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# APPENDIX A: MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION

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Gareth Evans (*Australia*), *Co-Chair*, has been President and Chief Executive of the Brussels-based International Crisis Group since January 2000. He was an Australian Senator and MP from 1978 to 1999, and a Cabinet Minister for thirteen years (1983–96). As Foreign Minister (1988–96), he played prominent roles in developing the UN peace plan for Cambodia, concluding the Chemical Weapons Convention, founding the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum and initiating the Canberra Commission on the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons. He is a Queen’s Counsel (1983), and Officer of the Order of Australia (2001). His many publications include *Cooperating for Peace* (1993) and the article “Cooperative Security and Intrastate Conflict” (*Foreign Policy*, 1994), for which he won the 1995 Grawemeyer Prize for Ideas Improving World Order.

Mohamed Sahnoun (*Algeria*), *Co-Chair*, is a Special Advisor to the UN Secretary-General and has previously served as Special Envoy of the Secretary-General on the Ethiopian/Eritrean conflict (1999); Joint United Nations/Organization of African Unity (OAU) Special Representative for the Great Lakes of Africa (1997); and Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Somalia (March–October 1992). He was also a member of the World Commission on Environment and Development (the Brundtland Commission). A senior Algerian diplomat, he served as Ambassador to Germany, France, the United States, and Morocco, and as Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York. He also served as Deputy Secretary-General of both the OAU and the Arab League.

Gisèle Côté-Harper (*Canada*) is a barrister and professor of law at Laval University, Quebec. She has been a member of, among numerous other bodies, the UN Human Rights Committee, the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights and the Quebec Human Rights Commission. She was Chair of the Board of the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development (Montreal) in 1990–96 and a member of the official Canadian delegation to the Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing 1995. She was awarded the Lester B. Pearson Peace Medal in 1995, and in 1997 became an Officer of the Order of Canada, as well as receiving the Quebec Bar Medal. Among her published works is *Traité de droit pénal canadien* (4<sup>th</sup> ed., 1998).

Lee Hamilton (*United States*) is Director of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington DC, and Director of the Center on Congress at Indiana University. A member of the US Congress from 1965 to 1999, his distinguished record includes Chairmanships of the Committee on International Relations, the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, and the Joint Economic Committee. He has served on a number of commissions dealing with international issues, including the Task Force on Strengthening Palestinian Public Institutions, the Task Force on the Future of International Financial Architecture, and the Council of Foreign Relations Independent Task Force on US–Cuban Relations in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, as well as numerous other panels, committees and boards.

Michael Ignatieff (*Canada*) is currently Carr Professor of Human Rights Practice at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. He is also a Senior Fellow of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Trust, and served as a member of the Independent International Commission on Kosovo. Since 1984, he has worked as a freelance writer, broadcaster, historian, moral philosopher and cultural analyst. He has written extensively on ethnic conflict, and most recently on the various conflicts in the Balkans, including *Virtual War: Kosovo and Beyond*. He has also authored numerous other works, including a biography of the liberal philosopher Isaiah Berlin. *The Russian Album*, a family memoir, won Canada's Governor General's Literary Award and the Heinemann Prize of Britain's Royal Society of Literature in 1988. His second novel, *Scar Tissue*, was short-listed for the Booker Prize in 1993.

Vladimir Lukin (*Russia*) is currently Deputy Speaker of the Russian State Duma. He worked at the Institute of World Economics and International Relations, Moscow (1961–65) and the Institute of US and Canadian Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences (1968–87). He also served from 1965–68 as an editor of the international journal *Problems of the World and Socialism* in Prague, but was expelled for opposing the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. He joined the USSR Foreign Ministry in 1987 and served as Russian Ambassador to the USA (1992–93). He was elected a Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic in 1990 and to the State Duma of the Russian Federation in 1993. In that year he helped found the Yabloko Faction, a party which he still represents. He served as Chair of the International Affairs Committee of the Duma (1995–99).

Klaus Naumann (*Germany*) served as Chairman of the North Atlantic Military Committee of NATO (1996–99) and played a central role in managing the Kosovo crisis and in developing NATO's new integrated military command structure. He joined the German Bundeswehr in 1958. As a Colonel, he served on the staff of the German Military Representative to the NATO Military Committee in Brussels in 1981–82. He was promoted to Brigadier General in 1986, followed by a two-star assignment as Assistant Chief of Staff of the Federal Armed Forces. He was promoted to Four Star General in 1991 and appointed at the same time Chief of Staff, a position he held until becoming Chairman of the North Atlantic Military Committee. After retirement, he served as a member of the *Panel on United Nations Peace Operations*.

Cyril Ramaphosa (*South Africa*) is currently Executive Chairman of Rebserve, a major South African service and facilities management company. He was elected Secretary-General of the African National Congress in June 1991, but left politics for business in 1996. He played a major role in building the biggest and most powerful trade union in South Africa, the National Union of Mineworkers from 1982 onwards. A lawyer by training, his university years were interrupted by periods in jail for political activities. He played a crucial role in negotiations with the former South African regime to bring about a peaceful end to apartheid and steer the country towards its first democratic elections in April 1994, after which he was elected Chair of the new Constitutional Assembly. He received the Olaf Palme prize in October 1987 and was invited to participate in the Northern Ireland peace process in May 2000.

Fidel V. Ramos (*Philippines*) served as President of the Republic of the Philippines from 1992–98, and has, since 1999, been Chairman of the Ramos Peace and Development Foundation which deals with Asia Pacific security, sustainable development, democratic governance and economic diplomacy. Prior to becoming President, he had a long and distinguished military and police career, including service in both the Korean and Vietnam wars. He became Deputy Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Philippines in 1981, and

Chief of Staff in 1986, and subsequently served as Secretary of National Defense from 1988–91. He played a central role in peace negotiations with Muslim rebels in the southern Philippines and wrote *Break Not the Peace*, a book about that peace process.

Cornelio Sommaruga (*Switzerland*) is currently President of the Caux Foundation for Moral Re-Armament as well as President of the Geneva International Centre for Humanitarian Demining. He is, in addition, a member of the Board of the Open Society Institute, Budapest and served as a member of the *Panel on United Nations Peace Operations*. Prior to that, he was President of the International Committee of the Red Cross (1987–99). From 1984 to 1986 he served as Switzerland's State Secretary for External Economic Affairs. From 1960, he had had a long and distinguished career as a Swiss diplomat, including a period from 1973 as Deputy Secretary-General of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) in Geneva. In 1977–78 he served as President of the UN Economic Commission for Europe.

Eduardo Stein Barillas (*Guatemala*) is currently working with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Panama and served as Head of the Organization of American States (OAS) Observer Mission to Peru's May 2000 general elections. He was Guatemalan Foreign Minister (1996–2000), a position in which he played a key role in overseeing the Guatemalan peace negotiations, particularly in marshalling international support. He lectured in universities in Guatemala and Panama from 1971–80 and 1985–87, and from 1982 to 1993 was based in Panama and worked on various regional development projects within the Latin American Economic System (SELA) and the Contadora Group. This involved cooperation with various Latin American countries, the European Community and the Nordic countries. From December 1993 to 1995, he was Resident Representative in Panama of the International Organization for Migration.

Ramesh Thakur (*India*) has been Vice-Rector of the United Nations University, Tokyo, since 1998, in charge of the University's Peace and Governance Programme. Educated in India and Canada, he was a lecturer, then Professor of International Relations at the University of Otago (New Zealand) from 1980 to 1995. He was then appointed Professor and Head of the Peace Research Centre at the Australian National University in Canberra where he was involved in the Non-Proliferation Treaty Review and Extension Conference, drafting of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and the International Campaign to Ban Landmines. He was also a consultant to the Canberra Commission on the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons. He is the author of numerous books and articles, including *Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain: The United Nations at Fifty*, and in 2000 co-edited *Kosovo and the Challenge of Humanitarian Intervention*.



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# APPENDIX B: HOW THE COMMISSION WORKED

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## Mandate

At the UN Millennium Assembly in September 2000, Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien announced that an independent International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) would be established as a response to Secretary-General Kofi Annan's challenge to the international community to endeavour to build a new international consensus on how to respond in the face of massive violations of human rights and humanitarian law.

Launching the Commission on 14 September 2000, then Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy said that the mandate of the Commission would be to promote a comprehensive debate on the issues, and to foster global political consensus on how to move from polemics, and often paralysis, towards action within the international system, particularly through the United Nations. Much as the Brundtland Commission on Environment and Development in the 1980s took the apparently irreconcilable issues of development and environmental protection and, through the process of an intense intellectual and political debate, emerged with the notion of "sustainable development," it was hoped that ICISS would be able to find new ways of reconciling the seemingly irreconcilable notions of intervention and state sovereignty.

It was proposed that the Commission complete its work within a year, enabling the Canadian Government to take the opportunity of the 56<sup>th</sup> session of the United Nations General Assembly to inform the international community of the Commission's findings and recommendations for action.

## Commissioners

The Canadian Government invited to head the Commission the Honourable Gareth Evans AO QC, President of the International Crisis Group and former Australian Foreign Minister, and His Excellency Mohamed Sahnoun of Algeria, Special Advisor to the UN Secretary-General and formerly his Special Representative for Somalia and the Great Lakes of Africa. In consultation with the Co-Chairs, ten other distinguished Commissioners were appointed, spanning between them an enormously diverse range of regional backgrounds, views and perspectives, and experiences, and eminently able to address the complex array of legal, moral, political and operational issues the Commission had to confront. A full list of members of the Commission, with biographical summaries, is contained in Appendix A.

## Advisory Board

Canada's Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Honourable John Manley, appointed an international Advisory Board of serving and former foreign ministers and other eminent individuals to act as a political reference point for the ICISS. The Advisory Board was designed to help Commissioners ground their report in current political realities, and assist in building the political momentum and public engagement required to follow up its recommendations.

Members of the Advisory Board are the Honourable Lloyd Axworthy (Chair), Director and CEO of the Liu Centre for the Study of Global Issues at the University of British Columbia; Her Excellency María Soledad Alvear Valenzuela, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Chile; Dr. Hanan Ashrawi, former Cabinet Minister of the Palestinian National Authority; Right Honourable Robin Cook, former British Foreign Secretary, President of the Council and Leader of the House of Commons, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland; Mr. Jonathan F. Fanton, President of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation; Professor Bronislaw Geremek, Chairman of the European Law Committee of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland; Her Excellency Rosario Green Macias, Former Secretary of Foreign Relations of the United Mexican States; Dr. Vartan Gregorian, President of Carnegie Corporation of New York; Dr. Ivan Head, Founding Director of the Liu Centre for the Study of Global Issues, University of British Columbia; Honorable Patrick Leahy, US Senator; His Excellency Amre Moussa, Secretary-General of the League of Arab States and former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt; His Excellency George Papandreou, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Hellenic Republic; His Excellency Dr. Surin Pitsuwan, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Thailand; Dr. Mamphele Ramphele, Managing Director of The World Bank Group and former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cape Town; and His Excellency Adalberto Rodríguez Giavarini, Minister of Foreign Relations, International Trade and Worship of the Argentine Republic.

The Advisory Board met with Commissioners in London on 22 June 2001, with the following members participating in what proved to be a highly lively and productive debate: former Canadian Foreign Affairs Minister, Lloyd Axworthy; Secretary-General of the Arab League, Amre Moussa; former British Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook; former Mexican Foreign Minister, Rosario Green; former Chilean Foreign Minister Juan Gabriel Valdés (also representing the current Chilean Foreign Minister); representatives of the Foreign Ministers of Argentina and Greece; President of the MacArthur Foundation, Johnathan Fanton; and Founding Director of the Liu Centre at the University of British Columbia, Ivan Head.

## Commission Meetings

Five full meetings of the Commission were held: in Ottawa on 5–6 November 2000; Maputo 11–12 March 2001; New Delhi 11–12 June 2001; Wakefield, Canada, 5–9 August 2001; and Brussels on 30 September 2001. There was also an informal Commission meeting in Geneva on 1 February 2001 involving a number of Commissioners in person and others by conference call, and multiple further meetings of small groups of Commissioners in the roundtables and consultations described below.

At their first meeting, Commissioners considered a series of central questions, identified the key issues and decided on a general approach. An early draft outline of the Report was then developed and circulated. This outline was considered at the Geneva meeting in early February, and expanded further at the Maputo meeting in March. A fuller draft was then produced in

May, circulated to Commissioners for consideration and initial comment, and considered in more detail at the New Delhi meeting in June. Significant changes to the substance and structure of the report were agreed at that meeting. On this basis, a further draft was produced and circulated in early July, with Commissioners making specific written comments.

The remaining stages of the process involved the Co-Chairs themselves – meeting in Brussels over several days in July – producing a further full-length draft, with substantial written input from a number of other Commissioners. The Co-Chairs' Draft, distributed to Commissioners a week in advance of the Commission meeting in Wakefield, was then considered in exhaustive detail over four days, with the terms of the report ultimately being agreed unanimously. A further meeting of the Commission was held in Brussels at the end of September to consider the implications for the report of the horrifying terrorist attacks on New York and Washington DC earlier that month: this resulted in a number of adjustments to the final text as published.

### Consultation

In order to stimulate debate and ensure that the Commission heard the broadest possible range of views during the course of its mandate, eleven regional roundtables and national consultations were held around the world between January and July 2001. In date order, they were held in Ottawa on 15 January, Geneva on 30–31 January, London on 3 February, Maputo on 10 March, Washington, DC on 2 May, Santiago on 4 May, Cairo on 21 May, Paris on 23 May, New Delhi on 10 June, Beijing on 14 June and St Petersburg on 16 July. Summaries of the issues discussed in these meetings, and lists of those participating in them, may be found in the supplementary volume accompanying the Commission's report.

At least one, and usually both, of the Co-Chairs attended each of these consultations, for the most part with some other Commissioners as well. A variety of national and regional officials, and representatives of civil society, NGOs, academic institutions and think-tanks were invited to each of the meetings. A paper setting out the main issues from the Commission's perspective was circulated to participants in advance of the meetings to stimulate discussion, and specific participants were invited in advance to prepare papers and make special presentations on different aspects of the issues. These papers formed an additional and extremely useful source of research material on which the Commission could draw. A further participant at each roundtable was selected to produce a summary report of the proceedings and outcomes of each of the roundtables. These various contributions are more fully acknowledged in the supplementary volume to this report.

Regular briefings were also given to interested governments in capitals, as well as to diplomatic missions in Ottawa, Geneva and most recently in New York on 26–27 June, where the Commission met with representatives from a number of Permanent Missions as well as with Secretary-General Annan and key members of the UN Secretariat. Consultations were also held in Geneva on 31 January with the heads or senior representative of major international organisations (UN Office Geneva; UNHCR; Commission on Human Rights; WHO; IOM; ICRC/IFRC; and OCHA).

## Research

An extensive programme of research was organized in support of the Commission's work. Aiming to build upon and complement the many efforts previously undertaken on these issues, Commissioners drew upon the record of debate and discussion generated at the UN and in regional and other forums; the vast body of already published scholarly and policy research on this topic, including a number of important independent and nationally sponsored studies; and a series of papers and studies specially commissioned for the ICISS.

To supplement and consolidate the intellectual dimension of the Commission's work, an international research team was created. This was led jointly by Thomas G. Weiss of the United States, Presidential Professor at The Graduate Center of the City University of New York (CUNY) where he is also co-director of the UN Intellectual History Project, and Stanlake J.T.M. Samkange, of Zimbabwe, a lawyer and former speechwriter to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Tom Weiss, with research consultant Don Hubert of Canada, assumed primary responsibility for producing the research papers contained in the supplementary volume, while Stanlake Samkange's primary role was as rapporteur, assisting the Commission in the drafting of its report.

Other members of the research team played important roles. Carolin Thielking at Oxford University, with supervision from Professor Neil MacFarlane, had a principal role in the preparation of the bibliography contained in the supplementary volume. The Research Directorate, located at the CUNY Graduate Center in New York, was also ably assisted by doctoral candidates Kevin Ozgercin and Peter Hoffman.

It is hoped that the research material prepared for the Commission and contained in the supplementary volume, together with the report itself, will constitute an enduring legacy for scholars, specialists and policy makers in the field. The supplementary volume, as well as the report, have accordingly been produced and made available in CD-ROM form, with the Bibliography cross-referenced with key-words to enhance its utility as a research tool. These and other documents also appear on the special ICISS web site – [www.iciss-ciise.gc.ca](http://www.iciss-ciise.gc.ca) – which will be maintained for at least the next five years.

## Administrative Support

The workplan of the Commission was administered by a small Secretariat, provided as part of the Canadian government support for ICISS. Housed within the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade in Ottawa, the Secretariat undertook necessary fundraising, organized the roundtable consultations and Commissioners' meetings, managed the publication and distribution of the Commission's report and background research, and spearheaded diplomatic efforts to engage governments and build political support for the debate. The Secretariat was led by Jill Sinclair, Executive Director, and Heidi Hulan, Deputy Director, and comprised Susan Finch, Manager of the Outreach Strategy; Tony Advokaat, Policy Advisor; Joseph Moffatt, Policy Advisor; Tudor Hera, Policy Analyst; Harriet Roos, Manager of Communications; and Carole Dupuis-Têtu, Administrative Assistant. Former Australian diplomat Ken Berry acted as Executive Assistant to the Co-Chairs, and staff at Canadian Embassies round the world and the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) in Ottawa provided additional support to the Secretariat.

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