

PONTIFICIA ACCADEMIA DELLE SCIENZE



WORKSHOP ON

# Siria

**126.000 morti e 300.000 bambini  
orfani in trentasei mesi di conflitto**

**si può restare indifferenti?**



13 GENNAIO 2014 • CASINA PIO IV • CITTÀ DEL VATICANO

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Digiuno per la Siria, 7 settembre 2013 • Fast for Syria, 7 September 2013

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Purtroppo – afferma nel messaggio indirizzato a Vladimir Putin in quanto presidente di turno – duole constatare che troppi interessi di parte hanno prevalso da quando è iniziato il conflitto siriano, impedendo di trovare una soluzione che evitasse l’inutile massacro a cui stiamo assistendo. [...] è un dovere morale di tutti i governi del mondo favorire ogni iniziativa volta a promuovere l’assistenza umanitaria a chi soffre a causa del conflitto dentro e fuori dal Paese.

(Papa Francesco, lettera a Vladimir Putin in occasione del Vertice del G20 di San Pietroburgo, 4 settembre 2013)

It is regrettable that, from the very beginning of the conflict in Syria – he affirmed in his letter to Vladimir Putin, the rotating president of the G20 – one-sided interests have prevailed and in fact hindered the search for a solution that would have avoided the senseless massacre now unfolding. [...] all governments have the moral duty to do everything possible to ensure humanitarian assistance to those suffering because of the conflict, both within and beyond the country’s borders.

(Pope Francis, Letter to Vladimir Putin on the occasion of the G20 St. Petersburg Summit, 4 September 2013)

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# Il contesto

**1.** La guerra civile in Siria è avvenuta in due fasi. La prima, da gennaio 2011 a marzo 2012, è stata per lo più una questione interna. Quando la Primavera araba è scoppiata in Tunisia e in Egitto nel gennaio 2011, ha colpito anche la Siria. Oltre alle usuali rimostranze dettate dalla brutalità del regime, i siriani pativano una massiccia siccità e l'impennata dei prezzi dei generi alimentari. Le proteste si sono trasformate in una ribellione militare contro il regime (in mano all'Esercito e ai Servizi) quando parti dell'esercito siriano si sono staccate dal regime e hanno dato vita all'Esercito siriano libero. La vicina Turchia è stata probabilmente il primo Paese esterno a sostenere la ribellione sul campo, offrendo protezione alle forze ribelli lungo il confine con la Siria. Nonostante l'escalation di violenza, il numero delle vittime toccava le migliaia, e non decine di migliaia.

**2.** La seconda fase è iniziata l'1 Aprile 2012 quando un gruppo di 83 paesi, capeggiato dagli USA, ha riconosciuto il Consiglio Nazionale Siriano (SNC) e l'ha considerato il principale interlocutore dell'opposizione nei confronti della comunità internazionale. Alcuni giorni prima, Assad aveva accettato il piano di pace dell'allora Segretario Generale dell'ONU, Kofi Annan, che prevedeva un cessate il fuoco, seguito da una transizione politica negoziata, ma non aveva implementato il cessate il fuoco. L'allora Segretario di Stato Hillary Clinton aveva dichiarato: "Pensiamo che Assad debba andarsene".<sup>1</sup> In pratica, anche in via del fatto che veniva fissato un orizzonte temporale piuttosto breve, questa dichiarazione ha messo gli USA in una situazione di effettiva opposizione all'iniziativa di pace delle Nazioni Unite. La Russia e la Cina, oltre a tentare di difendere i propri interessi nella regione, hanno rifiutato l'idea del cambio di regime in Siria guidato dagli USA. La Russia ha dichiarato che l'insistenza dell'America sull'immediata destituzione di Assad è stata un ostacolo alla pace. In questo la Russia forse aveva ragione. La Russia, da una parte, tentò un approccio pragmatico per proteggere i propri interessi commerciali in Siria e la propria base navale nel porto di Tartus, mettendo al contempo fine agli spargimenti di sangue. Tuttavia, mentre la Russia forniva armi al governo siriano, a settembre 2013 è emerso chiaramente che gli USA avevano iniziato a fornire armi letali al Consiglio Militare Supremo dell'opposizione.

**3.** Oltre alle forze internazionali in campo, la contesa è diventata una guerra civile che potrebbe portare non solo a una guerra regionale ma, secondo alcuni analisti, anche all'inizio della terza guerra mondiale. Il conflitto è tra un regime che è principalmente Alawita, ma include

anche alcuni Drusi, Sunniti e Cristiani, contro un'opposizione che è largamente Sunnita, ma include anche alcuni Alawiti, Drusi e Cristiani. L'Iran sciita, che teme l'espansionismo del Wahabismo sunnita (sunnismo estremista) in tutta la regione, la Russia – che desidera conservare la presenza a Tartus – e gli Hezbollah del Libano sostengono Bashar Hafiz al-Assad. L'Arabia Saudita e i Paesi del Golfo temono la formazione della "mezzaluna sciita" (Siria-Iran, Hezbollah) e finanziano gli Jihadisti (Al-Qaeda) contro il regime.

**4.** Con l'uso delle armi chimiche, probabilmente da parte del governo siriano (e forse di entrambi i fronti), gli USA hanno nuovamente rialzato la posta in gioco. Bypassando l'ONU, gli USA hanno dichiarato l'intenzione di intervenire direttamente bombardando la Siria per impedire l'uso futuro delle armi chimiche.

**5.** A settembre, quindi, Papa Francesco ha attivato tutti i canali possibili per evitare l'allargamento della guerra. «Purtroppo – afferma nel messaggio indirizzato a Vladimir Putin in quanto presidente di turno – duole constatare che troppi interessi di parte hanno prevalso da quando è iniziato il conflitto siriano, impedendo di trovare una soluzione che evitasse l'inutile massacro a cui stiamo assistendo». I leader del G20, invoca Francesco, «non rimangano inerti di fronte ai drammi che vive già da troppo tempo la cara popolazione siriana e che rischiano di portare nuove sofferenze a una regione tanto provata e bisognosa di pace. A tutti loro, e a ciascuno di loro, rivolgo un sentito appello perché aiutino a trovare vie per superare le diverse contrapposizioni e abbandonino ogni vana pretesa di una soluzione militare». Perché «è un dovere morale di tutti i governi del mondo favorire ogni iniziativa volta a promuovere l'assistenza umanitaria a chi soffre a causa del conflitto dentro e fuori dal Paese». Nel frattempo Papa Francesco indice e realizza anche un importante digiuno (una pratica che accomuna le tre religioni monoteistiche). Così lancia indirettamente un segnale a tutti gli iraniani e siriani religiosi coinvolti nel conflitto, invitandoli a concentrarsi sulla preghiera e sulla volontà di pace (conseguenza vera della preghiera), e a suggerire così a tutti, anche ai governanti, di riflettere sul senso profondo della pace. Ci vuole aiutare a comprendere che senza pace tra le religioni non ci sarà pace in Medio Oriente. Di pari passo il pontefice mobilita i nunzi in ogni parte del mondo e il suo "ministro degli esteri", mons. Mamberti, convoca gli ambasciatori accreditati presso la Santa Sede non solo per favorire una soluzione diplomatica, ma anche per esprimere la più netta condanna delle armi chimiche e chiedere conto del loro uso agli eventuali responsabili.

**6.** Putin riesce a convincere Obama a fermare il bombardamento, dopo aver negoziato un Accordo quadro secondo il quale la Siria si impegna ad eliminare

<sup>1</sup> Hillary Rodham Clinton, Segretario di Stato, intervista con Clarissa Ward della CBS News, Centro Congressi di Istanbul, Istanbul, Turchia, 1 aprile 2012 <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2012/04/187304.htm>

il suo programma basato sulle armi chimiche. Si decide di consegnare le armi chimiche e si conferma, quindi, la conferenza internazionale chiamata Ginevra-II. Questo punto è stato ben apprezzato nel Regno Unito, dove il Parlamento ha voltato le spalle al governo rifiutando la partecipazione inglese all'attacco militare. In questa circostanza, l'ONU, per la prima volta, accusa Assad: "Ha autorizzato crimini di guerra e contro l'umanità". "Andiamo a Ginevra con una missione di speranza", ha detto il portavoce del segretario generale dell'ONU, Ban Ki-moon. La presenza di Russia e Stati Uniti, due Stati chiave nei negoziati, è confermata. La lista degli invitati è stata stabilita il 20 dicembre durante un incontro trilaterale tra la Federazione Russa, gli USA e l'ONU. Il 13 gennaio, invece, si riuniranno il Segretario di Stato USA John Kerry e il Ministro degli Esteri russo Sergei Lavrov per raggiungere un accordo sulla partecipazione dell'Iran. L'opposizione siriana ancora non ha nominato i membri della sua delegazione.

7. La proposta sulla quale negozieranno il regime di Assad e i ribelli dell'opposizione a Ginevra sarà la formazione di un governo transitorio con delega nel settore militare e della sicurezza. Si discuterà anche sulla possibilità di convocare elezioni e di scrivere una nuova costituzione. Inoltre, nelle ultime settimane è apparso evidente come gli stessi gruppi ribelli stiano cercando di emarginare quelle fazioni estremiste quali l'ISIS (Stato islamico di Iraq e Siria) che intendono mettere a repentaglio il processo di pace. La ripresa del processo di pace dell'ONU, questa volta con gli USA e la Russia dalla stessa parte per frenare le violenze, potrebbe riuscire a tenere a bada Al-Qaeda (un interesse condiviso) e a trovare una soluzione pragmatica a lungo termine per le profonde divisioni interne della Siria. E potrebbe ripartire la ricerca di un *modus vivendi* degli USA con l'Iran – dove un nuovo presidente suggerisce un cambio di rotta nella politica estera – e delle religioni fra loro.

✚ MARCELO SÁNCHEZ SORONDO

## Background

1. Syria's civil war has occurred in two phases. The first phase, roughly from January 2011 until March 2012, was largely an internal affair. When the Arab Spring erupted in Tunisia and Egypt in January 2011, protests erupted in Syria as well. In addition to the usual grievances under a brutal regime, Syrians were reeling from a massive drought and soaring food prices. The protests became a military rebellion when parts of the Syrian army broke with the regime (in the hands of the Army and the Services) and established the Free Syrian Army. Neighbouring Turkey was probably the first outside country to support the rebellion on the ground, giving sanctuary to rebel forces along its border with Syria. Although the violence was escalating, the death toll was still in the thousands, not tens of thousands.

2. The second phase began on 1 April 2012 when a group of 83 countries, led by the United States, recognized the Syrian National Council (SNC) and deemed it the main opposition interlocutor with the international community. A few days prior, Assad had accepted former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan's peace plan calling for a ceasefire followed by a negotiated political transition, but he did not implement the ceasefire. Then-Secretary of State Hillary Clinton declared: "We think Assad must go".<sup>1</sup> In practice, also by setting a short timeline, this declaration put the US in effective opposition to the United Nations. Russia and China, aside from seeking to defend their own interests in the region, rejected the idea of US-led

regime change in Syria. Russia argued that America's insistence on Assad's immediate departure was an impediment to peace. In this, perhaps Russia was right. On the one hand, Russia sought a pragmatic approach that would protect its commercial interests in Syria and its naval base at the port of Tartus, while bringing an end to the bloodletting. Whereas Russia had been supplying arms to the Syrian government, in September 2013 it became clear that the US had begun to provide lethal arms to the opposition Supreme Military Council.

3. Besides the international forces involved, the dispute became a civil war which might cause not only a regional war but, according to certain analysts, even the beginning of the third world war. The conflict is between a regime that is primarily Alawite, but also includes some Druze, Sunnis, Shi'a and Christians, versus an opposition that is largely Sunni, but also includes some Alawites, Druze and Christians. Shi'i Iran, which fears the expansionism of Sunni Wahhabism (a form of extremist Sunni Islam) throughout the region, Russia – that wants to maintain its presence in Tartus – and the Hezbollah in Lebanon support Bashar Hafiz al-Assad. Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States fear the creation of a "Shi'i crescent" (Syria-Iran, Hezbollah) and finance Jihadism (al-Qaeda) against the regime.

4. With the use of chemical weapons, probably by the Syrian government (and possibly by both sides), the US again ratcheted up the stakes. Bypassing the UN, the US declared its intention to intervene directly by bombing Syria to deter the future use of chemical weapons.

5. This is why in September Pope Francis used all possible channels to keep the war from escalating.

<sup>1</sup> Hillary Rodham Clinton, Secretary of State, interview with Clarissa Ward of CBS News, Istanbul Congress Center, Istanbul, Turkey, April 1, 2012 <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2012/04/187304.htm>

“It is regrettable that, from the very beginning of the conflict in Syria – he affirmed in his letter to Vladimir Putin, the rotating president of the G20 – one-sided interests have prevailed and in fact hindered the search for a solution that would have avoided the senseless massacre now unfolding”. “The leaders of the G20” – urged Francis – cannot remain indifferent to the dramatic situation of the beloved Syrian people which has lasted far too long, and even risks bringing greater suffering to a region bitterly tested by strife and needful of peace. To the leaders present, to each and every one, I make a heartfelt appeal for them to help find ways to overcome the conflicting positions and to lay aside the futile pursuit of a military solution”, because “all governments have the moral duty to do everything possible to ensure humanitarian assistance to those suffering because of the conflict, both within and beyond the country’s borders”. Meanwhile, Pope Francis announced and carried out an important day of fasting (a practice shared by the three monotheistic religions), which was also an indirect sign towards all the religious Iranians and Syrians involved in the conflict, inviting them to concentrate on prayer and peace (the real consequence of prayer), and suggesting that everyone, governments included, should reflect on the profound meaning of peace. Pope Francis wants to help make us aware that if the various religions aren’t at peace with one another, there will be no peace in the Middle East. At the same time, Pope Francis mobilized his nuncios all over the world while his “foreign minister”, Msgr Mamberti, convened the Ambassadors to the Holy See not only to encourage a diplomatic solution, but also to severely condemn chemical weapons and question any party responsible for their use.

6. Putin managed to convince Obama not to go ahead with the bombing after a Framework Agreement was hammered out in which Syria committed to

eliminating its chemical weapons program. The decision of surrendering all chemical weapons was taken and the international conference called Geneva-II was confirmed. This action was particularly appreciated in the UK, where the Parliament had turned its back on the government, refusing to let Britain take part in the military strike. In these circumstances, the UN accused Assad for the first time: “He authorized war crimes against humanity”. “We will go to Geneva with a mission of hope”, said the spokesperson for UN Secretary-General, Ban Ki-moon. The presence of Russia and the US, two key states in the negotiations, is confirmed. The list of invitees was determined on Dec. 20 at a trilateral meeting held among the Russian Federation, the United States and the United Nations. U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry and Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov will meet on Jan. 13 to reach an agreement on Iran’s participation. The Syrian opposition has not yet named members of its delegation.

7. In Geneva Assad’s regime and the opposition rebels will negotiate the formation of a transitional government responsible for the military sector and for security. The possibility of holding elections and the drafting of a new constitution will also be discussed. It has also become apparent in the last few weeks that the rebel groups themselves are trying to marginalize those extremist factions, such as ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), that intend to jeopardize the peace process. The resumption of the UN peace process, this time with the US and Russia on the same side to prevent violence, might succeed in keeping al-Quaeda at bay (a shared interest) and finding a pragmatic long-term solution for Syria’s complex internal divisions. And the search might resume for a modus vivendi of the USA and Iran – where a new President suggests a change of course in foreign policy – and among the various religions.

✠ MARCELO SÁNCHEZ SORONDO

## Proposte

- Cessate il fuoco per rendere possibile l’Aiuto umanitario
- Incoraggiare il dialogo interreligioso e la tolleranza, soprattutto per mettere fine definitivamente alla nuova tragedia che Papa Francesco ha chiamato “ecumenismo di sangue cristiano”
- Promuovere un’eventuale Autorità transitoria al fine di organizzare le elezioni (governo di unione nazionale con delega nel settore militare e della sicurezza)
- Contrastare la tratta di persone e la prostituzione

## Proposals

- A ceasefire to make humanitarian aid possible
- Encouraging interreligious dialogue and toleration especially to put a definitive halt to the new tragedy of the “ecumenism of Christian blood”, as defined by Pope Francis
- Promoting a transitional authority to organize elections (a unified national government also responsible for the military sector and security)
- Opposing human trafficking and prostitution

## COMUNICATO STAMPA

### Workshop sulla Siria, 13 gennaio 2014

Per espresso desiderio di Papa Francesco, il prossimo lunedì 13 gennaio, la Pontificia Accademia delle Scienze ha organizzato un Workshop dedicato alla tragica situazione della Siria. Sua Em.za il Card. Jean-Louis Tauran, Presidente del Pontificio Consiglio per il Dialogo Interreligioso, ne aprirà i lavori. Saranno presenti vari studiosi e specialisti, esperti in materia, nonché alcuni osservatori. La pace è un bene al quale tutte le persone religiose e di buona volontà aspirano, ed è pertanto necessario compiere ogni sforzo affinché questo bene essenziale possa trionfare su ogni forma di odio e di violenza. Di fronte a tale dramma chi può rimanere indifferente?

Papa Francesco in più occasioni ha manifestato la sua preoccupazione invitando tutti alla preghiera e all'azione per la riconciliazione e la pace. Ha detto infatti: “[...] andiamo avanti con la preghiera e con opere di pace! Vi invito a continuare a pregare perché cessi la violenza e la devastazione in Siria e si lavori con rinnovato impegno per una giusta soluzione al conflitto fratricida” (*Angelus*, 8.9.2013).

Durante il Workshop, che si svolgerà a porte chiuse, si ascolteranno opinioni e punti di vista diversi. Al termine dei lavori sarà emanato un comunicato finale.

Vaticano, 10 gennaio 2014

## PRESS RELEASE

### Workshop on Syria, 13 January 2014

As a direct result of the wishes expressed by Pope Francis, for Monday 13 January the Pontifical Academy of Sciences has organised a Workshop on the tragic situation in Syria. His Eminence Cardinal Jean-Louis Tauran, the President of the Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue, will open the deliberations. Various scholars and specialists, experts in the field, as well as a number of observers, will be present. Peace is a good to which all religious people and people of good will aspire, and it is thus necessary to make every effort to ensure that this good triumphs over every kind of hatred and violence. Faced with this dramatic situation, who can remain indifferent?

Pope Francis on more than one occasion has expressed his concern about what is happening and has invited everyone to pray and to act for reconciliation and peace. Indeed, he declared: ‘we move forward with prayer and works of peace. I invite you to continue to pray so that the violence and devastation in Syria may cease immediately and that a renewed effort be undertaken to achieve a just solution to this fratricidal conflict’ (*Angelus*, 8 September 2013).

During the Workshop, which will take place behind closed doors, different opinions and points of view will be heard. At the end of the deliberations a final press release will be issued.

The Vatican, 10 January 2014

## Deliberazioni del Workshop della Pontificia Accademia delle Scienze sulla crisi in Siria e sulle speranze in vista della Conferenza di Ginevra II

13 gennaio 2014

L'orrore della violenza e della morte in Siria hanno condotto il mondo a una rinnovata riflessione, e quindi a una nuova possibilità di pace. La Conferenza di Ginevra II, che si terrà il 22 gennaio, permette al popolo siriano, alla regione e al mondo intero di concepire un nuovo inizio per porre fine alla violenza che ha provocato oltre 130.000 morti e ha lasciato un paese bellissimo nella rovina e nel caos. Dobbiamo perciò operare tutti in armonia e fiducia per tracciare urgentemente un percorso di riconciliazione e ricostruzione.

Il passo iniziale e più urgente, che trova d'accordo tutti gli uomini e le donne di buona volontà, è l'immediato cessate il fuoco e la fine di ogni tipo di violenza: una fine senza precondizioni politiche. Tutti i combattenti interni della regione devono deporre le armi; tutte le potenze straniere devono adottare misure immediate per fermare il flusso di armi e il finanziamento delle stesse, che alimenta l'escalation della violenza e della distruzione. La cessazione immediata della violenza è nell'interesse di tutti. È un imperativo umanitario, e rappresenta il primo passo verso la riconciliazione.

La fine dei combattimenti dev'essere accompagnata dall'avvio immediato dell'assistenza umanitaria e della ricostruzione. Milioni di siriani si trovano nella condizione di profughi. Innumerevoli sono i rifugiati, alloggiati temporaneamente presso i campi dei paesi confinanti. Questi profughi patiscono privazioni estreme e potenzialmente letali in termini di alimentazione, acqua potabile, servizi igienici, elettricità, ricovero sicuro, telecomunicazioni, trasporti, e altri bisogni umani fondamentali necessari per il buon funzionamento di ogni società. Facciamo in modo che la Siria possa intraprendere, con il pieno sostegno finanziario e umano mondiale, un percorso di ricostruzione, uno che possa iniziare ancor prima che siano risolte tutte le questioni politiche e sociali.

In questa ricomposizione essenziale i giovani e i poveri devono avere un ruolo privilegiato, con l'accesso al lavoro e ad una formazione che dia loro le competenze vitali per la ricostruzione. L'economia siriana è al collasso e la disoccupazione giovanile è dilagante. La rioccupazione dei giovani non solo soddisferà i bisogni materiali immediati, ma anche le

urgenti esigenze sociali e personali. In questo modo, l'inizio della ricostruzione materiale può avere un ruolo ai fini delle urgenti necessità che la sopravvivenza comporta.

Il dialogo tra le comunità e la riconciliazione devono occuparsi inoltre dei bisogni urgenti di ricostruzione spirituale e comunitaria. La Siria ha una lunga, complessa e meravigliosa tradizione di pluralismo delle religioni, delle etnie e delle culture. La Santa Sede si impegna a sostenere tutte le fedi religiose e le comunità in Siria, per raggiungere una nuova comprensione e un ripristino significativo della fiducia, dopo anni di violenze tra comunità.

È risaputo che la guerra in Siria ha tratto la sua violenza dai conflitti e dalla profonda sfiducia nella regione. Come molti hanno notato, il conflitto in Siria ha avuto a che fare più spesso con le rivalità dei poteri regionali e internazionali che non con i conflitti all'interno della comunità siriana stessa. Da un lato, questo è promettente. Il popolo siriano ha convissuto in pace nel corso della storia, e può tornare a farlo. D'altra parte, i conflitti regionali che hanno travolto la Siria vanno affrontati al fine di creare le condizioni per una pace duratura.

Ginevra II, per poter gettare le basi per la pace nella regione, deve garantire la partecipazione inclusiva di tutte le parti del conflitto, sia all'interno della regione che oltre. È particolarmente degno di nota il recente accordo tra l'Iran e i membri permanenti del Consiglio di Sicurezza più la Germania, per raggiungere un consenso sul programma nucleare iraniano. Questo accordo interinale dà al mondo la grande speranza che il periodo prolungato di grave sfiducia tra l'Iran e altre nazioni della regione e oltre possa ora essere seguito da una nuova era di fiducia e persino di cooperazione. Il successo di questo nuovo accordo potrebbe inoltre fornire la base essenziale per una pace duratura in Siria, cosa che avverrebbe anche nel caso di un passo avanti nei negoziati di pace israelo-palestinese in corso, facilitati dagli Stati Uniti.

Sono questi, perciò, i presupposti di una pace duratura: la cessazione immediata della violenza; l'avvio della ricostruzione; il dialogo tra le comunità; i progressi nella risoluzione di tutti i conflitti regionali; e

la partecipazione di tutti gli attori regionali e globali al processo di pace di Ginevra 2. Essi forniscono una base di sicurezza e di ricostruzione su cui costruire una pace duratura. In Siria, inoltre, sono necessarie nuove forme politiche al fine di garantire la rappresentanza, la partecipazione, la riforma, la possibilità di parlare e la sicurezza per tutti i gruppi sociali. È necessaria anche una trasformazione politica. Non si tratta di un presupposto per porre fine alla violenza; piuttosto, andrà di pari passo alla cessazione della violenza e alla ricostruzione della fiducia.

Infine, come ha affermato Papa Francesco nel settembre dello scorso anno, in occasione di una veglia di preghiera per la pace:

Vorrei chiedere al Signore, questa sera, che noi cristiani e i fratelli delle altre Religioni, ogni uomo e donna di buona volontà gridasse con forza: la violenza e la guerra non è mai la via della pace! Ognuno si animi a guardare nel profondo della propria coscienza e ascolti quella parola che dice: esci dai tuoi interessi che atrofizzano il cuore, supera l'indifferenza verso l'altro che rende insensibile il cuore, vinci le tue ragioni di morte e apriti al dialogo, alla riconciliazione: guarda al dolore del tuo fratello, e non aggiungere altro dolore, ferma la tua mano, ricostruisci l'armonia che si è spezzata; e questo non con lo scontro, ma con l'incontro!

S.EM. JEAN-LOUIS P. CARDINAL TAURAN  
 S.EM. GEORGES M.M. CARDINAL COTTIER  
 S.EM. ROGER CARDINAL ETCHEGARAY  
 S.EM. PETER CARDINAL TURKSON  
 S.E. GENERALE GIANALFONSO D'AVOSSA  
 S.E. MONS. ANTOINE AUDO  
 REV. P. MIGUEL ANGEL AYUNO GUIXOT, MCCJ  
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 RETTORE LUIS ERNESTO DERBEZ BAUTISTA  
 PROF. EDWARD M. DE ROBERTIS  
 REV. P. HYACINTHE DESTIVELLE, OP  
 REV. ALEKSEJ DIKAREV

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 RETTORE GÉRARD-FRANÇOIS DUMONT  
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 PROF. WILLIAM F. VENDLEY  
 DOTT. THOMAS WALSH  
 DOTT. MIGUEL WERNER

FOR HIS HOLINESS POPE FRANCIS

## On the Deliberations of the Workshop of the Pontifical Academy of Sciences on the Crisis in Syria and the Hopes for the Geneva 2 Conference

January 13, 2014

The horror of violence and death in Syria has brought the world to a renewed reflection, and thereby to a new chance for peace. The Geneva 2 Conference on January 22 allows the people of Syria, the region, and the world to conceive of a fresh start to end violence that has claimed more than 130,000 lives and left a beautiful country in ruins and dislocation. Let us therefore all work in harmony and trust to chart an urgent path to reconciliation and reconstruction.

The first and most urgent step, agreeable to all men and women of goodwill, should be an immediate cease-fire and end to violence of all kinds, an end without political preconditions. All internal combatants should put down their weapons; all foreign powers should take immediate steps to stop the flow of arms and arms funding that feed the escalation of violence and

destruction. The immediate cessation of violence is in the interest of all. It is a humanitarian imperative, and represents the first step to reconciliation.

The end of fighting should be accompanied by the immediate start of humanitarian assistance and reconstruction. Millions of Syrian people have been displaced. Countless numbers are refugees, being housed temporarily in camps in neighboring countries. The displaced populations are suffering from extreme and life-threatening deprivations of nutrition, safe water, sanitation, electricity, safe shelter, telecommunications, transport, and other basic human needs required by any well-functioning society. Let Syria embark, with the full plentitude of global financial and human support, to a path of rebuilding, one that can begin even before all political and social questions are resolved.



In this vital rebuilding, young people and the poor should be given a preferential role, with access to jobs and to training for vital reconstruction skills. The Syrian economy is in a state of collapse and youth unemployment is pervasive. The re-employment of young people will not only meet urgent material needs, but urgent social and personal needs as well. In this way, the start of material reconstruction can attend to the urgent needs of survival.

Inter-community dialogue and reconciliation should also tend to the urgent needs of spiritual and community rebuilding. Syria is built upon a complex, historic, and wondrous tradition of pluralism of religions, ethnicities, and cultures. The Holy See is committed to supporting all religious faiths and communities in Syria to reach a new understanding and significant restoration of trust, after years of inter-communal violence.

It is widely understood that the conflict in Syria has drawn its violent force from the conflicts and deep distrust in the region. As many have noted, the conflict in Syria has often been more about the rivalries of the regional and international powers than about conflicts within the Syrian community itself. On the one hand, this is promising. The people of Syria have lived amongst each other in peace throughout history, and can do so again. On the other hand, the regional conflicts that have engulfed Syria must also be addressed in order to create the conditions for long-lasting peace.

To build the basis for regional peace, Geneva II needs to ensure inclusive participation of all parties to this conflict, within the region and beyond. Of particular note is the vital importance of the recent agreement reached between Iran, with the permanent members of the Security Council plus Germany, to find an agreement on Iran's nuclear program. This interim agreement gives the world great hope that an extended

period of grave distrust between Iran and other nations in the region and beyond might now be followed by a new era of trust and even cooperation. The success of this new agreement would also provide a vital foundation for a lasting peace in Syria. So too would a breakthrough in the ongoing Israel-Palestinian peace negotiations being facilitated by the United States.

These, then, are preconditions for lasting peace: an immediate cessation of violence; the start of rebuilding; inter-communal dialogue; and progress to resolve all regional conflicts, and the participation of all regional and global actors in the pursuit of peace in Geneva 2. They provide a base of security and reconstruction upon which lasting peace can be built. New political forms in Syria are needed, to ensure representation, participation, reform, and the voice and security of all social groups. Political transformation is needed. It is not a precondition for ending violence; rather, it will accompany the cessation of violence and the rebuilding of trust.

As Pope Francis said in September of last year, at the time of a prayer vigil for peace:

I once again ask the Lord that we Christians, and our brothers and sisters of other religions, and every man and woman of good will, cry out forcefully: violence and war are never the way to peace! Let everyone be moved to look into the depths of his or her conscience and listen to that word which says: Leave behind the self-interest that hardens your heart, overcome the indifference that makes your heart insensitive towards others, conquer your deadly reasoning, and open yourself to dialogue and reconciliation. Look upon your brother's sorrow and do not add to it, stay your hand, rebuild the harmony that has been shattered; and all this achieved not by conflict but by encounter!

H.EM. JEAN-LOUIS P. CARDINAL TAURAN  
 H.EM. GEORGES M.M. CARDINAL COTTIER  
 H.EM. ROGER CARDINAL ETCHEGARAY  
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 PROF. GOVIND SWARUP  
 H.E. MSGR. SILVANO M. TOMASI, CS  
 PROF. WILLIAM F. VENDLEY  
 DR. THOMAS WALSH  
 LIC. MIGUEL WERNER

# Programme

9:00	<i>Saluto di benvenuto / Word of Welcome</i> <b>Marcelo Sánchez Sorondo</b>
9:05	<i>Comment préparer la Syrie de demain?</i> <b>Jean-Louis Pierre Cardinal Tauran</b>
9:15	<i>La Siria nel contesto regionale / Syria in the Regional Context</i> <b>Miguel Ángel Moratinos</b>
9:45	Discussione
10:00	<i>Situazione sul terreno / The Situation on the Ground</i> <b>Joseph Maïla</b>
10:30	Discussione / Discussion
10:45	Coffee Break
11:05	<i>La posizione del Medio Oriente / The Position of the Middle East</i> <b>Mohamed ElBaradei</b>
11:35	Discussione / Discussion
11:50	<i>La posizione russa / The Position of Russia</i> <b>Piotr Vladimirovich Stegnyy</b>
12:20	Discussione / Discussion
12:35	Discussione Generale / General Discussion
13:00	Pranzo / Lunch
15:00	<i>La posizione ONU / The Position of the UN</i> <b>Jeffrey Sachs</b>
15:30	Discussione / Discussion
15:45	<i>Interfaith and International Relations: The Role of Religion in Peacebuilding</i> <b>Thomas Walsh</b>
16:15	Discussione / Discussion
16:30	Coffee Break
17:00	<i>Sostenere le comunità religiose siriane come costruttrici di pace / Supporting Syrian Religious Communities as Peacebuilders</i> <b>William F. Vendley</b>
17:30	Discussione / Discussion
17:45	<i>Verso una soluzione / Towards a Solution</i> <b>Thierry de Montbrial</b>
18:15	Discussione / Discussion
18:30	Discussione Generale / General Discussion
19:30	Cena / Dinner

# Observers

**H.Em. Georges M.M. Cardinal Cottier** (Theologian emeritus of the Pontifical Household, Vatican City)

**H.E. Msgr. Antoine Audo** (Chaldean Bishop of Aleppo, Syria)

**Rev. Fr. Miguel Angel Ayuso Guixot, MCCJ** (Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue)

**H.E. Amb. Juan Pablo Cafiero** (Argentinian Ambassador to the Holy See)

**Ms. Jacqueline Corbelli** (Chair of the Global Board, Millennium Promise Founder, Chairman, & CEO, BrightLine Partners LLC, New York, USA)

**Prof. Wolfgang Danspeckgruber** (D.Laws, Ph.D., Founding Director, Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination at Princeton University, USA)

**H.E. Gen. Gianalfonso d'Avossa**

**Rev. Fr. Hyacinthe Destivelle, OP** (Head of the desk for relations with the Russian Orthodox Church, Pontifical Council for Christian Unity)

**Rev. Aleksej Dikarev** (Collaborator of the Secretariat for Inter-Orthodox Relations, Dept. for External Church Relations of Moscow Patriarchate)

**H.E. Msgr. Brian Farrell** (Secretary of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity)

**H.E. Amb. Pierre Fux** (Swiss Ambassador to the Holy See)

**H.E. Amb. Eduardo Gutiérrez Sáenz de Buruaga** (Spanish Ambassador to the Holy See)

**Hieromonk Stefan Igumnov** (Secretary for Inter-Orthodox Relations, Department for External Church Relations of Moscow Patriarchate)

**H.E. Amb. Bruno Joubert** (French Ambassador to the Holy See)

**H.E. Amb. Pierre Morel** (Director of the Pharos Observatory of Cultural and Religious Pluralism, Paris, France)

**H.E. Amb. Piotr Nowina-Konopka** (Polish Ambassador to the Holy See)

**H.E. Amb. Mariano Palacios Alcocer** (Mexican Ambassador to the Holy See)

**Prof. Romano Prodi** (Former Prime Minister of Italy and former President of the European Commission)

**Mr. Michel Roy** (General Secretary, Caritas Internationalis)

**H.E. Msgr. Silvano Tomasi** (Permanent Observer of Holy See to the United Nations in Geneva)

**Lic. Miguel Werner** (Secretary General, UPF Argentina)

**H.E. Amb. Antonio Zanardi Landi** (Advisor to the President of the Italian Republic)

# Biographies of the Participants

**Mohamed ElBaradei**, born in Egypt in 1942, studied law at the University of Cairo. He began his career in the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1964, and worked in Egypt's permanent mission to the UN both in New York and in Geneva. In 1980 he became a senior fellow in charge of the International Law Programme at the UN's Institute for Training and Research. Mr ElBaradei is married to Aida Elkachef, a teacher, with whom he has two children. He joined the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in 1984 and worked his way up to director general 13 years later. Mr ElBaradei won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2005 for his efforts to prevent nuclear proliferation. In 2012 he had been set to stand as a liberal, secular candidate in the presidential elections, but withdrew his bid in January of that year citing concerns about the undemocratic way the military was governing Egypt. Mr ElBaradei had wanted a new constitution to be drawn up from scratch before any elections took place. In April 2012, he launched a new political party, the Constitution Party. In July 2013 he was named interim Vice President of Egypt but resigned on 14 August.

**Joseph Maïla** (France/Lebanon) is dean of the Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences at the Catholic Institute, Paris, and Director of the Research Centre on Peace (CRP) as well as at the Institut de Formation à la Médiation et à la Négociation (IFOMENE). From 1977 to 1984, Professor Maïla was vice-dean of the Faculty of Literature and Human Sciences of St. Joseph University, Beirut. Specialist on the Middle East, he has produced numerous manuscripts on the Lebanese question including a detailed analysis of the Taif Agreements, published by Oxford. He is a member of the editorial committee of the magazine *ESPRIIT*. He contributes a bimonthly chronicle of international politics to the newspaper *La Croix*. Since September 2004, Joseph Maïla is the Rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris. He has authored, among others, the following publications: *From Manhattan to Baghdad: Beyond Good and Evil*, written in collaboration with Mohammed Arkoun (editions Desclée de Brouwer, 2004); *Hate of the West Becomes the Breviary of the Poor* (in *International Alternate*, May/June, 2004); *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, written in collaboration with Daniel Lindenberg (editions Desclée de Brouwer, Nov. 2001); *The Taif Agreement: A Commentary* (Oxford, editions CLS, 1993).

**Thierry de Montbrial** is President of the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri), which he founded in 1979. He is Professor Emeritus at the *Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers*. In 2008 he launched the *World Policy Conference*. He has been a member of the *Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques* of the *Institut de France* since 1992, and is a member of a number of foreign Academies including the Russian Academy of Sciences. He serves on the board or advisory board of a number of interna-

tional companies and institutions. Thierry de Montbrial chaired the Department of Economics at the *Ecole Polytechnique* from 1974 to 1992. He was the first Chairman of the Foundation for Strategic Research (1993-2001). Entrusted with the creation of the Policy Planning Staff (*Centre d'Analyse et de Prévision* – renamed *Direction de la prospective* in 2009) at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he was its first director (1973-1979). He has authored fifteen books, several of them translated in various languages. He is a *Commandeur* of the *Légion d'honneur*, *Grand Officier* of the *ordre national du Mérite* and has been awarded other state honors by the French and several foreign governments. Thierry de Montbrial is a graduate of the *Ecole Polytechnique* and the *Ecole des Mines*, and received a Ph.D. in Economics from the University of California at Berkeley.

**Miguel Ángel Moratinos Cuyaubé** (born 8 June 1951 in Madrid) is a Spanish diplomat and politician, a member of the Socialist Workers' Party and member of Congress, where he represents Córdoba. He served as Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Government of José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero from 18 April 2004 until 21 October 2010, when he was replaced by Trinidad Jiménez. Between 1996 and 2003, Moratinos was the European Union Special Representative for the Middle East Peace Process. In 2007, Moratinos was the Chairman-in-Office of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. In 2011 he was nominated as a candidate for the position of director general of FAO but on June 26 he lost to Brazilian Jose Graziano.

**Jeffrey D. Sachs** is the Director of The Earth Institute, Quetelet Professor of Sustainable Development, and Professor of Health Policy and Management at Columbia University. He is Special Advisor to United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon on the Millennium Development Goals, having held the same position under former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan. He is Director of the UN Sustainable Development Solutions Network. He is co-founder and Chief Strategist of Millennium Promise Alliance, and is director of the Millennium Villages Project. Sachs is also one of the Secretary-General's MDG Advocates, and a Commissioner of the ITU/UN-ESCO Broadband Commission for Development. He has been named one of Time Magazine's "100 Most Influential People in the World" twice, in 2004 and 2005 and has authored three New York Times bestsellers in the past seven years: *The End of Poverty* (2005), *Common Wealth: Economics for a Crowded Planet* (2008), and *The Price of Civilization* (2011). His most recent book is *To Move the World: JFK's Quest for Peace* (2013). Professor Sachs is widely considered to be one of the world's leading experts on economic development and the fight against poverty. His work on ending poverty, promoting

economic growth, fighting hunger and disease, and promoting sustainable environmental practices, has taken him to more than 125 countries with more than 90 percent of the world's population. For more than a quarter century he has advised dozens of heads of state and governments on economic strategy, in the Americas, Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. Sachs is the recipient of many awards and honors, including membership in the Institute of Medicine, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Harvard Society of Fellows, and the Fellows of the World Econometric Society. Professor Sachs is also a frequent contributor to major publications such as the Financial Times of London, the International Herald Tribune, Scientific American, and Time magazine. Prior to joining Columbia, Sachs spent over twenty years at Harvard University, most recently as Director of the Center for International Development and the Galen L. Stone Professor of International Trade. A native of Detroit, Michigan, Sachs received his B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees at Harvard.

**Petr Stegnyy.** Born 1945. *Education:* Moscow State University of International Relations, 1968, Diplomatic Academy, 1989. *Diplomatic career:* 1993-1998 – Ambassador to the State of Kuwait. 1998-2003 – Director, History and Documents Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2003-2007 – Ambassador to the Turkish Republic. 2007-2011 – Ambassador to the State of Israel. 2012 – Director, Foundation “Russian-Polish Center for Dialogue and Understanding”; member, Russian Council for International Relations. *Sphere of scientific interests:* History of Russian diplomacy and foreign policy, Middle East. Author of several books. “Smile of the Sphinx” (2 editions), “Ambassador of the 3-rd class” (2 editions), “Chronicles of Catherine II”, “Under the shade of the eight-pointed cross”, “Under the Shadow of the eight-pointed cross”, etc. Doctorate theses: “Partitions of Poland and Diplomacy of Catherine II. 1772, 1793, 1795.” *Spoken languages:* Arabic, English, French.

**Cardinal Jean-Louis Tauran**, President of the Pontifical Council for Inter-religious Dialogue, was born on 5 April 1943 in Bordeaux, France. He was ordained a priest on 20 September 1969. He holds licentiates in philosophy and theology and a degree in canon law. Following ordination, he served as parochial vicar in Bordeaux. In March 1975 he entered the diplomatic service of the Holy See and was assigned to the Apostolic Nunciature of the Dominican Republic, and was later transferred to the Apostolic Nunciature in Lebanon. He represented the Holy See at the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and participated in various European conferences. In 1988 he was appointed Undersecretary of the Council for the Public Affairs of the Church. On 6 January 1991 he was consecrated as titular Archbishop of Thelepte and appointed as Secretary of the Council (now known as the Section for Relations with States of the Secretariat of State). He has led the Holy See Delegation at numerous international conferences. On 24

November 2003 he was nominated Archivist and Librarian of the Holy Roman Church. On 25 June 2007 he was nominated President of the Pontifical Council for Inter-religious Dialogue. On 26 June 2013 he was nominated a member of the Pontifical Referring Commission to the Institute for the Works of Religion (IOR). Created and proclaimed Cardinal by the Bl. John Paul II in the Consistory of 21 October 2003, of the Deaconry of S. Apollinare alle Terme Neroniane-Alessandrine (St. Apollonius at the Neronian-Alexandrian Baths). Proto-deacon as of 21 February 2011. Member of the Secretariat of State (second section) and of the following Congregations: for the Doctrine of the Faith; for the Oriental Churches; for Bishops; Pontifical Councils: for Promoting Christian Unity; for Culture; Supreme Tribunal of the Apostolic Signature; Administration of the Patrimony of the Apostolic See; Pontifical Commission for Vatican City State; Cardinal Commission for the Supervision of the Institute for the Works of Religion (IOR); Special Council for the Middle East of the General Secretariat of the Synod of Bishops.

**William Vendley** is the Secretary General of Religions for Peace International, which is the world's largest and most representative multi-religious coalition advancing common action for peace by working to advance multi-religious consensus on positive aspects of peace as well as concrete actions to stop war, help eliminate extreme poverty and protect the earth. He is a pioneer in advancing multi-religious cooperation to help resolve conflict and advance development and has facilitated the establishment of multi-religious councils around the world. For example, in the immediate aftermath of the civil war in Bosnia, he facilitated the Inter-religious Council of Bosnia-Herzegovina which served Bosnia religious leaders in their efforts to heal their society and re-build a single, multi-ethnic Bosnia. He also facilitated the establishment of the Inter-religious Council of Sierra Leone in the midst of a ten-year civil war, supported the successful multi-religious mediations between the rebels and the government and was requested to assist in the formal peace talks in Lome, Togo. He has supported multi-religious efforts to prevent conflicts, mediate among warring parties and heal societies in the aftermath of violence in Ethiopia, Eritrea, Liberia, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Iraq and other countries. He is actively working in the Middle East North Africa region with religious leaders to advance peace. He is convinced that principled multi-religious cooperation can be an authentic expression of committed religious faith and that multi-religious efforts for peacemaking provide unique strengths that complement those marshaled by governments and bodies like the United Nations. Dr. Vendley co-founded the Hope for African Children Initiative to address the needs of African children orphaned by HIV/AIDS. The Initiative resulted in an initial US\$ 50M being raised to equip African communities to provide needed services to vulnerable children. Dr. Vendley is an advisor to a number of governments on matters related to religion and peace.

He advised President Obama through his service on the Multi-religious Cooperation and International Affairs Task Force of the White House Faith Based Council. He was recently appointed by US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton as one of ten members of the US State Department's Advisory Committee on Strategic Partnership with Civil Society and is a Co-chair of the Religion and Foreign Policy Working Group. Dr. Vendley is a theologian and has served as a professor and dean in Roman Catholic graduate schools of theology. Born and raised in Indiana, he earned his BA from Purdue University (1971) and was the recipient of its Distinguished Alumni for Science Award in 2005. He has an MA from the Maryknoll School of Theology (1976) and a Ph.D. in systematic theology from Fordham University (1984). He is married to Mrs. Yasuko Vendley, and they reside in New York City.

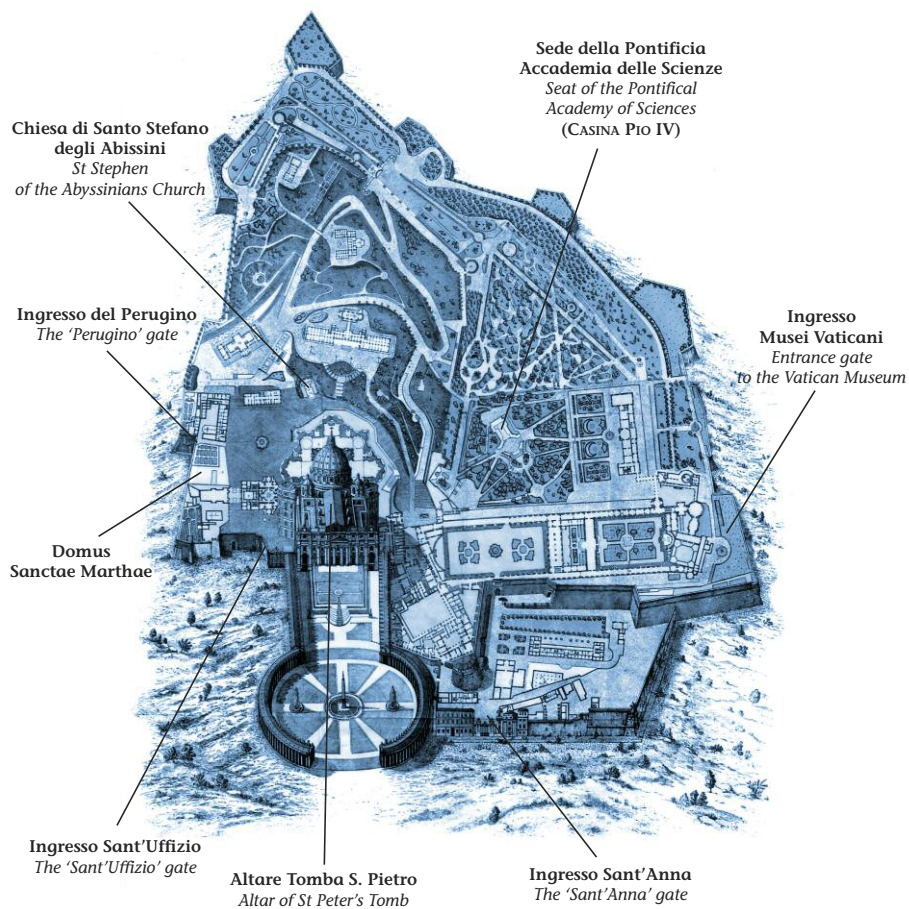
**Thomas Walsh** is the President of the Universal Peace Federation. With academic training in the field of Religion and Ethics, he earned his Ph.D. at Vanderbilt University. He has been a teacher, author and editor, with specialization in areas of interfaith relations, religious studies, religion and peace, philosophy and social theory. He serves on the International Council of the *World Association of Non-Governmental Organizations*, and on the board of directors of the *International Coalition for Religious Freedom* and *The Washington Times*. He serves as Publisher of UPF Today magazine and Dialogue and Alliance, a scholarly interfaith journal. He has contributed to and edited more than twenty books related to interfaith, peace-building and renewal of the United Nations; among these volumes are *Renewing the United Nations and Building a Culture of Peace* and *The Millennium Declaration of the United Nations: A Response from Civil Society*.

## Memorandum

- 1) A bus for the Speakers will leave the Domus Sanctae Marthae for the Academy, 15 minutes before the beginning of the morning session (8.45 am) and will take them back to the Domus after dinner.
- 2) Lunch and dinner will be served at the Academy. If you are a vegetarian, please let us know as soon as possible.
- 3) Wifi is available in the Casina Pio IV's Conference Hall. Please log in to the network called WLAN\_PADS using "guest" as the username and "password" as the password.
- 4) Cable internet access is available at the Domus Sanctae Marthae for 3.00 euros per day. Wifi is free in the lobby.

**Note for the Speakers:**

Please give your form for the refunding of expenses to the Secretariat as soon as possible so that you can be refunded immediately.



THE PONTIFICAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES • CASINA PIO IV • V-00120 VATICAN CITY  
Tel: +39 0669883451 • Fax: +39 0669885218 • Email: pas@pas.va

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[www.pas.va](http://www.pas.va)

A press release will be available after the workshop.  
Per i media sarà disponibile un comunicato finale dopo il workshop.