Open Session

Ambassador Lamberto Zannier
OSCE Secretary General

Ambassador Lamberto Zannier of Italy took up the post of OSCE Secretary General on 1 July 2011.

Zannier is an Italian career diplomat. From June 2008 to June 2011 he was UN Special Representative for Kosovo and Head of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). From 2002 to 2006, he was the Director of the Conflict Prevention Centre of the OSCE. Previous senior positions include Permanent Representative of Italy to the Executive Council of the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons in The Hague (2000-2002), chairperson of the negotiations on the adaptation of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (1997-2000) and Head of Disarmament, Arms Control and Cooperative Security at NATO (1991-1997).

Adam Daniel Rotfeld, Professor, PhD
Polish Co-Chair of the Polish-Russian Group on Difficult Matters
Professor at the Warsaw University

Professor Rotfeld is Co-Chairman of the Polish-Russian Working Group on Difficult Matters and Special Envoy of Poland’s Minister for Foreign Affairs. He has had a long career as an international expert, Polish researcher and leading analyst on security, arms control and defence policy. He has served as Foreign Minister of Poland from January until November 2005 and was Deputy Foreign Minister before. During his time as Foreign Minister, Professor Rotfeld established the Warsaw Reflection Group on UN Reform and Transatlantic Security and Complementarity of European Security Institutions. Professor Rotfeld was also a member of the UN Secretary General’s Advisory Committee on Disarmament Matters (2006-2011) and chaired it in 2008.

In the 1990s, Professor Rotfeld served as the Director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), after having led a SIPRI project on building a co-operative security system in and for Europe. He was appointed in 1992-93 a Personal Representative of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) Chairman-in-Office to elaborate the political settlement of the
conflict in the Transdniestria region of Moldova. Currently, Professor Rotfeld is lecturing at the Warsaw University, Faculty of Interdisciplinary Studies "Artes Liberales" and at the College of Europe, Natolin.

Anatoly V. Torkunov, Professor, PhD
Russian Co-Chair of the Polish-Russian Group on Difficult Matters
Rector of Moscow State Institute of International Relations

Professor Anatoly V. Torkunov is the Rector of Moscow State Institute of International Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia (MGIMO-University), Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences since 2003.

He holds an MA and two doctoral degrees in Political Science from the MGIMO-University. Since 1974 he has taught at MGIMO as Assistant Professor, Associate Professor and Professor at the Department of Oriental Studies and the Department of International Relations and Foreign Policy of Russia. In 1977-83 he was Dean and Vice-Rector for External Relations, in 1986-92 Dean of the School of International Relations as well as First Vice-Rector and Head of the Department of Oriental Studies. Since 1992 he has served as Rector of MGIMO. In 1971-72 and 1983-86 Anatoly Torkunov served at Soviet Embassies in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States of America. Over his diplomatic career, he took part in a number of high-profile international negotiations. He has the rank of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

Professor Torkunov is a leading expert on Russian foreign policy, Asia-Pacific, and the Korean Peninsula. He is the author of more than 100 publications, including 9 books. Several of them were published in the United States, China, South Korea, Japan and other countries. He is the editor of a number of path-breaking textbooks and monographs, such as "Contemporary International Relations" (three editions), "Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation", "Prominent Russian Diplomats" (two editions), "Diplomatic Service" and others.

Professor Torkunov also holds the position of Chairman of the UN Association of Russia.

Henri Ménudier, Professor, Dr.
Political Science and German Studies
University of Paris III – Sorbonne Nouvelle

Prof. Dr. Henri Ménudier is a French specialist for Germany after 1945 and of Franco-German cooperation in Europe. His interests further include Franco-German-Polish cooperation (Triangle of Weimar).

He has been teaching in Grandes Ecoles like the Institut d’Etudes Politiques in Paris and the Ecole Nationale d’Administration (Paris/Strasbourg) and was Director of the Institut d’Allemand d’Asnières, University Paris 3 - Sorbonne Nouvelle. Further, he was a guest Professor in several German universities (Saarbrücken, Bonn, München, Stuttgart and Freiburg) and gave lectures in various institutions in and beyond Europe.
Professor Ménudier also provided expertise for a better co-operation between French and German press. He is working very closely with a number of civil society organizations aiming to enhance Franco-German co-operation in Europe.

PANEL 1: Reconciliation and Convergence – Building the foundation for a security community

Walter Kemp, Dr.
Director for Europe and Central Asia
International Peace Institute

Dr. Walter Kemp joined the IPI in August 2010 after serving for four years as spokesman and speechwriter at the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). At UNODC his main focus was on Afghanistan, West Africa, piracy, corruption, and the impact of organized crime on security and development. From 1996 to 2006 he worked for the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), including as Senior Adviser to the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities and Senior Adviser to the OSCE Secretary General and Chairmanship. He also assisted in the drafting of the report of the Panel of Eminent Persons on increasing the effectiveness of the OSCE, and the Bolzano Recommendations on National Minorities in Inter-State Relations.

Walter has a PhD in international relations from the London School of Economics, a master’s in political science from the University of Toronto and a bachelor’s (honors) in history from McGill University.

He is the author of Nationalism and Communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union (1999) and Quiet Diplomacy in Action (2001), editor of Blood and Borders (2010), and has written several articles and chapters on issues including conflict prevention, the OSCE, the political economy of conflict, and national minorities.

Ambassador Janez Lenarčič
Director of the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights

The OSCE’s Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights is led by Ambassador Janez Lenarčič of Slovenia. Lenarčič took over as Director in July 2008, bringing with him many years of experience in international affairs. He was the Slovenian Ambassador to the OSCE from 2003 to 2006. In 2005, when Slovenia held the OSCE’s rotating Chairmanship, he chaired the Permanent Council in Vienna, the Organization’s regular political decision-making body.
After his Vienna assignment, he was appointed State Secretary for European Affairs in 2006, heading the working group for the preparation of the Slovenian Presidency of the EU (January to June 2008) and, subsequently, assuming responsibility for co-operation between the Presidency and the European Parliament. He also served as Diplomatic Adviser in the office of the Slovenian Prime Minister and in the Permanent Mission of Slovenia to the United Nations in New York.

Lenarčič, born in Ljubljana in 1967, holds a degree in international law from Ljubljana University.

**Ambassador Erwan Fouéré**  
Special Representative of the OSCE  
Chairperson-in-Office for the Transdniestrian settlement process

Ambassador Erwan Fouéré is the Special Representative of the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office for the Transdniestrian Settlement Process. Previously, he held a number of posts in the European Union including as the first EU Special Representative/Head of Delegation to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (2005), the first Head of Delegation to South Africa (1994) and the first Head of Delegation to Mexico and Cuba (1989). He was awarded the Order of Good Hope, Grand Officer, by President Nelson Mandela (1998).

**Ilze Brands Kehris**  
Director of the Office of the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities

Ilze Brands Kehris is since February 2011 the Director of the Office of the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities. She is a US-educated political scientist and has worked with national minority rights and human rights at both the national and international level. At the national level, she was the Director of the Latvian Centre for Human Rights from November 2002 to February 2011, where her work focused on rights of persons belonging to national minorities, citizenship, anti-discrimination, hate crime and racism, fundamental freedoms and civil and political rights.

She was the independent member from Latvia of the Management Board of the EU Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) where she was elected Vice-Chairperson from 2004 to 2007. She joined the Advisory Committee of the Council of Europe Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities as an independent expert on national minority rights and served as the First Vice-President of that Committee from June 2006 until June 2010. After participating in the Task Force of the Management Board for the transition from the EUMC to the EU Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA), she was elected member to its first Executive Board in 2007 and was also later elected its Chairperson of the Management Board, a position she held from December 2009 until July 2012.
Sonja Licht graduated in Sociology and received an MA in Socio-Cultural Anthropology from the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade. She authored numerous articles in local and international magazines, journals and books.

She was part of the Yugoslav dissident movement from the late sixties, and from mid-eighties she was among the founders of numerous local and international civic organizations, including the Helsinki Citizens’ Assembly in 1990. From 1991 to 2003 she led the Fund for an Open Society in Yugoslavia (later Serbia).

In 2003 she established the Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence, member of the Council of Europe’s Network of Schools of Politics devoted to the democratic capacity building of decision- and opinion makers in 16 countries.

From the 1990s, she has been a board member of many reputable international institutions. For promoting democracy and civic activism in Serbia and South East Europe she received numerous honours including the Council of Europe Pro Merit, Star of Italian Solidarity and the French Legion of Honour.

PANEL 2: Historical Reconciliation – Lessons learned and best practices

Ambassador Miroslava Beham
OSCE Senior Adviser on Gender Issues

Ambassador Miroslava Beham took up her present function as the OSCE’s Senior Adviser on Gender Issues on 15 December 2011.

Ms. Beham began her diplomatic career when she joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Serbia and Montenegro in March 2005. She was appointed Deputy Head of the Serbia and Montenegro Mission to the OSCE and other International Organizations in Vienna in July 2005, and was Chargé d’Affaires of the Mission after Montenegro left the State Union with Serbia in May 2006. Subsequently Ms. Beham was appointed Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Serbia to the OSCE and other International Organizations in Vienna and stayed in the post until December 2011.

Ms Beham studied Philosophy, Political Science and Literature at the Ludwig-Maximilians University in Munich, obtaining a Master of Arts in 1985.
From 1983 until she joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2005, Ms. Beham worked as a freelance literary critic and political journalist for a variety of German media (Süddeutsche Zeitung, SZ-Magazin, Bayerischer Rundfunk) and the Serbian news-magazine NIN. She was visiting lecturer at the German School for Journalism and the Ludwig-Maximilians University, worked with the Ministry of Culture in Munich and various German, Serbian and international public relations and marketing firms.

Ms Beham was also a Research Associate of the Institute for Communication and Technology Research in Solingen, Germany, and worked on a research project for the German Peace Research Foundation.

As a journalist and researcher Ms Beham has been dealing with gender and peace issues throughout her professional career.

**Sławomir Dębski, PhD, Dr.**
**Director of the Centre for Polish-Russian Dialogue and Understanding**

Between 2007-2010, he was Director of the Polish Institute of International Affairs. He has been a member of the Polish-Russian Group for Difficult Matters since 2008.

Dr. Dębski’s key areas of expertise include: Polish foreign policy, external policy of the EU, Russian foreign policy, German-Russian relations, NATO and the global security, last but not least, history of diplomacy. He received his Ph.D. in history from the Jagiellonian University in 2002. He has two master’s degrees from the Jagiellonian University (1995) and Central European University (Budapest, 1993).

**Pyotr Stegny, Dr.**
**Director of the Centre for Russian-Polish Dialogue and Understanding**

Since 2012, Dr. Pyotr Stegny is the Director of the Russian-Polish Center for Dialogue and Understanding. Further, he is a member of the Russian Council for International relations. His sphere of scientific interest is focused on history of Russian diplomacy and foreign policy in the Middle East. He is the author of 11 books.

During his diplomatic career, he served as Ambassador to the State of Kuwait between 1993 and 1998, as Ambassador to the Turkish Republic between 2003 and 2007, and as Ambassador to the State of Israel from 2007 to 2011. From 1998 until 2003 he was Director for the History and Documents Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

He studied at the Moscow State University of International Relations and later at the Diplomatic Academy. He wrote his doctorate thesis about “Partitions of Poland and Diplomacy of Catherine II. 1772, 1793, 1795.”
Dr. Lily Gardner Feldman is currently the Harry & Helen Gray Senior Fellow at the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies at Johns Hopkins University, where she directs the Institute’s Society, Culture & Politics Program. She has a Ph.D. in Political Science from MIT. She recently published “Germany’s Foreign Policy of Reconciliation: From Enmity to Amity” (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012) [Germany’s Relations with France, Israel, Poland, Czechoslovakia/Czech Republic, 1949-2009] and the article “From Internal Reconciliation to External Reconciliation? A Sketch of the EU’s Ideas and Implementation Regarding the Arab-Israeli-Palestinian Conflict” [Réalisations et défis de l'Union européenne. Droit-Politique-Économie. Mélanges en hommage au Professeur Panayotis Soldatos (Brussels:Bruylant) also appeared in 2012].

From 1978 until 1991, Dr. Gardner Feldman was an Associate Professor of political science at Tufts University in Boston. She was also a Research Associate at Harvard University’s Center for European Studies, where she chaired the German Study Group and edited German Politics and Society; and a Research Fellow at Harvard University’s Center for International Affairs, where she chaired the Seminar on the European Community and undertook research in the University Consortium for Research on North America.

From 1990 until 1995, Dr. Gardner Feldman was the first Research Director of AICGS and its Co-director in 1995.

From 1995 until 1999, she was a Senior Scholar in Residence at the BMW Center for German and European Studies at Georgetown University. Dr. Gardner Feldman has published widely in the U.S. and Europe on international reconciliation, German foreign policy, German-Jewish relations, non-state entities as foreign policy players, and the EU as an international actor. Her work on Germany’s foreign policy of reconciliation has led to lecture tours in Japan and South Korea.

Panel 3: Breaking the Vicious Circle – Reconciliation and conflicts in the OSCE area

Ambassador Fletcher M. Burton
Head of Mission, OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina

Mr. Burton is a senior career member of the U.S. Foreign Service. Over his career, he compiled extensive experience in the Balkans, especially in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo. He served as Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Sarajevo from 1995-96, a period marked by the Dayton negotiations and consolidation of the peace. He headed the Embassy’s political-economic section from 1996-97. In Kosovo, Mr. Burton worked from 2008-10 as the Deputy International
Civilian Representative at the International Civilian Office (ICO). The U.S. State Department recognized his stint at the ICO in 2010 with the Rockwell Anthony Schnabel Award for Advancing U.S.-EU Relations. He was deputy principal officer at the U.S. Office in Pristina from 2001-02. During the 1990’s, he also held temporary assignments in Sarajevo, Pristina, Skopje and Ljubljana.

Mr. Burton served most recently, from 2010-11, as head of the U.S. Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) in Kirkuk, Iraq. Earlier, he worked for two years as director of the PRT in Panjshir, Afghanistan. He established PRT Panjshir as the first civilian head of a PRT.

Mr. Burton did several tours in Germany, including in West Berlin in 1987, his first posting. He served as Consul General at the American Consulate in Leipzig, and in several positions at the U.S. Embassy in Bonn and Berlin, including as staff aide to the Ambassador (Vernon Walters and Robert Kimmitt). Earlier, he worked as a desk officer at the U.S. State Department, dealing with assistance to Eastern Europe; and at the U.S. Embassy in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.

He received his BA from Amherst College in European history; and his Master’s from Princeton University in public administration. He also studied at the University of Bonn in Germany as a Fulbright Scholar.

Jonathan Cohen
Director of Programmes
Conciliation Resources

Jonathan Cohen joined Conciliation Resources (CR) in December 1997 and developed the Caucasus programme focusing on dialogue, confidence building and media initiatives to promote peacebuilding in relation to the Georgian-Abkhaz and Nagorno-Karabakh conflicts. In September 2008 he became Director of Programmes overseeing CR’s regional programmes in the Caucasus, West Africa, East Central Africa, the Philippines, Fiji and India/Pakistan in relation to Kashmir.

Previously, he served as Deputy Director of the Foundation on Inter-Ethnic Relations in The Hague, working with the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities. Before that he worked for International Alert and the Peace Research Institute Oslo. He has been a board member of the DFID/CAF Partnerships in the Non-Profit Sector Programme for Russia and of the Centre for Caucasus and Central Asia at SOAS, London University. Jonathan has acted as a consultant to United Nations Volunteers, the Heinrich Boell Foundation, the Berghof Foundation, the Institute of War and Peace Reporting, and Amnesty International and taught peace and conflict studies at the London School of Economics. He has degrees from the universities of Bristol, London and Oxford.

In 2007 he was awarded an OBE by the British Government for services to conflict prevention and conflict resolution in the Caucasus.
Mô Bleeker
Special Envoy, Head of the task force for dealing with the past and prevention of atrocities
Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs

Mrs. Mô Bleeker has been working since the 1980s in societies engaged in the process of transition from war or dictatorship to peace; in Central America, Colombia, Balkan, South and South Eastern Asia, Central Asia, Central, North and Western Africa, in many different institutional contexts. She also wrote many articles on conflict transformation, human rights, peace and justice issues, published a book and realized documentaries.

In 2003, she entered in the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA) and was first based in Guatemala, as a peace building adviser. End of 2004, she came back to Bern, where she worked first as a programme officer-in-charge, then as a senior adviser. Since 2004, she has been mainly in charge of supporting FDFA processes and initiatives in a context where “Dealing with the Past or Prevention of Atrocities” is relevant. In 2011, she was appointed Special Envoy, head of the Task force for Dealing with the Past and Prevention of Atrocities in the FDFA.

As a Special envoy, she serves in different contexts, for example in Guatemala, Colombia, Balkans, Burundi, Nepal, North and West Africa, Northern and Southern Caucasus, Central Asia. This task force is the competence centre of the FDFA on these issues and is also in charge of developing multilateral and other diplomatic initiatives in this field.

Mô Bleeker has studied anthropology, religion sciences, journalism and social communication. She also holds a post-graduate diploma in development studies at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva.

Closing Session

Ambassador Adam Kobieracki
Director of the OSCE Conflict Prevention Centre

Ambassador Adam Kobieracki currently serves as Director of the OSCE Conflict Prevention Centre (appointed in June 2011) and Deputy Head of the OSCE Secretariat. He is a Polish carrier diplomat, specializing in international security and arms control. He was Permanent Representative of Poland to the OSCE and UN in Vienna 1997-2000. In the years 2001-2003 and 2008-2011, he was Director of the Security Policy Department in the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From 2003 to 2007 he was NATO Assistant Secretary General for Operations.

He graduated in 1982 from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations.