arab Center for International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights Education. – Fellow at Université Robert Schuman, Strasbourg, as well the Assistant Director at the “Groupe d’Etudes et de Recherches Islamologique”, University Marc Bloch, Strasbourg
- **Thomas Baum**, University of Antwerpen, Director International Peace Information Service,
- **Dr. Jem Bendell** – A visiting lecturer at Nottingham University. Dr. Bendell is also a private consultant for the UNRISD, with an area of expertise including globalisation, civil society and corporate social responsibility
- **Maarten Botterman** - is director of the Information Society Programme, based in the Leiden office. He has a degree in Business Economics from the Erasmus University in Rotterdam and has extensive experience with the impact of the Information Society on work, life and governance, with a focus on the European policy environment, in a global context.
- **Eric Brousseau**- Professor of Economics at the Université Paris X-Nanterre. Director of the Department GIFT (Globalisation, Innovation, Firme, Territoire) at FORUM. Board Member of the International Society for New Institutional Economics and of the International Joseph Alois Schumpeter Society.

Research interests a.o.: Internet economics and e-commerce, and Economics of technology licensing and industrial property rights.

- **Victor Bulmer-Thomas** – Director of the Royal Institute of International Affairs – Chatham House. He has a wide area of expertise including Commentary on all aspects of international affairs, Poverty and income distribution, Regional integration (including NAFTA and MERCOSUR), Latin American economic relations with Europe, Economics of Central America and the Caribbean
- **Fanny Calder** - International politics of sustainable development, including WSSD, environmental diplomacy, North/South issues International climate politics UK climate change policy, particularly renewable energy, emissions trading and institutional design. Since 2001, she has been an Associate Fellow of the Sustainable Development Programme at Chatham House; since 1999, a Climate and Energy Associate of the Green Alliance (a UK environment NGO) RIIA
- **Professor Yasin Ceylan** – Professor at METU at Ankara. He is a specialist in Islam, Muslim identity and Modern values and contributes regularly to the Turkish Debate on Identity and Muslim values.
- **Pierre-Arnaud Chouvy** - Research fellow with the Centre for Scientific Research (CRNS). He gained his PhD at Sorbonne University Paris. He is a specialist on the drug economy in developing countries, with focus on the drug economy in South East Asia and Afghanistan.
- **Christopher Clapham** – Professor, Centre of African Studies, Cambridge University; author of "Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival"; specialises in international relations, politics. Editor, *Journal of Modern African Studies*.
- **Philippe Copinschi** - is preparing a Ph.D. in political sciences (international relations) on oil stakes in Africa at the Institute of Political Studies in Paris. Lecturer at the IEP in Paris, he has recently published (with Jean-Pierre Favennec) "Nouveaux enjeux pétroliers en Afrique", *Politique africaine*, n° 89, mars 2003.
- **Michael Cox** - Is a Professor of International Relations at the London School of Economics. He is an associate research fellow at Chatham House and Chair of the US discussion group also. His expertise includes US and

American grand strategy, the impact of 9/11 and the transatlantic relationship and the international system both during and after the cold war.

- **Rebekah Kim Cragin** – An international policy analyst for RAND. Her research focus is terrorism, arms trafficking, suicide bombing and anti-American extremism. Her recent research centers on terrorist group recruitment. She has also provided research for the Gilmore Commission.
- **Marina Cruysmans** - Deputy Director Public Relations and Conferences IRRI-KIIB
- **Professor Maher Dabbah** - A reader in Competition law at Queen Mary's University London. He was previously a lecturer at Kings College London. His is a specialist in competition law, having recently published 'EC and UK Competition Law'. Outside the arena of competition law, Professor Dabbah holds interest in the Middle East Peace process and is involved with a number of International NGO's in relation to the peace process.
- **Pierre d'Argent** - Lecturer to the Faculty of Law of the Université Catholique de Louvain-la-Neuve. Member and Secretary-general of the Belgian Company of international law, Assistant secretary of the Belgian Review of international law, Member of the editorial board of Annals of right of Louvain, Member of the French Company for the international law, Member (complementary member) of British Institute of International and Comparative Law and Member of American Society for International Law.
- **Etienne Davignon** – Président de l'IRRI-KIIB, Vice- Président de Suez-Tractebel
- **Alain Deletroz** - Vice-President of the International Crisis Group (Operations). Mr. Deletroz is also programme director for Latin America and the Caribbean, advocating for and relaying ICG recommendations on Latin American politics to officials in Brussels. His specific areas of expertise are Latin America and West Africa, conflict resolution and civil society development.
- **Nicholas Dungan**- initiated the non-state actors project. He is a member of Chatham House and President of Dungan Associates, an international consultancy
- **Dr. Dominik H. Enste** - Is the head of the Institutional Economics/Ethical Economics department at the institute of German economy. Previous to this

he has worked with various financial institutions. His current research focus is shadow economies.

- **Dr. Robert Falkner** – A lecturer in the International Relations Department at LSE. He is a specialist on biotechnology regulation, global and international governance and globalization. His current research focus is global environmental politics. He is author of numerous publications including 'Private Environmental Governance and International Relations: Exploring the Links', 'Negotiating the Bio-safety Protocol: The International Processes' and co-authored 'The Next Trade War: GM products, the Cartagena Process Protocol and the WTO'.
- **Jonathan Goodhand** - lecturer in Development Practice at the Department of Development Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies 'SOAS', University of London. Completed research on Afghanistan with a particular focus on the opium economy in the northeast. He has been Conflict Assessment Project Leader for the UK Department for International Development, conducting field work in Nepal, Sri Lanka, Kyrgyzstan and Moldova. This involved strategic and programme level conflict analysis and the development of guidelines for incorporation into DFID policy and practice.
- **Professor James Gow** - Professor of International Peace and Security at Kings College London. He is also Director of the International Peace and Security Programme in collaboration with the law department at Kings. He has been an expert witness to the office of the prosecutor at the International Criminal Tribunal to the former Yugoslavia. His current research interests include the reconceptualisation of self defence in a 21st Century context and the relationship between war and war crimes.
- **Rebecca Horsewell** – Research Fellow, New Security Issues Programme, Chatham House
- **Jude Howell** - Director of the Centre for Civil Society at the London School of Economics. Her areas of interest include governance, civil society and non-state actors, in particular the political and social dimensions of economic reform, political participation and anti-poverty policy. She has advised a number of NGO's and government bodies.
- **Shanthi Kalathil** - A member of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and a Democracy Fellow at USAID. She is also a term member on the

Council for Foreign Relations. She has been a staff reporter on the Asian Wall Street Journal where she reported on the Asian financial crisis and the Hong Kong handover. Her area of expertise and engagement is the impact of ICT on political actors. Her current research centres on the impact of ICT on authoritarian regimes and security concerns in an information era.

- **Professor Doctor Julien Klener** – Professor of History, President of the “Consistoire Central Israélite de Belgique”.
- **Dr Nacer Lalam** - Researcher at the Institut des Hautes Etudes de la Sécurité Intérieure – Paris. He is a specialist in drug trafficking, organisation, networks, dealer’s strategies, money laundering and drug legalization
- **Francois Mabile** - ICP Editor-in-chief of the *Journal de la Paix* (magazine of Pax Christi France and the Centre for Peace Research). Currently assistant of the Centre for Peace Research at the Catholic Institute of Paris. His teaching focuses on theories of international relations and NGO’s and transnational actors in the international arena. Member of the Executive Committee of Pax Christi International since 2001.
- **Dr. Ram Mannikalingham** – Associate Director at the Rockefeller Foundation working on their global inclusion project. His focus is on issues of peace and security , having taken up an individual project fellowship at the Open Society Institute to write on democracy and ethnic conflict
- **Jean Paul Marthoz** - International Media Director, Human Rights Watch. Since 1996 has been the European Press Director of Human Rights Watch. Has written 4 books on international journalism and foreign affairs, contributed chapters to twenty books mostly on human rights or the media.
- **Claude Misson** – Director General IRRI-KIIB
- **Professor Susan Moeller** - An assistant professor at the Philip Merrill College of Journalism at the University of Maryland. She has taken up the post of senior fellow at the JFK school of government at Harvard while also possessing extensive journalism experience. Professor Moeller has lately examined the role of the media in relation to conflict and human rights. She is

the author of 'Compassion Fatigue: How the Media Sell Disease, Famine, War, and Death'.

- **Dr. Mohammad-Mahmoud Mohamedou** - Associate director of the program on Humanitarian Policy and Conflict Research (HPCR) at Harvard University. Before this he was a research director at the International Council on Human Rights Policy in Geneva. He is the author of 'Contre-Croisade -- Origines et Conséquences du 11 Septembre (2004)'. His areas of interest include the Gulf War and democratic transition in Mauritania.
- **Renier Nijskens** - Until recently ambassador of Belgium to the DRC, travelled in September to Maputo, Mozambique, to assume his new responsibilities as IMD Regional Representative for Southern and East Africa.
- **Gorik Ooms** – General Director Médecins Sans Frontières, Belgium
- **August Reinisch** - Professorial Lecturer in International Trade Law and European Law, John Hopkins University. Professor of Public International Law and EC Law, Vice-Dean of the Law Faculty, University of Vienna. He formerly served as a member of the Legal Adviser's Office of the Austrian Ministry for Foreign Affairs and was Adjunct Professor at SAIS Washington. His research interests include international organisation law, international economic law and European Community law.
- **Francois Rubio** - Legal Director for Médecins Du Monde- Specialist in not for profit law.
- **Professor Scheuer** – Professor at the Université Catholique de Louvain-la-Neuve (UCL) « Unité d'histoire religieuse ». He is specialised in the history of non-Christian religions, in particular religions from India and the Far East. He also gives courses at the "Institut Lumen Vitae" in Brussels .
- **Professor Jan Aart Scholte** - Acting director of the Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation at Warwick University. He is also a Professor in the department of politics and international studies. His areas of interest include globalization and civil society. His current research focus is on democratising the governance of globalisation.

- **Paola Subacchi** - Head of the International Economics Programme. She is an expert in fiscal policy and public expenditure control Economic integration, Ageing and pensions - Chatham House
- **John Tesh** - Head of the New Security Issues Programme. His specific areas of expertise are Defence Policy, NATO, European Security and Defence Policy, Balkans, Iraq - Chatham House
- **Mustapha Tlili** - A Senior Fellow at the World Policy Institute. He has had a long career in the UN holding a number of key positions including chief of the Palestine and De-colonisation programmes. His area of expertise is the Middle East, the Muslim world and global communications, with current on the dynamic of Middle East/Western relations.
- **Louis Turner** - Chief Executive of the Asia-Pacific Technology Network
- **Jos Van der Mierlo** - Co-ordinator of the Migration and Development Project at the Netherlands Migration Institute.
- **John Vogler** - International environmental regimes; Governance of the global commons; External relations of the European Union . Convenor of the British International Studies Association Environment Working Group. School of politics, IR and philosophy, Keele Uni