OPENNESS AND FUNDAMENTALISM IN THE 21ST CENTURY

12th Annual Forum 2000 Conference
Prague, October 12–14, 2008

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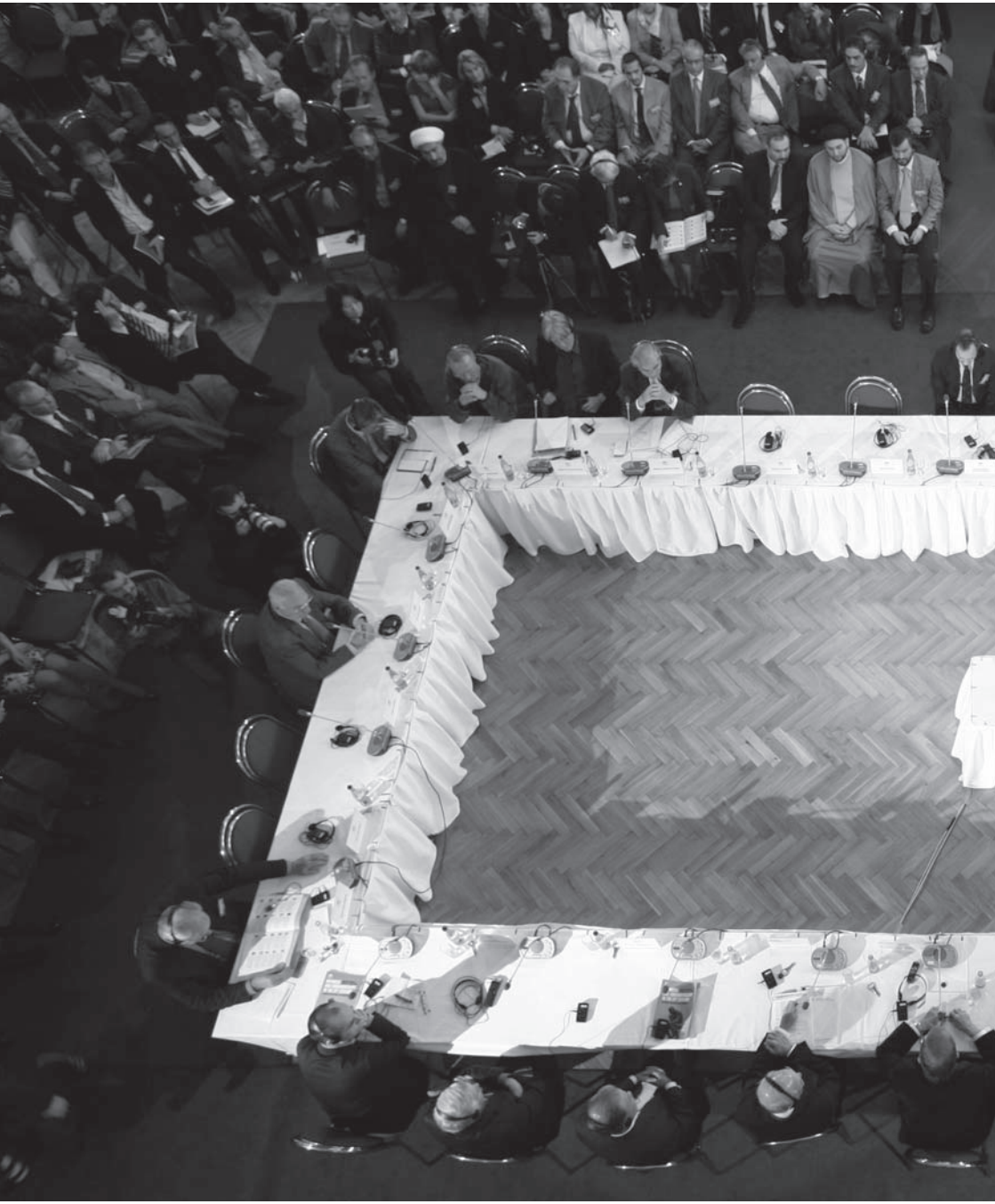
CONTENT



Editors' Note

When debating how to present the contributions made at the 2008 Forum 2000 conference, both to our esteemed participants and interested public, we decided not to transcribe the proceedings of the conference with all the comments and interjections made. In doing so, we made a concerted effort to limit the number of changes we made and to maintain the original intent of the speaker. The changes, therefore, are minimal and serve only to clarify the point. Any remaining errors are our own.

We hope that you find the content of this conference report as interesting as we did and would greatly appreciate any feedback via e-mail to office@forum2000.cz.

We would like to thank all of those who made the conference possible, as well as Daniela Retková, Pavel Linden-Retek, and Melissa Durda for their contributions to the 2008 Conference Report.

Oldřich Černý, Jeremy Zogby

Introduction

Forum 2000 began in 1997 when President Václav Havel, together with his friends Elie Wiesel and Yohei Sasakawa, invited to Prague a number of current and former politicians, philosophers, artists, business executives and representatives of various religions. In short, people whose only common denominator was experience with bearing responsibility. The aim of this gathering was to analyze hopes, challenges, and threats facing humankind on the threshold of a new millennium or – as Václav Havel put it – "*…to study the reasons why humankind does nothing to avert the threats about which it knows so much and why it allows itself to be carried onward by some kind of inertia…"*

What was originally intended as a single event evolved into a highly successful conference series which served as a platform identifying the key issues facing civilization and exploring the ways in which to prevent escalation of conflicts that have religion, culture, or ethnicity as their primary components. The thought leaders that have come to Prague over the years to attend Forum 2000 conferences include Frederik Willem de Klerk, Hillary and Bill Clinton, Hans Küng, H.R.H. El Hassan bin Talal, Francis Fukuyama, Adam Michnik, Anthony Giddens, Wole Soyinka, His Holiness the Dalai Lama, André Glucksmann, Shimon Peres, and many others.

The main theme of the 12th Forum 2000 conference that took place in Prague on October 12 – 14, 2008 was *"Openness and Fundamentalism in the 21st Century"*. The topics of the richly textured discussions included issues of faith and fanaticism, the powerful and the powerless, modernity without democracy, plurality of cultures and democracy, fear and how to deal with it. The Interfaith dialogue which is an inherent part of every Forum 2000 conference focused on the roots of religious extremism. Three business and economy roundtable debates were devoted to the economic future of Europe and North America, emergence of new economic powers, and internalization of Czech companies as well as the financial and economic crisis.

Apart from the conference that was attended by 3000 observers from the Czech Republic as well as abroad, Forum 2000 Foundation organized in cooperation with various partners, mostly Czech NGOs, nearly 20 other associated events in the forms of roundtable debates, seminars, and lectures focusing on the current political, cultural, social, religious, and economic topics.

We hope that this publication will remind the 2008 participants of the Forum 2000 conference of their days spent in Prague and that it will allow those who could not take part to become acquainted with the ideas of our distinguished guests.

Allow me to end this introductory note by inviting you to attend the 13th Forum 2000 conference *Democracy and Freedom in a Multipolar World* that will take place in Prague, on October 11th – 13th, 2009.

Oldřich Černý
Executive Director
Forum 2000 Foundation

Founders' Messages

Václav Havel
Former President of the Czech Republic

Dear friends,

Throughout the course of my life I have had doubts about whether whatever I do is right and meaningful. Such doubts, I must admit, have been haunting me for twelve years with respect to Forum 2000, the joint initiative of mine and my friends Elie Weisel and Yohei Sasakawa, which was initially intended to be held as a single meeting.

Luckily, the guests of Forum 2000 help me see these doubts disappear every year. I like watching your debates and discussions, which are full of inspiring and often very original ideas. As it is this variety that makes Forum 2000 unique, we do our best to have wise people come to Prague from different parts of the universe, different domains of human activities and different fields of culture. I am delighted to regularly see a thoughtful audience with a number of young people present.

Every year we also think thoroughly about what the main theme of the Forum 2000 Conference will be. This year's *Between Openness and Fundamentalism in the 21st Century: Traditions and Modernity at Issue* reflects a phenomenon that on the one hand is characteristic of human evolution, but on the other hand, from the current point of view, is coming to the fore more and more than ever before.

Another topic that is often discussed here – and this year will be no exception due to the anniversary of world events in 1968 – is the issue of human rights. I am pleased that the depth of the debates and discussions taking place within Forum 2000 show that this term

is not taken in vain but has a clear notion behind it for everybody to be constantly reminded of. I believe that human rights, human responsibility, moral order and our consciences are probably the most important political issues of our day affecting our deeds.

Let me further mention another integral part of the Forum 2000 project – the Interfaith Dialogue. Once I came up with an idea to form some "large spiritual coalition" that would encourage co-operation of the world's religions and their struggle for respecting human lives and nature and developing the right attitude for the future. I am happy to see such a small, spiritual coalition emerge every year with an interconnection of people of goodwill sharing basic ethical values.

Everything I have mentioned here, and what I believe will take place at this year's conference, encourages me and helps me be more self-confident in thinking that our reason for founding Forum 2000 have not gone in vain.

Yohei Sasakawa
Chairman, The Nippon Foundation

This year, Forum 2000 marks its 12th anniversary. Over the last twelve years, under the guidance of President Havel, Forum 2000 has brought together intellectual leaders, thinkers and decision makers from around the globe to discuss various issues facing human society. President Havel's praiseworthy attempt to find, through dialogue, a moral minimum that can help us orient ourselves in today' s chaotic world is now bearing fruit, promoting mutual understanding and trust among Forum participants and disseminating messages from Prague to the rest of the world.

Living as we are in this modern society in which the utilitarianism and rationalism that originated in the West prevail, it was our hope when we initiated Forum 2000 in 1997 that the outcomes of quality discussions would emanate from the cultural city of Prague in Central Europe from people outside the West and reach countries throughout the rest of the world.

The theme for this year's Forum 2000 conference is "Openness and Fundamentalism in the 21st Century", a deeply significant topic that presents many challenges. There still exist many countries and

organizations that choose to put their own interests and security first, refusing to develop open, transparent relations with others. Furthermore, there also exist non-state actors, blinded by their own beliefs, which seek the violent overthrow of democratic societies as a way to bring about change.

It is humankind's hope that the 21st century, following a century of wars, will value peace, law, and order throughout the world. However, the world we see before us today is in turmoil.

In the midst of this chaos, the Forum has strived to give thorough and careful consideration to the ideal form for our society. Even if it is not possible to answer all the questions asked of us straight away, we believe that it is not only the special privilege but also the responsibility of humankind to engage in this kind of quiet and serious intellectual endeavour.

There is surely no one who would doubt that the ideas forthcoming from this unique intellectual forum, which is already world renown, will give confidence to conscientious individuals and shine light on problems facing beleaguered citizens around the globe.

On a final note, let me just say that I sincerely hope that Forum 2000 will continue to serve humanity for many years to come.

Volunteers

Organizing the 12th Annual Forum 2000 conference would not have been possible without the enthusiasm and great effort of almost one hundred volunteers, who undertook many of the administrative tasks prior to the event, accompanied the conference delegates as personal assistants, worked as photographers, and performed a myriad of other crucial tasks. Their contribution should not go unnoticed and it is thanks to them that the 2008 conference was such a success.

Delegates' Profiles

Prince Turki Al-Faisal, Saudi Arabia
Chairman of the Board of The King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies. From 1977–2001, he served as the head of Saudi Arabia's General Intelligence Directorate. From 2002 to 2005, he was Ambassador to the United Kingdom and Republic of Ireland. From 2005 to 2006, he was Ambassador to the United States.

Ammar Al-Hakim, Iraq
Deputy leader of the Supreme Islamic Iraqi Council (SIIC) and Secretary General of the Al-Mihrab Martyr Foundation. As a son of Abdul Aziz al-Hakim, the prominent Iraqi Shiite leader, he is now considered the heir apparent to replace his father. His family and the party they founded (SIIC) have close ties both to Washington and Iran. He was educated in the Islamic seminaries of Iran, where his family fled in 1979 to escape Saddam's persecution.

Oswaldo Alvarez Paz, Venezuela
Founder of the Venezuelan political party the People's Alliance. In the 2006 elections his party supported the opponent of Hugo Chavez. In 1989 and again in 1992, he was elected governor of Zulia as a member of the Social Christian party COPEI.

Robert R. Amsterdam, Canada

Attorney. In 2003, he was retained by the Russian corporation YUKOS-Group MENATEP for the defence of former CEO Mikhail Khodorkovsky. He co-founded the Toronto-based law firm Amsterdam & Peroff with Dean A. Peroff in 1980 and has represented well-known global corporations including PriceWaterhouse Coopers and the Four Seasons Hotel Group. Mr. Amsterdam has briefed parliamentarians and NGO leaders on a variety of political, legal, and business issues.

Maen Rashid Areikat, Palestine

Coordinator General, Negotiations Affairs Department of the PLO, Palestine. Born in Jericho, he later moved to England and the US in 1978 where he received his degree, a of Bachelor of Science in Finance and later an MBA in management. Upon his return to Palestine in 1992, he joined the Orient House, the headquarters of the Palestinian Team for the peace talks. In 1998, Mr. Areikat became Director-General of the Negotiations Affairs Department of the PLO in Ramallah.

Jose Maria Argueta, Guatemala

Former (and first civilian) National Security Adviser of Guatemala and former Ambassador to Japan and Peru. He also facilitated the Guatemalan peace process. As Guatemalan Ambassador to Peru, he was among the lead negotiators who helped gain freedom for the hundreds of hostages that were captured in the Japanese Embassy. Currently, he is the Executive Vice President of ODEPAL International.

Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, Poland

Historian, author, and diplomat. In 1939 he participated in the civil defense of Warsaw, later on he was imprisoned in the Auschwitz II – Birkenau concentration camp. He was a member of the Polish underground Council for Aid to Jews and in 1944 took part in the Warsaw Uprising. Twice the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, he currently serves as Polish Secretary of State and plenipotentiary for the Prime Minister for International Affairs. He is the President of the Polish PEN-centre and the author of numerous books and articles.

David Brooks, Canada

Natural resource economist. Since 2002, he has worked as Director of Research for Friends of the Earth, Canada. From 1988 to 2002, he served as Senior Advisor for the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), and between 1983 and 1988, he was Principal of Barbek Resource Consultants, Ltd. The founding Director of the Canadian Office of Energy Conservation, he subsequently headed the Ottawa Office of Energy Probe. His principle areas of expertise are in natural resource economics and policy development.

Jan Bubeník, Czech Republic

Founder of Bubenik Partners and Chairman of the Corporate Council of the Forum 2000 Foundation. During the Velvet Revolution in 1989, he was one of the student leaders and later served as the youngest member of the first Czech Feder Parliament. He also worked as a management consultant for McKinsey & Company. He studied Pediatrics at the Faculty of Medicine, Charles University in Prague and Economics at the University of Colorado.

Martin Bursík, Czech Republic

Chairman of the Czech Green Party. In June 1989, he joined the dissident movement and signed the declaration of the anti-communist movement. During the Velvet Revolution in November of that year, he was one of the founders of the Civic Forum. He was Minister of the Environment under Josef Tošovský for a few months in 1998. He joined the Greens in June 2004 and was elected party chairman. After the 2006 parliament election he became member of the Czech Parliament and Minister of the Environment in 2007.

Frederick F. Chien, Taiwan

Politician and diplomat. Since 2005, he has been Chairman of the Cathay Charity Foundation and Senior Advisor to Cathay Financial Holdings. Between 1999 and 2005, he was nominated President of Control Yuan, one of the provinces in Taiwan, and he also served as a member and Speaker of the National Assembly. His diplomatic career included serving as Minister of Foreign Affairs between 1990 and 1996.

Robin Christopher, United Kingdom

Secretary General of the Global Leadership Foundation, former British Ambassador to Argentina, Indonesia, Ethiopia and Eritrea. In the British Foreign Service, he also served in India, Spain and Zambia and was responsible for Southern Africa at the Foreign Office during the time of transition in South Africa. He is a graduate of Oxford Univeristy and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

Anastasia Crickley, Ireland

Chairperson of the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism and Head of the Department of Applied Social Studies, National University of Ireland Maynooth. She is also the Personal Representative of the Chair in Office of the OSCE on Discrimination. She has been active in promoting civil society organizations and community sector participation in Ireland and in Europe. She was appointed a member of the Irish State Council for the period 2004–2011.

Vladimír Dlouhý, Czech Republic

Economist, Senior Advisor of ABB, International Advisor of Goldman Sachs, fellow at the University of Economics, Prague (VSE), where he lectures on macro economy and economic policy. He served as Czechoslovak Minister of Economy between 1989 and 1992 and as Czech Minister of Industry and Trade between 1992–1997.

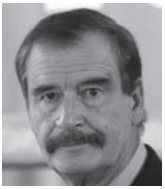
Doris Donnelly, USA

Associate Professor of theology at John Carroll University in Cleveland, Ohio. She teaches graduate courses in spirituality and theology. She is also Professor of Religious Studies at The Cardinal Suenens Center. In the past she served as President of the North American Academy of Liturgy, an ecumenical association of liturgical scholars who collaborate in research. Ms. Donelly is the author of numerous books and articles.

Gabriel Eichler, USA/Czech Republic
Founder of Benson Oak. He has held senior executive positions in banking and industry in both the US and Europe. He worked as regional General Manager for Bank of America in Paris, Vienna and Frankfurt. From 1994 to 1998, he was Vice Chairman of the Board and until the end of 1996, CFO of ČEZ. In the early 90s, Mr. Eichler advised the Czechoslovak government on economic transformation.

Tomáš Etzler, Czech Republic
Journalist, reporter, editor, and producer. Since 1999, he has worked for CNN, among other duties, as its war correspondent in Haiti, Iraq and Afghanistan. Since 2006, he has been working for Czech television as a reporter in China. He also worked as the external reporter for the Czech weekly *Respekt* and for the newspaper *Lidové noviny*.

Ján Figeľ, Slovak Republic
European Commissioner for Education, Training, and Culture. He is a former member of the National Council of Slovakia, a former State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Slovakia (1998–2002), as well as the former chief negotiator for Slovakia's accession to the EU. He is a member of various Slovak and international NGO's. Mr. Figeľ is an author and co-editor of several publications concerning foreign affairs and membership of Slovakia in the EU.



Vicente Fox, Mexico
Former President of Mexico (2000–2006). Having graduated from the Ibero-American University in Mexico City, he began working for Coca-Cola Mexico. He entered politics in 1987, joining the National Action Party (PAN) in 1988. In 2000, he won the presidential elections. Currently, he serves as Co-President of the Centrist Democrat International (CDI), an international organization of Christian Democratic parties.

Fara Gaye, Senegal
Sufi sheikh involved in projects for Muslim-Jewish dialogue (particularly in the USA) and in the Sulha Peace Project. Taking part in the "On the Way to Sulha" gatherings, held annually in the Holy Land, he teaches about Islam and peace.

Mohammad Gawdat, Egypt

Managing Director for Emerging Markets, Google. His career started at IBM Egypt where he worked as a Systems Engineer; he then moved to the government sector, joined NCR Abu Dhabi in the UAE and settled down in BAT as a Regional Manager. Before joining Google he worked at Microsoft *(Communications Sector)*, serving as *Regional Manager for Eastern Europe, the Middle East and Africa*.

Mary Ann Glendon, USA

The US Ambassador to the Holy See. She became the first woman to lead a Vatican delegation to a major UN conference in 1995. From 2001 to 2004, she served on the President's Council on bioethics. In March 2004, Pope John Paul II named her President of the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences, marking the first time a woman has headed one of the major Pontifical Academies.

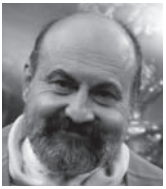
André Glucksmann, France

Philosopher. He is considered a member of the French New Philosophers who supported the 1960's protest movement and opposed the communist regimes in Eastern Europe. He is the author of *The Master Thinkers* (*Les Maîtres penseurs,* 1977) and *Dostoevsky in Manhattan* (*Dostoïevski á Manhattan,* 2002) His most recent book, *A Child's Rage (Une rage d'enfant)*, was published in 2006. Throughout recent crises he has consistently been an outspoken advocate of the "devoir d'ingérence" or the "duty to interfere". Mr. Glucksmann is presently part of the Cercle de l'Oratoire think tank created shortly after the September 11th 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center.

Richard Graber, USA

US Ambassador to the Czech Republic. Having graduated from the Boston University School of Law, he began his career in the law firm Reinhart Boerner Van Deuren in Wisconsin. He was also elected Chairman of the Republican Party of Wisconsin (1999–2006). In 2006, he was appointed Ambassador to the Czech Republic.

Dagmar Grossman, Austria/Czech Republic
CEO of Grossman Jet Service. She has more than 25 years of experience in the aviation industry in the area of consultation, recruitment, marketing, communication, operations management and sales. Since 2006, she has been a member of EMBRAER Advisory Board of Directors. She started as a flight attendant for Austrian Airlines (1983–1991) and then founded a private airline, Grossman Air Service Co & GmbH.



Tomáš Halík, Czech Republic
Professor at Charles University, member of the Program Committee of the Forum 2000 Foundation. During the communist era, he was involved in intellectual dissent and eventually was ordained a priest. Since 1989, he has lectured at various universities around the world and has been involved in international efforts to promote dialogue and understanding between religions and cultures. He is the Rector of the University Church of St. Savior in Prague and President of the Czech Christian Academy.

Lee Harris, USA
Essayist and contributing editor of *Tech Central Station*. He is also a frequent contributor to the *Policy Review*. Considered to be America's reigning philosopher of 9/11. Mr. Harris is the author of *Civilization and Its Enemies: The Next Stage of History* (2004) and *The Suicide of Reason: Radical Islam's Threat to the West* (2007).

Václav Havel, Czech Republic
Last President of Czechoslovakia (1989–1992) and first President of the Czech Republic (1993–2003), founder of Forum 2000. He was a founding member and one of the first spokespersons for the Czechoslovak human rights movement Charter 77. He was a prominent figure on the local dissident scene and a famous leader of the Velvet Revolution (1989). Václav Havel is the author of a number of essays and plays, including the latest one called *Leaving* (*Odcházení,* 2007), recipient of many awards, and, together with his wife Dagmar Havlová, a co-founder of the Vision 97 Foundation (Vize 97).

Bruce P. Jackson, USA

Founder and President of the Project on Transitional Democracies. He served in the United States Army as a Military Intelligence Officer (1979–1990) and worked in the Office of the Secretary of Defense in various policy positions (1986–1990). From 1995 to 2002, he was President of the US Committee on NATO, and during 2002 and 2003 served as Chairman of the Committee for the Liberation of Iraq. He continues to serve on the Board of Directors of the Project for the New American Century.

Josef Jařab, Czech Republic

Former senator and Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Security and former Rector and President of Central European University in Budapest and Warsaw and of Palacký University, Olomouc. In 1990, he was named Professor of English and American Literature and in 2001 he became a member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg.

Mark Juergensmeyer, USA

Director of the Orfalea Center for Global and International Studies and Professor of Sociology at the University of California, Santa Barbara. He is an academic expert on religious violence, conflict resolution and South Asian politics, and has published more than 200 articles and a dozen books. He is the author of *The New Cold War? Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State* (1993) and *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence* (2003), in which he discusses the rise of religious activism in secular modernity.

Garry Kasparov, Azerbaijan/Russia

Political activist and chess grandmaster. Having become the youngest World Chess Champion in 1985, he is currently the highest rated player ever in the history of chess. In 1990, he was involved in the creation of the Democratic Party of Russia and in 2004 was elected Co-Chairman of the All-Russia Civil Congress. In 2005, he formed the United Civil Front movement and became a member of The Other Russia, a coalition opposing the administration of Vladimir Putin. He was a candidate in the Russian presidential elections of 2008, but later withdrew.

Mikhail Kasyanov, Russia

Former Russian Prime Minister and Party Leader of the People's Democratic Union (PDU). He graduated from the Moscow Institute of Automobiles and Roads. In 2000, he was appointed Prime Minister. Before that he served in the Ministry of Finance, eventually becoming Finance Minister in 1999.

Frank Lampl, Czech Republic/United Kingdom

Life President of Bovis Lend Lease and former Chairman and CEO of Bovis Lend Lease. He is a former Chancellor of Kingston University and holds numerous honorary doctorates. He was a member of the Advisory Board of the British Foreign Office Know How Fund and Chairman of the Prague Heritage Fund. Since 2004, he has been a non-executive member of the Board of Directors of the Mills Corporation.

Charles Levesque, USA

Chief Operating Officer of the Interfaith Youth Core. He served as the Deputy General Counsel of the Chicago Housing Authority, where he oversaw litigation and policy matters for the reform of public housing. Mr. Levesque has also worked as a U.S. diplomat with overseas postings in Sao Paulo (Brazil) and Tirana (Albania) and is active in community education and literacy programs in Chicago. He has a J.D. from Northwestern University, a Master's Degree in Public Administration from the University of Illinois, and a B.S.F.S. from Georgetown University.

Ondřej Liška, Czech Republic

Minister of Education, Youth and Sport. He worked with the Forum 2000 Foundation and between 2003 and 2004, he served as Chairman of the Czech-Austrian Discussion Forum. He was a member of the Brno Municipal Assembly for the Green Party and worked as an advisor on the cohesion policy and Structural Funds to the Green Group in the European Parliament. In 2006, Mr. Liška was elected to the Parliament of the Czech Republic for the Green Party.

Leopoldo López, Venezuela

Opposition leader and former Mayor of the Chacao Municipality of Caracas. Previously, he worked as an economic consultant at the Venezuelan state-owned petroleum company Petróleos de Venezuela, S.A. (1996–1999) and served as Professor of Institutional Economics at the Andrés Bello Catholic University. He is a member of A New Era, the leading opposition party in Venezuela. He studied Economics at Kenyon College in Ohio and Public Policy at Harvard University.

Irshad Manji, Canada

Director of the Moral Courage Project at New York University. She is also a senior scholar with the Euorpean Foundation for Democracy. Professor Manji is the author of several books, including the latest one called *The Trouble with Islam Today: A Muslim's Call for Reform in Her Faith* (2004) that was translated into more than thirty languages. She has also produced an award-winning film, *Faith Without Fear*.

Don McKinnon, New Zealand

Politician and diplomat. He launched his political career in 1978 by entering the New Zealand Parliament. He became New Zealand's longest serving Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade. He also served as Deputy Prime Minister (1990–1996) and Leader of the House of Representatives (1992–1996). He became a member of the Privy Council in 1992. Mr. McKinnon served as Commonwealth Secretary-General (2000–2008).

Vladimir Petit Medina, Venezeula

Political analyst. In the past, he was twice elected Chief Deputy of the Congress of the Republic of Venezuela (1989–1994 and 1994–1999), served as President of the Permanent Committee of the Youth and was a chief member of both the Committee of Finance and Legislative Committee. Currently, he is involved in coordinating the Leaders for Transformation program of the Andean Development Corporation (CAF).

Robert Ménard, France

Journalist and former Secretary-General of Reporters Without Borders (Reporters sans frontièrs). Since founding the Paris-based organization in 1985, he has avidly advocated freedom of the press and defended imprisoned journalists around the world. Drawing its mission from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Reporters Without Borders is one of the leading watchdog groups in the free press. He is a co-author of *The Censure of Right-Thinking People* (*La Censure des bien-pensants,* 2000).

Adam Michnik, Poland

Editor-in-Chief of the *Gazeta Wyborcza* newspaper in Poland. He is a historian, essayist, and political publicist who has received many awards and is the author of numerous books and articles. In 1976, he became the co-founder of the Committee for the Defense of Workers (KOR) and from 1968–1989, he was one of the leading organizers of the illegal, democratic opposition in Poland. In 1989, he became a member of Poland's first post-communist parliament. In 2008, he became one of the ambassadors for the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue.

Alyaksandar Milinkevich, Belarus

Opposition leader, presidential opposition candidate in 2006. Since 1976, he has been working for the Grodno Yanka Kupala State University as an Associate Professor. He wrote 60 scientific works dealing with laser equipment and technology, the history of culture, and the science and architecture of Belarus. In 2006, Mr. Milinkevich was awarded the Sakharov Prize by the European Parliament.

Carlos Alberto Montaner, Cuba/Spain

Political analyst. Born in Havana, he left Cuba after the socialist revolution of 1959. Having graduated with a master's degree from the University of Miami, he taught Latin American literature at the Interamerican University of Puerto Rico (1966–1970) and in 1970 settled in Madrid. In 1972, he established the Editorial Playor publishing house and in 1990 founded the Cuban Liberal Union. Mr. Montaner has published a number of books about Latin American and international politics.

Mike Moore, New Zealand

Former Prime Minister of New Zealand and former Leader of the Opposition (1990–1993). As a government minister he held numerous portfolios, becoming best known for his role as Overseas Trade Minister with involvement in the GATT negotiations. Between 1999 and 2002, he served as Director-General of the World Trade Organization. An author of eight books, the most recent on globalization, entitled *A World Without Walls* (2003).

Jan Mühlfeit, Czech Republic

Chairman of the Europe division of the Microsoft Corporation. He received a computer science degree from the Czech Technical University in 1986, and, before joining Microsoft, worked in the public sector as a programmer and information systems manager. Later, he was Director of International Sales and Marketing for Software602, a Czech software development company.

Ashis Nandy, India

Political psychologist and sociologist. He was named one of the world's top 100 public intellectuals by *Foreign Policy* magazine in 2008. His works suggest solutions for the peaceful coexistence of different cultural enclaves. He is affiliated with various social movements for peace, the environment and cultural survival and has coauthored multiple human rights reports. He is the author of *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism*.

Jacob Nell, United Kingdom

Commercial Advisor at TNK-BP. He was former member of the UK Treasury between 1996 and 2006. Between 1999 and 2001, he served as an advisor to the Ministry of Finance in Azerbaijan. Also, an advisor to BP (2005–2006), Jacob Nell is an expert in the field of Oil and Energy.

Gabriel Nissim, Dominican Republic
Head of The World Catholic Association for Communication (SIGNIS). President of the Human Rights Grouping of INGOs, he was active in the 2005 7th European Ministerial Conference debates in Kiev regarding the guarantee of media freedom in the face of globalization. He encouraged the Council of Europe to commit to a program of 'education for democratic citizenship' in order to properly address the role of the media in everyday public life.

Jose de Jesus Noguera, Venezuela/Czech Republic
Opposition politician, Visiting Associate Professor at the University of New Hampshire and former Assistant Professor at CERGE-EI in Prague. He specializes in macroeconomics, monetary economics, international economics and economics of transition. He has a Ph.D. in economics from the State University of New York at Buffalo and has given lectures at universities in different parts of the world. Between 1988–1995 and 1999–2001, he lectured at the Andrés Bello Catholic University in Caracas.

Jean-Francois Ott, France
CEO and Founder of ORCO Property Group, also the President of MaMaison Hotels & Apartments and Chairman of the Board of Orco Hotel Group. He served in South Korea for the French group Framatome. In 1991, he started real estate and business activities in Prague. He graduated in Finance and Economics from the Political Sciences Institute and the Owners Directors Program of INSEAD.

Alexandr Podrabinek, Russia
Journalist and human rights activist. He was the editor of the first Soviet underground samizdat journal *Chronicle of Current Events (Хроника текущих событий),* and the editor-in-chief of the weekly human rights magazine *Express-Chronicle (Экспресс-Хроника, 1987–2000)*. In 2000, he became editor-in-chief of the PRIMA-News, an information agency specializing in human rights issues. He is the author of a book about psychiatric repression in the USSR, *Punitive Medicine (Карательная медицина, 1980)*, and he was arrested several times for criticizing the Soviet system.

Zoya Phan, Burma/UK

International Coordinator of Burma Campaign UK. She is one of the leading Burmese democracy activists in Europe. Ms. Phan is from the Karen ethnic group in Burma. During a recent campaign led by Zoya Phan, she persuaded the British government to double aid to Burma.

Jerome Delli Priscolli, USA

Senior advisor on international water issues at the U.S. Army Engineer Institute for Water Resources (IWR). He is a member of the executive bureau of the World Water Council. He is editor-in-chief of Water Policy, the official peer-reviewed journal of the World Water Council and author and editor of over 60 articles, books and training manuals on water topics, including the latest book *Managing and Transforming Water Conflicts (International Hydrology Series)* to be published October 31, 2008.

Adam Roberts, United Kingdom

President of the British Academy. He is Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for International Studies in Oxford University's Department of Politics and International Relations. He is also an Emeritus Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Since 2003, he has been a member of the UK Defense Academy Advisory Board. He was the Montague Burton Professor of International Relations at Oxford University from 1986 till the end of 2007. His main research interests are in the fields of international security, international organizations, and international law (including the laws of war).

Aung San Suu Kyi, Burma/Myanmar

Given her detention under house arrest by the government of Myanmar (Burma), the Forum 2000 Foundation was not able to verify whether the invitation to the Forum 2000 conference to Aung San Suu Kyi was duly delivered.

Pro-democracy political activist and dissident. She is the leader of the National League for Democracy in Myanmar (Burma), and a noted prisoner of conscience and advocate of non-violent resistance. She won the Rafto Prize and the Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought in 1990, and in 1991 was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for her peaceful and non-violent struggle under a military dictatorship. She is currently under house arrest, with the Myanmar government repeatedly extending her detention.

Oswaldo Payá Sardinas, Cuba

Oswaldo José Payá Sardińas has repeatedly accepted the invitation to the Forum 2000 conference but was denied permission by the Cuban government to travel.

Cuban political activist and dissident. He is a founding member of the Christian Liberation Movement in 1988. Created by secular Catholics it is today a non-denominational political organization seeking to further the civic and human rights of Cubans. In 1998, together with other members of the Christian Liberation Movement, he founded the Varela Project and remains its most prominent member. The National Dialogue, a process in which thousands of Cubans discuss their visions for Cuba's future, remains his latest effort to bring democracy to Cuba.

Yohei Sasakawa, Japan

Chairman of The Nippon Foundation, Japan's largest charitable foundation. He is a renowned Japanese philanthropist. He has initiated projects and worked on a global scale in such areas as public health, education and social welfare. Mr. Sasakawa is also the World Health Organization (WHO) Goodwill Ambassador for Leprosy Elimination and Japan's Ambassador for the Human Rights of People Affected by Leprosy. Together with Václav Havel and Elie Wiesel, he co-founded the Forum 2000 Project.

Karel Schwarzenberg, Czech Republic

Minister of Foreign Affairs and former Chancellor under President Václav Havel. From 1984–1991, he was President of the International Helsinki Committee for Human Rights and in 1989 was awarded, together with Lech Walesa, the Human Rights Award of the Council of Europe. He has been a Senator in the Czech Parliament since December 2004.

Tomáš Sedláček, Czech Republic

Chief macroeconomic strategist of ČSOB (Československá obchodní banka). He is a member of the Forum 2000 Foundation's Program Committee and of its Corporate Council. He served as an adviser to Václav Havel and to the Minister of Finance. *The Yale Economic Review* named him one of the world's top five young economists (2006).

Mike Short, Great Britain/Czech Republic

CEO of Pilsner Urquell in the Czech Republic and UK. Following his studies at the University of Birmingham, he began his career as a nuclear engineer. After working for the aerospace division of Rolls-Royce, he served in the submarine service of the Royal Navy. Later, he joined the South African beer producer SABMiller, where he was the head of breweries in Hungary and South Africa before becoming CEO of Pilsner Urquell in the Czech Republic.

Ivo Šilhavý, Czech Republic

Head of the Representative Office of the Czech Republic in Ramallah, Director of the Board of Forum 2000, former Ambassador-at-Large for migration issues, former advisor to the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs for bilateral relations, and former Director of the Middle East Department of the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the past, he served as Executive Director of Greenpeace Czechoslovakia (1991–1995) and Foreign Policy Advisor to President Václav Havel (1996–2003). He worked at the Czech Embassy in London (1998–1999), and from 2000–2001, he acted as an expert for the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

Trudy Stevenson, Zimbabwe

Member of the Zimbabwean Parliament. She was one of the founding members of the opposition party Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). She was also the first white woman to be voted into MDC National Executive. Ms. Stevenson currently serves as MDC's national secretary for Policy and Research.

Radek Špicar, Czech Republic

Director of External Relations at Škoda Auto. Previously, he served as Deputy Vice-Prime Minister for Economic Affairs of the Czech Republic. In his present role, he is responsible for external relations with public institutions at a national and European level, structural funds and the corporate social responsibility concept. Mr. Špicar also lectures at the Institute of Economic Studies at the Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University in Prague and at the Diplomatic Academy Prague.

Jan Švejnar, Czech Republic

Economist, founder and Chairman of the Executive and Supervisory Committee of CERGE-EI, a joint project of Charles University in Prague and the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic. In 2005, he became Director of the International Policy Center at the University of Michigan, where he has been a professor since 1996. He was also an economic advisor to President Václav Havel. From 1992 to 1999, he served as Founding Director of the Economics Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic. He received his B.S. from Cornell University and his MA and Ph.D. in Economics from Princeton University.

Jan Urban, Czech Republic

Journalist, university teacher, and one of the leading dissidents during the communist regime. In November 1989, he helped to found the Civic Forum and led it to its victory in the first free elections in June, 1990. Pursuing his career in journalism, he served as a war correspondent in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1993–1996 and made two documentary films on the Kosovo conflict. From 2003–2006, he worked in Iraq on heritage preservation projects. Presently, he is a member of the International Independent Commission on Kosovo and a professor at the University of New York in Prague.

Nathalie Isabelle Vogel, Germany

Political scientist and head of the Prague Office of the World Security Network Foundation. Having graduated from the Institute of Political Science of the University of Bonn, she has worked at the NATO Information Office in Moscow. Currently, she teaches at the University at Bonn and trains as a reserve officer with the German Armed Forces. She is the author of numerous articles including: *Belarus: This did not happen on the moon* (2005), and *Prince Alexandre Troubetzkoi on Russia, the KGB and the Kremlin* (2007).

Tomáš Vrba, Czech Republic

A journalist since 1977 in independent publishing houses and magazines. During the 1990s, chief editor of Lettre Internationale, Thema, and Presence monthlies. At present he works as a university teacher. He is Vice-President of the Association of European Journalists and Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Archa Theater, and Chairman of the Forum 2000 Foundation Board. Member of the Czech News Agency Council (2002–2007).

Rama Yade, France

Secretary of State in charge of foreign affairs and human rights. Born in Senegal and raised in France, she graduated from the Paris Institute of Political Studies (IEP) in 2000. She initially served as an administrator in the French Senate (2002–2006) and later joined the UMP as the party's national secretary for Francophone affairs (2006). Following Mr. Sarkozy's presidential election victory in 2007, she was appointed to the cabinet position.

Michael Žantovský, Czech Republic

Czech Ambassador to Israel. A founding member of the Civic Forum. In January 1990, he became the head of the Presidential Office's Press Department and the spokesperson for President Václav Havel. Czech Ambassador to the United States (1992–1997). In 1996, he was elected to the Senate of the Parliament of the Czech Republic, where he served as the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defense and Security.

Liduine Zumpolle, Netherlands

Coordinator of the Latin America Programme, Pax Christi. She has 40 years' experience in Colombian and Latin American issues. Ms. Zumpolle was involved in several NGOs devoted to Cuba. She co-founded Cuba Futuru, a Dutch NGO that lobbies the government and the public in favor of a free and democratic Cuba.

Opening Ceremony

Václav Havel:
Forum 2000 Conference Opening Remarks
Prague Crossroads, October 12, 2008

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Dear friends, welcome and thank you for coming to the twelfth Forum 2000 Conference. Please, let me first say a couple of words about how it all began. I had no passport for dozens of years and thus could not travel at all. Then after becoming president all of a sudden, I was issued my passport and asked to visit a great number of countries and represent Czechoslovakia as a free and independent country. After seeing many continents and visiting plenty of states, I realized that humankind is at a historic crossroads with various dangers lingering. This reality has led me to the conclusion that some original cultures and civilizations can only survive by means of co-operation based on their equality. Thus an idea dawned upon me of organising a two-day conference in Prague with scientists, theologians, historians, politicians, and people of different professions, from different continents, invited to an open and free discussion. Originally intended as a single meeting, this idea of mine took root and resulted in a series of conferences being organised every year, this time for the twelfth consecutive year. Each Forum 2000 Conference has a theme running through it – this year it is openness, obsession, its signs, roots, and consequences. Although obsession has been an age-old issue, it has never had so many opportunities as it has today; thanks to modern technologies, such as nuclear and informational ones. Therefore, let me welcome you here once more and I hope that you will not regret spending your time with us. I hope that you enjoy our panel discussions and make friends with people you otherwise would have probably never met. I also wish that you get the most from the smaller,

more intimate events, and have some time to see Prague and visit its renowned pubs.

Thank you.

Yohei Sasakawa: Forum 2000 Conference Opening Remarks Prague Crossroads, October 12, 2008

In 1997, the hopes and worries of the world were building up toward the 21st century. That year, President Vaclav Havel came to me and proposed an idea to which I wholeheartedly agreed. It was an idea that has had a broad and lasting effect on the world of today. That was the beginning of Forum 2000, this initiative through which we continue to seek a common perspective on our future through dialogue on the fundamental problems facing society.

In the twelve years since then, his efforts to seek a moral minimum that will bring order to the world have been magnificent. He has built mutual understanding and trusting relationships among the many leaders who have attended this forum. The contributions of this initiative, such as the open letters produced by The Shared Concerned Initiative, have been significant in bringing about changes in the world.

Nevertheless, having moved through a century of war, we now face a world in disorder. The factors that contribute to this reality, such as differences in values, creeds, and religions, are so complex that it is impossible to name one particular cause for our situation. That is why we need intellectuals like you; individuals with a sense of responsibility and people who can resolve these complexities and create a vantage point from which others can objectively consider the world around them.

In the twelve years of this forum, I have realized that while it is important to build systems of authority, our best solutions can be found in society's cultural and spiritual aspects. My own work confirms this, time and time again. It is a true inspiration to know that it is these human aspects which are the most important.

I work in the field of philanthropy. In my work, I constantly face the questions of how to bridge the natural gaps between human beings and how to provide an environment in which people can live a dignified, spiritually rich, and peaceful life. My work exposes me to the conflicts people face day in and day out. Conflicts resulting from poverty, from discrimination, and from injustice. I believe it is vital

to approach these problems with consideration and compassion and to understand their cultural and spiritual aspects.

We live in challenging times. Times that challenge this forum to consider society and human nature in depth. It is true that we will not be able to provide easy answers for every issue. However, our calm and balanced dialogue here is the best means to grasp the essence of our most pressing problems. Therefore it is of immense value to mankind. I sincerely hope that the results of this forum will guide not only us, but also the future generations, along a moral path.

I welcome each and every one of you from the bottom of my heart. I am excited to be able to participate, and I am looking forward to an inspiring and productive dialogue between all participants.

Thank you.

Mary Ann Glendon: Forum 2000 Conference Opening Speech Prague Crossroads, October 12, 2008

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights At 60

Thank you so much, President Havel, for the invitation to say a few words about the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as it approaches its 60th anniversary. I am honored and humbled to do so in this historic city where courageous men and women did so much to make that document a beacon of hope for future generations.

Sixty years ago, political realists scoffed at the idea that a mere declaration – a document without any legal force of its own-could make a difference in world affairs. But by 1989, the whole world was marveling that a few simple words of truth – a few courageous people willing to "call good and evil by name"-could change the course of history. That year, one of those people wrote, "I really do inhabit a world where words are capable of shaking the entire system of government, where words can be mightier than ten military divisions."

That man, of course, was Václav Havel. And he was right. The Universal Declaration became the rallying point for movements that trained the searchlight of publicity on abuses that had long been ignored. It became the model for most of the bills of rights in the world today. And it remains the single most important reference point for cross-national discussions of human freedom and dignity.

We can now see that the true realists were the men and women who – without illusions-understood that ideals are just as real as tanks and guns.

But even as the human rights movement was achieving its greatest triumphs in South Africa and Eastern Europe, the artist in Havel was worried about the ambiguous power of words. He wrote, "Words can be rays of light in a realm of darkness," but they can also be "lethal arrows."

And indeed, as we look at the Universal Declaration today, we can see that the more the human rights idea has shown its power, the more intense the struggle has become to capture that power for various ends, not all of which are respectful of human dignity. In fact, one might say of the UDHR what Abraham Lincoln once said of the U.S. Declaration of Independence: "It has proved a stumbling block to tyrants, and ever will, unless brought into contempt by its pretended friends."

The fact is that, with the passage of time, the Universal Declaration has become something like sacred scripture – in the sense that it is much cited, but little read. The prevailing approach to the rights it proclaims is a pick-and-choose cafeteria-style where nations and interest groups promote the rights they favor, ignoring those they find inconvenient. And the principle that "Everyone has duties" has been all but forgotten. It has come to be treated more as a monument to be venerated from a distance than a living document to be re-appropriated by each new generation.

I would like, therefore, to make a plea this evening for the recovery of the sense of the Declaration as a unified body of principles that were meant to be read together.

And, because Forum 2000 invites us to ponder the space "Between Openness and Fundamentalism," I would also like to pay tribute to the framers of the Universal Declaration by recalling their efforts to repel various forms of fundamentalism, by keeping their project open to the future.

Consider, for example, the claim made by many of the world's worst human rights violators that the Universal Declaration was meant to impose a sort of fundamentalism -a set of "Western" ideason the rest of the world. That was far from the intent of members of the drafting committee like Eleanor Roosevelt, the Confucian philosopher Peng-Chun Chang, and Lebanon's Charles Malik who was then the chief spokesman of the Arab League. They took for granted

that the Declaration's principles could and should be brought to life in different cultures in a legitimate variety of ways. They envisioned a kind of competition in excellence in which the understanding of human rights would be advanced by the accumulation of these varied experiences.

For the same reason, they rejected the fundamentalist Soviet insistence that the Declaration should specify the State, and only the State, as the ultimate guarantor of human rights.

And where the issue of openness to new rights is concerned, the record shows that the framers were well aware that new situations would arise as history proceeds, but they also understood the need for careful discernment. To avoid trivializing core human values, they counted a good deal on the Declaration's integrated structure – a structure flexible enough to allow for differences in emphasis and implementation, but not so malleable as to permit any basic right to be completely eclipsed. It is a framework where, in the tradition of continental European legal drafting, rights are related to one another and to certain over-arching principles.

But the Cold War drove a stake right through the middle of that structure, with some nations lining up behind the political and civil liberties, while others emphasized the social and economic provisions. Thus began the unfortunate habit, now nearly universal, of treating the Declaration like a simple list or "bill" of rights with no necessary relation to one another – a list from which one can select and reject at will. Yet all that is needed to recover that sense of unity, and openness to diversity, is to read the text with attention to the relations among its parts.

To do so would be a fitting way to honor the great generation of diplomats who accomplished something of a miracle sixty years ago. It should be humbling as well as encouraging for us to remember what they did with the Palestine crisis at its height, the Cold War deepening, and with the Berlin blockade like a pile of tinder waiting for a match. They reached across cultural, religious, and political differences to bring forward the best of what the human race had learned through hard experience.

And what better way to honor them than finally to begin bringing together the two halves of the divided soul of the human rights movement – the love of freedom and the sense of membership in one human family for which we all bear common responsibility.

Transcripts

PLENARY PANEL 1
Faith and Fanaticism

Chairman (Mike Moore): Ladies and Gentlemen, President Havel, distinguished guests, it is an honor for me to introduce this first session of Forum 2000. None of us would be here if it were not for President Havel; so it is right and it is fitting for us to thank him and honor him. I know President Havel's favorite philosopher of the last century was Karl Popper; and when the President was in New Zealand, he received an honorary degree. Not many people know that Karl Popper wrote his great book, *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, when he was in New Zealand. So therefore, it flows seamlessly into this conference's subject: openness and fundamentalists, and the enemies of reason.

I have been asked to moderate mainly because the organizers know I don't have a lot to offer on the subject. I came into politics with a simple view: I thought people only needed a political, business, and social model that could deliver the simple things, because people, I thought, simply wanted someone to love, somewhere to work, somewhere to live, something to believe in, and something to hope for. After 30 years in politics, domestically and internationally, I now believe people need more than that. They need something to lose and something to gain; because that is how they discover their identity. We are not just numbers and consumers, and until people have something to lose, some bad things will continue to happen.

As we get older and have dark days, we sometimes ask how is it that a boy in his teens can spray a schoolyard with bullets, or how can a medical doctor try to ram a car bomb into Glasgow airport, or how a teenage mother can give birth to a child in a school toilet and leave that baby in the wastepaper bin, or how it is possible that a gradu-

ate in urban planning can fly a passenger airplane into a skyscraper? Then we have a clear day and we think of the great people of the last few years, and the great things we have seen: Mandela dancing, free at last; the Berlin Wall coming down, pictures of Wałęsa, Gorbachev, Havel, and those kinds of heroes. There are some who still think individuals don't matter. We know because the people at this table are individuals that really do matter. I sometimes wonder what would have happened if Mr. Havel had been born in Yugoslavia, and Mr. Milosevic had been born in the Czech Republic. Therefore, it is my honor to introduce a hero, and a friend of ours, President Havel.

Václav Havel: Good morning. First of all, I would like to thank Mr. Moore for his extremely kind words on my behalf. Second, I would like to thank you all for coming in such numbers. Thank you for coming to the Forum 2000 this year. With your permission I would like to remind you of the history and of the origin of this Forum. This is something I already talked about yesterday during our opening session, but I believe that the audience today is different from that of yesterday. It was roughly 12 or 13 years ago that I realized I should use my fresh political experience, and make the most of this experience.

For many years I had no passport and I was not allowed to travel. Then, after becoming President of this country I was granted a passport of course and I visited a number of countries on a number of continents. I believe that within a fairly short period of time I visited roughly 60 countries. During this very speedy process of getting acquainted with the world I realized how many different cultures and civilizations there are on this planet, and how important it is to make sure that there is some elementary equality between them in order to prevent some of these civilizations from feeling superior towards others, simply because at one point, they happened to be more developed and richer. I also realized how important it was in our globalized world, to understand this diversity. This diversity is often hidden behind the surface of all the major advantages that civilization has brought, but it is the identity of different entities that is often suppressed by what is at the surface of the civilization.

I remember walking through Hiroshima, Japan, with Eli Wiesel, and it was virtually impossible not to think about what should be done to make sure that another Hiroshima would never again. It was during this discussion and walk that we decided to organize a conference here in Prague. A conference that would bring together theologians, politicians, historians, political scientists, people coming from different countries and continents; people of different convictions,

different faith, religions; to invite these people to Prague and create an open space where they could exchange views and opinions in a truly free and informal environment. And we managed to organize the first conference of this kind. But what's more is that this conference was apparently successful. There were people urging us to organize the same conference the following year; so we had a second Forum 2000, and again and again until Forum 2000 became a truly permanent institution.

The Forum 2000 conference is always organized in the autumn and this is its twelfth conference. This only shows the sense of urgency in discussing all of these problems, more specifically all of the risks looming over the world, and all the different ways of facing these risks and dangers. We have been discussing alternate ways of solving problems. We have been talking about what unites all the cultures and civilization spheres, and what is the minimum on the basis of which peaceful partnership could be built that would bring together different entities of the world. Each and every of these conferences has been organized under a slogan or a topic. One of the topics that has been cropping up again and again is the topic of diverse types of obsessions: fanaticism and fundamentalism. We should be reflecting upon their roots, the consequences, their different forms, and also about different ways how to deal with them.

Obsessions are one of today's large-scale dangers. But it is nothing new to our existence. Obsession has always been part of the history of humankind, besides some very good virtues, of course. And on the other hand there have always been very dark layers of the human conscience. There has always been animosity, there have always been fights between tribes, and fights over resources. However, what makes our time different from the past is the technological potential that is available to all fanatics full of obsessions, be it nuclear weapons or modern information technologies. What happened on September 11th, 2001, in the United States is something that reminds us of how a small group of people can put an enormous number of people in danger. This is not the end and we can imagine that sometime in the future there will be an even smaller group of people who might get hold of nuclear weapons. Therefore, this topic is very relevant and we have decided to make it the main theme of our conference.

By way of conclusion, I would like to say a few words about "obsession." I feel this may not be obvious, and perhaps not true of everybody, but at first sight it seems to me that following the different signs of being very strong and powerful, those obsessed, or those that are fundamentalists or fanatics, behind their self-confidence, ag-

gressiveness, and roughness, you can often discover fear and cowardice. In a deeper philosophical sense, it seems to me that obsession is born where ideals and thoughts overgrow into a Utopia. In other words, they become a part of structure of ready-made dogmas and paradigms. This very structure then surrounds them, and all of a sudden this particular person identifies with this structure. They see this as the very last answer that the world is offering to him or her, and then they feel that whatever is different and foreign should be eradicated because it goes against the monolithic image of the world.

Those of us who had lived under communism for many years experienced this in different types and forms. The origin of all the evil committed by communism, or the gulags and the murders, the Holocaust and other evils brought about by the totalitarian regimes had one thing in common – a ready-made image of the world where everything works well, history has come to an end and that the leadership knows what the world should look like, and anything that goes beyond this particular image does not allow for a dialogue and more reflection. It was determined to make sure that dissent was destroyed immediately, as something that spoiled their certainty of the world. There is a large degree of uncertainty behind this mentality. It is the uncertainty that goes against this very simple system of values; something that dwells on this particular system to such an extent that a person and his or her community is virtually unable to have any doubts about themselves and their ideals, plans, projects, truth and dogmas. And anybody who doubts these must be eliminated because he or she spoils their idea of the world. This is something that we should reflect upon.

Fanaticism is often accompanied by pride, and it is this pride that often is nothing more and nothing less than a way of denying and refusing all the secrets of the world. Such a man or a group that is not ready to reflect upon these secrets does not pose any fundamental questions connected with this.

Dear friends, in those many years that we have been organizing these conferences we have had more than 500 personalities from all corners of the world; people of different professions, different backgrounds, people who have come here to meet other people, enter a dialogue, and make friends. I am sure that this conference will also be conducted in the same spirit. I would like to once again welcome all our distinguished guests. We are very sorry that some traditional guests cannot be with us today for different reasons, both external, such as the Dalai Lama, Prince Hassan, and others. However, they will be informed about the course and the results of this conference because we

will be publishing the proceedings from this conference. So for those of you who are interested, the proceedings will be made available.

I would like to wish you every success, and I hope that for the rest of the conference I will not have to be a speaker so I can be a very attentive listener. Thank you.

Chairman: We have an apology from the President of the European Commission. He cannot be with us, but we have a video which is coming through now.

Jose Manuel Barroso: We live in a rapidly changing world indeed, and globalization brings new openings and new influences. Technology changes the way we run our lives and also the way we satisfy our curiosity. Thus change has to be accepted as a part and parcel of modern life. This rapid pace of change has consequences for all of us. Change brings opportunities, but it also brings anxiety because it always increases uncertainty. Some accepted truths become new sources of doubt, and lead to new and unexpected questions.

With the world in such a process of change it is not surprising that some take refuge in fundamentalism. Fundamentalism may appear as a source of reassurance. It can also appear as a shortcut to stability. And we know all too well that this can be a very serious mistake, because while fundamentalism gives the appearance of stability, it is in fact is a very dangerous reaction against change. It should be noted that fundamental values and fundamentalism are two very different things. I believe that in Europe we can say that we prefer fundamental values and strongly oppose fundamentalism. In the European Union, we talk of unity and diversity. We also believe that the value of tolerance and dialogue is an essential value of ours.

We believe it is important for all of us to recognize that we have something to learn from each other's respective experiences. We have societies where, generally speaking, there is a readiness to take on new ideas and to find new ways of promoting a fair, just, and prosperous way of life.

Basic values are at the core of what European society is and if applied with an open mind I believe that even more can be achieved by working together. I would say that the European Way includes open societies and open economies. We try to make them inclusive societies with an idea of solidarity. So, I believe that the subject of this year's forum is of particular importance. This is a debate that is important from a social point of view and a political point of view. It is not only a very important debate for Europe but for all of the

world. How can you respect some values that you consider traditional and remain open at the same time? Because openness and interaction are indeed the great leitmotif of globalization.

I believe that finding the balance between sticking to our principles and showing openness is never as easy as it seems, but with the right spirit people should not feel that they are cast adrift from their moorings in the modern world. Rather we should be confident in the fundamental values at the bedrock of our societies, and confident that we'll find the right way to apply them in a modern setting. I would like to be with you for this discussion. Unfortunately it is not possible, so let me wish you a very productive and interesting discussion.

Chairman: I am sure the organizers will pass on to the President our appreciation for his comments. We now move to the keynote speech of this morning from the French Secretary of Foreign Affairs and Human Rights, Rama Yade.

Rama Yade: It is a great pleasure for me to be here in Prague because Prague has a lot in common with the rest of the Europe. We remember the year 1968, and also the year 1948, and what happened in Prague, and thanks to the common European history we can now look back at these important years. Mr. President, you are very admired in France for everything you have done. You are a man admired all over the world because you came from the dissident environment and then you became president of the Czechoslovak Republic.

I was asked to speak at this Forum, which you founded with Mr. Wiesel in 1997. The goal of the Forum is to debate the main challenges of society and to debate how we should work to prevent conflicts, religious and ethnic. This year we are going to discuss traditions, modernism, openness and fundamentalism in the 21st century, and during this panel we should speak about faith and fanaticism. So before I address this topic, I would briefly like to mention the development over the past years.

I don't think we should speak about this topic without speaking about the rest of the world where we live in. We must also try to come up with some collective answers to how to fight the very unfavorable tendencies of the 21st century. It seemed that we would have a democracy and a free world after the end of the bipolar world. During the previous century, Nazism had been defeated, then Communism at the end of the century, which brought about the liberation of many nations. Today, at the beginning of the new century it might seem

that there will be a more peaceful world which doesn't have to worry about a nuclear disaster and ideological conflicts. It would seem that it is a world where nations will collaborate on a multi-lateral basis, and on legal principles. How will we be able to communicate in the field of culture and to deal with the main challenges – poverty, environment, solidarity?

During the Millennium Summit in New York these new topics also appeared with even greater urgency. The Millennium goals were set, and they should be achieved in education, healthcare, and other areas. In spite of all this, there are still many conflicts that still exist, and in these bloody dictatorships human rights have not been observed everywhere. There are also many epidemics and fatal diseases that affect millions of people. Still, it seems that the international community can hope that a new society would be formed. Unfortunately, at the beginning of the new century two very dramatic events happened: it was 9/11, when this terrible terrorist attack hit the heart of hope for a new and better world. It was an attack of fundamentalists against New York. New York which is a symbol of various ethnic groups coming together. Samuel Huntington already spoke and wrote about this clash of civilizations. In his prognosis, he spoke about something which seemed to happen suddenly. There was also an important moment after the fall of the Berlin Wall. And now, we can watch a dramatic situation in financial markets where many speculations can take place. So the first important moment was this attack that was motivated by religion, and then the financial situation has more of an economic aspect. It is very difficult to establish a real order today so the confusion which exists within the world is triggered by the fear that exists in many countries. Fanaticism is very often a brutal answer to fear and terrorism is an expression of this fear. To go back to the topic of the round table, Faith and Fanaticism: it is not religion and fanaticism we are going to speak about. Fanaticism can be identified because one of its expressions is intolerance; but the definition of religion is much more complicated. Many have tried to define it: St. Augustine was one of the first to try to define it. But religion is a system of solidarity. There is faith and it regards very holy or sacred things which are separated and independent, and it takes place in the society of the church, or a community of churches. So when speaking about religion we also speak about dogmas and religious trends, which are very often organized and have a certain hierarchy.

Our definition covers monotheistic religions– the Judaic, Christian and Muslim religions. We cannot say that between religion and fanaticism there would be no link. In 16th-century Europe there were

religious wars, but we never heard about a Taoist or a Confucian fanaticism. So we can believe that the conviction of faith had nothing to do with fanaticism. But it is not true because if we see the example of various religions, they have their fanatics within their religions as well.

I suppose when speaking about fanaticism we should also speak about other matters that are related to it; the return of religious fanaticism, especially of Islamic fanaticism. Fanaticism has never ceased to exist. It is derived from a word which means "temple"; so it refers to the religious aspect, but what fanaticism produces is not always related to religious faith. Fanatics are people who have an idol, an ideal vision, and everything else that is not related to this cult is bad. It can be a god, a special race, or an idea that can be the center of this cult. André Glucksmann also spoke about a nihilist fanaticism. The enemy– who is the enemy? It is the person or persons who do not participate in these activities who are outside. Violence and other aspects related to religion and to holiness have long been present in human societies in the past. Fanaticism was not just religious; Nazism, for example fanaticized masses of people who had one idol and one chief enemy– the Jews. Then there was the Pol Pot's fanaticism, or the Rwandan genocide; these are other forms of fanaticism that are not religious but they use all of the other elements: nation, race, ideology, religion– because religion, of course, is a very strong element.

As Voltaire said, what can you say to a person who says: I prefer to listen to God than to people? This person will go to heaven, but may kill you first. Religions have been used for collective hatred of nations against nations, and as Voltaire says, it is not religion that is to blame, it is the people who have abused religion in this way.

We are concerned about the return of fanaticism. We thought that this fanaticism was gone, but it's back; and it doesn't matter whether it is ideological, race-based fanaticism or religious fanaticism. We must fight fanaticism as such, and cannot concentrate only on a single religion. It is not so much about what type of fanaticism it is, but rather that we must fight it. There is a risk that we'll get caught into a trap set up by fanatics. When someone says, I am a religious fanatic, you can suppose that you should find his religion – but that is the trap. And speaking about racial fanaticism, should we fight the race or the nation? I don't think so. That's not the way to go. Nietzsche wrote that if we fight monsters, we must watch out not to become monsters ourselves.

Fanaticism is a totalitarian way of thinking and democracy is its best cure. Although this cure can also be a bad system, it is certainly better than all the other systems, as Churchill used to say. Democ-

racy brings multilateralism, the end of one trend of thought. It is all about diversity and tolerance of everything that is different. Democracy represents the responsibility of people; their destiny, freedom, and independence. Democracy also means basic values like human rights. In France, I am responsible for human rights and foreign affairs, so I would like to recall Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which says that everyone has the right to freedom of expression and faith. Fanatics would like to destroy this right – the freedom of the soul – because that is what they worry about.

As for me, the freedom of expression is one of the priorities of my activities. When speaking about Ayaan Hirsi Ali, who was threatened because of what she said; and although I cannot say I agree with all her ideas, it's not important whether I agree or not. I am convinced that freedom of expression must be the most fundamental right, and everyone should have the right to say what they think without being murdered for it. The freedom to believe or not to believe comes from this freedom of expression.

There were many religious wars in France, so we set up the lay principle: a law that divided the church from the state. Democracy is like a kind of vaccination against fanaticism, and this secular principle can be another element to be used to fight it. It is not fighting religion, or an effort to ban religion but a free possibility to be a part of a religion. In France, we don't have an official religion; in fact, all religions are tolerated and allowed. So, religion is a private thing. This is a lay principle according to which the French state functions. We have special legislation and in public schools all visible religious symbols have been banned– in high schools and elementary schools. We are convinced that if we demonstrate these visible religious symbols in public, then the balance among students is disturbed. Therefore we believe that religion is private, and should not disturb public activities. It does not mean that we are against religion. We do not want to ban religion, but rather we want it to find its expression outside of state structures. We call it a very positive lay society, or a secular society.

But when speaking about political aspects and about how democracy works, in our constitution it is clear that France is a social republic and a secular state. Each country in Europe has its own history yet we are all connected because we advocate the same values, rights, and freedoms. All of the European countries ratified the Charter of Human Rights. I don't believe that democratic societies don't have faith; in fact, they believe in the freedom of man. There are four principles we should follow: the principle not to give up the rights

that protect equality. Secondly, dialogue– because a fanatic certainly does not respect the views and beliefs of others. In order to fight the shock of cultures and religions, we must strive for dialogue, education, and cultural exchange. This is absolutely essential to make sure that we can maintain all the different manifestations of culture, and to support language exchanges, and to promote the emancipation of women and young girls. Thirdly, it is also pertinent to react to wars and to violence. However, we need to use collective means of security, be it the UN, the African Union, NATO, etc. France always tries to take part in these operations. For example, by having peace-keeping operations in Asia, Europe and elsewhere – the fight against terrorism must always respect law and international treaties and principles. Fourthly, globalization. Nicolas Sarkozy often says that when somebody is ridiculed they will turn to fanaticism. It is true that some nations may feel that they have no say in decision-making, and this again may result in fanaticism because very often these people feel helpless. And that is another route of fanaticism. That is why we need to coordinate the activities of different organizations. We need to help developing countries to make sure that they are present in the workings of these organizations.

I would like to close here. While there are a lot of other thoughts that I would like to share with you, I thought I would dwell on some of the underlying principles and values that are extremely relevant today. After all those years during which we have been trying to promote them in order to be able to react to fanaticism, we need to come back to the very fundamental values that have been found useful in the past. Thank you.

Chairman: Thank you, Minister. It is appropriate that I be the moderator because I have, all my life, been a militant moderate. But I cannot be too moderate over the next session. Therefore I must ask my colleagues to stick to the time limits. I will call our first contributor, Turki Al-Faisal, for his contribution.

HRH Turki Al-Faisal: Ladies and Gentlemen, let me first thank President Havel and Mr. Sasakawa for their kind invitation to attend this conference. The work that is done at this conference is not only sterling in its concept, but it uplifts the spirit because it brings together people to look at the deepest and the most important issues that deal with today's life, and hopefully create a better future.

Let me start by agreeing with what the Minister from France said on the issues of religion and fanaticism and the promotion of

terrorism. I agree with her completely that fanatics are cults that use religion for their own purposes and promote that misuse of the concept of religion, either for political or for personal reasons. And let me say that I agree with President Havel as well, when he said that pride is a driving force behind fanaticism. I would dare to say that more than pride, it is also arrogance and narcissism that drive terrorists and fanatics to commit the acts that they have committed. In my country we have been the victims of such criminal activity. The whole population of Saudi Arabia is committed to not only opposing these ideas and these criminals, but also galvanizing the world community in that battle for civilization.

Let us look at some definitions first. Faith and fanaticism: in some circles they tend to be combined together as one and not separated. I would disagree with that. Faith is not blind. We have faith in God, in our friends, and in the inevitability of science and nature. It is the total emanation and intuition of the mind. It is the expression of the transparent and rational workings of the brain. I cannot have faith and be faithful without exercising my analytical faculties. Sight and sound and touch, and I dare say even emotion, love and anger and happiness, lead to faith. Love, by sharing it with a spouse, family, and friends; and anger by suppressing it, and overcoming the drives of anger. In the Koran, and in the sayings of Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him, those who suppress their anger are bound to receive reward in the afterlife. There are many instances in the Koran and the sayings of the Prophet where Muslims are enjoined to suppress their anger.

On the other hand, fanaticism, in my view, is the exact opposite of that process. It is the absence of the brain. It is blind and deaf, and without the sense of touch. Another definition in Islam has to do with Muslims themselves. There are two levels for Muslims in their lives: one is being a Muslim and the second is being called. He is the practitioner of the instructions that emanated from God through the Prophet Muhammad, whether it is in terms of prayers, in terms of dealing with others, or in terms of social make-up and political practice. The other level is the level of the al-Mu'min, the Faithful; the one whose deeper understanding of these practices and instructions remove any sense of doubt or uncertainty about the relationship between that faithful person and the deity. As such, we as Muslims, when we practice our daily prayers or when we join with our friends or our acquaintances from whatever place they come, or from whatever level of society, we still have to go through a deeper process of thinking and analyzing to achieve the level of the Faith-

ful. It is a constant struggle for Muslims to be able to reach that level in their lifetime. And may I say also that the word for fanaticism or extremism in Arabic is al-ghulow, and this word is used in many Suras of the Koran and the sayings of the Prophet in a negative manner. The Prophet enjoins us not to be fanatics in our faith. There is a wonderful story of three people who asked one of the companions of the Prophet about the teachings of the Prophet, and I think it was his wife, Aisha. She said that the Prophet eats and sleeps, he makes love and he enjoys life, he prays and wakes up at night to do more prayers, and he goes to the market and shops for goods, and so on. One of them said, "I am going to devote all my life to prayer." The other one said, "I am going to leave everything in my practices and simply commit myself to doing good to others." Another one said, "I am only going to trade and absolutely nothing else." And when the Prophet heard about that, he said, "Well, I, as a Prophet, I will do all these things together." And it is this kind of exercise in the Prophet's life that we as Muslims look upon as our basic source of inspiration and devotion.

Let me close by saying that in this conference, all of these ideas coming together will be helpful for all of us in overcoming the challenges of today; whether they are the economic challenges or the spiritual challenges. In July, King Abdullah convened a conference in Madrid with King Juan Carlos of Spain to bring people of different faiths and ideas together. It included not only the inspired religions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, but also Buddhists, Hindus, and Shinto believers, and all of the various religions that people practice in the world today. This is what we need to do, ladies and gentlemen. And more than anything, we have to go beyond dialogue. We have to go to a level of doing things, instead of simply talking about them. Thank you very much.

Chairman: Ondřej, you are the next contributor.

Ondřej Liška: Mr. President Havel and Mr. Sasakawa, thank you for this opportunity to contribute a little piece to this interesting debate. Even though the process of secularization is increasing more and more, especially in the West, the human condition hasn't changed much. Humankind still keeps asking the basic question about the meaning of existence, and therefore the hunger for a simple and effective short-term solution remains popular. We speak more and more often about education as a long-term, lifelong process.

But let me get back to what education means. It has already been said yesterday, and by some of you today as well, that the highest form of education is a dialogue; and let me remember here the great philosopher Martin Buber who is considered to be one of the leading thinkers in this sense. But this notion is not only within European teachings like those of Plato – it's also in many religious traditions as well. I think that the true meaning of education is a relationship where a teacher remains a student as well. What I feel we are lacking now is a culture of humility. Humility does not prevent us from exploring the universe; and I think faith, sense, and reason can be and should be in harmony. However, we should ask ourselves if we consider this, as politicians and as leaders, to be something that we practice. We often speak about Islamic extremism or fanaticism, but we also see leading personalities of the West, such as leading representatives of the United States, who believe in creationism. We look at the madrasas, the Islamic schools, but we should look at our own schools here in the Czech Republic, Europe, the West, and other places around the world, if we want to create a culture of dialogue. We can teach humility by creating a culture of active listening and not just naming facts and proclaiming opinions.

Faith and reason have something in common: they both get people to ask uncomfortable and inconvenient questions for which they fail to give answers. But fanaticism is different because it does not ask inconvenient questions, and reason is subordinated to various truisms. To faith belongs a doubt, and to reason belongs a desire to know, to realize, which will never be completely fulfilled. But fanaticism does not acknowledge any doubt. On the contrary, it believes in a full possibility of understanding and therefore it lacks humility.

I think we understand and agree here in this room, but where we fail as politicians is by not translating these ideas into real, concrete systems of education. We fail to include different cultures into our societies, we fail to invest enough in education, especially in an era of great threats in which various groups of interest try to push us to invest in bigger security measures, which are definitely important as well. But sometimes we spend money in the wrong place and not enough on education, and we shouldn't do that.

In the culture of Western democracies, we are pushed to deliver in institutions like the economy within usually three or four years. But now, due to instability, we in many European countries have only one or two years. Yet we see changes in education only after decades. It is not an easy task, of course. Let me conclude with remembering a quote from Elie Wiesel, who once said, "I remember from my time

I spent in Buchenwald and Auschwitz that most of the the murderers around us had a higher education degree." So, is education just simple knowledge, information, the barrier and obstacle for fanaticism? I don't think so. Only if education is based on a framework of values, then it might be an effective tool to fight fanaticism. I think this conference is the best example that there are values which are not ethnic-based; that we can find common agreement on values which are universal. And we should invest in those values – not in words, not in money; but in the curricula of a concrete school system around the world. Thank you very much for your invitation and attention.

Chairman: Mark, you are next.

Mark Juergensmeyer: President Havel, Madam Secretary, thank you for inviting me. I may be one of the few people in this room who has actually talked with religious terrorists. In fact, I have talked with dozens and dozens during my research for books on the rise of religious violence around the world. I have talked with religious terrorists from every religious tradition and it should be stated that the phenomenon of religion and public violence is not solely an Islamic thing. I have talked with Christian activists in the United States who bombed family planning clinics, and supported the bombing of the Oklahoma City Federal Building by Timothy McVeigh. I have talked with Buddhist activists in Sri Lanka, and in Japan, who were involved in the sarin gas attack in the Tokyo subways. I have talked with Sikh activists in India, I have talked with Jewish activists in Israel, who wanted to expel the Palestinian Arabs from their territory, and I have also talked with Hamas activists in Palestine, who have seen violence as a part of their struggle for an Islamic state. I have talked with Islamic mullahs in Iraq who have used violence as a part of their resistance to what they regarded as the occupation of their country by the United States. Some years ago I talked with one of the chief organizers of the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center, Mahmud Abouhalima, associated with the Al-Qaeda network, who was convicted and imprisoned by the U.S. government. When I interviewed Abouhalima, I asked him, why do people bomb buildings in order to make a point? And he looked at me and said: "Mr. Mark, you people just don't get it. You are like sheep. You're blind to the reality of what is going on. Your government won't show you that you are living a pointless and meaningless life in order for your government to do the things that it does, and they are the enemy. There is a war going on,

Mr. Mark; a battle between good and evil, right and wrong, and religion and un-religion. And your government is the enemy."

So if you see the world in that way, then your actions in creating a symbolic act of violence in order to impose a claim of power on what you perceive to be a powerless world is not an irrational act. If the word "fanaticism" implies irrationality, then we have a very easy discussion; because it's easy to see why crazy things are done by crazy people. It's more difficult to see why, what are apparently crazy things, are done by very rational, moral, and religious people who feel that their acts are bringing the world to peace and consciousness of itself.

So, I have several conclusions from my study. One is that religion is not the problem. The problem is the social and political situation in an era of globalization where identity, accountability, and security are the three most important aspects of all of our lives. Who are we? Who is in charge? And how can we be safe? These profound questions that globalization has made more difficult for all of us are often seen to be given answers in religious terms. Religion provides identity, a sense of authority, and a sense of security in a violent world. The religious activists I interviewed thought their violence was only a response to the larger violence that the secular world had brought upon them. But even though religion is not *the* problem, it can be problematic because it brings the great drama of cosmic war, and the authority and the absolutism of religion to struggles that might otherwise have been negotiated in ordinary terms. But I also believe that, thirdly, even though religion is problematic, it could be part of the solution. Religion in public life brings the high moral authority of a political community and the high values of a moral community; greater than simply the collectivity of greed, which the image of secular life sometimes seems to imply.

So, Madam Secretary, I beg to disagree with you in a couple of your remarks. I believe that although all of us would agree that both religious and political institutions have no business belonging to each other. I don't believe that Mr. Al Hakim, our distinguished guest, wants to take over Iraq for religious purposes. Rather I do believe that he believes, as I do, that Islam does have a healing role to play in Iraq's national life during this fragile moment of its history. I do believe that religion can bring an important moral touch and healing to public life. So, when the Secretary of State for Human Rights seems to be opposed to all aspects of religion in public life, and the banning of head scarves in France: I think that should be condemned. Not because its goals are not admirable– to try and make all of the French citizens the same; but because it is perceived as an

insult to the Islamic community in France. Accepting all citizens is a very important part of France's reconciliation and an important part of its moral community. So even though religion has brought much harm to the world, it can also bring much healing as well.

Chairman: Robert is our next contributor.

Robert Ménard: This is an academic debate. Every single day we are talking about how to achieve some kind of reconciliation between religions and faiths, and this is something I think about every day. We don't want to tolerate fanaticism, and yet we want to respect different religions and faiths. But this of course does not contribute to any solution and it does not take us one step further. The caricatures of Muhammad in the Danish newspapers showed, and I was really surprised to see this, to what extent my Muslim friends responded in a completely different way from the way we responded. In other words, people with whom I have been fighting for the freedom of the press for twenty years thought this had gone too far. These were democrats who had devoted their life to the fight for freedom, and I was arguing, "But of course other journalists have this right of a free press, and freedom of expression." And they were saying, no, in this particular case this is not possible. So I asked myself, what is going on? I don't understand my friends. I realized that some words had to be deprived of their underlying meaning to start a dialogue. This is a banal statement. Who do we want to talk with? Do we want to talk with those people who share the same opinions? Or do we want to talk with those people who have other views? How can I talk to people who simply do not wish to have democracy? Perhaps this is due to the fact that some of these people do not find us trustworthy.

When we speak about democracy, and at the same time we have US troops trying to pursue democracy with the help of tanks, the result is that democracy does not enjoy the degree of trust that we would wish it to enjoy. When we speak about democratic elections, for example, Hamas won the democratic election in Gaza, but then we stopped speaking about these elections simply because we did not agree with the results. This is very difficult.

I talked to my friends in Gaza and they said Israel never keeps its democratic principles; and it is true that the Western world would be inclined to share the Israeli point of view in most cases. There are hundreds and hundreds of people in Israeli prisons, very often administrative prisons. If this were anywhere else in the world there would be demonstrations. I am not defending the terrorists who bombard

Israeli towns, but the very term has been discredited. Guantanamo is another example of this. Guantanamo harmed all of the defenders of human rights. When speaking about human rights in Islamic countries, the first response is always "What do you think of Guantanamo?" In other words, I believe that we have lost trustworthiness and credibility. I would like to use this opportunity to address my remarks to André, and to you, President Havel. For many years we in the West defended dissidents from Eastern Europe; but who would now defend dissidents in the Arab countries? I am a Frenchman and Madam Secretary, you are from France as well. When Sarkozy goes to Tunisia and says, "Democracy has been flourishing in this country," this is an insult for Tunisian democrats, and for us, it's a loss of credibility.

When speaking about the very fundamental values, such as human rights, I always defend these rights. But these rights must be granted to all people and not only to people living in the West. Very often, we see confusion here. Of course, we do have universal values, but at the same time we have different forms of democracy and these different forms are not universal. Some of these forms may be suitable for us, but perhaps not suitable for the rest of the world. And when mixing all these forms in one bag, again the result of this is a loss of credibility. I do agree with what you said, we do need to defend the secular state in France and I have to be very careful now, because you might misunderstand me. I don't think when some things are combined and mixed together that this is progress. We should all recognize that not all communities, not all societies may perceive this in the same way. For example, in France, we had a movement protesting against swimming pools being accessible to women only at certain hours of the day. I'm not really sure whether we need to promote this idea of having all swimming pools open to the general public all the time because this would mean Muslim women would not be able to swim in these pools at all. The way women are often portrayed – with nudity – I mean, do you really think this is the only way of presenting women? The same applies to family, to sexuality, and to other aspects. I am not so sure that this is a model that could be exported throughout the world.

Of course, I am a defender of minority rights. I am against discrimination, but our model cannot be generally accepted and exported to other countries to be implemented there. I have no simple answer to all these questions but I do think that our approach and attitude is often too arrogant. It is this approach that prevents the true dialogue that we have all been speaking about. Very often we see cases of misunderstanding and the lack of attention towards oth-

ers. Some people say that September 11th was a turning point. Of course what happened at the World Trade Center on that day was a turning point, but isn't it true that we always consider our emotions as universal?

Minister, you are responsible for promoting human rights in France. We are currently seeing a major crisis of human rights and this is something that we don't speak about. For example, in the Democratic Republic of Congo five million people died over the last few years and nobody in the West speaks about these atrocities. This is something that touches us all.

We should make sure that we do not try to promote our vision of the world everywhere. We need to be very careful. We don't want to be perceived as arrogant. We need to make sure that we do not apply principles only when they are suitable and convenient, and in other situations apply nothing at all. Thank you.

Chairman: I want to thank everybody for a very good discussion. I know Minister Yade has to go now to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but you did indicate that you'd like to reply to one or two points. I think everyone would appreciate that.

Rama Yade: Just a few words to what you said about this particular act on foreigners. Religion will not always refer to Islam – this concerns all religions. And another point is this 2004 act, which is not an act of forbidding religion but rather an act that refers back to another act from 1905, providing for all religions to express themselves. We don't want to have just one state religion. The state will subsidize churches and mosques. And we're not talking about any ban on any religion. The point is that we have not one single, official religion. Religion and faith are seen in France as private and by doing this, we grant freedom of all religions. In other words, we're not talking about one particular religion. We're not talking about banning, for example, the scarf. This concerns all religions only in the public domain – in this particular case in the schools.

Chairman: Time is now tight. The great American author Mark Twain once wrote, "Man is the only species on the planet that blushes. Or needs to." Thank you.

PLENARY PANEL 2
The Powerful and the Powerless

Chairman (Adam Roberts): Ladies and Gentlemen, we shall begin. My name is Adam Roberts. I am the moderator for this session, and professor of International Relations at Oxford. I think my only qualification for chairing a session on "The Powerful and the Powerless," which is what we are discussing now, is that most of my work has been involved in questions dealing with dominance and subservience in international relations, and in politics. Indeed, my first time in Prague was immediately after the tanks rolled in during 1968. I came to Prague because I was interested in cases of resistance to demonstrations of power; and I had the pleasure then, and subsequently, of meeting Václav Havel; and if anybody's career illustrates the porousness of the categories of the powerful and the powerless, it's that of Vaclav Havel, the dissident turned president. We have to be aware throughout this discussion that the powerful often have a sense of being on the edge of losing power, and the powerless often have capacities and abilities to bring about change. We have seen this in many cases that have been mentioned or will be mentioned in this conference.

One of the problems in today's world that this panel will discuss in depth is the problem that the most recent movement has not at all been in the direction of democratic change, or of power from below. There has been a revival of authoritarian systems in a number of countries that will be addressed during this panel; therefore the question to be addressed by this panel – the relations of the powerful and the powerless – will have a particular directness, urgency and importance. We have speakers from countries where precisely that issue of the revival of authoritarianism, and the survival of authoritarianism is particularly serious at the moment. Questions that will come up in this panel relating to civil or non-violent forms of resistance against oppression will also surface in a number of subsequent panels at this

Forum. So what we will have in this session is the beginning of a discussion, which will be going on further as we progress later throughout today and into tomorrow.

To help us in the discussion, we have first of all, Vicente Fox, who in a sense represents the powerful on this panel because he has actually been President of Mexico. If I am not mistaken, he also presided over the first transition in Mexico, from rule by that great political party with the paradoxical title, the Institutional Revolutionary Party. He has also had an active life since being President of Mexico in a number of capacities including representing the international grouping of Christian democratic parties.

We will have contributions in turn from four other speakers. First, Trudy Stevenson from Zimbabwe, a country where authoritarianism is combined with incompetence and inflation which is now, I believe, in the thousands of millions of percent. Anybody who can survive that earns our respect. She is a Member of Parliament for the Movement for Democratic Change. She is the first white woman to be voted on to the MDC's national executive so she speaks from the firing line as it were in Zimbabwe.

Then we will have Garry Kasparov, whose name will be known to you as the chess grand master. He already spoke boldly and courageously to some of us earlier this morning about the problems with democracy within Russia. He has been involved in creating the Democratic Party of Russia, and he is the co-chairman of the All-Russia Civil Congress. He is just as much engaged today in the difficult politics of Russia, as he was in chess. And if any of you are thinking about asking him a complicated question, I warn you, earlier this morning he was asked a particularly complicated question. The questioner apologized for its complexity, and Kasparov said, "You think that is complicated for a chess grand master?" So, probably it is best to keep the questions simple.

The next speaker will be Zoya Phan from Burma. She is the international coordinator of the Burma Campaign in the United Kingdom. She was forced to leave Burma because of repeated attacks on her village. She is a member of the Karen minority that has had a particularly difficult time under the current regime in Burma. Having come to Britain, she took a degree at the University of East Anglia, and is now involved, and effectively so, in campaigning for the Burmese cause, both in England and internationally.

As the last panelist today, we have Alyaksandar Milinkevich from Belarus, who was the opposition presidential candidate two years ago. He is also a university professor who has written on a be-

wildering variety of topics, which makes one think of Leonardo da Vinci: laser, architecture, culture, you name it, he has written about it; a man of truly broad interests.

Bur first of all, we look forward to hearing what Vicente Fox has to say in his keynote remarks.

Vicente Fox: Thank you very much, Adam. As the world suffers yet another mammoth crisis, part of the economic system I am hopeful is still very healthy – that is the real economy. But this financial crisis could continue and result in an unpredictable crisis for the whole system of the world. There is, in a way, a search for light. Citizens living throughout the world come as pilgrims to this Prague gathering, organized by the paradigm-breaker, President Havel, in search for that light. So maybe you will find it between the powerful and the powerless. Note that the powerful are running the global financial system with a lack of transparency and accountability. No doubt that the powerless, the citizens of the world, have to be directly protected, regarding their assets, their homes, their savings, and this must be done by direct and determined government intervention.

I come from Latin America which in the 20th century was thoroughly in the hands of the powerful dictators, military dictators, personal dictators, authoritarian governments, and corrupt governments. Today, there are many questions why Latin America is lagging behind, and why it was the region with the least growth during the 20th century. The answer is simple, because the powerful did not listen to the powerless citizens, and because we did not enjoy freedom or democracy throughout the 20th century. We all know here very well that the only and best scenario where human beings develop all their potential, carry on with all their capacities, and exercise leadership, is in an environment of freedom and democracy. That is why we are discussing this key issue here today. We learned in Latin America only in the latter part of the 20th century, in the 1980's and the 1990's that democracy works, and that freedom enhances all of humankind's capacity. We learned late but today we know that democracy and freedom benefit many and that a market economy with responsibility, carried mostly on the shoulders of the powerless, is what works; a democratic economy with a human face.

Today, Latin America is experiencing growth. The last six years the region's growth has been close to 6 percent. We had not enjoyed that in decades nor for most of the 20th century. Today, Latin America is facing the future with higher expectations, because we got rid of the dictators and authoritarian governments – in Brazil, Argentina,

Columbia, and Salvador, everywhere. In Mexico, we got rid of the perfect dictatorship, so-called by Mario Vargas Llosa, and today we are back to seeing those democrats in disguise that come into power through democratic means. Once they become the powerful, then they change. I've been hearing about some of those stories here, and I've been witnessing those stories unveiling in Latin America. We have the case of Hugo Chávez who came to power as a democrat to correct and change the old system that was corrupted. At that very point in time everybody supported him, but shortly after his ascent to power he started to become very powerful. He started with no accountability and no transparency, using the oil revenue for his own purpose of becoming more and more powerful. He then began closing the media so that there would be no other voices, or no other means of bringing the voice of the powerless to express their will as a collective public opinion. Now the same stories are repeating in Bolivia, the lowest per-capita income nation in Latin America, together with Haiti and Nicaragua. Bolivia is run by Evo Morales. Again, the first step was to change the constitution, so that they can be re-elected. Six years doesn't seem enough for the powerful to enjoy power because they want to stay there forever. This is why the messages of President Havel are so important.

The success stories and the experiences we have lived in other nations will be an example for all of us. At the very end, what we all are looking for is development. That is human development, and economic development, and that can only be attained through actual, honest, ethical, moral leadership, which acts along democratic rules with all the support of one of the bases of democracy. This requires transparency and accountability. It is very difficult in our nations to consolidate democracy. Our democracies in Latin America are too young to be considered consolidated. We have to continue to nourish them, defend them, promote them, and this is the reason why we created a presidential library for the first time in Mexico and Latin America, finished in the state of Guanajuato. The leaders have to know themselves, equip themselves, and be ready to exercise their leadership, and then we will be able to keep an eye on our democracies. We don't want a return to where we were in the last century in Latin America – it was very, very sad. All those dictators only created more and more poverty. It expanded to well beyond 50 percent of the population in Latin America. Today, we are fighting against poverty, against ignorance, and we are building middle classes. This is the first and best defense against these Messianic leaders that come to take it all away, and don't understand the exercise of power as ways

and means to serve others. There is only one reason for the exercise of power, it is listening to citizens, serving citizens, and bringing in the opportunities needed for those citizens. Thank you.

Trudy Stevenson: Where do we derive our power from? In the physical world, power comes from nuclear or molecular collision. In the human world, both the Marxists and the capitalists agree that money and wealth provide power, and that possession of the means of production provides wealth. Philosophers and educationists say that knowledge is power, and indeed, language is power. Those who speak English are more powerful in the world generally than those who don't. Politicians say it's the ballot box that brings you power, while opposition politicians complain that it's incumbency that gives the ruling parties power. The military say power comes from the barrel of a gun, and in religion, God is power. And here I want to emphasize that in the old days, there was a notion of the divine right of kings; that a king's power was bestowed by God, and could only be taken away by Him. Now African leaders have the same belief – that they are entitled to power once they get to that position and in my local language of Shona, for example, there is no word for "to retire." The concept does not exist. Once you are up there, that is where you die. And note that at the United Nations recently, Robert Mugabe complained that in South Africa, democracy removed Thabo Mbeki in one quick sweep. He thought that was bad because according to this concept, Mbeki was entitled by his divine right to remain in power forever. Note that there are not many places for women in this list. I also note that there are really no more women leaders in the old Western system than in the Communist system, or indeed, in the East. We are out of the list of the powerful.

In Zimbabwe, my own country, who are the powerful and who are the powerless? We are a classic example of two countries in one where we have a powerful ruling party, and everyone else is powerless. This is except for the white community, of which I am not really a part now, because I am a politician. They mostly have their own country within a country and manage to survive within their space. We have had the problem of two countries in one generation. We had the powerful colonial whites, and the powerless blacks. We have the powerful Shona in the north of the country against the powerless Ndebele in the south because the Shona have decimated the Ndebele over the past century. Both then and now, we have two economies; a powerful, male-dominated, formal economy for the minority who are well-connected, and then a powerless, female-dominated, informal,

or black-market economy for the majority. And now because things now have become so confused, the powerful political people are also at the top of the informal economy. If you are in the ruling party and a "chief" (political leader) you can benefit from the official rate of exchange. We have multiple rates of exchange. The official rate is that 30,000 old Zimbabwe dollars equals one US dollar, which is now 0.00003 of a new Zimbabwe dollar, after taking the zeroes off as the government did recently. If you are a member of the powerful elite, you can buy a Mercedes Benz costing US 50,000 for 1.50 new Zimbabwe dollars; and MPs don't have to pay the customs duty! This also happened in the Eastern Europe/Soviet countries under the old command economies. So the massive riches made by the well-connected are a motivation for them not to change. As the Chairman said, our inflation is now 561 billion percent, calculated by Professor Steve Hanke at the Cato Institute last week. Then we have the problem of the powerless now not having access to any infrastructure. I myself, considered well off, have to go next door to get water to flush my toilet – that is how bad it is. There is no electricity, no telephone half of the time, and so on.

So now how do we give power to the powerless? In Zimbabwe, it is through information and democracy, including the rule of law. Help us, you people who ask how we can help? Help us to disseminate information, and help us to build capacity within our own country to do that. We only have three independent radio stations and they all operate outside the country, and even then for only one hour a day. Support for that would be great. Help with newspapers, internet and information technology would be great too, but we don't even have the electricity to run the computers. And note that it is a deliberate tactic by the ruling party to deny the majority information to keep them ignorant. Also, support our tertiary and research institutions. The idea that knowledge is power is indeed true. We need support for education in order to empower the people of Zimbabwe.

I note that the Forum rightly emphasizes the importance of media, but unfortunately this can backfire, and it has backfired in Zimbabwe where the Western media, who are powerful and have the technology, are obviously able to get out messages much faster than our local media. Robert Mugabe has seized on this, and detests the Western media, and if any Western newspaper criticizes him, he just says: "Well, there you are. It's Bush and Blair trying to bring white rule back to Zimbabwe." So it has backfired. A better strategy would be to

support our local media, and to support the media of our neighboring countries by helping them to disseminate the real information.

For democracy, support our initiatives for conflict resolution and peace. I may say that, for example – in the horrific period of April to June this year, when Mugabe's system sent his death squads into the rural areas to destroy people's homes, crops, and animals, then they came in to the urban areas in the last week, abducted my own election agent's wife, because he wasn't there, and tortured and murdered her in front of her four-year-old child. A few of us tried to get international groups interested in intervening, to talk to this monster, to show him that this was not the way to go. We couldn't find anybody who was willing. Everyone threw up their hands and said, "There's nothing we can do about this man." I think that there was something that somebody could have done to talk to him about it. However, there we are. We think that perhaps because we are out of sight and we are out of mind – we don't matter.

Also support non-governmental organizations and the efforts of individuals who are struggling for a democratic government. Remember that there are new groups coming, particularly now that the agreement has been signed. Even though democracy has been misused and abused, there will be a temptation to ignore it for the sake of expediency. So there is a need to watch even the MDC if and when it finally comes to power, which I hope it will.

Support us also with food because, as I speak, nearly the entire nation needs food; it's not only two million people. My agricultural expert colleague says the whole country will need food by February of next year, and it takes months on the high seas to bring that food there. We need help to plant our crops now. The rain will start in about one week's time. We do have seed– but not enough, and no fertilizer. So we are not likely to have another crop for 18 months.

One thing that I will also ask is for you to watch and expose. I talked about the period from April to June when the Mugabe regime organized the hit squads during his election campaign. They have now sent the same people, who are the youth, out to the rural areas in great numbers to inform the people about the agreement. It's only a cover, and those youth militias and party militants will be out there, telling people lies, and most likely organizing a new wave of violence. So please, watch and assist us in that way.

Finally, I would like to thank the Czech government, particularly because last year they were thinking of withdrawing the Embassy from Zimbabwe. To us, this would have been a very bad sign, because we would have thought that there was yet one more country

who has given up on us and abandoned us. But they had faith and they kept the Embassy there. This gives us courage. We would like to thank the Czech government for that. Finally, I would personally like to thank President Václav Havel for inviting me here. Thank you very much.

Gary Kasparov: I think no matter what we discuss today, we cannot avoid talking about financial turmoil in the world markets because we are all concerned about the global financial crisis. Interestingly enough, it's being handled similarly in the United States as in my country, Russia. In America, the Congress listened to millions of voters before changing and passing the very controversial bailout plan. In Russia, too, the Parliament listened before giving billions to the banks. But in Russia, it's a different situation because there is only one vote that counts. The Parliament listened only to Vladimir Putin. The puppet parliament, called the Russian State Duma, gave Vladimir Putin sweeping powers to distribute the entire savings of my country in the amount of 500 billion U.S. dollars – not inflated dollars, real 500 billion US dollars. This is unprecedented and I think it's quite a unique situation. It shows what happens when power is concentrated in the hands of very few, ignoring many who worked hard to make this kind of wealth available.

Our topic today is power, and I would like to challenge the conventional wisdom on this topic in several areas. First, that technological progress is leveling the balance between the powerful and the powerless. Second, that shared commercial interests and economic engagement with dictatorial regimes are always beneficial for human rights and democracy. In his famous 1978 essay, with a title quite similar to our panel's, *The Power of the Powerless*, Václav Havel described the role of the dissident as attempting to live within the truth. This is a precious concept for simply ceasing to put up a sign with a political slogan, supporting the ruling regime. This man wants to be able to speak his conscience, rediscover his dignity, and give a living example of freedom. This concept of living within the truth has to be adapted for the 21st century. Today, the most repressive regimes around the globe are post-ideological. They cling to power for the sake of power and money. They have also learned many lessons from the collapse of the regimes of their dictatorial predecessors around the world. For example, instead of one newspaper and one TV channel with official propaganda in Russia, now we have several TV channels and dozens and dozens of newspapers with official propaganda.

We can agree that the free flow of information is one of the basic elements of freedom. Information is indeed power. Instead of empowering positive examples, we can look at the negative examples of how aggressively authoritarian governments work to stem the tide of information to control it. Back to Russia: today, where the mass media has been under direct control for years, and the Internet is correctly hailed as being the lone independent voice, which is still largely true, despite cyber attacks that regularly cripple our sites, despite the relatively small percentage of Russians who get their news online. But as the reach of the Internet grows, so does the common interest in monitoring and controlling it, and also of using it. Actually, a few days ago, the Russian Parliament received a new law from the Kremlin, which has aimed to create a Chinese model of controlling the Internet in Russia.

So, technology has always been seen as dangerous by authoritarian powers. Book printing and literacy itself were once considered very dangerous. The modern technology that allows dissidents to organize and meet effortlessly has a dark side. China uses it to monitor and manage what information its citizens see, and to do so in a way far more subtle than old-fashioned book burning. Your Google results simply do not show what they do not want you to see, and thanks to technology, it's not always obvious when you are not living within the truth.

Modern dictators are also aware of the importance of keeping up a good image for the West. Very rarely do they execute dissidents in plain sight, or seek confrontation or isolation. Instead, they have learned that they can be dictators at home, but still be accepted as business partners, even as democratic equals abroad. They have full access to the markets, banks, and real estate of the democratic world. They learned that democracy could be used as a very effective cover-up, and very often, that democratic ritual and dances could hide the total destruction of democratic institutions in the respective country. In return for this support, or for a blind eye from their Western counterparts, these dictators occasionally provide lip service about human rights, and occasionally hold blatantly fraudulent elections which many unfortunately pretend are real. This is the other part of not living within the truth we see today. Although eyes have crossed the borders of Russia, China, and are accepted abroad, for all the talk of economic engagement breaking down political barriers, this is usually just an excuse to carry on profitable business with dictators. We just heard the story about Zimbabwe, and I was trying to figure out where does one get the paper to print all the money? You would

need a very good partner outside of Zimbabwe to make this money available because it's still a currency, and I guess it's probably one of the major European powers who graciously provided Mugabe with the money he needed to keep for himself and not to fund the Zimbabwean economy.

Common commercial interest can also work against the ability of the democratic world to apply pressure on authoritarian regimes. Many in Europe believe Russia's gas and oil make Putin's regime immune to outside influence, or question how the USA can pressure China when the Chinese hold hundreds of billions of dollars of American debt. Such considerations are even more important today during this time of financial crisis. But we should not forget that they are a product of an even more serious moral crisis. The powerless in the world need acknowledgment, they need respect, and support above all. The truth must be recognized and surely, the truth does not come out of a pipeline. Thank you.

Zoya Phan: Mr. President, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, it is an honor for me to be speaking to you today. I wish in Burma that we could have this kind of Forum to discuss human rights and other issues, such as the powerful and the powerless. I also wish that our democratic leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, could be here today.

When I first thought about the powerful and the powerless, I thought how appropriate it is to apply this to what is going on in my homeland, Burma. Ladies and gentlemen, I know that many of you here may or may not know much about Burma but I am sure that some of you might have seen last year in September, when civilians led by Buddhist monks took up to the streets, demanding change, democracy, human rights and freedom. The Burmese regime, instead of solving the problems in a peaceful way, ordered their troops to open fire on these peaceful protesters. Many have been killed, and hundreds arrested and forced to flee from their homes, and the international community has done nothing to take a concrete action against this brutal Burmese regime. Once again, in May of this year, many of you might have seen the video footage on television when the cyclone Nargis hit the Irrawaddy delta of Burma. Thousands and thousands of people lost their lives. First, the regime failed to warn the people about the coming of cyclone Nargis, and second, the regime not only failed to provide humanitarian assistance to their own people, but also deliberately refused to allow the international community to deliver humanitarian aid in Burma. Again, the international community has failed to help the oppressed and powerless people in Burma.

This story of Burma is one of many human rights violations and oppression and poverty. It is also a story that reflects the real one, in which the UN and the international community fail to help the oppressed and powerless people. In Burma, we have more than 2,000 political prisoners. Despite the governments', the UN Secretary General's, and the UN Security Council's demands to release of all political prisoners, including our democratic leader Aung San Suu Kyi, and despite the international community's call on the regime to enter into talks and dialogue with the opposition, the regime not only failed to respond to the call, but also deliberately increased the repression by doubling the numbers of political prisoners. Last year, many of those leaders who organized the protests were arrested and are now on trial. They could face a sentence of more than 100 years each in jail, just because they organized a peaceful protest in Burma.

Ladies and gentlemen, there is also another Burma of which many people haven't heard and which involves a war against ethnic people using an ethnic cleansing policy, and rape as a weapon of war. The soldiers rape girls as young as 5 years old, hundreds of thousands of people were used as slave labor and forced labor, and more than 3,000 villages were destroyed in the past 12 years in the Eastern part of Burma alone. Almost half a million people were forced to flee from their home. The United Nations itself has accused the regime of breaking the Geneva Convention by deliberately targeting civilians in many parts of Burma, but has done nothing to take concrete action and stop the attack. There have been 37 visits by UN special envoys in Burma in the past 20 years, but there hasn't been any single democratic reform in Burma. It raises the question, why? I would rather say because the UN has pursued a soft approach towards the Burmese dictatorship. The UN holds all of the cards it can apply political pressure, economic pressure, and it can stop arms supplies to the Burmese regime, but the UN has done none of this.

Ladies and gentlemen, I myself have witnessed the human rights violations in Burma. When I was just 14 years old my village was attacked by the Burmese army, simply because I am an ethnic Karen. Everyone had to flee for their lives, including my family and I. We ended up in a refugee camp in Thailand. When I was in the refugee camp, I learned about the UN, its principles, what it stood for, and it gave us hope that the UN could step in and help the oppressed people in Burma. We know that the UN has the combined power which can help, but only if they have a willingness to help the people in Burma. So how could the UN fail? We are the people who are powerless, and in fact, the UN for us are the powerful people. But some-

how in Burma it seems that the generals are more powerful than the UN. So the failure of the UN in Burma has raised broader issues and questions regarding the roles of the countries that have more power, and how or whether they should intervene to help the poor people. But ladies and gentlemen, I would like to assure you that no matter what the powerful do to the powerless, the powerless will never give up. We will continue until we have basic human rights, democracy, and freedom for our homeland. Thank you very much.

Alyaksandar Milinkevich: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the name of my country is Belarus. It is the last dictatorship in Europe. During the last fifteen years, the development in our country could be described as a conflict between the authoritarian state and the civil society, which is being repressed. The mechanisms that are used to keep Lukashenko in power are not new, and they can be observed in other post-Soviet Union countries, and in countries with non-democratic regimes. The authoritarian system has several factors. First, Lukashenko has created a vertical line of power, which manages to control everything and everybody. The persons of power are appointed at all levels, they are not elected, and the President has also managed to preserve a system of a centrally managed economy so the state and the government are the chief employers. This is so that the government can control the citizens. For example, there are no fixed term employment contracts, so people can be dismissed at any time if they are not loyal. Then there is the propaganda apparatus, which is very efficient, and we cannot do anything about it. We also have problems with electronic access to the Internet.

Many people believe that there is only one politician in our country, because you can see him on TV all the time. The goal of the regime is to eliminate all protests so that no one can protest at all. This political system is supported by Russia– politically and diplomatically – and what is also important in terms of our economy, which is not being reformed, also economic support. Our budget is calculated according to the instructions from Russia.

But still, there are people in our country who have the courage to oppose the system. There are people who are trying to defend their rights and to promote civil society. They try to disseminate objective, truthful information, and the government hasn't managed to get rid of all the opponents.

What is the strength of the democrats? I think that our society has a huge democratic potential. The majority of the society disagrees with the authoritarian government, and our politicians know

very well that many Belarusians will never come to terms with this authoritarian system, which tries to isolate them, eliminate them, and eliminate those individuals who embody the strengths of resistance.

During the recent Parliamentary elections I visited over 35 towns and cities in Belarus. I met thousands of my fellow citizens, and I can tell you that the feelings of dissatisfaction with the policies of the country are growing stronger. If you asked people in various households, "Which program would you prefer?" They would say, "We want change." Unfortunately, most of my countrymen are worried about the fact that they will lose their jobs and they will lose any security they can enjoy. However, the strength of our conviction is very important. People who are for democracy don't fight for political jobs, or for advantages, but rather they fight to preserve dignity and their rights as citizens. Then, the third source of strength is international solidarity, because we need freedom in Belarus. But without your assistance, it will be very difficult to achieve such a goal.

Today, in Luxembourg, there is a meeting of 25 ministers of foreign affairs and they will be thinking about possible development in Belarus. Also, the Foreign Affairs Minister of Belarus Martinov, has been invited to the meeting. Democratic Europe has decided to contact the Belarusian government and talk to them. We know that the independence of Belarus is in danger and as I said a moment ago, in the past we used to give rewards for good results. However, now we know this just can't go on because if we leave the situation as it is, in two or three years our economy will be in debt to Russia. This will threaten our independence and it will be a really disastrous situation. So, we are in favor of a dialogue in which the situation of Belarus will have to improve, and starting this year, all the political possibilities should become available. Of course, we want to deal with Russia, we want to improve the situation, but we cannot take away people's say in how you can have a dialogue with a dictator. We want to find democracy, but we want to do it under the right conditions. It's like, if you release prisoners, we will do this, and if you release more prisoners, we will give you more resources. However, we know that the conflicts have to be resolved, but it will not be easy. The policy will be very difficult, but we will have to act. If we don't, in a few years our country will not exist anymore.

Chairman: Ladies and gentlemen, we have heard some very powerful and lucid expositions. Now, I invite you first of all to raise your hands if you have questions for Garry Kasparov because he has to leave momentarily. He has just enough time to take one question,

provided that it is not too long and complicated. Any questions relating to his topic?

Audience member: My name is [inaudible] from Australia. I'm just wondering about students in Russia versus the Czech Republic, where they played such an important role in bringing change in 1989. I'm just wondering, is there a role for students in Russia.

Gary Kasparov: There is always room for the student speakers. We know it is one of the most vibrant parts of society, but unfortunately in Russia there are some reports of student demonstrations, but so far they are insignificant. Actually, one of the parts of the report on Russian corruption shows that higher education unfortunately represents a significant element in Russian corruption. There are billions and billions of dollars paid for admission into the colleges and institutions in Russia, and of course, it corrodes the nature of any student movement.

Chairman: One more question.

Audience Member: My name is Mohammed Mohammed Ali, and I am from Iraq. My question is: We understand and we saw the changes since Gorbachev. So, what happened from Gorbachev until now?

Gary Kasparov: It is a short question, but it is a very long story. Yes, we had some changes under Gorbachev but unfortunately these changes were felt more in Eastern Europe than in our country. Undoubtedly, Gorbachev did a lot of good things, and he, in my view, unconsciously destroyed the Soviet regime. I always said, and I am still sticking to my old words, that Gorbachev's role in the destruction or the collapse of the Soviet Union was similar to the role of Louis XVI in the collapse of the French monarchy. There was a genuine attempt to improve the system. The French monarchy looked for new support to be gained from different groups in society. Gorbachev always believed in what he called "socialism with a human face." However, for him it was just a mere attempt to rebuild the Communist system and to make it more competitive. He didn't understand that the power outside of the official buildings, the power of the street, the power of change, of this demand for change, would be sweeping. And then unfortunately, we had the all-powerful bureaucracy finding its way to cling to power. During Yeltsin's era – again, trying to be concise – Russia had a dual system. On one side, we still had this

powerful bureaucracy that played the old game like the Byzantine palace intrigue. On the other side, we had fragile democratic institutions; freedom of the press; maybe not full, but still a freedom of the press which could be aimed even at President Yeltsin. Yeltsin, who owed his power to the streets could afford to live with this dual system of governance. However, the choice of Yeltsin's successor was instrumental in deciding which way the country would go, because you cannot have this Byzantine palace intrigue system for a long time. It is alien to any democratic institution. In choosing a KGB man as his successor, Yeltsin eventually made his choice. That is why Putin's direction for Russia also had to be analyzed from the perspective of the 1990's. Because since the mid-1990's, Russian democracy had been steadily losing its ground. During the elections in 1996, when Yeltsin was reelected, we all said it was free but not fair. It ended up with elections being a total fraud, and not even being called elections. So, I think that we made a lot of mistakes in the early 1990's and these mistakes are probably related to the violent history of my country. But now, more and more people in Russia recognize several very important things such as the lessons that were learned. One is that the government which was born of violence will live by violence. And the second, thanks to Putin, is that living without the law, living only with the hope that the central authority will eventually decide our problems, that this brings us nowhere. It is a dead end. So, there should be a written law which is mandatory for all branches of power and for all people of Russia. There can be no progress with some groups of people or some citizens being more equal than others. So, I think that these harsh lessons have been learned, and for us there is some hope that Russia soon, rather sooner or later, will be changing the trend, and will be moving in the right direction. Thank you.

Chairman: Thank you, Garry Kasparov. We are all completely powerless when it comes to airline timetables, so we have to let him go. Now, questions for any of the other panelists.

Audience member: I have a question for Zoya Phan. You described the situation in Burma. I have a number of friends in Burma, and I know the situation in Burma is awful, almost impossible to describe, especially for women. I have a proposal and I would like Zoya to endorse it: whether perhaps the Forum 2000 conference could send a petition to the government of Burma, and also to the UN, expressing its support for democracy and democracy building in Burma, and

support for all the victims of the present regime. Would you endorse this? Would you like us to send a petition like this?

Zoya Phan: It is a positive step, and we really need support in many ways. This is the first step that we wish from every country in the world, to support us. In December of this year, the UN Secretary General, Ban Ki-moon, is planning to go back to Burma, and then he will talk about the political situation with the Burmese regime. What we would like him to do is to set-up a benchmark for this trip and to release all political prisoners, including democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi. We would be pleased if you do the petition and deliver it to the UN to support this initiative, and we are happy to support that. Thank you.

Audience Member: My question is also addressed to Zoya Phan, and she partly answered it. I am Edward Mortimer, currently president of the Salzburg Global Seminar, and I previously worked in the office of the UN Secretary General. I really wanted to ask what she means by "the UN?" I can see how, if you are in her position in Burma, maybe the UN looks very powerful, but when you work in the Secretariat of the UN, you don't necessarily feel very powerful. In fact, you are aware that power is distributed both within that organization, and outside it. And of course, many things cannot be done without the consent of the most powerful members, some of which are also permanent members of the Security Council. So, I've just wondered if she could spell out a bit more to whom in the UN her questions and her injunctions are addressed to. I think she did that partly in her last answer, but maybe she would have more to say about it.

Zoya Phan: Thank you very much. As I mentioned, in the past 20 years, the UN has pursued a "softly – softly" approach, and it means we would like to see more concrete action from the UN. We had seen the UN Security Council discuss Burma, and it released a Presidential Statement. However, when it comes to the resolutions, China and Russia vetoed them , even if they just called for the release of political prisoners. So, what we need to see is the Security Council pass a binding resolution for Burma, and at least see the global arms embargo, because many members of the UN sell arms to Burma. This is how the regime renews its strength and its army, and attacks civilians like us, like myself. The longer we wait, the more people will die in Burma. In the past 20 years, we have seen that the UN has a diplo-

matic approach to Burmese regime, and it is evident that it doesn't work. So we need to see maximum pressure from the UN.

Vicente Fox: My comment is related to my actual responsibility as President of the CDI, the Centrist Democrat International worldwide, which gathers the Partidos Populares, the Christian Democrats, political humanist ideology parties, center, center-left and center-right parties, over 110 different political parties. As you can see, that brings to our institution many, many different situations related to democracy, freedom, etc. Of course, listening to the story of Burma, it is a story to which all democrats of the world must react, to which all people who are for peace in the world and for respect for human rights, must react. But it is not enough because world institutions do not have the capacity to just impose behavior. It is very complicated when dealing with the case of Cuba right now. Of course, it is not as violent as it is with the case of Burma, but in the case of Cuba, the regime is constantly violating human rights and there are plenty of political prisoners in jail. Also, there is no freedom for people to travel. The way we have been approaching the issue is, first with the desire of people to change things. They would have the leading position on where to go, how to get there, and when to get there. I understand the powerful and how mighty they get when they want to exercise power; but it still is within the people – to awaken people inside, and it is weakening the regime from the inside and outside. So, I give my thorough commitment and consideration to Burma, and we will be expressing the situation in every forum in which we participate. As President of the CDI worldwide, I think it is clear that we must act all over the world in denouncing this kind of dictatorship. Leaders like Zoya is what the world needs, what Burma needs, and what we all need. Especially to listen to them in forums like these so that we can go with them hand in hand in their efforts to bring about change. In Mexico, it took 72 years to get rid of the dictator, and in most Latin American countries, it was tough work to do so. But in the very end, it was the people and leaders that changed those situations.

Chairman: We just have time for one more contribution. May I take yours?

Audience member: Just a question for former President Fox. He mentioned an interesting thing about some parties who change when they become leaders. This is an interesting thing. Either we have democracy and democratic reforms, and we have the mechanisms and

institutions, and we leave each party to compete. Or are there some mistakes in the democratic reforms in these countries. So I want your comments about that.

Vicente Fox: Yes, I will be very brief, and thank you again. Yes, we have to build stronger institutions in our democratic nations, and those are usually destroyed by dictators. They take care of destroying the free press, they take care of destroying free congresses, they take care of destroying freedom of citizens. I have no other answer. When you are under severe pressure from the powerful, and have no freedom, it is again people like Lech Wałęsa, Václav Havel, Nelson Mandela, and people like the ones we have here, from Zimbabwe, Burma, and Russia today. It is they who address problems, respecting people's freedom, democracy, civic power, moral power, and the power of ideas – this is the power of the powerless. Reason is the power of the powerless, and the powerless defeat the reason of the unreasonable, of those who are not right in their position. Sometimes it takes a long time, sometimes it goes very quickly, but again, it is from the outside that we all support those leaders that are working from within those citizens that are powerless, voiceless, and that need somebody to support them. But at the very end, as we have said, in Cuba, Cuban citizens have to awake from that 60-year dream and the drugs they received every day from Fidel Castro. People in Venezuela have to prevent Hugo Chávez from going further. Leaders like John Goicochea, who defeated Hugo Chávez in the referendum; this is the kind of leadership that those nations need. So I congratulate the Forum for giving the voice to those who sometimes are not listened to by anybody. Gracias.

Chairman: Thank you very much. I want to thank the panel very warmly for bringing some really difficult problems to our attention, in such an eloquent and clear way, and for reminding us, whether in Latin America or in the other countries that we have been discussing elsewhere, of the difficulties that are faced, and the difficulty of outside assistance. It is a conversation that will continue in the rest of this conference.

PLENARY PANEL 3
Modernity without Democracy

Chairman (Vladimir Dlouhý): Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen, welcome to the afternoon session. My name is Vladimír Dlouhý, and I have the privilege to be the moderator of the 3rd plenary panel, "Modernity without Democracy". As a matter of fact, when I was coming here today, I was asking myself what exactly is the meaning of this title, "Modernity without Democracy?" An unnamed member of the panel sitting next to me asked the very same question a few minutes ago. I would define it as a question to what extent we can see modernity in today's world? Then the question is, how do we define modernity? Is it the increase of the standard of living, the increase of productivity, or another indicator of this materialistic kind? Or is it a way of how we would like to see society being organized, managed and developed? Or is it some combination of all those potential characteristics? And finally can we have modernity without the introduction, deepening, and development of the democratic political system, or, in a broader definition of that word, democracy?

If we define it that way, I believe it is quite an interesting subject for discussion. We have quite a distinguished panel, and I am very glad that without speaking unnecessarily long, I can introduce our keynote speaker, Mr. Don McKinnon, Former Secretary General of the Commonwealth from New Zealand. Mr. McKinnon has a very distinguished career; I just admire that he has been able to stay in politics for 25 years. I have my information, sir, that you were elected to the Parliament in 1978, and that your final day in office was 31st March of this year. So it is indeed a distinguished career. Mr. McKinnon has been the longest-serving Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade of New Zealand, and during that time he was also, for most of those years, Deputy Prime Minister of his country. But at the same time, he also held a couple of other positions in the New Zealand government. I would also like to stress one thing because

it is extraordinary: Mr. McKinnon is widely credited for initiating and overseeing the brokering of the ceasefire between the Bougainvilleans and the Papua New Guinea government, which led to the signing of the peace agreement in 1997. He was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize for this work. In today's world, there are many politicians and not many of them can be proud of achieving both a ceasefire and a peace agreement in a politically complex part of the world. Mr. McKinnon, the floor is yours.

Don McKinnon: Thank you very much, Mr. Moderator, and my thanks also, of course, to President Havel and the people of this wonderful city of Prague, to once again host us here for this particular function. Thank you for your comments, Mr. Moderator. I too, about three weeks ago, decided I should try and define this subject of "modernity." What is modern life today? What does it actually mean? But, as many people know, one day is a long time in politics; three weeks is a very long time, and of course, in those three weeks, the world has been turned upside down with this financial tsunami, and everyone has been left a little bit uncertain. I think many people probably now challenge whether or not they can even remain in the modern age. Can they aspire to earn a house and a motor vehicle? Can they aspire to get the kind of things they want (which we would describe in a modern society)? So, once again, the definition of modernity is very much in the eyes of the beholder, or those who do not behold anything at all.

I think for this discussion, as the moderator said, one looks at modernity and if you have it, it should affect all the citizens and not just the elite. There should be access to most things by all citizens. There should obviously be the things we adhere to, the freedom of speech or freedom of expression – these should be given in a modern society. Then of course, there should be reasonable expectations for health, education, prosperity, choice of occupation, and, choice of religion. Sometimes, of course, it can be a little bit subjective. Some people in some countries, holding a cell phone and having access to a Coke machine, may think they are living in a modern society, but that can be a little bit shallow. I think in terms of democracy, it shouldn't need too much of a definition, but again, for the sake of this exercise – and I do proclaim myself to be an unashamed supporter of democracy over a long period of time, given all the things that I have been doing – but to me, democracy is where the will of the people prevails. Democratic countries are ones where everyone has the chance to regularly decide who represents them, who taxes them, and who

makes decisions on their behalf. Fully-functioning democracies have a multiplicity and a breadth of decision-making, with power residing in a constitution, or in a law, or in conventions, rather than in a single individual. Now this can be in contrast, of course, to some countries where the will of one powerful, autocratic person, often a very charismatic individual, overrules the majority.

I would concede that a degree of modernity can be achieved without full democracy, but I would forever doubt its long-term sustainability. Even strong, omnipotent leaders, taking all the decisions and sometimes providing some trickle-down benefits that keep their people on their side, do run the risk that they are sitting on a very fragile foundation. I will concede that in some countries, this can last quite a long time: countries that are possibly oil-rich; countries that are very homogeneous in their makeup, so you don't have jealousy between ethnic or tribal groups at all.

What I am getting at in terms of this issue of democracy and modernity is that I am focusing on the word "choice". Do people have a choice? A veteran observer in Iraq recently wrote that, and I quote, "what the Iraqi people want is what others are getting." And I presume that was prior to the financial meltdown, but what he was alluding to was the natural aspirations to a higher standard of living by the Iraqi people; and for that to happen, you have got to have stability, which is a prerequisite of economic growth. Obviously, these things are in short supply right now, even in the developed countries; but economic growth requires investment. Investment, in turn, needs to be supported by the rule of law, and overseen by effective accountability mechanisms.

During my tenure as Commonwealth Secretary General, I commissioned a report from a group of very eminent Commonwealth citizens, headed by the now Indian Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh. We wanted to analyze the links between democracy, governance, poverty, and development. That report concluded that democracy and development are two sides of one coin; you cannot have one without the other. They support each other. So it became generally accepted that the more democracy you have, the more development you will get. This has also been endorsed by that well-known economic Nobel laureate, Amartya Sen.

Now of course, democracy comes in many forms, and many societies have characteristics which are strongly influenced by their histories, by their traditions, their cultures, more than some kind of a Westminster template. In most cases, these merge well with contemporary aspirations, providing that people want them to work. As

long as the will of the people was a prevailing factor, the results of our study were much the same. It also concluded that when countries wish to modernize by imposing a model from another country, they have a good chance of throwing away national, historical, traditional, and cultural strengths which simply does not fit with the people. The people's confidence is therefore eroded, and so is their support for this new governing environment. So, the strong message is as institutional changes and development takes place when modernization occurs, they should reflect the broad aspirations of the people.

Development does not necessarily equate with modernity, but it is given that you cannot have a truly modern society without development – and that is where development and modernity do coincide. Modernity is about that issue of choice, and it is about an open environment. And let me just take a few minutes and discuss some of the players that influence this outcome. The state itself, in order to be an effective player, to give people choices, it must be strong, it must be effective, and mostly, it must be accountable. Citizens must be able to see the benefits of the state in order to continue to support the state. Perhaps the most important thing a state does is raise taxation. Some people call it government money, most people call it their own money that the government has taken. People have a huge interest in how the state takes money from them and where it is spent. Therefore, the highest levels of accountability and transparency are needed if a state wants to continue to govern with the consent of the people.

Another major player are the markets. If a state wants choice and development, they want to encourage economic growth through openness and competition. This, in theory, will not only enable choice, but also, in the long term, contributes to reducing poverty. It can also lead to labor rights, corporate governance, which will follow as aspects of modernity. Civil society is something that people are still trying to grasp or get a handle on. In any society today, if civil society is not on side with the government, as sure as night follows day, they will be against the government. If a state has no civil society, well, it may be just in the infant stages of modernity, or it is suppressing them. Allowing space for civil society, including a well-informed media, ensures that people are heard; not those that are always heard, such as elite, but rather the people whose lives can be described as those on the margins of our societies.

Lastly, I refer to the international community as a key player in allowing modernity to prevail. In recent times, of course, the interna-

tional community can show how much good it can do, and also how much damage it can do by sitting on its hands when action is needed. If people are to get the modernity, the choices, the chances in life they seek and aspire to, they should not be impeded by trade or border restrictions. And I do cite the failure of the Doha Development Round as a huge blow to the lives and livelihoods of the have-nots in many, many parts of the world. Many say we don't need globalization. Most of us want all the benefits of globalization but maybe not the negatives. However there are many in the world who don't get any of the benefits, and do get some of the negatives. This is where the United States and Europe together can still do a tremendous amount.

So, the opposite of all the propositions that I have been discussing are those which will not bring modernity; reducing people's options, closing off markets, an unrepresentative government, central command of the economy; muzzled individuals and the media, and a restrictive, or simply benign, international community. If choices do not exist for people, modern living will not be within their grasp. So, whereas the overall theme we are discussing here is openness and fundamentalism, traditions and modernity; whilst openness might not always bring about a modern society, I would argue that a state based on fundamentalism, prescribing the way people must live, can produce only frustration and ultimate failure, and any modernity that is there would only be in the eye of the beholder. Thank you.

Chairman: Thank you for your words. You reminded us indeed that you are of the view that there cannot be, at least in the long term, modernity without democracy. And you reminded us about four main building blocks: states and governments, markets, which provide choice, and efficiency of allocating resources, and serve as a vehicle in the fight against poverty. The third block is a civil society, and the fourth block is the international society. Indeed the organizers, when allocating this panel's title, probably did not think exactly about timing, but the timing is very proper. I just came from Washington, where I spent the weekend at the IMF annual meeting, which is, today, the center of the financial storm. And I am afraid that one of the many consequences of what is happening today is that there will be people, in the so-called developed countries and developing countries, where markets are emerging, who might start to at least think otherwise. There might be a lot of people, and I know about them also in our societies, who more and more might be inclined to admire the system of today's state-controlled capitalism, which we see developing in China, Russia, and elsewhere. Especially because

of this, I am very glad that as our first panelist, we have Mr. Mikhail Mikhailovich Kasyanov. For the moment, he is Head of the MK – I suppose Mikhail Kasyanov – analytical and consultancy company, but mainly, Mr. Kasyanov by education is a technical engineer. After the end of Communism, since 1990, he has worked in different positions, first in the Soviet Union, and after 1992 in the Russian administration. But, as is well known, in the year 2000, he was appointed as the Prime Minister of the Russian government, and he served almost four years until February 24, 2004. After having left his position as the Prime Minister of the Russian government, Mr. Kasyanov increasingly became one of the most vocal critics of the existing political system, and the way the political system in Russia is being managed. Maybe you don't remember, Mr. Kasyanov, I had the opportunity to observe your speech three years ago at the Peterson Institute of Economics, also in Washington, where I really admired your clear-cut definition of both the economic and the political problems Russia has been facing. Needless to say, that in today's world, including the short-term economic success, your forecast has been fulfilled. The floor is yours.

Mikhail Kasyanov: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Thank you for your comprehensive introduction. Ladies and gentlemen, this morning during the Business Development round table, we discussed the problems in economic development and the financial crisis at length. We were faced with the problem that we could not come to any conclusion because of the necessity to discuss democracy. It is absolutely clear today for everyone that democracy, and the democratic structure of society or of the state is very much linked to the problems in the economic and social standards of people around the world, and Europe in particular.

At first glance, the end of history is no longer in sight. Global balance, both in economics and politics, during recent years has clearly shifted in favor of countries which cannot be called democracies; and my country, Russia, is one of them. We in Russia are told by Russian authorities that there is a new development model which has quite a significant role right now, and should be an alternative to traditional market democracy. You can call it a "sovereign democracy," or an "emerging superpower." Moreover, Russian authorities aggressively claim that such a model would be eventually adopted by all people in the world and widely recognized as a new international standard. It is not a surprise for all of us that this view is spread around the world and obtains a growing number of supporters. Mr.

Putin likes to claim that he saved the country from dissolution after the so-called "democratic disorder in the 1990's." The emergence of Russian democracy in the 1990's indeed coincided with the political and economic decline of my country, but it hardly caused these problems. Deliberate demolition of all democratic institutions in Russia by Putin also coincided with continuous economic growth but was far from initiating and supporting this growth. Very high oil prices and results of reforms initiated after the financial crisis of 1998 and partially completed afterwards are the explanations.

One of the standard excuses of authoritarian rule is that it can ignore the public opinion to undertake non populist steps absolutely needed for modernization. It looks logical in theory. However, this point is not supported by evidence. To the contrary, as authoritarian regimes sense their illegitimacy, they become more and more populist. It is evident that despite this one man's propaganda-based popularity, the Russian authoritarianism during the last four years has not managed to launch a single reform that would contribute to the modernization of Russia. Moreover, during this period, inflation has increased up to 15 or 16 percent, and appears to be the most depressing factor for the whole population. The majority of the population, more than 50 percent of people feel inflation as 40 percent, because they spend their money not just on 200 or 2,000 goods and services, but on three or five main items; medicine, municipal services, communal services, and food.

This year, the Russian people recognized that during the last decade, for the first time, they felt an actual decrease of their material standards. The business community, I believe, has finally recognized and understood that the so-called dynamic economic growth of the last four years in reality was a bubble as Russian stock indices fell within four months to the level of the year 2003. Despite strong economic foundations, Russia suffers during the crisis not less than, but even more than other countries. Even in the most perfect economic environment autocracy has done no better than democracy at promoting public goods. In terms of public safety, health, corruption, and the security of property rights, Russians are actually worse off today than they were a decade ago. For instance, the share of GDP spent by authorities on healthcare is lower than during the severe fiscal crisis of the 1990's and the state of public health system has been deteriorating considerably and rapidly. The rate of violent crime is also higher than 10 years ago. Russian society has become less secure and less healthy during Putin's regime.

Russia's international rankings for economic competitiveness, business friendliness, and transparency for corruption have fallen. According to a recent survey of perceived corruption by Transparency International, Russia recieved the highest index in the last 8 years, and ranks 147th, out of 180 countries; just near Syria, Bangladesh, and Kenya. Judging by the World Bank index of the ease of doing business, Russia is also going down year by year, and now is 120th. It means that it is not the Russian people who fall far behind the authorities, as the authorities would like to claim but vice versa; the Russian authorities are totally out of date. They do not work for the sake of modernity but rather they are the first enemy of modernity. Of course, Russia is still a country with enormous potential and up to a point, this potential can compensate for various flaws of its authoritarian rule. Russian authorities should not have been surprised watching the rapid outflow of capital after many instances of its brutal treatment of domestic and foreign businesses.

The main failure of an authoritarian regime is that it cannot normally provide for its timely and peaceful departure. As the only mechanism that exists for this case are elections, the elimination of it by the leaders of Russia appears to be creating problems for the future rather than offering solutions about how to get out of this situation. Thus they prevent the country from moving forward and drive it towards unpredictable consequences. It is hardly a natural attribute of modernity. I maintain that the correlation between economic growth and other signs of modernity and authoritarian rule is false. The Russian example proves this point in the best possible way. I do not believe that there could be modernity without democracy. Whatever the apparent gains of Russia under Putin's regime, these gains would have been much greater if democracy had survived. Thank you.

Chairman: Thank you very much, Mr. Kasyanov, for your clear and concise words. Our next panelist is Ms. Irshad Manji, Senior Fellow from the European Foundation for Democracy in Canada. Ms. Manji is an extraordinary person. She is an author, journalist, and activist. Her articles have appeared, and still do, in many papers, dailies and weeklies. She also has appeared on television networks around the world, including the most watched channels, from CNN to Al-Jazeera.

Irshad Manji: Thank you. That was an interesting introduction, and I am very, very grateful for it. Well, first of all, good afternoon and assalamu alaikum, dobrý den, and I thank all of you for choosing

us over the gorgeous sunshine outside. This is really my idea of an open society – one in which we all have those choices and we make the right ones.

I wanted to springboard off of what Mr. McKinnon said earlier. I thought that it was quite a brilliant definition of modernity that you gave us, because in this very seamless definition you have very concisely managed to tie together not just the notion of access, which suggests a certain egalitarianism, but you have also given us a lovely understanding of why democracy goes hand in hand with modernity. What you have said to us, Mr. McKinnon, is that access to most things by most citizens should be a given in a modern society. I must tell you this concise and lovely definition is something that most young Muslims with whom I have had the pleasure of engaging in discourse would appreciate.

Because our moderator raised the issue of my book, let me actually tell you a quick story about why Mr. McKinnon's definition of modernity resonates so well with the Muslim youth around the world. Remember this: it's access to most things by most citizens that should be a given in a modern society. Immediately after my book came out in English, and because of the burst of international publicity it received, my e-mail inbox overflowed with messages from young Muslims. In the Middle East, many asked me a very simple question: when are you going to get this book translated into Arabic so that we can share these ideas with our friends? My standard, completely unimaginative answer to them was, come on, guys, please – name one Arab publisher in this fragile geopolitical moment who will have the guts to translate a book like this, let alone circulate it. And most of these young Muslims, to their credit, wrote back to say, OK, but so what? Irshad, you get the book translated into Arabic, then post that translation on your website and then we can download it free of charge as a PDF – and they specified PDF as a format, because it is very, very difficult to hack. They said, when you do that and give us access to information that Muslims in the West already have, then trust us to use that access for whatever makes sense for our lives. We will download the book, we will then make photocopies of it, we will take it to our friends and our peers, and we will create the opportunities to share these ideas with them. In other words, when we have access to information that other young Muslims already have, we will own the opportunity to create new conversations where none would have existed before.

Now, I thought that was a brilliant idea. I had no clue whether what they were telling me would make sense in the real world, but

what the heck, I gave it a try. So I got the book translated into Arabic and posted it on my website as they advised and only two days after the full posting went up, I heard from a young man in Jordan, one of countless e-mails by now, who said, "now that we've got the book in a language we can understand, I am going to start a discussion club based on these ideas." And he parenthetically told me it was going to be a very popular club, because "I am a very popular guy, especially with the girls". And I wrote back to him to say, "Well I am very happy to be of service to your love life, my brother. Clearly, this is what the Almighty has put me on the Earth to do." But it's the way he ended his e-mail that truly did steal my heart. He said: "I want to work with you for the day when we can turn an underground discussion club into a visible, above-the-ground phenomenon, because that is when the bin Ladens of this world will know that they do not represent me or my friends." And you might wonder, well, how representative was this young man to begin with? Well, I can tell you that in just over two years of having the book posted in Arabic, there have been more than 500,000 downloads, and that's just the downloads; never mind how many times they have been photocopied and circulated. So this is a story that goes to show what a hunger, what a deep thirst exists among a new generation of Muslims, not just for modernity in terms of being wired and having access, but also, in terms of democracy. In other words, their willingness to share their privileged access with their friends, so that they are actually expanding the boundaries of democracy as well.

Now, because I know we have very limited time, Mr. Moderator, this leads me to the final question I would like to address for now. If there is a deep hunger for democracy, are there any real prospects, one should ask, for stable democracy in the world of Islam? The key, as you have just heard me emphasize, is "stable". I could easily point to the world's largest Muslim country, Indonesia, which is an electoral democracy and it has a secular constitution; a constitution, by the way, that actually enunciates as one of its principles, unity in diversity – exactly what the EU also embraces. So there truly is such a thing as shared values and common humanity. But again, I don't want to sanitize the situation as too many Muslims do. The reality is that even a secular country like Indonesia is undergoing a great deal of turmoil in terms of figuring out how to stabilize its democracy. So, it's in the right direction, but they are not there yet, and it may be a very long time before they are thanks to the import of Wahhabism and Salafism, which in so many cases have actually proven to be funded by Saudi petro-dollars.

That said, it brings us back to the region of the Middle East and the question, because we've heard about Iraq so much over the course of this still young Forum. The question is, can we have anything close to a stable democracy in the Middle East? I would answer this way: First of all, it's easy to say that the likelihood of fostering stable democracies would increase if the United States just got out of the Middle East. Ladies and gentlemen, I would love to believe such a comforting answer, but I am not an ideologue. As the moderator explained to you, I am a journalist first and foremost, and that means I have to pay attention to reality. And the reality is that in the last century alone, more Muslims have been maimed, raped, imprisoned, tortured, and murdered at the hands of other Muslims than at the hands of any foreign imperial power. Now, please understand this does not mean to deny Western imperialism. It is meant to suggest to you that imperialism comes in many skin colors, and that includes Islamist colonization of other Muslims. We all know that bloody battles for domination have been raging within Islam since the death of the Prophet Muhammad. We Muslims have to own up to this sorry fact, and until we do, there cannot be any genuine hope for stability, let alone for democracy.

Let me wind up my remarks with some good news. The good news is that the Koran allows us to experiment with different forms of government, including democratic government. By that I mean separation of mosque and state, respect for minority rights, aspiration to, if not realization of, women's equality, transparency, rule of law – all of which are central to any stable democracy. Islam, ladies and gentlemen, has the raw materials to realize this vision. Whether this vision is realized won't be a matter of chance but rather it will be a matter of choice. And that choice must first be made by Muslims. Only then can we legitimately hold the West accountable for its barriers to our demonstrated democratic aspirations. And I thank you for your ears.

Chairman: Well, Madam, you did not disappoint me. Thank you.

Irshad Manji: Spoken like a good infidel. Thank you.

Chairman: Thank you very much. Observing your zeal and your ability to formulate sharp arguments in a very accessible way, I understand better why you have been described by the *New York Times* as "Osama bin Laden's worst nightmare". I hope he has more nightmares about you. Let me shift to another panelist, Bruce Jackson,

founder and President of the Project on Transitional Democracies. After serving in the United States army until 1990, he worked for the office of the Secretary of Defense in various policy positions; from 1995 to 2002, he was President of the US Committee on NATO; and between 2002 and 2003, if my information is correct, he served as Chairman of the Committee for the Liberation of Iraq.

Bruce Jackson: I would like to return to the specific question of modernity and democracy, which I admit I didn't really understand. It seems to me that there is a certain arrogance within each generation to imagine that the question of modernity is about itself, and that democracy is its problem. Frankly, this has been with us for a considerable amount of time; the question of what is modern was pretty well answered at the end of the Austro-Hungarian empire, with the works *The Man Without Qualities* and Thomas Mann. It's just a fancy word for a degree of alienation in politics. The problem of democracy has been with us for at least 400 years.

So, these questions are coming around to us again in a rather surprising way. I think the reason for it is that we've just passed through a period of what Greenspan would call irrational intellectual exuberance, in which our most modest academics told us first the world was flat, then there were geological faults that chafed against each other, that's where the civilizations stood, then history had ended and then history had begun again. All of it was nonsense. It was because we are struggling, and now we are undergoing a correction of these models, and a new realism has returned.

If we look at the conditions when we talk about democracy, Fukuyama said that democracy was inevitable and then Kagan said it was not inevitable but rather it was an act of will. Then Bush argued, no, it was actually more an act of faith, and then the University of Chicago helped us out and said no, there were structural reasons – all you had to have was $7,000 per GDP and you were going to be a democrat. None of this turned out to be true. Central Asia and the Middle East tell us that nothing is inevitable. Ukraine shows us that will alone is insufficient, and actually, excessive willfulness is counterproductive and or even destabilizing. Georgia forces us to see that faith and isolation is touching but unstable, and everything from Moscow to Riyad shows us that prosperity is not a path to liberalism – it's just as likely a road to perdition.

So we pick up democracy again as if for the first time and start analyzing it. We have to be precise about what it is we know about this, what we believe, what we wish to believe, what we do not know,

and finally, what we cannot know. And it seems to me every statement about democracy falls into one of those five categories. After this correction, if we look at democracy for the first time today, we would have to say that we are going to be far more modest about our pretensions. We have not seen into the soul of history, we do not know the future of states or men, and our new consciousness, unlike the generation that came to this problem in 1989, is born of defeat, disappointment, remorse, and a bit of regret; whether it is Mogadisho, to Baghdad, to Tbilisi, or to Kiev, or to Moscow itself. So this is a different kind of consciousness.

It seems to me that democracy has returned to being an art, and has failed to be a political science. It tried desperately to become a political science, and structuralist.

We actually don't know about causality and what brings about democracy? If we remove a dictator, and nothing happens; actually, what happened in Russia and Serbia – they went out and found another one. So it's not completely clear that we know how to cause these things. We are also working in a period where democracies have an ability to counterfeit themselves. There is a wonderful book called *Faking Democracy in Post-Soviet Politics*. Many things like populism, nationalism, authoritarianism now masquerade as democracies, and we are credulous about them. When Romania and Bulgaria were talking to the EU, the EU failed to ask the questions. When the color revolutions occurred in Kiev and Tbilisi, we welcomed them as democratic revolutions, but nobody checked the work and looked at it more closely.

It also seems to me that democracy, we now know, unlike the great period of the Singing Revolution and the Velvet Revolution, it is not velvet anymore, and is going to be opposed by organized, well-financed, by rather ruthless opponents. So, the political philosopher Tom Petty was right: everybody has to fight to be free. This is not a consciousness that occurred earlier, in say, the 1990's.

I previously said that democracy was becoming an art. Art requires criticism. We have not criticized the Yushchenkos, the Saakashvilis, and the Tymoshenkos, in a way we should do. Frankly, we don't even criticize the heroes of the Czech Republic as well as we should do. A few hours ago, the Czech Republic voted in favor of lifting the visa ban on Lukashenko. It was unanimous and every European state voted in favor of the last dictator in Europe. I haven't heard a criticism yet.

Finally, just to sum up: it seems in this period, we are going through a discreditation of governments, and even NGOs. Govern-

ments are the least likely agents of democratic change. A monopoly of force is not the first thing, the natural liberator of people in servitude to such a force. I will predict that after the American investment banks go out of business, state-funded NGOs are the next thing to go, because they don't work very well. They don't understand the phenomenology of democratic change. I also think there is going to be a devolution of democracy, from the intellectual nomenclature to a more common approach. It's the language of the vernacular, and the language of the vernacular tends to be economic. You are going to see much more emphasis on economic change in the coming decade than we did in the past. Prosperity breeds political possibility. If you look at, say, Belarus, in which they don't have economic prospects, that's why we don't see the birth of political consciousness.

Finally, democracy strikes me as an act of political imagination, and a very specific kind of political imagination. Much of what we want Georgia, Ukraine, Serbia, Russia, the Arab world in general, and even ourselves to know is basically unteachable. It just sort of occurs. So if I could try one last attempt at a relationship between modernity and say, democracy, I think it's a little bit like a relationship between sex and love. Modernity is the physics of existence; it's going to take care of itself, and it basically is what it is. Democracy is that special and exceptional case when you really get politics right. And I think we are going to approach the next ten years in democratic thought with those kinds of tones, not the ones we have seen for the last twenty years. Thank you.

Chairman: Well, thank you very much. If I may single out one point from your speech, I most loved the last point, that democracy is an act of political imagination. It's difficult, when we were all dreaming here before 1989 about democracy – and I'm now not speaking about intellectual elites either in the gray zone of society, or dissidents. I'm speaking about the dreams of the man on the street during that time in Czechoslovakia – we dreamt about democracy but we did not dream about the democracy which we witness today in our country, which unfortunately reveals too many negative sides. I will not elaborate more, because we have another speaker: one of the most famous Czech journalists of recent months, Mr. Tomáš Etzler, who recently received quite a prestigious prize, the EMMY. I believe that it suffices to say that Mr. Etzler works for CNN. He has also been with different journalistic bodies all over the world, and for the moment, he spends most of his time in China. We had Mr. Kasyanov, who was quite critical about the recent development in Russia,

in my opinion, very properly pointing to the disparity between the alleged economic growth and the real state of the Russian economy. We Czechs can understand that. But what about China? There is the inevitable fact that China has achieved significant improvement in terms of economic growth and improvement of the standard of living for a huge part of its population. Nevertheless, we can hardly label it a democracy. But still China becomes, not only for ordinary people, but for many business and financial people of the world, definitely an interesting example that should be followed.

Tomáš Etzler: Thank you very much for the introduction, and thank you very much for the opportunity to be on this panel. When I was offered the chance to travel to China as a journalist, I got very excited, because I grew up under communism in the former Czechoslovakia. I witnessed and lived through its fall, so I was very curious about how the situation was in China. We all know about what is called the "miraculous Chinese economic rise" within the last 30 years, in which a completely impoverished, insignificant country became one of the key economic players in the world. I was wondering about the notion that with a free market comes democracy, or what we are saying here, how modernity goes hand in hand with democracy.

I visited China a couple of times before but I was there as a tourist and I did not really know what to expect. One thing I was expecting was some sort of movement in society. I just want to remind you that in the late 1980's in Czechoslovakia – of course, nobody had an idea of how long we would be living in this morass, but there was a movement within society, there was a lot of underground chatter, there was a lot of underground literature, a lot of underground music, and a lot of underground philosophers exchanging ideas and exchanging books. I was wondering if something like that existed in China. I've been there for two and a half years and I am still looking for it. There are dissidents in China, but they are in very small groups which are completely isolated, and not unified. So China simply doesn't talk or think about democracy. I am not just talking about the Communist government, but rather about most of the Chinese people. I was absolutely stunned. I had hope because China, although still in transition, is becoming a modern society. Young Chinese people listen to rap and rock music, love Western movies, Western culture, like Western clothes, yet there is absolutely no notion of democracy. I talked to many young people and asked them about democracy, political changes, and political life in China. They said: "There is absolutely nothing we could do about it, we have

absolutely no effect, no power to do anything about it. Look what happened to the people who tried to do something about it in 1989, look what happened to those guys." They have become an extremely materialistic society. If you ask every young Chinese what they want from life, what they expect from the government, they tell you they want freedom to make money, freedom to own houses, apartments, cars, and what have you.

So, from this point of view, I was very surprised. There is another thing to that: it is not the communism we used to know in Czechoslovakia or the former Soviet Union. The Chinese can travel if they have money. Young Chinese people can study at the best universities around the world and when they come back, they are still the same Chinese I've met. China is one of the very few countries in the so-called developing world where there is virtually no brain drain. All the Chinese are coming back with the education they received in the West and are contributing to the development of the country.

We have heard a couple of times on this panel that modernity goes with democracy and that these two are somehow related, or even conditioning each other. What I see in China is contradictory: it is a society which is developing, and is the fastest growing society in the history of humanity when it comes to economics. Hundreds of millions of people were raised out of poverty in China within a very short period of time, but it did absolutely nothing for democracy, or for the democratic movement in China, which is simply non-existent. There are, as I said, individuals or small groups. I've even heard that within the Chinese Politburo, there are party members who have some sort of democratic ideas, but to talk about a movement towards democracy is simply impossible, because there is none. What should the Western world do? Should it do something about spreading democracy? I think this is a very pampered idea. First of all, there was this notion after the colonial powers collapsed resulting in the creation of many new independent countries, that they would follow the government structure of the victorious countries of WWII. Nothing like that happened and in fact only very few countries became democratic. We saw a lot of dictatorships and a lot of juntas.

So, I do believe that the Western model doesn't work everywhere and will not work in China. It may work in the Middle East, but look at what happened there. After so much pressure, there were finally the first free elections in Palestine, and who won? It was Hamas, and look how the Western world reacted to that. I think that if, for example, the wish of the United States was granted today, and there would be free elections from Morocco to Yemen – the radicals

would win in almost every country in that region, because of the current situation in the Middle East.

Back to China: there are definitely changes in that society and maybe even China will become somewhat democratic, or a little bit more of a free country, but it will not happen soon. It will be a very slow, gradual process. I don't understand it but regarding the people with money – they are happy with what they have. They don't care about free Internet and they don't care about free access to all television stations. For example, when other news sources report a critical story about China, the news is blackened, nobody can watch it, and there is absolutely no protest. Once again, there may be a couple of individuals, a couple of intellectuals who complain about it, but the hundreds of millions of people in general simply seem not to care. Thank you.

Chairman: Thank you very much, Mr. Etzler. We have the first differentiation of opinions to some extent, because you questioned whether democracy can exist, or even survive in the long term in some regions of the world. And at the same time you did not deny that those regions and countries can develop on a path to modernization. By implication, you do not see as strong a link between democracy and modernization as some other colleagues do in the panel.

And now I am very glad that our next panelist is Mr. Ashis Nandy, who is a political psychologist and sociologist from India. He was named, by the Foreign Policy Magazine in 2008, as one of the world's top hundred politicians and public intellectuals. He has worked on the solutions for peaceful coexistence of different cultures and enclaves and indeed, whoever lives in India must understand that there is a great need for these issues. He is affiliated with various social movements for peace, environment, and cultural survival, has contributed to many human rights reports, and is the author of the book *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism*.

Ashis Nandy: Thank you, sir. This happens to be my third visit to Forum 2000 but this time there is a difference to me. Václav Havel, in his two interventions, has emphasized that one of the Forum's main aims is to unify humankind. Alas, I have spent my life dividing humankind, and that is my life's goal. The second reason for the difference is that modernity and democracy have a very complex relationship, and I am to deal with it in five to seven minutes.

The first point I want to make, is that consistently in our times, modernity and its auspicious development have justified assaults

on democracy. Despite all talk of democracy and modernity moving hand in hand, consistently the despots have derived legitimacy from their success in modernization and development and they have made no qualms about it. The two godfathers of the East Asian tigers, Ferdinand Marcos and Lee Kwan-Yew – are both very popular in my country amongst business people and amongst management institutions. They have given a standard speech at every opportunity, stating that they are democrats. In fact, Ferdinand Marcos once told a friend of mine, "My dear friend, I am more of a democrat than all those who shout for democracy, in the Philippines or outside of it. But you know these Filipinos, and how incorrigible they are. So like a strict schoolmasters, I have to take them and push them towards modernization and towards democracy. That's why, reluctantly, I live a life as the leader of a controlled democracy." Of course he didn't use the term despot, and in each and every case there is this legitimizing principle for assaults on democracy. That is my first formulation. So, modernity has been the best legitimizer of democracy, despotism, and attacks on democracy.

The second formulation, I would venture, is that the concept of democracy is constantly narrowing in the policy circles around the globe. Democracy might be an exercise in imagination, I heard somebody say in this panel, but that is not the definition, or an operational definition of democracy in the global policy circles. In the global policy circles, the definitions of democracy are crude, even more crude than my formulations. They demand only that you have regular or periodic elections, a two-party or multi-party system, and a peaceful transition of power. That's all. So, I am not surprised when Russia claims to be a democracy, and Garry Kasparov sheds tears at our breakfast lecture that it is not a democracy. We also shed tears with him because the definition of democracy has consistently narrowed in our times and we exploited that narrowness to sanctify, and if not sanctify, at least give a kind of grudging legitimacy to each and every despotism which claims to be a democracy. China is only last in the line. China is a better example because it is seen as a non-democratic country, but at least it has pushed towards modernization and development – these are seen to be spectacular achievements and in any case, a large proportion of the world's population believes that the aim of democracy is not to push you towards modernization and development. Democracy is no longer an end in itself. We never claim that democracy is an end in itself. We claim that democracy is only an instrument to reach our vision of a good life. But what is this good life? What is it that democracy ensures?

I am afraid that my final and last comment is this: that not only has the definition of democracy narrowed, but also the kind of freedoms democracy has begun to ensure, even in democratic societies, have also narrowed. Increasingly, in democratic societies, we are perfectly free and not just free to imagine democracy, but free to vote. Periodically, every five years you can vote. Secondly, you can travel. Havel said in a pained voice that he was denied a passport and he received one only when he became president of this country. So, in democracy, there are no travel restrictions. In fact, travel is usually meant for tourism and whether traveling broadens the mind or not, as the Victorians believed, certainly tourism is allowed by democracy. And you can consume until your heart is content until you are dead. Just now, somebody has mentioned India. It is true that the levels of consumption in some segments of Indian society have gone up enormously. But it also has other kinds of implications. I noticed that no Indian now wants to die of cholera, typhoid, or dysentery. These are low-brow diseases. They want to die of cardiac ailments, heart diseases, and cancer – these are diseases of over-consumption and obesity. Even in death, there is a hierarchy. Many years ago when I was young, I once went to Harvard University near Boston and to my surprise I found out there was another university, Tufts University, and that they have a medical college as well. But Tufts University Medical College had a perpetual problem of getting cadavers for their anatomical lessons for dissection. Then I found that in Harvard Medical School, there was a surplus of cadavers because everybody who died willed his body to Harvard Medical School for its students. Even in death, people want to go to Harvard Medical School. So this is the level at which democracy has begun to operate.

And finally, the French Minister this morning talked about privatization of religion. But increasingly in developed democratic societies, particularly large democratic societies, politics itself is becoming privatized. We are supposed to vote every fourth or fifth year, and for the rest of the time we are supposed to sit in front of the television, look at what the politicians do on the news channels, and get very angry and upset. Previously, we used to write angry letters to editors; now we can write angry blogs on the Internet – and then our job is done, dissent is articulated, and otherwise, we are supposed to be passive receivers of messages. So I think this gradual decline of the culture of democracy, even in some of the most established democratic societies, has created an environment within which an assault on democracy can still go on in large parts of the world. Thank you for your patience.

Chairman: Thank you, Mr. Nandy. Well, if our keynote speaker mentioned a choice as one of the characteristics of democracy, and after all, a choice where your cadaver should go, and which autopsy laboratory you can choose is a kind of reflection of democratic development as well. The last panelist is Michael Žantovský. Michael Žantovský, to the Czech audience, does not need any introduction. I first registered him as a rock'n'roll musician. Then he was an advisor to President Havel since he assumed the presidency at the end of 1989 and cooperated with Mr. Havel for two and a half years. Michael has had a lot of diplomatic posts; he was the ambassador to the US, and today he is the ambassador to Israel. He briefly was, if I am not mistaken, Deputy Prime Minister of the Czech government, and Chairman of one of the coalition parties. Michael is the member of the panel whom I have the honor to call a friend. Michael, the floor is yours.

Michael Žantovský: Thank you, Vladimír, for this much too generous introduction. Actually, you assigned me one post that I never held, but that's OK. As you may have gathered from the previous discussion, to say that modernity cannot exist without democracy is to open up a Pandora's box of counter-charges and accusations. First of all, it seems to be empirically false. All the totalitarian ideologies of the first half of the 20th century-whether it was Italian Fascism with its futuristic inspirations, Soviet Bolshevism with its modernist poetry, its Proletkult posters and the cult of electrification, or Hitler's Nazism with its Autobahnen, its Albert Speer architectural projects and the early New Age and wellness philosophies of an entirely new human being in a perfect body-started by worshipping modernity, while at the same time drawing from the archaic roots of the Slavic soul, of Roman mythology, and of the Teutonic myth.

Perhaps less ominously, in today's world, some of the icons and emblems of modernity – the tallest skyscrapers, the most luxurious resorts, and the latest super-jumbo jets can be found in countries less than fully democratic. Also, the last decade has witnessed the emergence of new economic powerhouses, new economic strategies, and new economic philosophies outside the world of liberal democracies. Practically every material expression of modernity today, as you have heard from my neighbor, is more likely than not to have been manufactured in China, a one-party state. Ultra-rich individuals and sovereign funds of oil-rich and other countries, not always democratic, invest into every modern industry from aerospace and electronics to department stores, to football clubs, and leisure islands.

Most recently – and I better tread lightly here in the presence of some renowned economists such as Mikhail Kasyanov or my friend Vladimír Dlouhý – some of the core elements of democratic modernity within the Western world, such as free markets and non-intrusive governments, are being questioned as having precipitated the current financial crisis. Some people say that we are in for an era of nationalization and socialist type economic policies, which will start nowhere else but in the very Vatican, Jerusalem, or Mecca of liberal democracy, the United States itself. The theory goes that if we can only get rid of the excesses of liberalism, we can preserve modernity without the pain, the uncertainty, and the economic crisis, right? Well, I don't think so. One does not have to strictly believe in Joseph Schumpeter's concept of creative destruction in the economic area to observe that creative destruction is the operationalized expression of modernity in the world of ideas. Modernity had not existed in the closed and circular, religion-dominated European medieval society. It is the unbridled, unconstrained, and unregulated explosion of ideas, starting with the Renaissance and Reformation. Its birth was very painful and slow, but also unstoppable. Exceptional individuals have struggled and continue to struggle for modernity in bringing forth new ideas all over the world. But most of those ideas can only flourish and bring fruit in a liberal democracy.

If you look at this year's crop of Nobel Prize winners, they come from all over the world: Europe, Asia, and America; but the winners all stem from liberal democracies. It is not a question of Euro-centrism or of Western cultural imperialism: the Nobel Prize for chemistry went to a Chinese-American and a Japanese. Sergey Brin was born in the Soviet Union, and he received his early education there, but it is hard to imagine that he could have started Google there. It is one thing to manufacture a product at a low cost and uniform, homogeneous quality – illiberal systems can excel at that. It is another thing to think of something that has never existed, of something that transcends and surpasses what has existed so far. And with all due respect to our keynote speaker, it is not just a question of access; it is something more active – a search, a quest, if you will. It requires questioning and criticizing the status quo, and sometimes even rising against it. This is something extremely difficult to do when speaking out in school and can come with penalties.

In liberal democracies, on the other hand, this is what the fabric of life requires us to do in our daily experience; something on which our success, achievement, and sometimes even our survival is conditioned. It is for this reason that it is impossible to sustain modernity

without freedom and democracy. We say democracy, but it really is shorthand for what we mean– freedom. In a closed system, modernity will consume itself, become a dogma, and stop being modernity. Even before Renaissance and Reformation in Europe, the golden age of Islamic thought in Andalusia and Northern Africa between the 8th and the 12th centuries brought about unprecedented achievements in mathematics, medicine, philosophy, and poetry, until the growing rigidity of the system made the seeds wither away, with the few surviving traces being inherited by modern European thought.

Modernity without democracy, without freedom, is thus not only self-perpetuating, but outright dangerous. Being unable to conceive and propagate, it attempts to impose constraints on free thought and free expression elsewhere, be it in the name of political correctness, cultural relativism, or a deconstructionist attack against the power of rational thought. At best, it is a harmless parasite on the process of creative destruction. At worst it is the cancerous growth that attempts to consume its host and remake it in its own image. It is the image of the gas chambers and crematoria as a perfectly engineered disassembly line of human beings, it is the picture of the Big Brother who monitors your every movement, every thought, every emotion, even your heartbeat, wherever you go. In Samuel Huntington's bleak imagery, it is the picture of a group of young men in blue jeans, listening to the latest rock music hit on a transistor radio while assembling a bomb.

This is not to say that modernity is without serious flaws, or that it is good for everyone. Trying to export or impose modernity on people who do not have the itch does not create modernity but often backlash. And it is entirely possible that different points of departure for the risky endeavor of questioning, criticizing, destroying, and recreating the eternal truths may bring about different kinds of modernity, some of them more refined, better considered, and morally superior to ours. But it is safe to assume that without such questioning, there will be no modernity and only stagnation and decline. It has happened to others and it could happen to us. Thank you.

Chairman: Thank you very much, Mr. Žantovský.

PLENARY PANEL 4
Plurality of Cultures and Democracy: Easy/Uneasy Relationship

Chairman (Josef Jařab): Welcome to the latter part of the afternoon's discussion. This is plenary panel number four, and it will deal with "Plurality of Cultures and Democracy" and afterthoughts such as easy and uneasy relationships. It was interesting to listen to the previous panel where they discussed democracy and the concept of modernity. Throughout the 90 minutes the word "culture" was not mentioned once, which is interesting, because there are many readings of this word. We probably often use and overuse it without a clear understanding. Of course, some people say that this is a concept broad enough to really refer to the whole of human experience. Well, I think that we could probably specify it a little bit more, and speak of a cultural dimension of human experience, such as our behavior. I would say that at least for me, a useful word to be added in a kind of definition or description is that the cultural dimension of our existence, and of our behavior, etc., is to seek meaning of our existence, activities, and behavior; looking for meaning, finding meaning, and believing in the meaning that has been found. I think that "meaning" is the key word – meaningful for an individual, a group of people, a community, society, and maybe globally for humanity.

Now, the subject of this particular plenary panel, plurality of cultures, calls for the ability to look beyond my own culture, and respect the culture of other people, individuals, and probably even use a plurality of culture. To what extent this is to be understood as being against democracy or in harmony with democracy, is the question that I hope we will hear some thoughts about.

Of course, there are many questions that are being asked in reality or by people who are really bothered by these questions. For instance, is democracy a part of culture? Is culture something that is, in itself, already positive? We say culture, and ask, is this a posi-

tive thing? Or do we need a qualifier, such as this culture or that culture?

Culture, of course, also comes through the times in various additions. It is folklore, but it is also modern art. It is thought, political belief and actions, and definitely religion. All that is culture, and there is culture that is high and low. Some societies say that this is not true anymore and that there is a merge of low and high culture. There is the popular culture; and here I come to the question, is popular and mass culture really enhancing democracy, or is it, in fact, just bringing the meaning that we find and look for in culture, closer to the surface? As Umberto Eco says, "I cannot really make a decision whether popular and mass culture helped culture spread among more people, or whether it simply produced less meaning" – meaning it got closer to the surface – and symbols became nothing more than images.

I am happy that we have all gathered around and found our seats, and I am very happy to introduce, as the keynote speaker, a French philosopher who is considered to be a member of the French "New Philosophers." André Glucksmann is someone who is not only thinking about the world, but suggesting actions that should come out from the pursuit of thought. And therefore, it is not surprising that he has written books on every sort of political and social upheaval in modern history, be it '68 in Czechoslovakia, or 9/11 in the United States, or anything that has followed after that. Let me give the floor to André Glucksmann.

André Glucksmann: Thank you. What I am speaking about is a very hot issue because ever since the fall of the Berlin Wall, we have had walls both in Europe and elsewhere, and there are two voices, and two ways. One, which was taken by the former Czechoslovakia. It seems there was a certain opposition here between Czech and Slovak cultures, at least people thought so, and the road of democracy, implemented by President Havel, was a peaceful road, which some people didn't like. But in the end it turned out to be useful. And then we had the Milosevic road – one of massacres and wars, which took ten years in the south of Europe. So, it is a burning and topical issue because today we live in this great moment of time when Russia, for the first time in 30 years, crossed internationally recognized borders and occupied two Georgian provinces. I use the word "occupied" because it is evident that South Ossetia and Abkhazia are a part of the ancient Russian Empire. Russia claims to follows the road of autodetermination of nations, and it calls for a referendum in these two

regions. For the referendum to be fair, it would be necessary to get the votes of one half of the population of the two provinces that were evacuated by Russians in the last two decades. So, what is happening today is the legitimization and purification of an ethnic group which came to Georgia in the last two decades.

This is a very topical issue, so my answer is that there are two possible roads, that of Václav Havel and that of Milosevic. And then there is one which is defined as the democratic road. What then, is democracy? Democracy is something we have spoken about quite a lot today. It is not a perfect state of affairs. It involves free elections, respect for minorities, freedom of expression, but it is evident that there is no such thing as a perfect democracy. This morning we heard that the United States is not a democracy, because it has Guantanamo. But the democracy there is not perfect and there are other democracies which have "Guantanamos" and which do a lot of other bad things. I am a Frenchman, so of course, I can mention another country; our war in Algiers was terrible and shameful, but we could protest against the war. In the USA, the democratic people can protest against Guantanamo. My friend, Anna Politkovskaya, told me that she was one of those who opened their mouths and protested against Putin. The fact that she was murdered led to a greater silence of the media and therefore they started writing less about the massacres in Chechnya.

So, there is a difference between countries that are more or less democratic, or imperfect democracies, and those that are not democratic. It is not the state of democracy, but rather the question of method. More specifically the method of testing, of trying to understand the other without war. A method is something that can always be improved, and we do not understand a democracy if we focus only on institutions. Democracy, first of all, is a method of how to avoid what we call a non-democracy, which in the end is a rather terrible thing, if we can imagine such things as the end of the world or the end of the state, depending on when this happens. There is one axiom, and I quote Shalamov, a great Russian writer, who said that in the end, totalitarianism, especially the one in Russia which he experienced for 15 years in the gulag, is a cocktail of what is at the top; the cream and the dregs of society. If you read about Stalin's youth, you will read about a great intellectual, but at the same time, about someone who was a bandit, a gangster, and a cynic. So, I think it is the joining of these two spheres, which I call nihilism, and which is never ashamed of what it does. And that is the secret of the opposite

of democracy, a mix of radical anarchism and total despotism, as Aeschylos says.

When the European Union was first formed by the first six states, what was the foundation? They said, we do not want to be pushed into a new war, and we don't want a new Hitler to emerge. They said, we want to watch out for nationalism and fascism. They also said, we do not want communism. The European Union was based on a "no" to Stalin. And third, they said, we will not be members of the European Union until we put an end to colonial wars. De Gaulle finished his colonial war to be able to play his cards in the European Community. So, Europe was not built as a place where people have the same policy, religion, and political beliefs. It didn't have the same values, but it did have common anti-values – against fascism, against colonialism, against communism.

Of course, this has often been forgotten in Europe. European democracy experienced a Velvet Revolution – that is the type of revolution based on anti-values, defining itself as something which is against another thing; such as against Stalinist values. So, it is the capacity and ability to respond, and to react to the challenges that threaten a democratic society. Therefore, democratic values are defined by anti-values showing dangers which might kill us all.

Secondly, culture. Generally speaking, when we talk about culture, we often see the world as closed, what Germans called Gemeinschaft. This is something that dates back to the 18th century when each nation believed itself to be able to maintain its culture. When we discuss these things with experts on ethnology these people will tell you that culture is something different, something which in English we might call a way of life, that will unite the society, and this way of life is not compact. For example, a tribe somewhere in the Amazon will sacrifice the lives of the members of their tribe, and believe that by doing this, they will prevent any explosions. So, as Aristotle used to say, there is a certain practice that defines us, in the sense of our way of life. But this way of life is not a closed life, because in itself it is fragmented. It would be wrong to believe that culture is a closed system or a closed world. Because if that was the case, there would be no European culture, because European culture has never been sitting around one table offering common values. In Greece, for example, there were 180 constitutions, one for each *polis*. And yet, all these cities were a part of the same civilizations, pursuing different cultures. Sometimes they did manage to understand each other and sometimes they fought each other.

In other words, cultures do not exist as closed systems, closed worlds, and never did exist this way. Today, on the contrary, we see attempts at closing cultures and translating them into weapons. For example, somebody would say; as a Serbian, I have the right to kill the Bosnians or the Croats, because the Croats used to side with the Nazis or the fascists, or simply because sometime in the 14th or 15th century, there were Turkish troops killing Serbians – which is not exactly true, but still, this argument has been put forth. In other words, we have seen these attempts at producing these closed cultures, such as a Serbian culture. But this is not the case and has never been the case until European Romanticism started producing these closed cultures (Gemeinschaft versus Gesellschaft).

Now, the question is, why are we talking about these things today? Let us look at what we have heard about China a couple of minutes ago. China, at the beginning of the 20th century, was deprived of its roots. There was a revolutionary move where millions and millions of people sacrificed their lives. The roots had been uprooted, and the first stage of globalization occurred at that time. And it is this uprootedness which is so typical of these stages. One Frenchman said here this morning that it is perfectly all right to have a swimming pool for women only, as used to be the case in history. Perhaps there was more dignity in the past. But this no longer makes any sense. Even in Afghanistan, women can watch films made in Bollywood, sometimes made in Hollywood, and in these films, they see female characters who are not mothers or daughters as they used to know them in Afghanistan, and they take one of the two approaches towards these women: either they are tolerant enough, which is democratic, if you will, or they simply reject these women and their new roles. So the characteristic of this is that in the latter case they would always put them under a scarf. In Afghanistan, this was not a tradition, women used to wear scarves or veils, but it was not compulsory. It became compulsory in response against globalization of thoughts, images, films – not just work.

China is an example of things happening in the whole world by three stages. First, uprooting, in other words a very terrible stage. Then comes the second stage, which is something that China is going through today – that is the stage of modernization. And the third stage, which is democracy. Why democracy? Because without democracy, modernity will lead to disasters, which it has done in the past. The whole world, especially in the West, has forgotten or has failed to notice that one of the points that brought the Soviet Union to its end was one small thing that most journalists in the West failed

to notice: what I have in mind is the explosion of the nuclear power plant in Chernobyl. Why? Not because this was a nuclear power plant, but because at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, there was virtually nobody in that plant who would have been able to manage that situation. There were some peoplesuch as bureaucrats on the spot, but they were incompetent, and in the end, they were virtually unable to prevent what happened.

Subsequently, a way to manage new technologies is through democracy. We have seen a number of scandals happening because democracy has not been in place, be it different scandals such as the milk in China, various diseases, etc. This absence of criticism, free speech, and human rights is therefore very serious and is a catastrophe for any modern nation. What I am trying to say is that democracy does not mean that the West is superior to the rest of the world. Culture, and this is my second thought, is not a small bubble where we can breathe our traditions, our air, and at the same time, refuse to breathe anybody else's air. Thirdly, any relation between two entities in this sort of globalization must be seen as cultures meeting, accepting each other, or fighting one another. We also have democracy that is trying to come to grips with all the dangers of the world today, and in particular those that are due to the absence of democracy and the presence of technologies. Thank you.

Chairman: Thank you. I think that the idea was to pursue the openness, even in the understanding of democracy and cultures. It is interesting that my students now, when I mention Europe, often say: "Europe is what will be and not what it has been" – which is an optimistic vision of the future, of the whole continent and beyond that. Maybe, we will finally get to a definition and understanding of Europe that will surpass those three negative conditions that really gave birth to the European Union and the integration of the continent into a new unit, and possibly even a federation.

It is also interesting that states and regimes which pretend to be people's regimes and to be democratic, need to put it in their name. Have you noticed? There were two Germanys; one was democratic, but only the non-democratic one had to call itself "democratic." We have two Koreas, etc. We have the People's Republic, but it is not for the people. We had, after 1968, a socialist Czechoslovakia, where even the regime realized that it was not yet socialist, and therefore, the country was called a "socialist republic," but at the same time, the official decree of this regime was realistic socialism, and not the utopian one we would reach one day. So I think that if you are not really

sincere about it, you have to cover your lie with the label that you use. Adam Michnik knows perfectly well what I am talking about. Adam, the floor is yours.

Adam Michnik: I would like to focus on two aspects also mentioned by André Glucksmann. The first was the theme of Russia. I fully agree with what André said, that as far as Russia is concerned, what happened in the Caucasus recently means that we ought to change our thinking about Russia. Over the last 20 years, we thought that Russia was indirectly, but more or less, going in the right direction, whereas today, Russia has embarked on a train going in the wrong direction.

Looking at the history of Russia, I could find a lot of parallels. When Russia re-formed in the mid-19th century after the Crimea War, Alexander Gerzen was the star intellectual in those days. He published a magazine which was a kind of focus point for all Russian intellectuals. In 1863, when the so-called January Uprising started in Poland, Alexander Gerzen stood on the side of the Polish rebels and said that the Poles have the right to have their own country. And the fact that Russia is an imperial state rids Russia of its own internal freedom. That was the end of the authority of Alexander Gerzen with the Russian elite. At that moment, rule over the soul of Russia was taken over by somebody who was a spokesman of the large, imperialist, nationalist, liberal, aggressive, and anti-Polish trend. It seems that today we are witnessing a new return to old Russian stances. After watching Russian TV and reading the Russian papers after the intervention in Georgia, I must say that the language of the Russian media was the same as that which was used 40 years ago after the occupation of Czechoslovakia – a terrible language.

When Sergey Lavrov visited Poland, we had a Polish–Russian forum, and I listened to Russian intellectuals and politicians. These people were my friends and just two or three years earlier, we had spoken the same language. These were the people with whom I may have drank a barrel of vodka over the years. Then all of a sudden, I had the feeling that I was speaking with somebody else who was given a strong injection of drugs that made them speak a new, unacceptable language. Where does this come from? This is the second aspect that André spoke about. Anton Chekhov always said at the address of Russian literature, patriotism is the last asylum for rogues. Today, when we see the growth of patriotic stances in this empire, we may start to believe that besides the authentic stances, we also have a masquerade with masks worn by rogues. The question is whether modernism really leads inevitably to democracy or not. I would wish

it to be so, but I do not think so. If we look at the last 100 years or so this might have been the case, but my boss, Antoni Słonimski, a great Polish writer, said that this need not be the case.

Today, we are standing at a crossroads. This is evident in young, new, post-communist, post-Soviet democracies. When I look at the models of power that have emerged here, I see that we have a very interesting choice. On one hand, we have something that could be called "Putinism", and on the other hand, we have "Berlusconism". Between Putinism and Berlusconism lies the fate of democracy in our region. Putin's way is a power which preserves the principles of a democratic state, yet without the essence of democracy. It is the liquidation and marginalization of opposition, the abolition of free media, liquidation of independent justice, and a specific role of the policing departments, which are a tool of the ruling elite. Putinism can be Russian or anti-Russian, or post-communist and post-anti-communist. It can bear the banner of the left, but also the banner of the right. It is a masquerade.

The important thing is the style of power and its essence. For two years I have been observing in my country the governments of a very exotic coalition, composed of three formations: the post-Solidarity one, the post-communist one, and the post-fascist one. This coalition was actually a Polish variant of Putinism. But Putin did not invent Putinism, it was invented by Alexander Lukashenko. Putin is only an epigone of Lukashenko. What I am trying to say is that I am not at all convinced that at this historical moment, the normal consequence would be a wave of democracy.

What about Berlusconism? That is the concentration of the political power of the capital and the media – that has no ideology. The party is called "Forward Italy", and its program promises people that they are going to be young, rich, and healthy if they do certain things. The most dangerous thing is the permanent process of the infantilization of public opinion. Umberto Eco said this in a very accurate way. He said it seems that what we must reflect on is not that the government is bad.

When I read Russian analysts, I know that the post-Bolshevist system degraded society in a dramatic way. It degraded the foundations of power. Bad power and bad governments are the consequence of a bad social foundation. This has been destroyed but it is a society with a lack of confidence and much fear. In such circumstances, it is easier to find a leader who will say, "I will provide security." But we have to beware of such leaders and such development. It is not a purely Russian disease. Thank you.

Chairman: Thank you, Adam, for the clear message that you always have. Let me just add to the point regarding language that you mentioned. Last week, I was in the Strasbourg Council of Europe, in the Hemicycle, where the Russian and Georgian representatives had a chance to speak. The head of the Russian delegation told the world that they made peace, and saved the world from a third world war in Georgia. This is exactly what we were told in 1968; that they saved our socialism for us. Let me now pass the word to Robin Christopher, Secretary General of the Global Leadership Foundation from the United Kingdom. If we had a genuine philosopher, a genuine journalist and dissident, now here we have here a genuine diplomat. I don't think there is a part of the world where Mr. Christopher has not worked as a diplomat. Let us hear the diplomatic word from Oxford and the United Kingdom.

Robin Christopher: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Perhaps I could just explain: the Global Leadership Foundation is a group of former world leaders who work on governance and conflict issues in troubled countries and countries in transition. It is chaired by F.W. de Klerk, Nobel laureate and former president of South Africa.

Almost exactly to the day, ten years ago I was taking part in a seminar like this in Jakarta, Indonesia, 1998. The background was financial chaos. Banks were crashing, the currency was on the skids, and we were entering the last few months of Suharto's rule. There was a story going around town that I would like to share with you, because I think it has relevance to the situation we are in today. The story was that God called a summit meeting of the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of China, and president Suharto of Indonesia. God said: gentlemen, the world is going to end in three days, and you have to go home and tell your people. So, Bill Clinton went back to the USA, went on television, and said: fellow Americans, I have good news and I have bad news. The good news is that I saw God, and God said, "God bless America"; and the bad news is the world is going to end in three days. The Prime Minister of China went back to Beijing, went on national television, and said: comrades, I am afraid it is all bad news. First of all, God exists, and secondly, the world is going to end in three days. President Suharto came home, went on television, and addressed the nation and said: my children, it is all good news. First of all, God summoned a meeting of the three most important people in the world and he included me; and secondly, the financial crisis will be over in three days. Well,

the tectonic plates that support our international economic order are again on the move.

But I mentioned that for another reason: because a fellow participant in that seminar was Professor Samuel Huntington. He was asked what changed in 1989? He said that what changed were the fundamental identity questions. Before 1989, the key identity question was, which side are you on? After 1989 and after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the fundamental identity question became, who are you? That was what changed, he said. Who are you is a much more complicated issue. It is not a simple choice, like which side you are on. The question of identity deals with culture, ethnicity, language, caste, beliefs, and religion. We have entered the phase of what could be called "identity politics".

Since that time, as a result of that change, something like 25 new countries have come into being and have joined the United Nations. This is the manifestation of a cultural identity which becomes political and national identity. But there are some countries, most notably and most currently, Kosovo, which is independent but has not joined the United Nations simply because other countries that also have diverse populations are not prepared to risk recognizing its independence, fearing the prospective effect on their own minority communities. These countries, of course, include Spain and Canada – big, serious countries. What this amounts to is that nationality is the source of identity, but the state is the source of governance, and therefore the whole concept of the nation's state has been reopened for the first time since Woodrow Wilson spoke about self-determination for nations.

How can the nation-state today embrace and command the loyalty of so many nationalities, cultural identities, and other identities? How can national identities be made compatible with democratic stability? That is the question we are looking at. One solution is to face up to reality, and that is precisely what has happened here in the former Czechoslovakia, when they faced up to the reality, and peacefully managed a separation. I understand from conversations that I have had that the relations between the people of the Czech Republic and the people of Slovakia are better now than they ever were when it was a single state. I am sure opinions vary on that, but I have certainly heard that expressed. But that cannot be done everywhere because democracy has much to offer to facilitate the incorporation of diversity.

There are two parts to democracy. First, there are elections, and second, there is what happens afterwards – the process of govern-

ance, whether there is an independent judiciary, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, human rights, the whole business of democratic participation. We all know that elections can produce a tyrannical government. We also know the potential consequences in the wrong circumstances of majority rule so straight majority rule is not the answer for diverse societies. The answer for the incorporation of diversity in democratic institutions is power sharing.

Let us look at representation for a moment. There are many different forms of representation within the state. One approach is federalism. That works when the people of a specific national identity and minority are located in one particular area of the country, and there can be many. One of the extraordinary things about India, for example, is that it combines a majority rule – a constitution based on the Westminster model – with a federal system of devolution, giving state government of very different hues, very different cultures, and indeed, different languages, sufficient autonomy for the whole show to stay together. And it has stayed together for half a century as a democracy of huge diversity. But individual cultural identities don't necessarily all live together. So then you come to the concept of what is known as a personal federalism, where you have minorities scattered around the country, who come together and unite through institutions, do not threaten the state, but do preserve their own rights. It raises a lot of questions and it is very complicated. It raises the issue of single-faith schools, for example. An additional issue is whether single-faith schools should have public subsidies. It also raises the issues of cultural social practice; for example, bigamy, child marriages, female circumcision, etc.

The other forms in which democracy can vary to accommodate diversity are through various means of proportional representation, and these are huge. Every government is basically a coalition which either comes together before it goes to the polls, to the voters, and lays out its store under a very broad umbrella, or it is made after the elections, through a lot of individual political parties. Proportional representation increases the number of political parties. It is better at representation, but it means that coalitions can only be made in smoke-filled rooms after the vote, and very often, of necessity. One of the most extreme parties has the veto on whether or not government is possible. That is not desirable and it can exacerbate ethnic and other tensions within the community. But there are other kinds, such as you have in Finland, where the voter has a choice between two different members of the same political party. In Mauritius the best losers get seats in parliament to compensate for the ethnic diversity. There

are many ways of doing it and so democracy is not a simple animal. But whatever the system, proportional representation cannot ensure that minorities actually have a say in government and so you have to share power.

The nation state and self-determination by the nation state have become obstacles to diversity in democracy. One of the most effective experiments to get out of this has in fact been the European Union, which loosens the role and importance of the sovereign nation state, and allows individual states to break away, in the knowledge that the greater, looser bonding of the European Union continues to hold the ring. So I conclude with two points: first of all, if a variety of political, cultural identities are to be compatible with democracy, first, political self-determination must be re-defined to transcend the nation state; and secondly, do not underestimate the importance and the variety of political institutions to make democracy and diversity compatible. Thank you.

Chairman: Thank you very much. The current time which some people call post-modern, does not really have much space for heroes. But I believe that we have one here today and that is Władysław Bartoszewski, historian, journalist, activist, a victim of the two evils of the 20th century – that is Nazism and communism – but also a very active resistant to those two evils. He served twice as Minister of Foreign Affairs for his country. He is a voice that I always listen to with great respect, and I am sure I am not the only one, because we know that we will get the word of wisdom. Professor Bartoszewski.

Władysław Bartoszewski: Thank you very much. As for wisdom, well, I don't think I am going to say anything too wise, because I had to cut my contribution in half. I had to do that because time is short, and yet, I wanted to comment on what Mr. Gluckmann said. Adam Michnik did not say a single sentence with which I would disagree. We are a different generation, we had a different upbringing, but today, we look at the current situation in a very similar way. That is why I can fully undersign what Adam said. And now, my own contribution on multi-culturalism and democracy – the easy/uneasy relationship.

An inseparable part of the functioning of democracy is the will to achieve common understanding – that means a readiness for dialogue between proponents of different and sometimes contradictory views. In a society which is diverse, it means that such a society needs to be open to the dialogue of cultures. The multi-culturalism which we encounter in today's societies brings certain specific problems.

They are similar to the challenges faced by any democratic system, and I would like to list some of them.

The first is the challenge of maximum participation. Max Frisch, a Swiss writer who rejected all manifestations of totalitarianism, defined democracy as interfering in one's own matters. It is a very simple definition and yet a very clever one, however unfortunately, it is not always respected by the stakeholders themselves, i.e. by the citizens. The essence of democracy is active participation, and this of course, applies also to multi-culturalism. Participation in the policy of one's own country gives an opportunity to implement and publish one's own aims, but it also strengthens the feeling of inclusion, and the possibility to escape cultural ghettos. To close oneself in one's own culture is a great threat to society as a whole. The passivity of citizens is a great threat. The root of it is political ignorance, lack of interest, and lack of faith in the purposefulness of personal commitment. So, democracy is linked to the obligation to participate.

The development of civic society – Jeffrey Stout, a Princeton professor who wrote on ethical dialogue in many societies, presented his vision of democracy by saying, "In the interest of the ruling elite, it is that we believe that democratic self-organization is a hopeless enterprise; in the interest of the society, it is that organization which gives hope." Inadequate commitment in one's own matters, that I have already mentioned, is often caused by the inadequate feeling of the citizen's responsibility, inadequate knowledge of one's own rights, and inadequate trust in social organization. This is often evident at the lower levels of even stable societies with a long tradition, but it is sometimes also present in minorities. The essence of democracy in both uniform and multi-cultural societies is the development of an awareness of community, of adequate conditions for the functioning of society, and this applies even to small communities.

This is linked to the third challenge, the protection of minority rights. The democratic system is not based only on the implementation of the will of the majority, but also by the awareness of commitments to those who do not have the power to promote their own interests on the social scene. This was described by a Polish philosopher, Leszek Kolakowski, who said, if "51 percent of the society wants to kill the remaining 49 percent, then I am not a democrat." An analogical view was presented by an American economist, who was of Jewish descent, Murray Rothbard, whose family originally came from Poland. He said that, "a crime is a crime, irrespective of how many people agree with such a crime." There is nothing sacred about

the concept of majority. A lynching mob usually acts in its own territory.

Another challenge to democracy is accountability, and this is linked with the necessity to refer to the basic values that define the relations between people. Pope John Paul II said that, "democracy without values will soon change into an open or hidden totalitarianism." Therefore, the next challenge to democracy refers to the relationship between democracy and multiculturalism. It is the necessity to deal with conflicts, to make them a public theme, and to deal with them through a public dialogue. Democracy is a tool which streamlines conflicts between people, and allows their solution without the use of violence or force. There are conflicts in any group and any society in link with multi-culturalism. These conflicts may lead to dramatic consequences, like the war in former Yugoslavia.

Ladies and gentlemen, I wanted to summarize and emphasize that a society which wants to define itself as democratic must function in conditions governed by dialogue, mutual trust of the citizens, and with the awareness of its own commitments, and of its active role in society. A multi-cultural society must be sensitive to such commitments in a special way. They are actually the same kind of challenges that are being faced by traditional societies. Multi-culturalism and democracy are not opposites; both these notions require the same amount of effort and commitment if they are to become the foundation of relations between people. I would like to quote Heinz Galinski in the end, former president of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, and a former Auschwitz prisoner. He said something which I think is very wise: "Democracy cannot be forced on any society. It is not a gift which you can own once and for all. Every day, you have to fight for democracy and defend it."

Chairman: Mr. Bartoszewski, even a half of your paper is a great deal of wisdom, as we can see. We still have three panelists and, of course, we would like to hear from them. So I will give the floor to the next one, Mr. Frederik Chien, Chairman of the Cathay Charity Foundation; he was Minister of Foreign Affairs for the province of Taiwan, and I think that he too is a representative of a great deal of, let's say, wise thinking in the modern times and in the times to come. He is advising his people and advising the world how to prepare for the fate of his people. Mr. Chien.

Frederik Chien: Thank you, Mr. Chairman; I will be very brief. The plurality of cultures in a country refers to the fact that the country is

composed of people of different ethnic origins, languages, and religions. It is often termed "multi-culturalism". For the sake of time, I shall confine my remarks only to the relationship between multi-culturalism and democracy in the countries of Asia.

In Asia, two countries stand out in insisting on the purity of their societies in terms of their population: Japan and the Republic of Korea. The lack of diversity in culture has not impaired their practice of democracy. China, the largest country in Asia, has many different cultures over its vast territory. Other than Tibet and the Muslims, living in the northeast, multi-culturalism has not caused serious political problems thus far. The lack of democracy in China is due mainly to the political ideology of the leadership, however, as Mr. Etzler said in his remarks during the session on democracy vs. modernity, he said that the everyday people in China have no sense of democracy.

Our keynote speaker, Mr. André Glucksmann, was more optimistic. He believed that after modernization, democracy is bound to follow. Then in India, another large country, and culturally diversified, democracy has been moving on steadily and smoothly. In Southeast Asia, countries like Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand, multi-culturalism exists, and they enjoy a relatively democratic system of government with occasional aberrations due to social and racial tensions. Further south, in the Pacific nations of Australia and New Zealand, the two countries populated mainly by old and new immigrants, democracy is thriving, thanks to the leaders' compassionate attitude towards the early settlers. And then there is Singapore – a very unique case where different cultures live peacefully and most productively. Minister Mentor Lee Kuan Yew, in an interview about five years ago, said gingerly that he did not consider Singapore a democracy in the British sense of the word, because of the cultural diversity in the island state, the only way to rule is by meritocracy. As you can see, we cannot find a formula, whether a plurality of cultures would be easy for democracy to develop. It varies from country to country.

By way of conclusion, I would say that democracy, when promoted in its genuine form, tends to lead to the realization of higher and more complex levels of human development, and a greater level of mental health among a larger number of persons from diverse backgrounds. Thank you.

Chairman: Thank you very much, Mr. Chien. The next speaker is Anastasia Crickley. She is the chairperson of the National Consulta-

tive Committee on Racism and Inter-Culturalism, and head of the Department of Applied Social Studies at the National University of Ireland, Maynooth. As I said to Anastasia, "being Irish, you can be very eloquent, which means you can say a few words, be very economical like Samuel Beckett, or use many words, like James Joyce – practically anything you want to say." Anastasia, you can prove that as well. The floor is yours.

Anastasia Crickley: Thank you very much. I took that to mean not to talk too much, actually. Speaking from a small country at the edge of Europe, and at the edge of this panel, there are two things I would like to say for my own country. Firstly, when you think of the plurality of cultures in Ireland, you probably think of the north and the south of my country. Not so – in my view, the mistake we have made for the last two hundred years is to consider the plurality of cultures as something that has only got to do with the north and the south. In fact, there are many cultures in Ireland. And secondly, to acknowledge that the only change that has taken place has been a number of immigrants coming to our country within the last decade is an error. In fact, as the professor pointed out in the start of the afternoon, change has been taking place all the time.

From the work of the European Union's Fundamental Rights Agency, which I currently have the honor to chair, I am very clear that minorities and minority cultures experience discrimination in very concrete areas, in all of the democracies that are part of the EU, whether we talk about housing, education, employment, or experiences of hate crime. Minorities, minority cultures, minority ethnic groups and members of minority religions experience discrimination. But I am also clear that in responding to that discrimination, one size does not fit all. And gentlemen, approximately 50 percent of the world's population are women; responses and initiatives, appropriate and sociable for one 50 percent are not always fully appropriate and suitable for the other 50 percent. Of course, not all women are the same. We have different ages, different ways of expressing our sexuality. There is a wide variety of differences between us, and all of these things need to be taken on board.

In our work, we are also clear that the best solutions, as those that have been pointed out already, are those that involve the people. It is not just about representation, if I may respectfully say so to all of you very eminent politicians, it is also about fuller participation in governance for all members of civil society. This is a challenge and it goes beyond just thinking a little bit around the edges, to an-

other form of reorganization of our societies. It also means, in terms of looking toward what I would call an intercultural future, not a multicultural reality. We are multicultural societies and we have multicultural regions. We are a multicultural world. We need to struggle to create the conditions for real intercultural participation and dialogue. By that, I don't mean that the most powerful or dominant culture in any region or any state gets to control all of the others. By that I mean a real dialogue and engagement that acknowledges, as a starting point, the power differential within and between cultures.

From my work with the OSCE, I am also conscious of some worrying trends which aren't really new to any of you in this room. Firstly, in both the EU and the OSCE regions, it is very clear that a lot of the conventions and the legislation, and the good intentions that have signified discussions on addressing discrimination and promoting inter-culturalism, fall badly short when you look at the way they are implemented. They fall even further short if you look at their impact on the people they were designed to support. So, I believe it is very important for us to get beyond talking to doing, and to go beyond doing to make sure that the people for whom the deeds were intended get something from them. Because I think there is one very worrying trend in some of the states we are talking about, where legislation that has been put in place to address discrimination and promote the so-called plurality of cultures is actually turned on its head and used in a way that significantly discriminates and generates intolerance towards those very minorities.

Lastly, I am very concerned about something that has been termed "the democratization of discrimination" towards particular groups. If you take Europe for example, discrimination towards Roma, Sinti, and Travellers, is somewhat democratized because it is seen as their own fault, and it's seen as justified. I believe that this invidious trend which has been spoken of extensively by Doudou Diène, the Special Rapporteur on Racism of the United Nations, needs to be named and needs to be addressed. There is no point in naming and blaming one state over another, but it is a feature throughout a number of them.

In terms of challenges – and I think we are even witnessing it in some of our discussions here today – we have some confusion between cultural practice and cultural rights. As a woman, I am very clear that many of the practices which put boundaries around our development as women are ones that would have made sure neither I, nor many of the rest of you who are here today, had the opportunity to be here today, had they continued. And I do believe in this

year, the 60th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it is essential for us to acknowledge cultural rights, to acknowledge women's rights, and to express ourselves how we want to. Sometimes in these current discussions about the veil, I am reminded of the Catholic nuns from my childhood who wore clothes, which were quite different from the sort of clothes that I wear, and of the rights of women who want to wear the sort of clothes that they wish to, provided that is their decision. But it is our need to distinguish between cultural practice and cultural rights.

Finally, in returning to the title of our discussion – plurality of cultures and democracy, and whether they have an easy or uneasy relationship, I am not convinced this should be totally easy. I think that sort of ease could lead to a degree of complacency. We don't need parallel cultures, though; and while the choices we have at the moment are stark, I think they could be put together in terms of the "three R's." First of all, reorganization; and by the look of things, the global markets are telling us we are going to have to reorganize anyway. Secondly, redistribution; because I believe there is no point in talking about equality for different groups if we don't look to the differences between them, to the fact that some people are poor and some are rich. And thirdly, recognition; regarding of the rights of people to their own culture and identity, to their own expression of their religion and beliefs in ways that do not deny the humanity of others. Thank you very much.

Chairman: Thank you. Jeffrey Gedmin, Director of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. You have the floor, please.

Jeffrey Gedmin: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Having heard Mr. Christopher offer you a bit earlier his story about a conversation with God – forgive me, but I can't resist my own – and that is a story of a young Californian who was engaged in a conversation with God, during which God asked him to make a wish and tell him what he wanted more than anything else on the planet. This young man from California said, "Dear God, more than anything on this entire Earth, my passion is motorcycles, particularly Harley Davidsons. Would you please build a highway connecting California to Hawaii? Nothing would be nearer or dearer to my heart." God paused and said, "But what of all the challenges of the world, the yearning for peace and social equality, and justice, there must be something deeper or more profound that you would like than a highway for riding your motorcycle to Hawaii." So, this young gentleman thought for a moment

and then said, "Yes, dear God, there is something. It seems to me since the beginning of humankind, it's been a central and profound issue that we men can never understand women. And that seems to me bigger and could be a deeper question that you could shed light on, and perhaps even a problem you could solve, for the rest of humankind." And God paused, a long pause this time, and said, "My dear son, how many lanes do you want your highway to be?"

I suppose that if you're talking about the relationship that we Americans have with the subject of democracy, the support of democracy, promotion of democracy, and understanding how culture matters, I suppose that even for our nearest and dearest allies, our missionary zeal is only matched by our impatience, our naiveté, our inconsistency, and our double standards. I think if you posed the question to me, Mr. Chairman, of the panel – Plurality of Cultures and Democracy: Uneasy or Easy Relationship? – If I think about the organization I work for – Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty – the answer is YES. That is to say, I work for a company whose employees differ or disagree on virtually everything you can imagine, because our colleagues come from Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, Georgia, Central Asia, Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan. Because these colleagues are Christian and Muslim, religious and secular, they come from vastly different generational experiences, some have been out of their country for decades, and some have only come out weeks ago. If I even thought of one particular service, like our Iranian service, we have Persians and Azeris, we have monarchists and left-wing social democrats, we have, dare I even say, pro-Americans and anti-Americans. They differ on virtually everything under the sun but one thing: with all this diversity and all this plurality of culture, they all, to a man and woman, believe in a decent and accountable government, they all believe in political pluralism and tolerance, and they all believe in human rights and rule of law.

It is worthy of noting, Mr. Chairman, that you made a very important point earlier when you noted that even the dictatorships of the world insist on calling themselves democracies. It has been going on for decades. So strong and powerful is the currency of freedom and democracy, so universal is the idea of freedom that even the dictators must commandeer that language, and call themselves republics or democracies, or, as you said, people's republics and people's democracies.

Now, quite specifically, to the question "does culture matter"? When we were talking about these things, we have heard from a distinguished group of people today that it does, and we've heard a list

of reasons why. For us Americans, recently and currently, poignantly and painfully, we have experienced the power of culture in a country like Iraq – where I believe a strong measure of idealism and ability, we have confronted with allies – a country that has an endless culture; the culture of blood debt, the culture of honor killings, the culture of divisions between Shi'a and Sunni, the culture of nationalism, tribalism, and illiberalism. But even still, two points: despite all these things, we thrive on endless accounts, and examples of Iraqis who still, in this context, and even with the challenges of terrible violence, tell us and practice that they want civil society, and that they want a more liberal, tolerant, and pluralistic order. Perhaps even more encouraging is that history has something to tell us about this too. Time and again in history, the cultural pessimists on democracy have been wrong. They existed in Europe and the United States in the Second World War, arguing that Germany could not be a real democracy – if you understood the German genetic makeup, history, and culture. We had top experts in the United States who argued precisely the same thing about Japan. Our leading expert at the end of World War II, a former ambassador to Tokyo, the State Department's leading scholar, Joseph Grew, argued that after the War, anybody who thought that democracy was possible in Japan didn't understand Japanese history or culture, and that at best one could hope for was some timid, tepid form of constitutional monarchy. The cultural pessimists were also wrong about Portugal in the 1970's, they were wrong about South Korea and Taiwan in East Asia, what they had to say about Africa was laid to rest over Botswana, and in Latin America the debate was laid to rest over what transpired in Costa Rica.

Where does this lead us, Mr. Chairman? Two concluding thoughts. One is that to be certain, we need a deeper conversation to which this panel contributes today, of the importance of culture in all its meanings and forms, as a facilitator and sometimes an obstacle to democratic development. Second, Mr. Chairman, I think we need, urgently if I may say – as an American who just came back from Washington last week – a parallel conversation about how we in Western countries, from the Czech Republic to Germany, France, and the United States, can assist and support nascent democratic movements in a time when concentration will surely lie elsewhere. I don't know if any of you have seen this American Hollywood film called *Charlie Wilson's War*, where at the end, Charlie Wilson talks about Afghanistan, and makes the note to a small group of congressmen – in the early 1980's – that to get this right, it takes time, it takes money, and it takes real, meaningful investment. I fear that even with

the best of intentions, that money, and that real, meaningful investment will dry up.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, all this that I've talked about is about Americans, Europeans, outsiders, and how we observe these things. Quite needless to say, we are but a small piece, and a humble piece. I have a Belarusian colleague who told me the following story this morning about someone going to Minsk, carrying three big bags of democratic literature, microphones, and equipment – most obviously dedicated to the civil society movement. The human rights activists and advocates were caught and stopped when passing through customs. The strict, stern, official Belarussian customs officer glaring and ready to make the arrest, looking at all the paraphernalia and legal materials, "You sir, have three bottles of wine; you are only allowed two." A long story made short: if one thing is universal, that is freedom as a value which we care about, debate, and discuss here today, I think we should always remember and take solace in the other universal value; unshakeable and unchangeable democracies in all their forms, no matter the culture, are always inherently fragile and weak, always have a shelf life, and always have an expiration date. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman: Thank you very much, Mr. Gedmin. It was good to hear the American voice to round it up. Now of course, we realize that we have only started to nibble on that big subject, and I think that before we thank the panel, we would probably suggest to the organizers for next year to order days that have 30 hours instead of 24. Thank you very much, and thanks to all the panelists for the discussion. And I will give the microphone over to Mr. Mike Moore.

Mike Moore: Thank you. It is an impossible task to provide a summary of today, particularly if you weren't at all the sessions, because they were held parallel. But on behalf of everyone, I would like to thank Forum 2000, our president and the staff for providing such a thought-provoking program.

There are some things we can claim to agree on: that we do seek a tolerant society, and a precondition for a tolerant society is the freedom of religion. But just as important perhaps is freedom from religion. A tolerant, open society is not a society without values, standings, or rules. It's these rules of engagement that are most profound and important. I think there is a consensus that democracy as a system, has a certain genius about it in its ability to adapt, its flexibility, and the peaceful transfer of power, and accountability. Karl Popper

taught us that all information is imperfect; thus all our decisions will eventually be flawed.

So we can all agree that we will not be a perfect state, or a state of perfection, but there is of course no rule that we all must agree. Who made that rule? The only rule is that we should be agreeable and treat each other with respect. I won't try to get into the various sessions I was involved in regards to the economy, but perhaps just to say that there was no one near who thought this was going to be a re-run of the Great Depression. In fact, people see that we have learned from the Great Depression. We have institutions like the central banks which are at work and there are very rough agreements – imperfect, slow and clumsy as they are – between governments to learn from this and to do a lot better next time. None of us could give any advice to people on how to invest, and it was rather chilling for some of the students to hear from us that really, we don't know what we're doing, that nobody knows what we're doing, we just keep trying to improve things, trying to learn, and trying to adapt.

Finally, on the issue of culture – I look like a European, but I am not. I am from New Zealand. And so occasionally there are cultural differences and misunderstandings. I'll tell a story. When I became Director General of the World Trade Organization, and went to Geneva, and was asked by a journalist what I wanted for Christmas, I was quite embarrassed when it appeared in the paper that the French ambassador wanted world peace, the American ambassador wanted a 6-percent growth, the British ambassador wanted peace in Ireland, and the New Zealander would be grateful for a bottle of red wine. Thank you very much.

Václav Havel: We are late, and this is proof of the fact that we had a very prolific discussion. I won't take anymore of your time but I will thank you for your participation today in all the individual sessions, and also at this plenary session. I invite you to the following program, and especially to tomorrow's final session. Thank you very much.


OPENNESS
IN THE 21ST
FOR
200
FREDRICK F. CHIEN
MIKE MOORE


AND FUNDAMENTALISM
CENTURY
FORUM 2000 CONFERENCE
OCTOBER 12–14, 2008, PRAGUE
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VÁCLAV HAVEL
ANDRÉ GLUCKSMANN
JOSEF JAŘAB
WŁADYSŁAW BARTOSZEWSKI

PANEL DISCUSSION
Entering an Age of Fear?

Chairman (Jan Urban): Good morning ladies and gentlemen, we are about to start an experiment. This panel discussion is the first half of a twin panel focusing on the issue of fear. It is organized as a joint venture between Forum 2000 and Newsmatic, which is a new news agency working in different parts of the world, and has a location in Prague. Together with Newsmatic, we created the possibility of having an Internet television transmission of both panels for a global university-student audience, through the world universities network. This afternoon some of the panelists will be answering questions that we hope to amass from students all over the world. This is the first time in the history of Forum 2000 that something like this has been done. My name is Jan Urban and I am replacing the honourable Tim Philips who could not come because of an unfortunate family event. We will keep him in our thoughts and prayers and we hope to see him next year. The topic of this panel is the question: "Are we entering the age of fear?" I am sure that from our distinguished panelists you will hear both different and interesting answers. In 1940 Winston Churchill said: "Never in the history of human conflict have so many owed so much to so few." Today many of us are reflecting on a similar statement which may sound like: "Never in the history of humankind have so many feared so few." Be it speculators on financial markets or terrorists, these powerful groups are made up of very few. Is it possible that we lose respect and trust in our governments because of the actions by the very few? This morning, Jose Maria Arqueta and I joked that we never believed that we are so rich that we can spend trillions of dollars on healing the results of financial speculations and disrespect for rules. So my question to the honourable panelists "Are we entering the age of fear"? And I would ask Mr. Ashis Nandy to start.

Ashish Nandy: I have no words of wisdom to offer. I call myself an intellectual street fighter and that's what I am. Personally I have the suspicion that the title of the panel is wrong. We are not entering the age of fear but rather we are re-entering the age of fear when in the late 1940's after World War II, the likes of W. H. Auden and Erich Fromm, one a poet, the other a psychoanalyst, announced the arrival of the age of anxiety and there was a tacit subtext in their writings. They presumed that we had exited the age of fear and entered the age of anxiety. By we, I do not mean me, I mean you, most of you, who belong to the Western world. Now, in the age of anxiety the emotional states associated with anxiety were usually best characterized in the literature and even some of the social science literature of that time.

Themes included emotional states like loneliness, anomie, and alienation; which were lofty emotional states and had very little to do with the kind of primitive fears that other societies at the peripheries and in the backwaters of the world were living with. Fears centering around survival, fears centering around starvation and security life support systems, fears centering around dignity, loss of self and somehow protecting some semblance of continuity itself. These were the loads at the peripheries of the world, not in the center of the world, not in the civilized world; that was the assumption. Now it seems whether history has ended or not á la Fukuyama, the fear has re-entered our lives. This fear, as it seems to me, listening to some of the persons who were participants in this conference, center primarily along two axes. One of those axis I have nothing to say about, namely the financial crisis which is going on. I can hardly spell stock market. But the other one I might have something to say about, namely the terror. Terror has a long history in this part of the world. I suspect terror has been used in all parts of the world throughout the millennium. But terror acquired a new kind of meaning. In the wake of the French revolution Robespierre said that: "Without terror virtue is impotent." In fact he was almost so far as to say that in some contexts terror becomes virtue itself.

Today that comment and that equation have come home to roost. Since Robespierre every theory of progress, every attempt to engineer human beings and produce a new man, every attempt to spell out a revolutionary pathway has somehow made a tacit assumption that terror has a place in human affairs, even in a transitory place. Today that also has come home to roost because those who were offered at the receiving end of the system today want to fight for their concept of justice using the same instruments. If I may add here as a footnote that most of these theories of progress, theories of revolu-

tionary change, and human engineering invariably derive their inspiration from the enlightenment vision. The enlightenment vision has many things to contribute to human civilization. It might be even the last word in human civilized authorities, and we are expected only to write footnotes and comments on it. But the enlightenment vision never had any theory of non-violence, it had a theory of violence, for sure, but not a theory of non-violence. I am afraid that gap, that lack of one or two, has come to pay dividends today. As a result, the only way we can handle this return of fear – in the form of terror, is by turning off the kind of fear that has begun to haunt us again, which haunted perhaps our forefathers at one time, and now all of us, and even promises to haunt the coming generations for some time.

There have been attempts to take shelter in what I would call the happiness industry. At once, the present state of capitalism, has a festive tone to it – how long that tone will survive I don't know – but in that festive tone, unhappiness is almost like a disease you are supposed to get rid of similar to how you get rid of other diseases under the guidance of experts. Since the last seven decades or so a series of books have been published which tell you how to conquer unhappiness – from philosophers like Russell, psychoanalysts like Fromm, and the kind of Eastern wisdom we have now begun to export; like software into the Western world in the form of people and various gurus and maharajas, and so on. In this industry of happiness, to be unhappy or fearful is a crime or a personal failure. You have to gain happiness like the way an Olympic athlete after five years of hard training with experts, sport chefs, good dieting, and hard practice, and then you get a medal.

In this culture it is very difficult to live with the new kinds of fear that terrorism has come to represent. My humble proposition is that this is what has produced new kinds of ethymologies. Terrorism is not a product of anything we have done or we do, but rather terrorism is what they do to them and we are on the side of the victims. Terrorism is what they are responsible for whether it is a religion, or a culture or a community or a society. I will not go into the relationship between the new terrorism which has come about and the mindless violence associated with it and the growing despair at the peripheries of the world which have also produced it. Time is limited and I cannot hog it. But I would like to tell a story to you at the end to draw your own conclusions as to where my sympathies lie. The most symbolic date in the matter of terror is 9/11. The most symbolic community associated with this terror is the Pashtun-speaking community which has produced the Taliban. This story involves them. 9/11

coincidentally happens to not only be the date on which an attack on New York was mounted, but it also happens to be the date on which for the first time a militant non-violence movement was launched by Ghandi one hundred and two years ago in Johannesburg, South Africa. Although Gandhi launched it and the theory was his, the person who announced it from the public platform for the first time was a Muslim named Hadgi.

Also, the person who led the organization was another Muslim. I say this because subsequently it turned out, when Gandhi came back to India, non-violence was practiced against not a very liberal British regime which was the reason for Gandhi's success, but rather, non-violence was launched as a political strategy, in the proper authoritarian and poor state of South Africa. And when Gandhi came back to India and launched the freedom movement, to judge by Gandhi's own terms, the most successful, most passionate freedom fighters, militant non-violent freedom fighters were the Parthians. This is the same community that has produced the Taliban. The Parthians had fought two wars with the British, the Afghan wars, and the British regime of India was very suspicious of them and very hostile to them. The British army and police were particularly cruel to the Parthian non-violent agitators who participated in India's freedom struggle, but despite all cruelties and atrocities, not even one Parthian ever raised a finger to the British. Despite the fact it has long been a matter of honour for everybody to have a gun, not a single shot was ever fired during that movement of non-violence. The Parthians were at that time as fanatic about their non-violence as they are today about their violence. I leave you with the question whether this represents a schizophrenic response from within the Parthians, or have the Parthians chose the path of violence as a response to forces outside, or is it a potentionality that exists within each Parthian, and probably for the rest of humanity too, where violence and non-violence, terror and resistance to terror, are both parts of the same psychological matrix. It depends on forces partly outside your control. Which particular potentiality will be actualized? You answer this question on your own behalf. Thank you for your patience.

Chairman: Thank you Ashis Nandy for this most interesting philosophical introduction. Please Mr. Turki Al-Faisal, your answer to the question of this panel.

His Royal Highness Turki Al-Faisal: Ladies and gentlemen, I wish I could answer the question posed to this panel. I said to our distin-

guished chairman that before the session I have never thought of talking about fear but I have definitely felt it. Let me begin by saying there are two kinds of fear; one is perceived and the other is actual. Both are felt by the person or persons faced with them. The perceived is what children experience when they see shadows in the night and put in their minds pictures of goblins and monsters that threaten them. No matter how much the child's parents try to dissuade him or her from that idea, the child remains convinced of the threat. This fear is fear of the unknown and we see it in grown-ups too – fear of strangers and strange places, fear of ideas that are unknown. Basically the brain translates these perceptions into the physical bodily nervous system, adrenalin pours into the blood system, the heart beats faster and the sweat glands go into overdrive. The same physical manifestations take place when fear of actual facts occurs. When a person is confronted by a robber in a dark alley, for example, or when a soldier is faced with bullets wheezing by him or bombs exploding near him. These are the things that face us today and have faced humanity since time immemorial. So are we facing an age of fear now? My humble opinion is that we have faced fear throughout history. But there are varying levels, if you like, of facing that fear and actual experience of it and because there are two kinds of fear, there are also two kinds of responses to it. One is to bow your head and accept the consequences. Whether it be a robber trying to steal money from you, and you hand him your wallet and try to get away safely. Or if it is a government, for example, that oppresses you and you willingly accept that oppression, try to live with it, and accept whatever conditions are placed on you. Or when perhaps you perceive that an unknown factor whether it is a person, an idea, or a place that might threaten your interest and you keep yourself away from that person in order not to face the consequences of any confrontation with that thing.

The other way to respond to fear, of course, is to face up to it and take action to either defend yourself or overcome or challenge the threat that seems to be coming at you. And I think this is where perhaps in today's world there is a need for more discussion and more evaluation of what we have to face. The previous speaker, I think astutely and with a lot of insight, referred to the fear of terrorism and other such factors facing us today. I would go one step further and accept that terrorism is based on fear and trying to make people afraid of the terrorists' ideas and wishes and say that there are also practices of governments that use fear as a factor in proposing and trying to promote their interests. All governments prepare armies and arm them with the most devastating armaments with the principal aim

of threatening a perceived or a real enemy, they are actually telling them that if they are confronted they will pay a high price from these devastating weapons. And also in international politics I think the use of armaments, such as weapons of mass destruction like nuclear weapons, are a reflection of governments, whether big or small. In 1963 the non-proliferation treaty was signed in which nuclear weapons were supposed to be in the process of being absolutely removed from the face of the earth. Yet from 1963 until today, particularly big countries, whether Russia or the Soviet Union before, or the United States or China or as they were called at that time the nuclear club, continue to produce more nuclear weapons in an imaginary contest with each other over how much fear they could inspire in the other country or other foe before they can sit down and talk about nuclear disarmament. We see smaller countries, smaller perhaps in terms of their GDP or developmental stage, with developed nuclear weapons as a means of inspiring fear, whether towards their neighbours or the world community, to show that they are capable of causing harm.

Take for example India and Pakistan, vying with each other on the question of nuclear armaments and developing them. North Korea, of course, is another user of that tactic. Iran, today, is accused by everybody that it is in the process of trying to develop nuclear weapons although they very strongly deny it. Yet the perception in the world community at large is that Iran is trying to use that factory for its own purposes. Israel, of course, has had nuclear weapons for many years and the non-declaration of the Israelis about their acquisition of these weapons is itself a way of posing a threat and using fear as a factor in promoting its national interests and so on. Other examples of the use of fear include the policy of unilateral intervention that the United States has used since 2001 after the 9/11terrorist attacks. You remember the phrase, "Shock and Awe" used in the attack on Iraq. That definitely was an expression of the use of fear for political purposes and it is these issues I think that require more discussion and more exchange of views so that if humanity is going to go from here to a better place it is better to conceive of other ways of engaging with each other. Let me just close by reflecting that throughout history the issue of fear has been used for specific purposes, including the use of fear made by the prophets that came in the Biblical and Koranic traditions who used fear as a means of convincing their audiences of the justness of the call or the message that they were trying to convey and whether the user was an emperor in Rome or Kesra, as we say in Arabic, it is always a tool that has been used by persons, by institutions, and by governments to promote their interests. And

I think, thinking in terms of many thousands of years of history behind us, we have to look forward hopefully to thousands of years coming in the future when this factor will no longer be a means to achieve either political aim or national aspiration.

Chairman: Thank you Prince Faisal. Let me intervene at this point. I did my share by fighting against communism. I have seen prison from inside, albeit briefly but often. And I thought that getting rid of communism would give me peace of mind because though I was not afraid, I often was scared. Shortly after 9/11, I spent two hours in George Bush Houston international airport, because of interconnecting flights and I was listening to a pre-taped recording stating something like this: "Jokes or comments on security may result in your arrest, jokes or comments on security may result in your arrest." And so on and so on. And I sat there and I thought why did I fight communism? Is there a committee to decide which jokes are applicable or not? I started to feel afraid. Since then I am a fervent student of fear and as such I solemnly declare that one of the most frightening books of the last decade was written by Lee Harris. It's title *Suicide of Reason*, says it all. Lee Harris, thank you for the book. It's greatly enriching so please share your thoughts on the question: "Are we entering the age of fear"?

Lee Harris: I was very struck by Mr. Nandy's remark how the question should be: "Are we re-entering the age of fear." But the title of the discussion, I think is still appropriate because the fact is that we thought to some extent, at least in the successful liberal societies and democracies of the West, that we had escaped fear. President Roosevelt said in the 1940's that the one of the four freedoms that would be available in democracies was freedom from fear. He meant particularly the freedom from fear of war. But in liberal democratic societies, it meant an increasing fear of all the things, primitive fears the communities had been haunted by through mankind's past. Now the fact that we may again be dealing with the age of fear and anxiety is different from a continuous experience of fear that people have had in earlier societies, because they got used to fear, and it was a part of their daily life. What we have today are people who thought fear was gone and they have to learn to be afraid again and to experience what it is like to be scared again. 9/11, for example, hit everyone in the United States like a ton of bricks when we saw the enormous skyscrapers crumble to the ground and people being pulverised. This

was happening on our own shores on a beautiful September morning. This was unimaginable to us.

We were again in a position that many people throughout the history of mankind have been in; the position of being terrified which we were for months after that day. If you remember there was also the anthrax scare, and people were on edge and this is something Americans thought was over with. Part of the "the end of history" premise was the notion that with the end of history all the bad stuff would be gone, and that there would be no more great fear. But that was in our past. We now find ourselves not only with the fear of terrorism, we find ourselves with the fear of a renewal of the cold war, perhaps nuclear exchange, we find ourselves amidst financial panic and crisis, and panic is the word for it. How do we deal with this? How does a society of people who have become unaccustomed to being afraid readjust to this? We now have to look back at the fact that the political consequences of fear to liberal societies has always been devastating.

During the Great Depression in the United States when there was a fear about unemployment, about where the money would come from, America turned to a very strong president, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Roosevelt was successfully re-elected in 1936 by the greatest mandate that any president ever had, and he also had a Congress behind him. So Roosevelt decided that there was one obstacle in his way and that was the United States Supreme Court governed by the famous nine old men. Roosevelt came out with the idea of adding justices to the Supreme Court – the famous packing of the Supreme Court. The intention was essentially to get rid of the last obstacle to the fairly dictatorial power that he wanted. The American people resisted this idea quite surprisingly despite Roosevelt's great popularity, but that resistance was a very strange thing. People were afraid, but at the same time they were also afraid of putting too much power at the hands of one man. Now, what I worry about is, will we have the same courage in the future, the liberal societies of the West, when we are experiencing fear and panic? Would we want to have a man on a white horse up here to say, „We will take care of all your problems," or would we resist that?

The difficulty with democracy is that democracy is not an efficient form of government in terms of getting things done. Dictators are much more efficient. This was known to the Romans, for example. The Romans had a horror of kings. Brutus the Elder was famous for executing his two sons when they decided to try to become the kings of Rome. Yet the Romans, when they were afraid of their en-

emies, recognized the fact that they had to pick one man, a dictator, and give him a limited period of power, about two months, and then remove him. The problem is that when a society becomes very afraid, they don't want to go through the procedures, the cumbersome processes that are involved with what we call liberal democracy. So the age of fear that we are entering is an age of a great threat to the survival of the liberal societies, and not nearly the spread of the liberal societies, but the very survival of our societies. This is why I think we need to learn and must recognize the necessity of living with our fear and become sort of panic-proof. There was an event that happened several years ago when an Air France jet crashed trying to land at the Petronas airport and was in flames. I thought to myself, all those poor people must be dead. Later on I read that everyone escaped the plane because no one panicked. Everyone on that plane, both the passengers and the crew, knew not to get scared. They behaved as civilized human beings behave – and that is something we must do and we must draw that from the deepest sources of our culture and past tradition – that is our religious traditions and our civic traditions. We must not allow fear to warp our fundamental values.

Chairman: Frankly I never expected such an optimistic approach from the author of "Suicide of Reason." Thank you. Speaking about putting too much power in the hands of one man or unelected bureaucracies, we are fortunate to have Adam Roberts here, who comes from Great Britain, which is known for the highest per capita ratio of spy cameras to population. It's over four million cameras watching the lives of ordinary Britons and still whenever I come to Britain I hear about a distrustful government and the fear of the criminality. What's wrong?

Adam Roberts: I came to answer the question of the panel that was set first. And maybe I'll touch on the question of what's wrong with Britain as well. My answer to the question that the panel has set is a rather definite – no. The question was: "Are we entering the age of fear?" In my view, we are definitely not entering the age of fear. Why? Because fear is a normal element in human existence, and more specifically in politics, as all of my fellow panelists in one way or another have indicated. One problem today is that the end of the Cold War led to a variety of illusions, especially in the United States, that we were at a complete end of fear because we saw the end of a particular thing that had been feared by most people in the West, namely the Soviet system and Soviet power. That was a shallow and wrong

analysis. It led to a great deal of trouble and we are recovering from that trouble.

I do not want to suggest for one second that there are no new elements for our fear; Jan Urban, our chair, has quite rightly indicated two of those elements. The fear of terrorism is particularly serious today. The combination of a strong terrorist ideology and the capacity to get access to modern weapons and modern communications methods, has created new possibilities. We should properly fear certain new things, including, of course, the ultimate horror of the terrorist armed with nuclear weapons. It's not unreasonable to fear these things. Although I have to say they are not entirely new. I have read a novel, George Glendon's, "The Emperor of Air," that was published in 1910, that shows a picture of an airship crashing into and destroying a skyscraper on Wall Street. So Osama Bin Laden may not have been reading the Koran, he may perhaps have been reading some pulp novels of the earlier twentieth century. The fear of such attacks in which, for example, anarchists would be capable of using modern technology to destroy Wall Street – was very real in the early years of the 20th century. It is not a new fear but it has new seriousness because we have seen it actually happen. And of course it is also true that the fear of market crashes is now much greater than it had been before. We have been told by some of our leaders, including my own Prime Minister, that we were "past the age of boom and bust"; as ever in human life hubris is followed very quickly by nemesis. And if ever there was an eternal truth in politics I am afraid that's it. Hubris always leads to nemesis. Now, I would agree with those, who are extremely suspicious of the use that is made by politicians of fear. It was Joseph Schumpeter, who said in his book on imperialism over a century ago, that only the appeal to security arouses the dark powers of the subconscious.

The ways in which fear can be manipulated – whether by governments or by terrorists, or Mafiosi – are an enduring issue in politics, as my fellow panelists have already indicated. But I would also warn against those who ever claim to produce a world without fear. In ordinary life we need pain, even though it assumes many irrational and functionless forms, in order to stop us from putting our hand on a pan that is too hot. People who cannot feel pain suffer the most appalling injuries. So in political life we need a degree of fear. Maybe I am biased on this because I should confess that my favourite sport is rock climbing, and if you did not have a degree of fear when rock climbing you would be in trouble. But it's true more generally in life – if you are riding a bicycle, driving a car, or whatever. Living with

fear – learning to control it, learning to gauge how to respond to it – is for any human being an important part of growing up. Now, in this era we do mercifully have a very low degree of fear of international wars, which are fewer and less costly than they were in almost all previous eras. And that's an achievement which is due to many different causes and it's an achievement that I think we should celebrate. But the reduction of international war has not meant, as we know, the end of war. We have seen how civil wars have occured in many societies, particularly in post colonial societies where one order has been broken down and a new order, and a new balance has yet to establish itself.

For example, just as in most conflicts since 1945 have been in post colonial world, now we have begun to see sadly a number of conflicts also in the post Soviet world. We already had a conflict in the Balkans. But now, Georgia is a clear example. It is not an easy job to establish a new balance, to establish legitimate states within legitimate borders, and with legitimate systems of government. It cannot be done overnight. Now, finally, I want to say something about the particular dream of a fear-free world which developed particularly in the United States in the years since the end of the cold war. Only in the United States could we have had a doctrine of the end of history. Only in the United States could we have had a president speaking of a New World Order. To be fair to President Bush, he announced it in 1990 more as an aspiration than as an achievement. He has been much misunderstood on that point. But nonetheless the United States – which of course sees itself as a nation of immigrants escaping from a world of fear, escaping from a world of ghastly European monarchies, tyrants, oppressors, escaping from ethnic oppression – is a country in which the idea of creating a new order and an order free from fear has a particular and understandable importance. But at the same time if you proclaim that you are in the business of creating an entirely new order you may make yourself insensitive to all those complex factors that contribute to conflict in other states. You may underestimate the extent to which good old-fashioned prudence based in part on awareness of fear may be a valuable guide to policy.

We have been through an era in which the United States felt very little fear in its conduct of foreign policy. Unfortunately, in the United States the interpretation widely placed in the political realm at the end of the Cold War was not the one that I would make, that the process of constructive engagement with Soviet Union gave the Soviet system a soft landing – as it were – enabling it to commit suicide decently. Nor was it the lesson that disciplined, peaceful resist-

ance by people such as Jan Urban here or by Solidarity in Poland enabled the weaknesses of the Soviet system to be exposed and enabled the system of communism to be undermined. No, the lesson that was learned was simply that democracy triumphs over totalitarianism, American strength triumphs over the Soviet Union, and therefore a combination of strength and democracy will make all dictatorial systems crumble. And that seemed to be validated by a number of events, not just the fall of the Berlin Wall, but the amazing way in which, for example, in Afghanistan in 2001 the Taliban regime crumbled so quickly with the United States' assault on it. The lesson seemed to be drawn in the United States that if you show toughness you have nothing to fear and you can bring about change in the world. Well now, the United States has learned that it is not so simple. The assault on Iraq aroused something that the Americans have often tended to underestimate; the nationalism of others. Whatever we have coming in the way of the new president of the United States and the new policies, there will be a need, and I am not sure that it will be fully recognized, not just to accept a degree of prudence in the conduct of foreign policy and awareness of the complexity of events, but there also will be a need to understand the fears of others. To understand that whereas the United States may have the deep fear of terrorism, others have different fears, equally well-grounded in their own histories and experiences. The sense that fear is something enduring in human politics needs to be brought under control, and that it's better to bring it under control by understanding it and by understanding other societies rather than simply by "shock and awe" as mentioned earlier.

Finally, because you issued me a challenge, Jan, just a word about the politics of Britain. It's a curious and worrying fact that we have more security cameras in our streets than any other country and I suspect it's because we have a culture of youth vandalism and at the same time a fairly low level of policemen on the beat that has led to this extraordinary growth in security cameras. Most of us have learned to live with it and not particularly fear it. But, apart from the worrying growth of this aspect of the surveillance state, what is perhaps of equally great or greater concern is the way in which the United Kingdom, as in some other societies, may be taking measures to deal with the problem of terrorism too far by endorsing methods of indefinite arrest and detention that may themselves actually worsen the terrorist problem. And I am delighted to see that in the last few days the House of Lords in Britain rejected an increase of the period of time people can be held under detention, because they believe that

reacting fearfully to events that indeed cause a degree of legitimate fear may itself be a serious problem. Controlling fear, it seems to me is what it is all about. Finally, we do not necessarily live in age of fear now, but rather we have for a long time lived with fear as something that human societies always need to manage. Thank you.

Chairman: Thank you very much. We have one more problem. And this is what Lee Harris called perception problem. Public perception, media perception becomes policy in many aspects, specifically when it concerns fear. There are many times more deaths from traffic accidents than from terrorism. Still we are not feverishly changing our legislation to save more lives on our roads or in the streets of our cities, but we are discussing, debating changes of policy that are dramatic. What is the role of perception of what is real and what is not? What is role of media in spreading fear and making it a policy? Aren't we creating more fear by spreading fear? Lee Harris.

Lee Harris: English anthropologist Mary Douglas wrote a fascinating book about the different ways in which societies are afraid and what they consider risks and threats. There was a famous incident; the first train fatality in England sometime in the eighteen forties. Queen Victoria and everyone else were appalled that a man had been killed by a locomotive and there was actually a serious consideration of banning trains. But we, as you say, we were quite used to the idea of thousands of people dying in car accidents. So the question is: "Why do certain societies react to this particular fear in a really dramatic way?" I think it's pretty clear: If you look at the history of the world, there is an attempt to explain terror in terms of pathology and something that is wrong with people. But terror throughout history has been used as a very effective weapon. By instilling fear in people, you get to control them and manipulate them. Machiavelli said a long time ago, it is nice for the Prince to be respected, but it is better to be feared. When Tamerlane was expanding his empire he would go to a city and he would say "surrender or else….." If they didn't surrender then he besieged it and he killed everyone in a terrible way. The next city he went to he would say: "Give up or face the consequences of that last city," and they gave up. Terrorism works. It is the multiplier effect of terrorism, to borrow a phrase from Keynes – and it's enormous. I saw that in the United States. The idea that the terror which killed lives on the 9/11 had a disproportionate effect, psychologically, in terms of actual tables.

This was something that could happen to us out of the blue, for no reason, without anything we had done. We were just minding our business one day and then boom. It had a psychological effect that cried out for a solution, but the question is, How do you solve this problem? In the United States very shortly after 9/11, people like Alan Dershowitz were saying torture is okay. This was an effect of terror. Just as much as the deaths. People started looking for solutions which no one in the Anglo-Saxon tradition could have approved of. The last case of judicial torture in England took place in sixteen forty. I mean this was something we had outgrown. Something we thought we have put behind us. Yet because of terrorism it was there on the table again. So you are quite correct, but I think it's a mistake to avoid seeing how these things are joined together.

Once again the terror releases this. It is like a cause and effect that today we are now thinking about. Perhaps things have gone too far, but if there is another terrorist act, God forbid, an atomic bomb goes off in Pittsburgh, it would all come back again. Things like the Patriot Act will look very tame. This is the problem we have and this is something we simply cannot wish away. It is human nature for people who are under attack to look to their government to do something about it. And the government has to look like it's doing something about it. Unfortunately, often the things it pretends to be doing something about are counterproductive, and they often erode the very fundamental values. But here once again, this is part of the whole process. It unleashes this chain of events and once it is there, it is very hard to stop.

Chairman: I told you, Lee Harris is scary. You just heard the recipe for the success of asymmetric warfare. Ashis Nandy.

Ashish Nandy: I suspect that for some reason or other, which needs to be explored, we are less uncomfortable with the kind of terror which arises out of pathologies of reason than from pathologies of non-reason. By which I mean that if you set up a death machine and gradually begin to eliminate a part of the population after a point it becomes a part of the system. It is seen as bad only retrospectively, whereas if you do something dramatic which will have a random impact, and which will convince you that it can happen to you, you have no control over it, it is random, and perhaps people get more worried about it. I think contemporary terrorism has introduced that idea of random terror, which makes it more difficult to contain.

HRH Turki Al-Faisal: The issues discussed I think reflect on one particular deficiency in recent years. That is the quality of leadership in various countries. To be a leader, to be a statesman, is to lead instead of to follow, and I think it is reflected not only in the way that President Bush dealt with the 9/11 attacks, but also recently in the way that the Russian leadership acted on the issue of Georgia, South Ossetia, and Abkhazia. Imagine, had President Bush after 9/11, when he made his famous speech to Congress, declared that the United States was going to go to the international community to collectively meet the challenge of the terrorists and the criminals who use terrorism to further their aims. Our whole world was behind the United States in those days. Instead, he chose to go unilaterally and invited people to either be with him or against him. Dividing the world into those who would be following the United States or opposing it. I believe that had he chosen the first track in seeking collective way to manage this issue, the following consequences that we see today when most Arabs and Muslims percieve the United States as using the war on terrorism for other purposes, not to say for more specifically selfish purposes whether it is oil in Iraq, or the geopolitical advantage in the Gulf, or opposition to Iran's nuclear armaments, etc. These perceptions are a reflection of how leadership is conducted.

Similarly, in recent weeks the leadership in Russia could have been more statesman-like in dealing with the situation *vis-a-vis* Georgia and the regions within it, where the Russians were actually previously supposedly playing a peacekeeping role between fighting factions in Georgia. Whether it is the Ossetians against the Georgians or the Abkhazians when the Soviet Union broke up. Yet, the leadership chose to inspire fear in the Russian people by claiming that there was a genocidal attack on Russian citizens or soldiers in South Ossetia by the Georgians and using fear again as a tactic to achieve a political aim in a specific political situation. Definitely, there was a lack of statesmanship there. We are all facing the consequences of that. In other parts of the world one can go on and recite examples of such lack of statesmanship and leadership. But how do you do that? I hear my friends on the other side of the table talking about Anglo-Saxon traditions, about democracy, and other things yet, when I look back, even someone like Franklin Roosevelt during the Second World War incarcerated the Japanese and other nationals just simply for the fact that they were Japanese. Is that an Anglo-Saxon tradition? Or is it an issue inspired by fear? That the Japanese citizens of the United States were more likely to aid and abet the Japanese enemy than to be U.S. citizens? In my country, we went through similar experiences

where in the Gulf War in nineteen ninety, we literally asked people of Yemeni origin in Saudi Arabia to leave the country, because Yemen, a neighbour, had taken opposition to our stance, and supported Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait.

The inspiration for us there was definitely not statesmanship or the kind of leadership which was required, but rather a fear that these several hundred thousand citizens of another country might do something in Saudi Arabia that was not good for the benefit of Saudi Arabia. These are the kinds of things that make one wonder and reflect on whether, in the future, we will have the kind of leadership that will face up to the challenges instead of being followers of either public sentiment, or the feeling of fear and terror inspired by others.

Chairman: Thank you. A final brief remark by Adam Roberts on: "Is the media educated enough to understand that they should not spread fear?"

Adam Roberts: The media historically have tended to do well off on issues that arouse fear. War is what made some newspapers successful, including in my own country. And the connection between terrorist campaigns, between terrorism and journalism, is rather too close for comfort, in the sense that terrorists do absolutely depend upon the reporting of their activities. A terrorist attack that was completely unreported would be a failure; there have been many such cases in the world. The reporting is an essential part of terrorism. Now, that does not mean that the press should be instructed never to report a terrorist incident. That obviously would not work. But what it does mean is that the tendency of the press to report terrorist issues in a melodramatic way does sometimes need a bit of control. And doing that, through self-control even, is very difficult indeed. We had for example in Britain a rule that a particular Irish nationalist Gerry Adams could not have his voice broadcast on radio or TV, because he was believed to be associated with the Irish Republican Army. But this just meant that actors said his words for him.

This was patently artificial and absurd and didn't achieve much. So handling this issue is extremely difficult. Alex Schmid and Janny de Graaf wrote a book, *Violence as Communication*, that saw terrorism and journalism as a nexus and saw the abduction of Patty Hearst, the teenage heiress to press a fortune, in California in 1974, and her then subsequent conversion by her capturers to their point of view, as being the ultimate logic of that connection. Now, what needs to be injected into debates about terrorism and counter-terrorism, and which

would assist in understanding terrorist problems, is an understanding of the history of terrorism. However, this has been sadly lacking in much of the press and much of the governmental comment on this so called "war on terror." For example, in not a single statement that I have been able to come across—from George W. Bush, or Donald Rumsfeld, or any other senior colleagues like Dick Cheney, nor from our own leaders in Britain, in regards to the "war on terror"—have I seen any reference to how, historically, terrorist campaigns have ended. With the "war on terror," they have—at least, Dick Cheney has proclaimed, that the war will end when the last terrorist is killed or captured. That's what he said, and that's the spirit winning the "war on terror." Now, anybody who has studied terrorism knows that not a single terrorist campaign ended that way. Not one. They all ended when the terrorists either felt that they could achieve more through political means or negotiation, or when they felt they were achieving nothing—that the whole idea of their action was a mistake. The key idea behind much terrorist actions is simply that a dramatic violent act will transform the entire political landscape. It's a very childish idea, very naïve, and one which has often ended in disillusionment.

We need a historical perspective on terrorism which has been sadly lacking in, as I say, much press commentary and much official commentary. And as a P.S. perhaps I can add that I asked one of our graduate students to read a book that I could not bear reading, about the "war on terror," to find out if there was any reference to history. And there was one book that I had read, by David Frum and Richard Perle, entitled, *An End to Evil: How to Win the War on Terror*, that contained not a single reference to how any actual terrorist campaign ended. My student volunteer read another book, Bob Woodward's *Plan of Attack* about the origins of the Iraq war and what the thinking of the administration was on it, in which the only reference to history was when Collin Powell, in a moment of depression, fed up with the planning when Turkey announced that it would not take part in this war—asked his military colleagues: "Are we going to be offloading at Gallipoli?" Our governments *do* need that sense of historical perspective in framing policies. The press and television *can* provide such a perspective, but alas has not done enough of in the past.

Chairman: With this call for good-old fashioned prudence and knowledge of context, I would like to thank Turki Al-Faisal, Adam Roberts, Ashis Nandy and Lee Harris for this very interesting panel. Thank you very much.


GENERAL PARTNER

PANEL DISCUSSION
Fear Revisited: Policy Recomendations

Chairman (Jan Urban): Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. I welcome you to the second panel. We have with us Charles Levesque, welcome. This is the second part of our twin panel that is aired live on the Internet through the services of Newsmatic and world universities network. Smile everybody, you are on camera. With the first panel we tried to frighten you, so the second panel comes as a healing – we want to discuss what can be done about fear. We have a most distinguished set of panelists and because the honourable minister, Karel Schwarzenberg needs to leave in about forty-five minutes, this is the end of the introduction. I will ask Jose Maria Argueta to start and he will be followed by Miss Manji. Just to tell you something about Jose Maria Argueta. He is an old friend and he is the man who stopped a civil war in Guatemala. It was one to those minor conflicts that lasted only 36 years. He has a lot of say, so Jose, Gemma, the floor is yours.

Jose Maria Argueta: Thank you very much. I am honoured and humbled to be here and to share this panel with the quality of the individuals participating in it. The panel this morning introduced a number of topics regarding fear. Before I go into offering a potential solution or an alternative solution to deal with the issue of fear, I would like to share with you a testimonial that has actually driven my life for many years now. In 1996 Tupac Amaru captured the official residence of the ambassador of Japan in Lima. I happened to be one of more than eighty hostages taken by the MRTA. That was probably the moment in which I felt the highest level of fear. It was to the point that I was not really able to reason through what was happening, and at that very moment, as a last resort, lying face down on the ground with about six hundred other people, I prayed to God. I said: "God I am here because you have me here, but I am here representing my coun-

try and my countrymen, so please, either make me an instrument of your peace or let me die with dignity without bringing shame to my country and to those whom I represent." From that very moment on something happened, and I don't really know to this day what it is or what it was, but from that moment on, I was able to manage my fear and I was able to reason through the process that I was involved in.

About a year later in 1997 I was representing my country as ambassador to Japan. One day I was driving to a very important meeting and all of a sudden everything came to a halt. Nobody was moving, so I poked out of the window and I saw a Japanese gentleman about five cars ahead of us who got out of the car, went to a cigarette vending machine, bought a packet of a cigarettes, peeled it off, lit a cigarette, disposed off the trash, got into car, and moved on and we all kept going. So when I got to my meeting, I said to my Japanese host: "Sorry, I am almost late," and I explained what happened. I said: "How is it possible"? And he looked at me, with a spark in his eye, and he said: "My apologies for the inconvenience." I said: "No, there is no need I just want to understand what it is that I witnessed." And he said, "What do you mean?" I said, "Well nobody protested, no horns were blown. Had this happened in Guatemala, people would have been screaming their lungs out, and here everybody just waited patiently for this man to go about his business." He was kind of surprised and he said to me, "Well I guess, if he did what he did, it's because it was important to him, and if it was important to him, it is important to us." Why am I sharing this with you? I am sharing this with you because from my perspective it boils down to the perception of one's self to deal with the potential threat. If you feel confident, that you can face the challenge and will still be in control of your emotions, you will be able to handle fear. If you extrapolate self-confidence into a community or into a nation, that from my perspective, translates into trust. Trust in one another, respect for one another, which is the incident that I described in Tokyo. Coming from a country like Guatemala, that was something fairly unusual for me. In Guatemala, it took us about 36 years to solve what we referred to, euphemistically of course, as an internal armed conflict. Because it was not in the government's interest to recognize it as a civil war. The international observers referred to it as a low intensity conflict. My question to them was and is: Two hundred and fifty thousand people dead, over a million people displaced, and you refer to it as a low intensity conflict? From my perspective one human life is a big issue, and in my country there were two hundred and fifty thousand killed. If you multiply that by the regular size of a Guatemalan family, we

are talking about close to a million and half whose lives will never be the same because they lost somebody. They will no longer trust the state to provide the safety and the security net that they need to fulfil their dreams as human beings. So what it is that struck me the most about these morning panels is the difficulty of solving a conflict and the difficulty of managing fear or threats that are not really based on the complexity of the conflict itself, but based on the quality of the leadership. If the leadership rises to the challenge, faces the threat and solves it, and the people trust them and trust their capability of doing so, then societies will be able to deal with fear.

So, to finish my presentation I will say that we have been approaching conflict-solving and conflict-resolving from a different perspective. We have been pushed and we have been pushing people to reach agreements. I propose that conflict is inherent to human interaction and it is here to stay, but an attempt to resolve it is less efficient than an attempt to manage it. So I am a proponent of a methodology that I refer to as enlightened dissent methodology. That not only does not propose conflict resolution, but it proposes illustrated dissent. Feel free to express your opinion, understand that you own truth, but the moment you do, you have to recognize that everyone else owns his or her own truth. And that truth that we talk about doesn't really exist. You have your truth, I have mine, and as long as we understand that, we will be able to better understand each other, where we come from; we will be able to understand the rationale behind our differences, and we will be able to manage whatever conflict may arise when our interests coincide or compete.

Chairman: Thank you Gemma for what you have said. I hope it's just the beginning of what we will hear about more later on Centro ESNA, because these ideas were founded in creation of the Centre for Strategic Studies. And Gemma, with the help of the Guatemalan president during that time, persuaded representatives from all factions that fought in the civil war, gave them a nine-month course and finally assisted in the signing of the peace accord after 36 years of war. So, when Gemma with all his modesty says he is a practitioner, it should be said that he is a very successful one. Miss Manji, trust, respect, as the way to deal with the conflict and fear, what is your recipe?

Irshad Manji: Good morning everybody. Jan it is a particular privilege to be sharing this panel with you, because you really have exemplified and in so many ways the continued spirit of dissent. Not just

against communism, but against fear. People like me, of a slightly, but only slightly younger generation stand on the shoulders of your generation in our current dissent of the fear that at least shot through my own religion, Islam. And in so many ways, what has brought me to the attention of this forum is the work that I and other reform-minded Muslims have done to fight for our beloved faith of Islam, which has become degenerated into an ideology of fear. This is why following my book "The Trouble with Islam Today", I produced a documentary that was aired on the American public television called "Faith without Fear", that's the actual title of it. Now as a journalist, of course, I love stories, and I need to start by telling you one about what kind of fear I am referring to. The American public broadcaster PBS in all of its wisdom put not just me on a publicity tour for the documentary, but they also put my mother on the tour with me, because she frankly is the star of the documentary. PBS sent my mother and I to the lion's den, to the city in America that has the highest proportion of Arab Muslims, Detroit. Now you won't be surprised to hear that during the screening of the film, I was personally denounced and condemned by fellow Muslims for being a heretic, a sell-out, and an apostate.

However, afterwards, during a reception for the film's DVD release, many of the same people denouncing me stood in line to get their copy. My mother noticed from the corner of her eye, a large group of young Muslims, convening and growing bigger in the corner of the room. At the end of the evening, the large group of young Muslims approached my mother and they said to her, "thank you Mrs. Manji for supporting your daughter in these efforts." My mother replied to them, "why are you saying this now, when all the microphones and television cameras are gone? I am not asking you because I think my daughter's ego needs to be inflated, believe me it doesn't. Rather I am asking you because other reform-minded Muslims need to know that they are not alone. They could have used your voice." These young Muslim Americans, second, third, generation Americans, said to my mother, "Mrs. Manji you have the benefit of being able to walk away from this cinema, from this theatre, two hours from now, we don't have the luxury of being able to walk away from the city of Detroit, because we cannot afford to be accused by our families of dishonouring them by supporting Irshad's perspective out loud." My point in telling you this story, ladies and gentlemen, is that the fear that I am referring to doesn't simply refer to violence or the fear of fatwas or of political edicts being put on people's heads, it's deeper than that. It's the fear of being accused that you

are shaming your family, merely for having a different point of view. And the issue of honour is not limited to Muslims. Many cultures in history and around the world have struggled and in some cases continue to struggle with this shame problem. But among young Muslims living in America, in the country of the first amendment, where you have a constitutional guarantee to speak your mind, you can see how far the pre-Islamic tribal tradition of honour has followed them to the so-called New World.

The solution I would argue for Muslims is not to go outside of Islam and to the American constitution, but rather the solution lies within Islam itself. There is a beautiful tradition within Islam of critical thinking, of independent reasoning, of debate and yes, even of dissent, and that tradition is called Ijtihad. Ijtihad is independent thinking and creative reasoning. I realise, ladies and gentlemen, that this word sounds frighteningly like Jihad to many non-Arab ears. In fact, it comes from the same root, which means to struggle. But unlike any notion of violent struggle, Ijtihad is all about struggling with the mind in order to comprehend the wider world. So why does this tradition have contemporary relevance, and how do I know that it does? I will prove it to you by coming back to Europe. Let's get away from America, for just a second and talk about Europe for a moment. Last year as part of the work that I do with the European Foundation for Democracy, I was giving another film screening in Berlin. Afterwards, a group of young Muslim women living in Berlin, approached me to say thank you, but not for the film. They said thank you for a particular document that you have posted on your website. Now, what was this document? In the last two years, the most common question that I have been getting through my website from young Muslim women regarded cases of falling in love with non-Muslims. Their parents and their imams insist that Islam forbids them from marrying outside of the faith. And they are writing to me in desperation to say, "Do I really have to leave the love of my life in order to retain my faith?" Now it had occurred to me after the tenth time that I got a question like this, what imam is going to care how I interpret the Koran? I have spiky hair, I am a woman, I was born in East Africa, outside of the Arab world, and I now live in the West. Why should they care what I think? Instead I took this question about interfaith marriage, which is a very hot question in the era of mass migration, to a progressive imam in America, and I asked him to exercise Ijtihad or critical thinking.

In order to update the interpretation of the very verses which have traditionally been used to prevent Muslim women from marry-

ing outside of Islam, he exercised Ijtihad, reinterpreted those verses, and put them into a concise two page document that I have called the interfaith marriage blessing from an Islamic perspective. I posted it on my website only in English, and it became such a popular download that in only six month's time I had to get it translated into eighteen more languages, including many European languages for all of the young Muslims, who of course are not just migrating here, but have also been born here. This is the contemporary relevance of an age-old tradition such as Ijtihad. Notice how we are marrying new technologies such as the Internet, with old traditions, in order to update the practice of Islam for a progressive pluralistic 21st century context. In addition to recommending that we revive this spirit of Ijtihad for Muslims, I also recommend that governments interested in empowering reform-minded Muslims, should invest in the Internet education of reformist Muslims, especially in the West. But why in the West? Because, ladies and gentlemen, it is in places like this, that we reformist Muslims already have the precious freedoms to think, express, challenge, and be challenged without fear of government reprisal for doing so. This is a precious gift, and we as reformist Muslims have to get as serious about excelling at the use of the Internet as much as Jihadis have become in spreading their propaganda. Now I want to address one final question. I have given you a broad overview of the kind of fear that many Muslims feel, and what some of the paths to addressing that fear might be.

Let me also address, very briefly, the fear that progressive non-Muslims feel in wanting to support our work. I can tell you that whenever I go to speak at a university anywhere in the West, invariably non-Muslims approach me to say, "I would love to support your effort to reconcile Islam with critical thinking, but Irshad, if I support this, I will be called a racist for sticking my nose and for interfering in other people's business." One of my immediate responses to them is, in an interdependent world is there such a thing as other people's business? Who is the other? You know yesterday, in response to a question asked by a former member of European parliament, to Garry Kasparov, he replied by saying, „Keep asking questions about what is happening in Russia." This is the best way that you can support democracy. So I am going to leave all of you with the same challenge; when you are told by both Muslims and by fearful non-Muslims, that because you yourself are not a Muslim, you don't have a right to get involved in this most public of public conversations, ask them, "why are you reducing me to my racial profile? You are saying that because of my white skin and my non-Muslim heritage, I have

no right to participate?" This is racial profiling. And if that's wrong to do it to Muslims why is it ok to do to it non-Muslims?

The final question to ask them, because now you will have really upset them so you may as well go further because you have nothing left to lose, ask them, do you understand the logical implications of the argument that if you do not represent, then you cannot comment? The logical implication is that this means we are civilians and have no right to question the abuses of power at Abu Ghraib or at Guantanamo Bay, because after all we are not of military culture. So how can we possibly understand what those soldiers have gone through? It also means that Muslims living in Europe and in the traditional Islamic world have no right to question US foreign policy, after all they are not of American culture. Do you see how absurd that argument becomes? So it is equally absurd when it's applied to you. The final point is that when all of us Muslims and non-Muslims develop more moral courage to ask the questions out loud, then I believe we will finally have the tools to address one of the most urgent and unanswered questions of the early 21st century; How can liberal democracies produce pluralists – people who appreciate multiple perspectives and truths without producing relativists – people who will fall for anything because they stand for nothing? Thank you.

Chairman: Thank you. Děkuji Irshad.

Karel Schwarzenberg: We are speaking about how fear is being spread by terror, by injustice, and so on. So then, is fear a natural thing? I remember my mother, who was born in 1905 and died in 1988, and lived through the whole very strange 20th century. She very bravely resisted both the Gestapo, and then the communist secret police. She carried her family and everyone else through these times, and once I said, "Mom, I admire you so much because you were not at all afraid and you showed your conviction." She looked at me and said: "I was not afraid? Can you imagine how afraid I was that whole time? The whole time I was afraid for you, the children and what could have happened to me. Of course, I was afraid the whole time. But I had to overcome it." That's it.

Fear is a natural thing but we have to overcome it. And I do think a politician is sometimes afraid of what impression he or she will make when speaking. A politician must not be afraid to speak out according to his deep conviction, according to what he or she considers their duty, even if he or she loses their position. We should never be afraid of losing our position, our fame, or whatever. And

again, I would like to quote my mother. She told me, "I saw the 20th century, I saw the crimes, I knew a lot of the criminals, I knew what awful things were done, and it was not due to money, sex or power, but rather 80 percent of all crimes and awful atrocities were done in vain." Because of vanity, people weren't able to step down as they were afraid of losing their image. And I do think that is one of the greatest dangers for a politician.

We are all vain, otherwise we wouldn't be in politics. But the moment comes when you have to confront your own vanity and not be afraid of becoming less respected, less reputable, less covered in the newspapers, and so on. I think that is the decisive moment. Somebody told me, and thank God I never faced this, that it is much easier to stay brave in a shoot-out or in a battle where you have a lot of comrades around you, and your faith, than to withstand the moment where you are afraid that you might lose your face because you stick to your conviction. I do think that this is again the danger of our time. Currently, much of the world is afraid of the great financial crisis. What would happen if we lost one third or 25 percent of the wealth that the West has accumulated? We would still be immensely richer than we were 40 years ago. Still we would live much better, safer, in a much more pleasant condition than our parent's generation, and we would survive quite well. I do think that we should look at things in the larger picture. I would also like to quote my neighbor. It is really important to ask questions. It's important, and in my experience of dealing with human rights, the most ghastly regimes and criminals in power always defended themselves by claiming other countries had no right to interfere. We should realize that in all the countries of the world, there are different cultural traditions. I do think that in this new globalized world, in order to resist the fear and the temptations of the modern world, we should return to the real values of our spiritual traditions. You said quite correctly that in order to support your opinion, you find the real meaning of Islam in its holy texts. I think in the Catholic faith we too have to go back to our roots. We should be able to be more modest, we should accept the work we produce, where our roots are and there we will find the strength to resist fear.

Again allow me to remember my mother. She probably wouldn't have been as brave as she was with the communists, as well as with the Gestapo, if she wasn't so deeply rooted in her Catholic faith. So I think that we have to find our own roots to resist the fear, not to give up everything that we inherited and then be surprised that we are suddenly nude. Thank you for listening.

Chairman: A negotiator's perspective, an educator's perspective, an artist's perspective, and a politicians' perspective. I now turn to Charles Levesque, who is the Chief Operating Officer of Interfaith Youth Core. Charles, what is your recipe against fear?

Charles Levesque: I am going to talk to you about investing in youth and youth leadership as an antidote to fear. But before I do that I think it is appropriate that I extend my personal thanks to all the young people who helped coordinate this conference, from my personal guide Kamila, to the countless people who have driven us around, who have orientated us, who explained a little bit of Czech culture and life in Prague. I want to say thank you. I worked in Eastern Europe, in Albania and I am constantly struck by this generation of young people and their eagerness to engage the world, their curiosity, and their professionalism. They are taking advantages of opportunities that were cruelly denied to their parents and their parents' generation. It is inspiring to me. And when you combine that with the confection of a recently modernized Prague, you have a wonderful combination of the historic and the ambitious. So it is wonderful to be here today and it's wonderful to have the chance to talk to you about the Interfaith Youth Core. As our chairman stated, my name is Chuck Levesque, I am from Chicago, I work for the Interfaith Youth Core, which was founded by an American Muslim Eboo Patel, the son of Indian immigrants to Chicago. We are an organization that seeks to build religious pluralism, and by that we mean religious understanding amongst people. Our ultimate goal is to build an international interfaith youth movement. Now why is this important? Yesterday we heard of the theories of Samuel P. Huntington, which were summarized as follows. After the fall of the wall in 1989, the great question became not what side you are, but who are you?

The second part of that was people began to answer that question by saying, I am of this ethnicity or I am of this religion. People draw a further conclusion and state that there is an inevitable conflict – a clash of civilizations between Muslim and Jew, Christian and Jew, or Christian and Muslim. That is what people define as the clash of civilizations. We at the Interfaith Youth Core believe that there is a faith divide or a faith line, but it is not that clash. It's the clash between religious pluralists and religious totalitarians. Religious pluralists respect other people and other people's views, and want to engage with others for the common good. Religious totalitarians want to impose their view, they want to silence those who disagree, and in the extreme, they want to exterminate those who disagree. The clash

is between those who want to live together and those who are opposed to that. The Interfaith Youth Core was created to build the side of religious pluralism. Why youth? Because the youth have been at the vanguard of important change. Martin Luther King was only 26 years of age when he led the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama. Gandhi was even younger when he began working in South Africa, and the Dalai Lama was only 18 when he led his government into exile. Youths have been the vanguard of creating new opportunities. We believe it is time to engage the youth of this world in building religious understanding and co-operation. How do we do this? Drawing on the work of great scholars, we have come up with a definition of pluralism which I touched upon before to include three things. Number one, it is to validate religious identity. Religion is not going away. In my country religion is part and parcel of the public square and I think for the most part, my country is better for that. So we validate religious identity. The second part of religious pluralism is that you respect the other and you have meaningful relationships with people of different faiths. Diversity, in itself, is not inherently good. You must engage that diversity.

The third part of religious pluralism is working towards the common good. That is how we define religious pluralism. So at the Interfaith Youth Core we have three programs that are designed to build this pluralism. These programs are what we call public affairs or discourse and what I am doing here today is part of that. It is presenting our idea to government leaders to get out the notion that this clash of civilizations is not inevitable, and that there is an alternative. The second thing we do is we provide out-reach education and training to young people. In the past across the United States, but happily this year we are expanding to do a number of pilot programs in Europe. The third thing we do, which was touched upon by a number of the panelists earlier, is to help build what we call interfaith leaders. I would like to take a moment to just go back through each of those three program areas and to give you examples of our work. I won't touch on the efficacy of public affairs, you can judge that based on my presentation. But our out-reach education and training program consists of a good team of about seven people in our office in Chicago, who visit universities across the country. Last year we spoke to or taught 23,000 youth and what we do is we engage in a methodology of interfaith dialogue. The interfaith dialogue has three components.

One component is discussing shared values. The other component of the triangle is story telling. And the third part is service learn-

ing. We gather youth of different faiths together at the universities and we explain that we are going to work together to discuss shared values. If you look at all the religions of the world, they share common values; mercy, compassion, charity, stewardship of the Earth, hospitality, etc. If you accept that these people sitting of different faith traditions have the same values you have created a common values and a potential bond. Then we use story-telling to bring those values to life. Every one of us has a story and nobody knows that story better than oneself. It is far less threatening to hear what you believe or what another person believes when they put it in the context of their own story. So we hear a Muslim tell of how they saw hospitality enacted in their family. We hear a Christian tell of how they invited the newcomer to Christmas dinner. We hear these stories from different perspectives. Finally, we engage in service learning. We send the young people out to do a project together. To build a home with Habitat for Humanity, to work in a soup kitchen, to work in a shelter, etc. That helps to put the values in the real world and it also creates the understanding and the friendship between the participants. For example, this past year at a college in East England there was a fastathon. It was founded a year ago by one young Muslim student who wanted people on his campus to engage in a fastathon and use the money they would have spent on meals for a common purpose. This year a Jewish student took on the idea of fastathon which was held during Ramadan. One third of the university students participated, the local rotary and business clubs also participated and the general public in the town participated. And the school raised 12,000 dollars for a food pantry in their town. Now this may seem like a micro approach to a large issue. But we too believe in a multiplying effect. Our goal is not to run programs, but to empower young people to create their own programs to meet their own needs in their community. Which brings me to the third component of our program and that is leadership development. We have heard people say today that the key to managing fear is to have a great leader who can help manage that reaction to fear. We have also heard people warn against giving leaders too much power. So there is an absolute necessity to build and to educate and to network young leaders. We have taken that on as a key component of the work we do in the Interfaith Youth Core. We have a fellowship program open now just to U.S. college students where we provide students with the stipend and practical advice on how to run interfaith programs. We bring them together twice a year to network, to get to know each other, to share ideas,

and we encourage and support them to engage in interfaith work on their campuses.

Just this past month former Prime Minister Tony Blair announced the formation of the Tony Blair Faith Foundation. One of their initial works will be the creation of Faith Act Fellowship program and they have asked Interfaith Youth Core to partner with the Blair Foundation to create this program. We will be selecting 30 young people from the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada to spend the year working in interfaith groups to raise funds to eradicate malaria in Africa. Another example of how religious motivation can lead to the common good. Now, my boss is very fond of saying that Al-Qaeda was not funded by a bake sale. There were many people who have invested time and the resources into the recruitment and retraining of young people for terror. We need to make a similar commitment to investing in young people to build religious pluralism. My organization has grown but we are constantly looking for funding and I am not here asking you to fund Interfaith Youth Core, but I am asking people of authority, people of persuasion to work with their governments, to work with NGOs to support organizations that are committed to building young people and empowering young people to build religious co-operation, to build religious understanding, and to build programs where young people work together to advance the common good. That is the most effective way of changing the world. That is the most effective way of combating fear. Thank you.

Chairman: Thank you, Charles. Another lesson from this panel that is emerging more and more clearly is that you need to talk, because the mute ones cannot be heard. You have to be active so that your word is heard. You have to be tough. There is no better example of all these qualities than Alexander Podrabinek. Since I first heard about him in the mid-eighties he was renowned as a tough independent journalist bringing facts to the floor, and asking tough questions. Then we met and started to co-operate. I see in the audience the third conspirator, Petr Pospíchal. Together, their ideas brought the only international dissident network existing in the Communist bloc before 1989 – the Eastern European Information Agency. Twenty years later, Alexander honoured us and he works with Newsmatic again spreading information that is uncomfortable to certain authorities and I like working with Alexander Podrabinek. Since he doesn't trust his English, I don't know why he trusts my Russian, so we will improvise a bit. But Sasha will speak in Russian and I will try to translate

it into English. Sorry for the inconvenience, but this is how we have worked for more than twenty years now.

Alexander Podrabinek: It is not only my fear that I would not understand, but now Jan Urban will be translating for me so we will see. From everything that we have heard so far it is clear that fear is one of the basic emotions of human nature. If in childhood we deal with fear with the help of our parents, and in adulthood we deal with fear with the help of experts, there are situations where neither the parents nor psychoanalysts can be of help. I am talking about political systems that are exploiting human fear. These are totalitarian systems and dictatorships. In fact they are copying the hostage and hostage-taker situation. As it is known the hostages that fall in the hands of terrorists are paralyzed with fear. This is exactly what the terrorists achieve and want to achieve. The hostages that can deal with fear may become dangerous to terrorists. The same situation happens or takes place on a much larger scale in totalitarian countries. All powers of the totalitarian state are aimed at paralyzing the society with fear. The survival chance of the totalitarian regime decreases when there are people who are able to liberate themselves from fear. One of the mightiest weapons that people can use in this way is information. It is clearly seen or expressed in the not too distant history of our countries. In Soviet times, the Soviet dissident movement began organizing itself only after the appearance of the Chronicle of Present Time which was an information bulletin. It was first published in the Soviet Union. Information that was published by the Chronicle gave people an impression or context about what is really going on and they could not be manipulated by the unknown anymore. When in August 68 seven people entered the Red Square and protested the military occupation of Czechoslovakia that changed the landscape, the situation and the atmosphere in our country. It was a clear example of how a few people liberated from fear can influence the situation and can change the history of a country. When the Manifesto called "2000 Words" appeared in Czechoslovakia in the summer of 1968, it had an impact on all dissident movements in the Soviet bloc. It may seem that it is just information but such information can even bring rebirth to people.

Another example would be, it is not information, but a brave act of a Czechoslovak student Jan Palach who immolated himself to protest the occupation. This act of an individual again changed the situation. Today we live in more or less liberal, more democratic countries – the Czech Republic is more liberal, Russia is less liberal

– but it may bring the impression that a lack of access to information doesn't exist as much as in the old days. But it's wrong. It is not correct because there are countries today that are in the same need of information, and that is the same situation we were in before. Cuba for example, arrested seventy people five years ago for disseminating information. My friend Adolfo Fernandez was sentenced to fifteen years for publishing information on the internet about the situation in Cuba. At present he is still serving his sentence in a Cuban prison, whose prison conditions are even worse than those during the Soviet Era. We are receiving information about constant arrests of so-called cyber dissidents in Cuba who are arrested for publishing independent information on the Internet. And even great or big international corporations like Google agreed to a compromise with Chinese authorities, and I believe that it is shameful in a free world. The one and only country we know nothing about is North Korea. I think it is impossible that no resistance at all would exist in a country like North Korea. But we simply do not know because there is no information coming out of North Korea. I deeply believe that the main weapon against fear in any society is the free word. And the free word has power not to destroy our internal fears, but the fears of our societies as well as dictatorships. Thank you.

Chairman: We still have about twenty minutes to go, and I heard from the previous panel discussion, there was urgent wish that more space and time is given to questions from the audience. If that is so, I am inviting all of you, who would have some questions for our panel or comments, please do so right now. Questions? No, so let me start, before somebody else does. Gemma, you wrote a cookbook on how to deal with tragic long-term conflicts, and how to persuade the people who do not talk to each other, who do not exchange information, who kill each other, and how to stop doing so. What happened and how did you manage to bring representatives of all factions of a 36-years-long civil war in Guatemala to one table, to one classroom?

Jose Maria Argueta: Well, first of all, it took us eighteen months to start getting people to accept the notion of getting together to address issues of national scope with their enemies. The biggest obstacle to communications is, in confronting a society such as Guatemala, people are permanently in a survival mode. That means in their minds, the world is an excitable place. Their loss is someone else's gain, and anyone else's gain is their own loss. To move them from that state of mind into a co-operative state of mind, in this cook-

book, as Jan mentioned, it takes nine months. The first thing we do is, we move them away from talking with the purpose to persuade and toward talking with the purpose to communicate. So since they don't have to be persuaded and they don't have to persuade anybody, they do not have to listen to counter attack, but they have to listen to understand. That is the first element of this cookbook that actually makes a world of difference. When you get people not talking, but communicating, you truly start a dialogue. Without a dialogue, it is not possible to address a problem. So by virtue of taking away this process of national reconciliation as it was initially branded, you take away the need to persuade anybody and you take away the fear of being persuaded, so you start talking freely and by the virtue of understanding the reality of the country you live in, you realize that you do not understand the reality as anyone else sees it. Each has their own perception of reality, and everyone else does the same. And soon everyone realizes that those who see the reality the way that you see the reality, are not necessarily those who antagonize you or who oppose you, but most of them remain indifferent. The key is to move them from being indifferent and unwilling to consider and integrate someone else's ideas into their own thinking.

It is a nine-month process, a three-phased process, a very intensive dialogue, three times per week, and five hours per session. In a country such as Guatemala, where over 63% of the population is literate, which sometimes can mean that they can only write their names, but it does not necessarily mean that they can understand what they read – you have to go back to basics, and work with the assumption that nobody knew anything. Every citizen walked into the classroom as an equal citizen. Ranks, titles, last names, everything was left at the door because all of those implied hierarchy in a society like mine. They became Pedro, Julio, Jose, Juan, Elisa, Juana in equal footing to discuss the situation in the country. The first time that a campesino leader was able to address a military officer by first name, he came to me and said: "I do not expect to survive being so disrespectful." Later, the officer came to me and said, "I am walking out because I cannot tolerate disrespect, this campesino dares to call me by my first name." Well, that officer went through the process, and some years later he became the Minister of Defense, and was one of the supporters of the peace process in the country. So it means it is possible to change people's minds, but it doesn't happen from one day to the next. It requires a process that breaks the stereotypes and portrays their human qualities to each other. It requires a process where people are looking into someone else's eyes and finally, they

look through the eyes and find the soul of the other human being. For those of you who are interested in this type of methodology, I would be more than happy to discuss it with you, but it would take a very long time to describe it. Thank you very much for the question.

Chairman: Well, I apologize for creating propaganda about Gemma Argueta. When we met he was commuting between the capitals of El Salvador and Guatemala, always judging which death threat on which side weighs more. So sometimes he would commute twice a week between two countries, but the effort paid off, and I have heard wonderful stories about Centro ESNA and the dialogue imposed on all factions or representatives of all factions. If you have a conflict for more than thirty years, it becomes your life. And to change it is immensely difficult. This is one of the few examples of successful change. I always remember the Centro ESNA experience when I listen to the news these days, and see the seemingly incompatible positions of some of the present political leaders.

Audience Member: I have a question for Mrs. Manji. I have read a book by Ayaan Hirsi, this brave Somalian lady, and I think that to be a reform Muslim, it's a great risk. So I would like to ask you such a personal question. How do you fight with your own worrying or fear, how did you manage to conquer it and what do you think about the book of Mrs. Ayaan Hirsi? Thank you.

Irshad Manji: Those are two questions in one. I quickly address the second question first, because I think the first question about how you confront your own fears, is infinitely more interesting than the second question about Ayaan. Ayaan and I are friends, we respect each other's positions, but we profoundly disagree with each other on one basic issue, whether Muslims can in fact reform. Ayaan has left Islam, she is no longer a Muslim, she is an out of the closet atheist, and I'd like to say to her, God bless you for that, that's great. I utterly defend her right and according to her conscience and responsibility to leave Islam. But having done so, she should not kid herself into believing that she can now have influence with other Muslims. She cannot. Why? Because she has just shown that she has no faith in the capacity of Islam to be reinterpreted. That is why she left. So when she says Muslims must reform, but the way to reform is to leave Islam, this is logically incompatible. And it is also in my humble view inaccurate. You have listened to my comments today, you understand where my optimism comes from, that Muslims can in fact reform and

that the Koran contains many passages that not just allow for it, but encourage us to think critically, which is why reinterpretation is absolutely possible in the faith of Islam. This is why I am a reform-minded Muslim, and I remain within the faith and proudly so.

This actually leads to the answer to your first question about how to conquer fear. Like Ayaan, I and other reform-minded Muslims receive many death threats. Mine come by the way not just from Pakistan and Saudi Arabia and Egypt, but increasingly from Europe. Even in my own country of kinder, gentler Canada I received a recent threat in the language of Urdu, which is spoken in Pakistan, describing me as the woman writer who is now subject to death. The police traced that death threat to an Internet cafe in downtown Toronto – the city that the United Nations has declared to be the world's most multicultural. To me this was just another reason to stick around in Prague.

My mother, whom I mentioned as the star of my documentary "Faith without Fear," is the star because she said to me on camera exactly the question that is on the minds of any mother and any father whose child is putting himself or herself in great danger for a greater good. My mother asked me on camera can you imagine what my life would be without you, can you just imagine? I said to her what I am now going to say to you; "Every day mom, I undergo this deep searching in my conscience about whether I should be doing what I am doing. The problem is, mom, I cannot wait for you to die for me to do this because I want you to be alive for a very long time. And in the meantime, what you and I have just discussed mom, that there is so much cruelty being done in the name of Islam today – that cruelty has to change. We then have to look at the advantages we have in front of us and we live in a glorious country like Canada, where we have the precious freedoms to think and express and challenge. These freedoms by the way were given to us as refugees when we came on this soil. We didn't fight for them, we didn't go to war for them, we didn't struggle for them, they were handed to us. How can we turn our back on this gift that we have been given? How can we do that? This is ingratitude if we silence ourselves and you know I find it very funny when fellow Muslims refer to me as a "kafer," which means somebody who is ungrateful to God. It is exactly because I am so grateful to God for this gift of freedom that every morning I wake up asking Allah, "How can I be worthy of these liberties? How today can I earn them and not just treat them like an entitlement?" This is what I said to my mother. And I cannot say that she was convinced by my argument. Because whenever we speak on the phone, which

is at least twice a week, she says the following, as if it's the first time she has ever said it, "You know sweetheart, I live with my heart in my throat every day." Welcome to the life of a reform-minded Muslim. It's a gift.

Chairman: It is said that identity can be constructed also by ourselves, that either we construct our identity to be for something that is the positive possibility. What is left is to be against somebody. You have heard and seen several people who know who they are, as afraid as they are, but they definitely know that they are for something, and for something good and positive. Thank you Irshad Manji, Sasha Podrabinek, Jose Maria Argueta and Charles Levesque. Ladies and gentlemen. Thank you very much.

BUSINESS AND ECONOMY ROUNDTABLE
Emergence of New Economic Powers and Its Impact on the Traditional Western Economies

Chairman (Tomáš Sedláček): The topic is, will the new giants be able to help or overtake the old giants? Those of you who are old like myself will remember the classification of the first world countries, the second world countries and the third world countries. Nowadays we only have the term "third world countries," but originally it was Cold War terminology. The first world countries were the rich countries, and the second world countries were the former Czechoslovakia, Russia, China and the like. In the last year these second world countries have begun to rise and it will obviously change a lot of what we were used to.

Mikhail Kasyanov: We know that economic development has been taking place for centuries. It was not even and we should remember that up until the middle of the 19th century, China and India were the biggest economies, and only later Western countries took this place as a result of the industrial revolution. The model they produced for themselves is called Capitalism. Capitalism is based on the values of personal liberties; such values as free markets, competition, and respect for private property. There were some cases in the past when other countries tried to introduce some other models, and the results were absolutely unacceptable. New economic powers started to emerge when they actively copied the methods of production and imported technologies from the Western world.

Today we know that these groups of countries, which we call emerging markets, have become new economic powers like China, India, Russia, Brazil, South Korea, etc., and that they produce more than a half of the world's GDP, and own more than 70% of the world's

hard currency reserves. That is good because their performance helps the world to be more stable and they can safeguard the economic growth of the world. To catch up is much easier than to lead.
That is why you should understand whether or not these new and re-emerging economic powers can appropriately recognize their responsibilities and give answers how to deal with the consequences of such crises. Let's take the example of my country, Russia. We know just from looking from the outside that the economic performance seems to be great; the GDP has been growing for 10 years and the country accumulated huge reserves. But on the other hand we see that during the last four years there has not been a single reform launched in Russia. What we have now is the destruction of competitiveness and as a result many other negative aspects begin to appear. Reforms are badly needed for the country to modernize. Those reforms are still not in place and it means that authorities do not quite realize that their successes were due to the free gift of nature, and failed to make use of it for the benefit of the whole nation. It means that there is no real preparation for the authority in my country to understand its new role in the world.

But one thing is absolutely clear – that the performance, power, and the influence of emerging countries on traditional standard capitalistic model economies should not be exaggerated because they are based on Western values and an introduction of any alternative models cannot bring any good. That is why I believe that we should permanently stay with this model of individual freedoms, free market, and respect for property rights. Otherwise if we compromise, different models of state capitalism would appear and destroy its nature – and this is something that looks likely in the near future.

Tomáš Eztler: I would like to react to Mr. Kasyanov. I cannot agree more with what you said about this notion that emerging powers such as China or India should not be exaggerated. If you look at the numbers, China definitely belongs in the top five powers regarding volume. The problem is that the statistics in China are unreliable and volatile. China became the biggest exporter in the world, and it is practically impossible today to live in the world without Chinese products. However, if you look at the list of the top 100 most respected companies in Asia, not a single one was Chinese. There were companies from countries such as, of course, Japan and South Korea. A lot of these companies are producing in China, however not one of these companies made it on this list of most trusted and respected brands.

I think it has a lot to do with what you mentioned; the infringements of property rights, the quality of Chinese goods. There are few who are not scared of at least some problem with Chinese products. So China has the potential to become a leading world power and the leading economy, but it still has problems. Let's take a closer look: in 1979 it was an absolutely insignificant poor country with a devastated economy. Many historians and economists will tell you today that the last 30 years was the fastest economical development of any society in the history of the world. Even so, China is like a little child who has grown up very quickly. And we know if we have a child who grows up so quickly, it breaks a lot of things, it doesn't know how to move, and it doesn't know how to act. So that said, I do believe China does have the potential, but it still has a long way to go to reach that status.

Vicente Fox: I'm very pleased to be here and I come as a pilgrim to praise the paradigm breaker, President Havel. When you have a problem, like the one we're having today in the world, the first step is to identify it. There is no doubt that the financial system of the world is in trouble. But I emphasize the financial system, because we do have a real economy based on work, and it is based on the exercise of the talent of its citizens. I don't think that part is at stake or has any problem right now. However, the main problem is that experts are still learning, so interpreting the economy becomes more and more difficult everyday.

Third, we do have the problem of the financial system which provides and nourishes the needed money to produce in the real economy. It provides the engine of the real economy, to keep working, to keep generating the jobs which are needed, and to keep nourishing businesses and investments. Where do they get the money? They get it from savings. There is no problem in this regard; savings in the last 10 years has increased dramatically. So people and institutions are saving. But the question is, where are those savings?

Finally, the financial system in the last ten years has expressed a total relaxation, creating artificial money, and creating resources which were not sustained by the saving system. So this is where we have to aim our effort. I think in Latin America we can find part of the needed solutions at this point in time. I don't know how many rounds we're going to have here, but later I would like to tell you about our experiences we had in Latin America which are very similar to what the world financial system is going through. So in the next round I will touch upon part of the solutions that were origi-

nally created in Latin America and solved the similar problems which occurred no longer than two years ago.

Tomaš Sedláček: The only model that really works is this model of market capitalism we invented two hundred years ago. Ever since we've invented it we've become extremely rich and even the poorest of us live much richer lives. However, market capitalism has been a very strong animal. It seems to be getting out of hand and even the strongest governments are not able to tame it. So are we still an inspiration to the second world countries?

Mikhail Kasyanov: The problems of today are the beginnings of a systemic crisis within the financial system of the two leading countries. Appropriate adjustments should take place there. As soon as this is done, I think the model will readjust and continue to drive us to prosperity. This is my belief.

Tomáš Sedláček: Will there be more state intervention after this financial crisis is over? We saw during the Great Depression of the 1920's and 1930's much more state involvement and raised taxes.

Kasyanov: That question always exists and that's why I say we have two principles of choices in the capitalistic world. When social democrats are in power, there is more redistribution and when conservatives are in power there are lower taxes and more encouragement of entrepreneurship. This is why people change governments every four years and sometimes every eight years.

Mohammed Gawdat: I'm a businessman, so please just take my comments from a business point of view. I think the difference between the Great Depression and what we're going through today, despite some great similarities, is the speed at which things are happening. If we look at the life of a company like Google, and take a look at what we have achieved in 10 years, the realities of the barriers that individuals and small businesses face in economies; these are becoming self-correcting and I think the long tale of involvement is going to change things drastically. Even in the finance sector, as former President Fox mentioned, there have been lots of experiences in emerging markets which can be very beneficial – especially in Latin America with things like micro financing. We are going through cycles in my view much faster than we did before and I think the single entity of

involvement is going to be very different because there is a lot more power in the smaller players than there has ever been before.

Tomáš Sedláček: We have two business people here, where would you invest? In the good old Europe and America, or would you be ready to go to Russia, India, China?

Jakob Nell: I think we're answering two very different sorts of questions; one is a very long structural question about why some countries are rich and other countries are poor. That is the question Adam Smith was trying to answer in the *Wealth of Nations*, and his answer was competitive markets, but markets understood as representing a wider set of values. Then the short, sort of cyclical question which we're discussing here is what's going to happen today on the Stock Market and Wall Street? What are the implications of this credit crisis for the real economy? And so it's difficult to split up the two but I've got a first attempt at an answer. I think if you look at the parallel Adam Smith was drawing, I think you'll notice he was including countries which have endowments such as oil, or precious metals and people think these countries should be rich because they have a lot of resources.

But in fact when you looked around the world, even in Adam Smith's time and even more today, the rich countries often have no resources. Often it is the countries with the resources that are among the less well-managed and less effective economies. So it looks like there's something to do with the infrastructure, the legal system, the political system, and the way in which they work to constrain their operation in the market. That explains why some countries are successful and others are not.

Now if you look at the current situation with the credit crisis, you have a situation where national institutions are responsible for regulating and managing the banking system and the financial markets. But they're essentially a global phenomenon, and the global authorities who are supposed to regulate them only have advisory powers. So I guess you could say, Adam Smith's conclusion was that politics is primary in the sense that you need the right politics to get the right sort of competitive market economy. So the financial crisis which we face at the moment is a political problem and it's a problem because we do not have the correct regulatory framework for the operation of these globalized markets.

Tomáš Sedláček: See my hope was that the individual private enterprises would be able to regulate themselves and not to get drunk when everyone else is drunk. Also that they would be able to do their business without a teacher standing above them with a whip. Perhaps I am too idealistic.

Vicente Fox: The answer to what extent there should be government intervention, I think it is related to regulation – to enforce and maybe to add some more of it, but beware of doing that. We were all together in this highly expansive growth of economies which we enjoyed as consumers, we enjoyed as governments, we enjoyed as corporations, and we enjoyed as financial institutions. This was the best profit ever, but now we have to pay the price after ten years of a highly expansive economy. Now it requires reducing the rate of growth which is necessary to go through adjustment. The solid manufacturing economies, the oil, the natural resources, and above all the work force and talent of the people are still there. Nothing has changed there, except the one body that was providing the resources for the engine to move is not healthy at this point in time.

Mohammed Gawdat: I tend to disagree in fact, once again as a businessman with all due respect to policy. One of the biggest revolutions we've seen in the emerging markets was the Indian IT revolution. This was really a result of the government missing to regulate it. They just forgot, they didn't catch up and the revolution was happening so quickly and it put India in the position it is in today. I can give you examples where regulations have delayed rather than accelerated reform. I think Africa has hundreds of those examples. There is a regulation of telecom communications just across the river in Africa, and regulation took a year and a half to decrease the roaming charges from $70 to 30 cents. I think if there is to be regulation, it should be very light. I think one thing that can really drive emerging markets down today is if we try to regulate them like we try to regulate mature markets. Mature markets went into a financial set-up which was perhaps not the best fit because many emerging markets do not have that set-up at all. I definitely think that if we do what mature markets are trying to do, then we are going to slow down the cycle and not accelerate it. So a light touch of regulation might be possible, but it's hard for regulators to do this. So where is the balance, is a question that I think should be raised.

Tomáš Etzler: I think we are all in agreement about one thing. I spent the whole day yesterday flying from Asia and I was reading a lot of newspapers with a lot of headlines like, "The Death of Capitalism", "The Death of Free Market", "The Free Market Economy Did Not Work, We Need a New System." I do not agree with that but I do believe that what was said here was that the free market economy is the best working system that exists at the moment. But of course as every other system it can be abused and mismanaged. This is where the politics come in and this is what we are talking about. This system is an actual working system that just needs to be properly controlled, regulated, and managed.

Tomáš Sedláček: The question is what will happen during the bad periods if we don't have a soft cushion to land on? The governments will find themselves in a much more difficult position to lend.

Tomáš Eztler: I think there are two fundamental problems with this, especially when it comes to China. First of all, there are the atrocious trading policies of the United States. The United States shares a lot of its guilt because it caused that huge deficit which grows by millions of dollars every year. The problem of course is also on the Chinese side. The Chinese, despite tremendous pressure by the WTO, did not open their markets to the foreign economies. China regulates its market extremely tightly, so their government is also partially responsible for this trading deficit. Every country including the Czech Republic has a huge and growing trading deficit with China.

Jacob Nell: There is an interesting thought here, that the IMF has imposed programs on countries such as Turkey when they run into balance payment problems, typically because they have a large current account deficit which they have problems financing. After Mexico's peso crisis in 1994 and the Russian crisis in 1998, one of the lessons governments drew from much of the developing world was, "don't have a current account deficit, and if you do have one make sure it's financed by private inflows of capital," as happened in some countries in Eastern Europe. And the problem with that is, as it happened across the world, all the current account deficits summed to zero. So if everyone has a surplus, somebody has to be running a deficit, and that ended up being the United States and to a certain extent the United Kingdom. So if you then correct that imbalance you may then push a lot of the developing countries into current account deficits, thus causing them to worry about their financing. The answer

probably has something to do with the IMF in somebody buying liquidity support, but it is a very tricky question because they are always under pressure to get people back into balance quickly. Even if that isn't the right economic answer, it is a bit of perspective as to how we got to where we are today.

Vicente Fox: I believe the answer is to go back to the basics. You don't even know where your money is. You put it in your own local bank and maybe that bank is investing the money of all its savers from that local city in Russia or China. So what you can really decide upon is what kind of investment you want to make. And that's where you really have a selection. You can invest it in gold, you can invest it in currencies, you can invest it in government bonds; that's where you have a choice. But again I would go back to the basics. Invest where there is the production, the manufacturing, the business, hardwork, talent, productivity, and competitiveness. At the very end that's where your money will be safest and of course that includes real estate properties in those nations.

Tomáš Sedláček: So is it really going back to basics?

Jacob Nell: You invest where you can get the best return. It is a very simple answer.

Tomáš Sedláček: Is the risk that the second or third world countries pose worth the risk of a higher return?

Jacob Nell: Well for instance to take BP's investment in the joint venture TNK-BP, it's been an excellent investment for BP and they are a successful company. The mixture of the international staff and the Russian staff work very well together to bring new techniques into the oil field, and though it was nearly derailed by the shareholder dispute earlier this year, there is now an agreement whether the shareholder is going forward or not. So I think you just have to have a bigger appetite for risk if you want to invest in places where the enforcement of law can be arbitrary at times.

Mohammed Gawdat: Let me just say that the question is not where to invest, but the question is when to invest and how to invest. I really think that is the difference. When to invest is definitely not now. Now I think we are in a tricky situation. As I see from our very fast-paced-life point of view, we think there will be a lot of clarity very

quickly. The whole motion will happen much faster than it happened in the past. On the other hand, where I totally share the points of view of the other speakers in terms of where are areas of high uncertainty, I would also not invest there in the traditional way. I would invest there not in terms of growth but in terms of positioning. From a Google point of view, and I'm sorry that I cannot say more than what we look at, we think what is happening now is a sort of repositioning of ourselves in markets where we haven't served properly, as well as really looking at the opportunity of making markets and capturing markets. So that traditional way of investing has always been, "let's find an opportunity and let's capture that short term opportunity as quickly as possible." In rough times, as we are going through right now, it's so much better to actually give yourself the opportunity to reposition and build the market that will evolve very quickly. So we see it as an opportunity right now.

Vicente Fox: I think a bailout has to be carried out. But a well done, well conditioned bailout like it was done in Mexico back in 1994 during that mammoth crisis we had with mortgages, with people's homes, jobs, and their savings at risk. Governments have to intervene no matter how libertarian they are. They must intervene to save people's assets, people's money, and people's savings, especially those of the poor. So the solution has to come immediately by taking out the problem of the financial system and move it away from the real economy, and then do a lot of engineering to solve the system so that it comes back and continues to nourish the real economy. In the meantime, yes there is going to be a slowdown, there is going to be a loss of jobs, there is going to be a loss of corporations, companies, small businesses; those which were not efficient enough.

By doing the engineering on the financial side, you have to finance it one way or another. Only governments can do that amount of financing and can keep it out of the public debt of the nation; that's what happened in Mexico. FOBAPROA did not go into public debt, and FOBAPROA did not use budget funds so that the budget was not affected. FOBAPROA is still on this cloud and this cloud is still hanging over all our money that we have saved through our productive lives. But this cloud has to be cleared out, and this is where the ones who acted right, and complied with the rules, should be saved temporarily so that there is a come-back. Those who did wrong should be severely punished because you don't play around with people's savings anywhere in the world. As I said before, we don't know where our money is. It's in this cloud somewhere landing in China,

landing in Russia, landing in Mexico, or somewhere. So those responsible for that should have more accountability, and we should certainly punish those who clearly broke the rules.

Tomáš Sedláček: Let me ask the question, how will the world look 30 years from now?

Tomáš Eztler: Well the world is changing. I think that China and India will grow as economies. I personally think that will be bad for China and not for India. What China is doing is basically just becoming a big production plant and it has been enabled by a very massive cheap labor-force which has absolutely no rights. The employers do pretty much whatever they want with the labor there. It's a country which has absolutely no regard for the environment and it is a country which is really bad on these factors. Of course all the countries around the world try to jump into China and try to produce there without taking into account the consequences for the environment. However, India created a little bit different model. India is betting more on education and more on developing the IT sector as you mentioned earlier.

In the long run I think China might run out of steam and I think India will proceed because it is already ahead. We do not see it in numbers, but I think India is already ahead in many aspects when it comes to economy. India was not investing into some commodities or into some entities, but more into positioning itself for the future. I want to say one more thing; I am an optimist, but I do not think the good times are coming any time soon. I think the crisis we are facing now is very serious. I think we're now only at the beginning and there will be very rough times ahead.

Mohammed Gawdat: We don't plan that long, so we don't know what will happen in thirty years. I think it is going to be a very different place. I share Tomáš's view actually; I would bet more on India than China. I think just from the point of view of investments in infrastructure, the country is investing heavily and then there is the increase of the young population coming to the market place, from 630 million to 800 million in five years. I think that on its own is going to improve productivity drastically. I however think that it is not going to be that black and white. I don't think the typical definition of India and China is going to remain. As we look at the internet's population today, the internet is the largest connected group on earth.

We are 1.3 billion people on the internet today and there are many similarities which will cross boundaries. So there will be pockets of success in smaller countries and in bigger countries. It's not going to be that India will succeeded and China will fail, but rather it's going to be that particular sector in India will succeed and that particular sector in China will fail. And I think everybody will have something to offer. I am absolutely with you in being an optimist. I think this will go away, but it's going to hurt, and it's going to take time. Hopefully, it will be quicker than the last crisis, but it's not anytime soon that we're going to have drinks and celebrate.

Vicente Fox: Totally optimistic. Gordon Sax stated size of economy China is number one in the year 2040. United States number two, India number three, Japan number four, and guess who will be number five?

Tomáš Sedláček: Europe?

Vicente Fox: Mexico.

Tomáš Sedláček: Mexico?

Vicente Fox: Mexico of course. 2040. I think finally there is a larger provision of compassion and solidarity in the world.

Mikhail Kasyanov: During the last few decades we can draw some lessons regarding how the world develops, how the majority of the countries in the world are devoted to how the model works, how it makes products, and how it produces fruits and benefits. All these problems should exist only temporarily. In fact I believe the politicians and the business community would work out the appropriate adjustment measures in a short period of time, maybe not in just a few months, but definitely in one to two years maximum so we could have a much better adjusted world than what we face now. The only thing that we should remember is that we should not encourage any authoritarian and totalitarian regime. As soon as we accomplish that, the model will gain more strength and we will continue to move on to a much more prosperous world. And the countries we label as emerging economies will play a much bigger role, but with the real responsibility and capability to safeguard their part of the world. I totally and completely believe that we are competent to do that very soon.

Jacob Nell: I did an exercise a couple of years ago as energy prices started to rise. We went back to the 1970's and looked at the various predictions that were being made then about who would be up and who would be down in thirty years time. The world turned out differently in two important respects. All the forecasts in the 1970's had China staying very poor and they had the Soviet Union being very rich. So that is a good illustration of the dangers of long term forecasting. One place that hasn't been mentioned that I think might do very well when looking forward is Brazil. It has just discovered enormous offshore oil reserves and it has some very good companies and a diversified economy. It's always been the country of the future and has never fully realized its potential and I think it really has this time around.

Tomáš Etzler: We're talking about expectations in 30 years. I think you are all talking about the economical things but I think there are other things which are extremely important. The 20th century was a conflict between two ideologies, Communism and Capitalism. We're facing a new danger in this century which is the conflict between the Western World and Islamic society and I think these next 30 years should be taken very seriously to reconcile these ideological differences, because without them there will be no prosperity in the world. I just came back from Pakistan and this is going to be a really big problem for much of the world.

Tomáš Sedláček: Allow me to briefly sum up what I have just heard; words of optimism from actually all of you. The main topic was "the American-European civilization, and the impact of the financial crisis." Perhaps our biggest mistake for this crisis was that many of us never expected it, and although it regularly happens we were all taken by surprise. You don't view this crisis as much of a problem as you phrased it "an experience" and as an opportunity to learn and to improve what we have. In your assessments you see a better world in 30 years.


TOMÁŠ S


FORUM
2000
when we still made things ...":
nomic Future of Europe and North America?
GABRIEL EICHLER
SEDLÁČEK

BUSINESS AND ECONOMY ROUNDTABLE
Oh When We Still Made Things...: What Will be the Economic Future of Europe and North America?

Jan Švejnar [Power Point Presentation]: Openness is the theme of this conference and I think this is even appropriate for the economic and financial systems that we have, because where we are today in terms of both good and bad outcomes is very much connected with openness. So these are some of the key questions that I think we should address; how the advanced and emerging economies are doing? How is productivity shifting? What is production shifting to? What's happening to productivity? And then there are some sort of key issues that I think would be important to look at when looking forward. Europe is the largest continent in terms of exchange rates. Looking at exchange currencies, the US is following and then China, Russia, and India. This gives you a sense of weight; if you just took everything they produced, put it on the world market, this is how much it would be. The exchange rate has a lot to do with it, just as I said. In the last year there was a 20% swing which is not unheard of, but a 100% swing occurred between the Euro and the US dollar in a period of five or six years. The relative weight and relative size is reflected very much in how we value things instead of in terms of the exchange rates.

If you look at income per capita, things change quite drastically in the sense that you see Russia becoming bigger than China. But still the advanced countries are leading the way both in terms of absolute weight. Incidentally when you look at it in Purchasing Power Parity, taking into account how much people consume, the differences in prices and products across countries don't change the relative picture too much. In terms of GDP growth, poor countries are emerging and growing faster than the rich countries. That is something that eve-

ryone is aware of and pretty much warns of medium and long-term patterns. Here is a picture of what happened in the last decade when looking at Real GDP Index. China is way ahead of everybody else. I included a lot of countries in this region because a lot of people here are from the region. The region of growth moved from the West to the East, and Eastern Europe was the engine of growth in the 1990's and in the 2000's the economy has been moving further east.

Here incidentally one should be aware that depending on how you measure things it makes a lot of difference. If you look at these rates of growth you'll see that some currencies appreciate and some don't. China is still ahead, but not by much. The Czech Republic, Poland, and Slovakia are in the same ball park when you take into account the appreciation of their currencies. So in some sense it depends on how we measure things and this is an important thing to keep in mind; that the way we usually measure GDP is not by taking into account swings in exchange rates which can be sizeable and long-lasting. Overall, what we see is that the rich countries are where the weight is in terms of economic activity. It also is true that ranking, which is widely used in terms of who is competitive in this world, doesn't change too much at least in the short run. And the countries which are challenging; China, India and Russia, according to a number of indicators, are still lagging and after a period of just three, four years there was not much change. So the situation in the short to medium run is sort of stable in the world and in the long run there are of course major evolutions and major changes taking place.

This is another picture taking a look at the role of the United States and Europe in the changing world. Notice again that just over a period of 8, 10, 15, 20 years, the US will be decreasing but relatively stable with not much change because of its weight. Europe with its many countries will remain roughly where it is, and as you see the emerging market economies which are growing very fast, Russia, China, India are making a dent but still through a very low base. So one thing you have to stress is that the base they start from is very low and therefore it will take some time. Also, you have to go quite far into the future with current relative rates of growth to come to the conclusion that there is going to be a huge change.

This is the forecast; rich countries will grow slower than the poor countries and the financial crisis may affect this but not in terms of relative standing. Now let's look at some of the sectoral things. So we still produce tangible things, right? Basically what is underlying the thinking behind this session is that we are producing things that are no longer valuable and so on and so forth. Agriculture is one of them,

and indeed the rich economies like the US or Europe, produce very little. It is shrinking, but if you're so close to zero you can't go much lower – this is a basic truism. The good thing about truisms is that they are true. The US will not reduce so much more in terms of agriculture, but it is very important in terms of what is behind that. Notice that the increasing tangible production in this area comes from the poor countries such as China, India, and Russia. That's where we see moving away from real production into something else. What's behind this is productivity, so the US and to a lesser extent Europe have a very small share in terms of agriculture but at the same time are extremely productive. So you do not need too many people if you have very high productivity.

Regarding industry, yes it is true that we in the rich countries are producing increasingly less and less, but notice also that Russia downsized significantly. India is slightly increasing but it really depends on which five year pattern you're looking at. China is the only one who has increased its share, but it is not enormous. So these are not seismic shifts that you are observing. And again it is productivity. The remaining workers in the rich countries are extremely productive so you don't have to have too many, and it sort of looks like we're giving up by leaps and bounds, but it is not in leaps and bounds. We are giving up and we are moving elsewhere obviously but those who are remaining are doing a lot of work for us. That is one thing to keep in mind. Then we look at services, and yes the rich countries are increasingly going to the intangible – hard to grasp, hard to touch and feel. But notice so are China, India, and Russia! We're just shifting our consumption patterns and our welfare is consisting more and more of services.

In some sense it is just the fate of the whole world which is moving into this sector, while being extremely productive in the other sectors in which we are devoting less man-power. Let me just point out a couple things which are important; the demographics. This is just a short term picture – the long term picture looks worse. The dependence on older people is becoming more and more a reality, with the US being one exception here. But countries are growing older and with the younger population and those who are also dependent, this group is also getting smaller. So when you look at them together it's giving a misleading picture in some sense, because it says that the group of dependence is declining or remaining stable. But the problem is that while the future workers are getting smaller as a group, it is the retired ones who will not become future workers and are becoming more and more numerous. So I think this is one of the

forces which will come mercilessly to haunt us over the next 10 to 20 years. That is one of the predictions I would like to throw in for the debate.

Energy, I think this is another important topic. What we have are some economies like the United States, Russia and countries within Europe, using a lot of energy. The efficiency varies a lot – Europeans are quite efficient, the rest of the world including America is not so efficient in terms of energy productivity. The bad thing for the Europeans who are much more efficient with their energy use is that they are much more dependent on everybody else. So I think energy dependency is much less of an issue for the US as it is for Europe. I think this is where a lot of the thinking should be going if one is to think strategically and move ahead. Europe is also good regarding clean energy consumption but this is relative to the sort of high standards that many people would like us to set.

Let's look a little bit at trade, because it is the openness and trade that moves us around and enable us in terms of what we see in the underlying patterns, sectoral, and overall development. In terms of merchandise trade it is important to realize here, and we often sort of complain about the deficits that the rich countries are running, but notice that this is what enables the poor countries to export. What is somebody's import is somebody else's export, so the rich countries in the merchandise trade, or the tangible trade, are the ones who are sucking in the products being produced by the poor countries. Obviously we could do so much more if we liberalized even further, but even so it is important to be aware of the pattern which already exists. This is the breakdown in terms of merchandise exports; as you can see rich countries are exporting a lot of manufactured products. It's not that we are not exporting manufactured products because we are. It's just the relative magnitude that is important. There is a big reliance from everybody on the advanced markets. If we didn't have the rich markets, a lot of countries would be even worse off, and obviously we should open the markets up even further because they are clearly important. Without them it would be difficult for the US and Asia and visa versa. This is now the picture in terms of services where rich countries are the net exporters and the poor countries now are the net importers. There is a division of labor and we can discuss whether or not it is desirable or undesirable or whether it is leading us to a tough situation.

My argument is that it is not so awful and that it is not a picture of calamity awaiting us in the near future. There are different expenditures and this is within the overall package. This is also to remind

you that different countries have different priorities in terms of how they spend and so forth. For example, military expenditures in the US have been much higher than in Europe; something that may or may not last going forward.

Finally, let's look at America vs. Europe. Europe is much more balanced in many respects because people save more than in the US. However, rates of growth are similar or somewhat higher over the recent periods in the United States. Unemployment which used to be much higher in the United States than in Europe is now much lower but we'll see how things will be going forward. Overall, for the sake of discussion you can see that the two economies are not too dissimilar, although the US does live beyond its means more than Europe in many respects. What's been happening is that there's been a long term and short term development. Europe was basically catching up with the United States, as was Japan, until the early 1990's, and then things changed. What happened then is that growth accelerated rapidly in Europe and in many other measures the US also went ahead of Europe. Smaller European states have done much better than the bigger states. So if one went into a debate it would be richer in that respect, but just in terms of general global picture, the historical pattern changed after WWII.

What has happened is that there were several new dimensions. Let me throw out a few of them for the sake of discussion. I think the US was more ready to harness the technological revolution, in terms of entrepreneurship and the availability of capital during the 1990s. The regulations became much more of an issue in Europe, which has always had more regulations and was not ready to de-regulate as fast as the US, so that became much more of a cost of doing business. The research and development was much more to a greater extent in the United States and Japan than in Europe, although Europe was doing a lot of it but in relative magnitude. Then there is the emphasis on human capital and education; but I think Europe is catching up now after the US was ahead and on a more advanced level. Frankly I believe that the business leadership was much more important in the United States than it was in Europe.

So just to conclude, what I was trying to show today will be important for quite a while. The emerging market economies are here and they make the world much more competitive and they are making themselves felt much more strongly over time, but from a small base. It is demand, competition and competitive advantage which is driving the structure. Therefore I would not worry so much about whether we are producing tangible or intangibles. As long as there is

demand and the competitive advantage is telling us that we should be producing something at which we are better and can have better return on, then we should do that. I think there is a need for strategic thinking and investment in a number of areas as I was indicating with energy and others. And the financial crisis which everybody thinks about these days is hopefully temporary. We can talk about how temporary it is but we have an entire panel on it this afternoon. That is why I didn't include it here, not because I don't think it's important.

Chairman: Our economy is becoming more and more abstract and our economy is shifting more and more to the East and to the South. However, even that block of the world as we have learned today is following the same trend, although a little slower and with different dynamics than us.

Mike Moore: In 1900 you would have probably found that 80% of Americans, New Zealanders, and Canadians were working on the land. We are producing more fiber, more food, and more timber in my country where it's not 80% working the land, but rather about five or six percent. I'm a person who worked in the meat works, on the waterfront. I have done manual labor and I can tell you that it is not as romantic as some academics would have you believe. There is nothing romantic about killing sheep and shipping containers across the wharf! It is very unsafe. But when I worked on the water front, we had 2,500 people in my union on the wharf. I then became a minister of a reforming government and we then took the 2,500 down to around 500. There are now 250 because every one of those jobs was a tax on imports and a tax on exports. And when I think of Europe's problems, I think of the lack of confidence Europeans and Americans seem to have had recently with their own success. Get over it!

This whole conference is about the open society but it is also about the open economy, because those people who believe in the closed societies normally believe in closed economies and are the most unpleasant of people. If they won't let you choose where you work, how you work, what you think, and how you do your business, they're most likely to decide how you think and how you should work elsewhere. I think the examples are quite clear. The Baltic States and the Czech Republic were as wealthy as France before the war, and after twenty or thirty years of experiments your incomes are 30%. If globalization tells them that governments don't matter, tell that to the people in Argentina and ask them why they aren't doing as well as

Chile? And if governments don't matter, tell me why it is that Spain is now wealthier than Italy? Of course governments matter! Now let me just conclude with this point, don't let us give up! During the last six decades we have created more wealth than the rest of human history put together.

The numbers living on less than a dollar a day have dropped from 40% in 1981 to less than 20% now. This has been an extremely successful decade. Was it good enough? No it was not. The decline of America and the decline of Europe are only relative to the success of other people. And isn't it a good thing that China has integrated into the world economy more and more? It has to be a good thing if hundreds of millions of people are lifted out of extreme poverty. It must be a good thing if hundreds of millions of people have been lifted out of extreme poverty in India. It must be a disastrous thing that they're not being lifted out of extreme poverty in some places in Africa, although that is not completely true in all of Africa. And those places that are doing the worst, which have the lowest life expectancy, the places that have the least human rights, are those that are the most closed economies.

President Kennedy said during the launching of the Tokyo Trade Round in the 1960's, "This trade round will help developing countries like Japan." That should be the answer to all the critics, and if Europe refuses to re-allocate its resources efficiently and America does the same, and if they want to spend a billion dollars a day to make food dearer for their working families, and they want to steal that money from poor consumers and give it to rich producers, it is inevitable what will happen. Jan reminded me on the way in that about 44% of the European Union's budget goes to cows! Six percent of it goes to R&D. Now when people put their hand up and say they don't make things – that is absolute nonsense. Don't authors make things? Don't poets make anything? And everyone of you have been on the Google Microsoft products creating what you are, and those huge lifts in productivity you've seen there are because of this other service sector. It is an enormously primitive thing not to see how it is integrating and how good it is for all of us.

I'll conclude by repeating, I'm a working class boy from New Zealand. When I was a child, the dream of the trade working union was to have the Encyclopedia Britannica in the 1950s and 1960s. That cost us a year's pay to get it. Obviously we didn't get it. Now we can get it and download it for just about nothing, and if you go to most free market countries you can get it for nothing. Is this a bad thing?

Mühlfeit: Let me take a moment to define and connect three things; the power shift, competiveness and technology. I will simplify the power shift we are seeing today. The economic power has to do with two things: wealth, as a country being able to accumulate and multiply by the size, and by size I mean the size of the population, the size of the country, and the amount of the natural resources. And that is why China, accumulates a lot of money. You also see other countries with the natural resources and how they accumulate a lot of money because of that. But that is the economical power, in terms of GDP. If you talk about the western hemisphere you should think the demography picture is a little better in the US, and it is almost a crisis here in Europe.

We don't have enough people and we don't have natural resources, so let's figure out how the value will be produced in the 21st century. But it is true that in the next 30 years if you talk about the economy there will be a huge shift. There will be no EU country among the G-8. But the GDP in the economy is like a snap shot in the life of a specific country. If you talk about competitiveness, it has to do with a number of different factors and not just one. It has to do with the quality of institutions, the quality of the government, the way business is done, how much the economy is open, and we couldn't have a better advocate of free trade here than Mike.

Last but not least it is infrastructure. It is the basic infrastructure but it is also R&D. This is competitiveness. I think we can still remain very competitive in the US and in Europe if we allocate the resources as it is required in the 21st century. But sometimes the way we re-allocate resources reminds me of the 18th century. Regarding the role of technology, the funny thing with information technology is that computers and all electronic devices are better at repetitive tasks. Whatever has to do with logic and can be automated in a number of years will be automated, and it will eliminate some of the jobs. I think we need to re-skill the people and invest in education both in the United States and here in Europe. I can give you just one number; 38% of Europeans have no IT or digital skills whatsoever, so I think Europe is ready, but I may discuss that in the second round. So technology and demography will play a big role in whether we stay competitive or else we will lose. This is not a crisis of open trade, but rather this is a crisis of some governments and of some bad behavior.

Gawdat: I think we are not making enough physical things because of the subsidies which are really hurting people. So at the end of the day, think about the number of people who are living below a dollar

a day and that they have dropped so much. Also think about what they could have bought with that dollar one year ago in terms of food prices versus what they can buy today. I think the problem that is happening here is very real and I think those people are going to get to the point where they will suffer from the lack of physical goods, including very basic needs like water and food. I think this is something that the international community needs to take very seriously. The fact that we are making more non-physical goods that are more profitable for producers and that the percentage of physical goods is declining with the growing population in a crisis, it is not something to be taken lightly.

Eichler: I give my respect to Mr. Moore who I've studied some time ago in a comparative study of economics at the International Council of the United States. We actually used New Zealand as a great example of necessary reforms, so my respect to you Sir. Also, I don't have too much to add that hasn't been said already on the issue of the need of openness and international trade, promotion of education, etc. But I would immediately begin to question your premise even though we only had eight hands raised. I think both the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and much of Central Europe is far from the service economy that we pretend to present it as. Ten years ago, Slovakia did not produce a single car, but now it is the single highest producer of cars per capita in the world. The Czech Republic is number two and Belgium is number three.

When I take the production of light sports aircraft, which is a little hobby of mine, 25% of the world's production of light sports aircraft are produced in the Czech Republic. The investments of my group are mostly in manufacturing in the Czech Republic and Slovakia, and we even produce silly things like injecting molding for automotive industries which is really one of the things we should produce in the less sophisticated countries. But fortunately, or unfortunately, whichever position you want to take, it is produced right here for a number of reasons. One is necessary logistics associated with it, another is the flexibility of production and simple quality of product that is necessary and is required by the automotive industry in Europe: Germany, Czech Republic, France etc. Therefore, these things are produced here and not in China. So there are a number of more complicated and more sophisticated products which are staying here or moving from here to other countries because of the necessary quality or logistics. So let's not forget that we're still a manufacturing country and we're still a producing region. In fact I would like to

add to that. One of the companies we had was ETA, which is a well known, small domestic appliance producer. We intend to keep it here for a large part of the production, and a necessary part of why we are doing that is the quality issue as I've mentioned already, it's the logistics; the timing and flexibility which is necessary.

Regarding the parts which we do produce in China; when I go to China with my colleagues we have no way of checking the quality of how the products are made. That is why we're trying to keep the production here. Not necessarily 100%, not necessarily 60%, but our ability to produce must continue here. Things in the world are going to change; the yen is going to get stronger, the labor supply in China is not going to be as robust as it is currently. They did have a single child policy starting in 1979 so that is going to have some effect, because those kids are going to be spoiled single children, and when going to the labor market they're probably not going to want to work in factories. So all those are reasons why we believe it is a good idea to keep some of the production here.

Mike Short: Speaking as one of the few people who make real things, it's quite interesting to look at how history has evolved over the last few centuries. Of course taking my own industry, the beer industry, there was a time when the product itself was enough. When you made good beer, when your clients were local people who worked in your brewery, who depended on you, their father's fathers worked for you, the reputation was solid and that was fine. This went on for quite some time. Competition was slow in arriving and things gradually changed. Other people began selling their products in their own backyard, which is kind of uncomfortable. When this started happening, consumerism rose, people learned more about different products, and they understood that more things were available because people started to travel more.

Then of course eventually the internet came along and gave people huge amounts of information about the businesses they had relied on for their whole life. This changed the entire nature of business. Business found itself competitive in its local environment where it hadn't before. So it had to expand and it had to move across borders into different countries where they didn't speak the language and couldn't understand the culture, and business gradually began to globalize.

So what's happened now is we've seen the growth of these global companies, and my parent company SAB Miller happens to be the second largest brewing company in the world, operating in 60

countries. That in a way has introduced a second level of power, a power that does challenge the economists and a power which in some industries has actually taken some power away from the economists. I don't think the same is true in the beer industry, but if you look at the mining and the oil industries, their ability to penetrate into poorer countries and use and manipulate the resources out of those countries has been significant in many ways to hold them down.

On the other hand, I think globalization has brought with it a sense of responsibility. For example, in our company we have ten codes of sustainable development. In amongst those are two or three of interest, one of which is about the role of suppliers and how suppliers must support and operate within the ethical environment of their own company. So suppliers in foreign countries are required to produce and supply to ethical guidelines. They're required to follow codes of morality, they're required not to employ child labor, they're required to pay above minimum wages, and they're selected on those basis. They are also required like we are to invest in local society because, you need to earn the right to trade, and the right to trade is given to you by your reputation and your need to operate. So the globalization of a tangible industry that produces does in fact create a ground ripple on ethical behavior that may improve the situation before it was there.

Despite all this, I believe business still has a lot to improve. And business, as you know is still very much about making things. We spend more and more time worrying about our brands. Our brand of course is the beer brand, Pilsner Urquell, Gambrinus for example in our case, but it is also the corporate brand Plzeňský and SAB Miller. If those brands are not strong, we will fail. We are accepted into new countries and new environments and we are allowed to buy out other companies in countries willingly because of the strength of our brand. Now this branding can obviously be questioned and can be dissected, and with the amount of scrutiny that international business is subjected to there can be no room for falsehood, for lies, and for cheating because it will be seen by analysts. It can also be seen by local NGOs who are interested in our ethical behavior and the way we work in the marketplace. If you misbehave in India or China, or in an African country, that will be raised in London or New York and it will be held against you. So the role of business in keeping that brand does in fact force it into ever more sustainable and acceptable behavior and hopefully attempts to change the local framework in the countries in which it operates.

Tomáš Sedláček: 2,000 years ago, Plato had this dream about liberating the mind from matter. If he was here with us today he would be an interesting co-panelist because this is exactly what our economy has done. We produce very little material things, and the things that we do produce are very effective. What's important today, which wasn't important in those days, is intellectual property. Plato's ideas are not copyrighted anywhere, nor are the ideas of St. Thomas of Aquinas, nor any other of the big thinkers. If you read medieval philosophy they don't quote each other because an idea was considered to be a general property.

Now there comes a question, to which Google and Microsoft take a completely opposite stand; that the advantage to material things is that you can copy/paste. You can completely copy/paste the design of a chair. You can completely copy/paste how to make this microphone. So should we go forward protecting our intellectual property rights or do we go the Google way that gives everything away? Google doesn't sell anything really. You can't buy anything from Google. Google has even moved further from Microsoft, which doesn't create anything that has weight. Now what's the difference here?

Gawdat: Here's the Google answer. I think we have two very different points of view here. You're absolutely right, we don't make anything that weighs and what we make we don't even sell. So it is a very funny situation where we make search engines and then make money from an advertiser who doesn't really search, and at the end of the day everybody is happy; that is what struck me when I first moved there. Now we actually encourage the copy/paste function very strongly, which I think is a brave position. We think it's a way to move that cycle forward very quickly. I think the idea is whether you like it or not, the copy/paste function is going forward. So rather than investing the time and effort into making sure nobody out there in China reverses what your engineers are doing, rather we continue to go as fast at a speed which they cannot catch up with. As a matter of fact, we are finding out that the more you make things available for others, the more they come up with ideas that you're also allowed to copy/paste, and so basically the cycle continues. It's probably not a bad thing in our view.

Jan Švejnar: Until about ten years ago all the universities were not making their syllabi and reading lists available. Now the equilibrium is that we all put it right out there on the web. So you don't have to go

to Michigan or to MIT. You can just download everything and read it, and the bet is that you will still want to hear us, be in the room, and argue with us and our colleagues who are in class. Yet we can still survive. So here is a shift from one model to another which just happened to be. It's more competitive, it's more perfect, everybody has more access to information, and it makes us all work harder. Therefore, it has all the sort of desirable properties that you want to have.

What we see today, we may not see tomorrow because technology and other factors may change it. One other point which was stressed here before, and I would like to add to it, is that the free trade area idea is very important. So in a way, that is a major challenge that we all have. How can we bring about reductions in tariffs and other barriers? The advanced countries are the ones who I think should be the leaders. Remember, those of you who took Trade Theory; it is advantageous for you to eliminate your barriers even if others don't, and certainly a rich country should do it first. But it is interesting that some of the highest barriers are in some of the less developed countries. So they suffer a lot by protecting themselves, be it in Africa or somewhere else. Huge benefits can be derived there.

Audience Member: Corporations have helped to position candidates in public offices. It seems many people don't mind, yet these leaders who are not really strong leaders and are really puppets and in many cases don't have the leadership capacity in the time of any sort of crisis. Now that many corporations need openness, politicians are instead calling for closing borders and for protectionism. How do you see this situation developing? Thank you.

Mike Short: It's an interesting question. I think from the point of view whether government or business have vested interests. The question is are they for the public good or not, and are they selfish? I think one of the issues we've lived with for the past twenty years or so has been a lack of transparency and the lack of ability to really understand the true motives of leaders. Now as you get a second tier of globalization through industry and a tier of globalization through information, we're increasingly more able to see through false leaders, and to understand much better what their true beliefs are. And of course with the global media, they can be interrogated and questioned and their morals can be put on show. So one source of optimism for me is the public debate on the integrity of world leaders, and I would like to see the same restraints that are being applied to business leaders to be applied to public government leaders. And it will happen.

I mean governance in industries has become an industry in its own right, however the recent banks are another issue. But most business leaders are highly conscious of the requirements to be accountable to the shareholders or to their employees. We need to get that same accountability into government leaders, and I think transparency, challenging debates, and media can help a lot in this area.

Moore: A world without walls is not a world without rules, standards or values. I'll join with the others in that I can't see a political problem that cannot be solved by more disclosure, more transparency, more accountability, and more testing. As business is scrutinized, the biggest thing they've got costing them is their reputation. It takes you years to build it up and if somebody lets you down it can be done with overnight. I tell you, this is the joy of technology! There was actually a little New Zealand company that migrated to England and got very big. A couple years ago, two school girls, both migrants, decided to do a test on the juice they produced, and they found that is wasn't what the advertisers said. So these couple of kids who were about 15 and 16 years old brought this giant to its knees and it had to apologize and its shares went all to hell. I thought that was just glorious! That's because of information.

I want to make another point, because my country is lonely with Finland and Denmark as the least corrupt. I think we've underestimated the potency and the importance of competition as a cleansing agent and as an anti-corruption force. If we can get competition into the market force and into some poorer countries, then you will elbow out the crony, phony capitalists who go along to the politicians and the generals and say "Protect the local people!" There is something ominous and sinister about political parties who say "Zimbabwe First", "Ukraine First" or "New Zealand First". They're always the most unpleasant people and they always create a situation where the worst of the bureaucrats, where the worst of the politicians, and the worst of the business people conspire together. You know, my country was the most controlled of any democratic country with rents on licenses and on pieces of paper and it is just appalling. I can see it happening in some economies in transition and I can see it all the time in some of the poorest countries on earth. So you have to figure out, why are they poor? That is one of the bloody reasons. We can ship a container in Estonia in a day and it takes you 30 days to ship the same container in Ethiopia.

Gawdat: Once again I would like to add to this. I truly admire this view. I think the acceleration of this is going to become staggering. I think the question of openness, open democracy, and open communications has come up several times today already and I think there is a giant out there whose impact people need to realize; the wisdom of the crowds and of the user generated contents revolution happening on the internet which is going to change everything in my personal point of view. I grew up in Egypt where we had two TV stations completely controlled by the government. Today, You Tube gets 13 hours of user generated videos every minute, everyday, and in that there is tremendous exposure to things that will never appear on the national television, satellite channels, or any channel in the world. I think the reality is that the pressure of open communication, if you want to talk about open expression as a reason for democracy, the first step is discontinue the monopoly on information. This is really going to accelerate how opinions are made, how opinions are shaped, and how pressure is mounted. It is here and it is happening and it is accelerating very quickly, so I'm on the optimistic side of that story.


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Internationalization of Czech Companies
Challenges and Opportunities


FRANK LAMPL

BUSINESS AND ECONOMY ROUNDTABLE: Internationalization of Czech Companies: Challenges and Opportunities

CHAIRMAN (Jan Bubeník): The Czech Republic has been enjoying growth and political stability. The economy greatly depends on exports and our banking sector is mainly owned by the large foreign banks. For today's discussion we have chosen the following title: *Internationalization of Czech Companies: Opportunities and Challenges*. The first question to our panelists – is there such a thing as a Czech company, or is it an oxymoron? How do we define it? By the fact that the company is registered to pay taxes or is it merely an allocation where a part of the decision-making process is exercised or some manufacturing capacity is placed?

Dagmar Grossman: Well, I can only speak about the aviation industry as a global market. It is a sensitive market and my company is very international. I am an Austrian, I have Swiss pilots and many Czech employees. In the last two years we have tried to plant the company througout the world market and we have been successful, thank God. I consider a Czech company to be a company which originated in the Czech Republic. So, I run a Czech Ltd company, I define it as Czech, we advertise it as a Czech company – no matter what origin the employees are – and because its headquarters is located here. Sometimes it is a very big advantage but sometimes, especially in the last few years, we have struggled with many difficulties due to political system and branding. So recently it has been difficult for us to operate out of the Czech Republic.

Jean-Francois Ott: Out of 3000 people, there are 11 who are French and I am one of them. But it is a good question. I have been thinking about the topic of the debate since I heard about it and my answer is that ORCO is transnational. There are 18 nationalities work-

ing for ORCO and of course amongst them a whole bunch are Czech people. But there are other nationalities working at our branches in Warsaw and Budapest. I do believe this is more of a European transnational company, but we also have many Americans, South Africans, and other non-Europeans on our staff. However, companies are run by people and not by anything else. So when companies like Microsoft or ORCO have more then 10 or 20 nationalities working for them, it doesn't mean anything anymore. When it comes to assets, though, if the assets are based in Prague they are going to be Czech assets and then we have to talk about nationality. I think one of the topics we can all agree upon is the fact that we have been experiencing the magical world of privatization over the last 15 -17 years. All the banks were privatized and now all the banks have been nationalized, surprisingly, by the ones who never nationalized them before – by the Americans and Brits. With the French, we do it every 20 years. So, now I think we have a subject here for debate regarding nationality and internationality.

Jan Mühlfeit: I will start with the global view. In my opinion, there are three overlapping stages. The first, which started the new era of globalization around 2000, is a trend that I call the "cheap hands" and in terms of India, "cheap brains" – used by the western hemisphere companies. The second stage, which we see very much today, is characterized by a boosting demand in such markets like Asia. There are about 600,000,000 middle class people who will play an especially important role in these turbulent times. Everybody was betting on US consumers and now we need to realize the balance. The third stage is a more globalized competition where some of the companies from China, India, and elsewhere will enter the market, whether directly or indirectly, through investments. I think these aforementioned stages are overlapping. Now let me talk about Czech vs. Global. From what I see, the Czech Republic is the 4th most open economy in the world. While we are totally dependent on globalization, there is still a very closed mindset in various countries. I would rather call it a Czech valley thinking, but we need to have a much broader mindset as we are part of globalization. There needs to be more global thinking and global competitiveness.

Vladimír Dlouhý: Well, to answer the question I would like to distinguish between the two views. The first one is economic. Here I believe that for certain sized companies, everyone of these Czech companies must basically be international. Even the small ones in the service sec-

tor or elsewhere must get some international flavor because their customers are not only Czechs. So from a purely economic point of view, I believe that even the title of this panel is a little bit of a tautology. We are international by definition. But then there is the other thing which doesn't seem to be economic and it is sentimental. Sentimentally, I consider Škoda to be a Czech company. I also consider ORCO Czech too because I know Jean-François has been here since 1991. I remember you once telling me how you started in a house on Mánesová street. For me you are a founding father of new Czech companies and you happen to be French, but I don't mind. For me, ORCO represents a Czech company. Probably, madam, you are also a Czech company, as I have recently observed that you have become quite popular in the Czech press. So for me, you came over here and you run a Czech company. But obviously you might say that this does not matter because what matters most is the first view – the economic one. And you may be right. But still sometimes sentiment, as we have recently witnessed on financial markets, is very important and God knows if you say you are from Central Europe or Central Eastern Europe and say you are a Czech company, maybe it will help. I don't know.

Frank Lampl: When we started our international expansion we sat down and worked out its philosophy. This eventually lead to our position which we now enjoy in 40 countries. Even today after 15 years it still works for us. If you want to be a global company you have to have a local color. To be local is very important because the habits and demands are different in every country. The export managers understand neither the local needs nor the local people. To be a local company, as I used to describe it, you must support the local football club, help the children, etc. and in this way you can become a part of their social fabric when you are from the international network of finance, which probably isn't the greatest advantage anymore as it once used to be. Though I still think it is important to be a part of the international network with all the facilities it has to offer. But it is also essential to be a local company and maintain the local national habits. When I come to Prague I am always very sad when I cannot get Czech bread in the restaurants anymore. I mean, that has gone too far in international relations.

Richard Graber: As an attorney and as Ambasador to the Czech Republic, I have made it a priority to work with smaller, medium size, and larger businesses. In a purely legal sense, the way you are organizing your judicial system and how transparent the system is between

government and the business does matter. But as Vladimír and other panelists said, in order to survive you must be an international company and it really does not matter in that sense where you come from in any way at all. Certainly in the United States, which is a large economy, it is still possible to be just an American company and do business within one state. But I think even with this notion it is becoming exceptional because even the smallest businesses are looking in a very competitive world to find ways to diversify and produce more cheaply to sell to a broader market place. So in that sense I think it is increasingly unlikely and almost impossible that companies will stay just local. There will be some but they will be very small ones.

Radek Špicar: It reminds me of your question to our Prime Minister Mirek Topolánek, which took place two months ago. You asked him the same question – whether he sees Škoda as a Czech company or not. His reply was, "Yes, I do, because I think that companies which employ Czech people and pay taxes in the Czech Republic are Czech companies." By this definition, yes, we are a 100% Czech company. But I must say that if we behaved like a Czech company that would probably be the end of our business. We simply can't afford to. We design, produce, and sell cars globally and if we did that in a 100% Czech way that would be a disaster. At the moment I am really proud to say that we have more than 13 nationalities working in Škoda, employing more than 4000 foreigners. And it really helps us to have women on the design teams as well as senior people along with the young people from India and China. We benefit from making our products in a way which is appreciated across the globe. That is quite important because as I already said if we behaved as a purely Czech company and did business in a Czech way that would be the end for us.

Vladimír Dlouhý: How would you define doing business in a Czech way? Do you have in mind somebody focusing only on our market? What would be so disastrous about it? I agree that as Volkswagen you must be global, but what exactly might be the problem?

Radek Špicar: Let me use a specific example. Not a long time ago we started producing in India. I am quite sure that if we designed our cars in a way that would fit only a Czech customer in the Czech Republic, we would not be able to sell a single car in India because their tastes for consumer goods are very different. That is why we need Indian engineers at our technological center telling us that we

should focus more on the back seat rather than the front because if an Indian customer buys a Škoda Octavia, at the price we sell them in India, he/she will sit in the back seat and never in the front. Then you also need more aluminium in the car because local customers appreciate it. So we really need to have access to the local tastes if we want to sell our products. If we did it in a Czech way we would not even know what is necessary and we probably would not be able to provide our cars with those qualities which are most appreciated on their market.

Richard Graber: But that is not uniquely Czech. That is true of any company selling on two different markets and trying to adapt to them. That is true of American companies exporting to Indian, French, German markets, etc.

Vladimír Dlouhý: I made a point about the sentiment during the initial question. I honestly suffer sometimes when I am traveling around Europe and I get into a taxi that happens to be Škoda and the driver asks me where I am from. I always say I am from the country where this car is produced and he says, "Ok, you are from Germany." Well, some people know it is still Czech but some people consider it to be another branch of Volkswagen. That does not make me happy but I am leaving this question open for discussion. I know that Škoda takes care to make people understand that the company is still located in the Czech Republic.

Jan Bubeník: Radek, if you go to India to negotiate the location of a new plant, how are you perceived? Are you seen as an employee of Volkswagen? Do they know?

Radek Špicar: Well, we are always perceived as Europeans first. Of course this broader definition helps. Everybody knows that we also make Lamborghini, Bugatti, Audi, etc. But some people, and I would even dare to say many, know that we are a Czech company. I guess there are specific characteristics that basically make Škoda cars Czech cars. So when we do business, our partners usually know where we come from. But they will perceive us first as European businessmen, then as representatives of a Volkswagen group and only then do they realize that we come from the Czech Republic and that we will produce and sell Czech cars in their territory.

Dagmar Grossman: May I ask you a question? I think that the European Union in comparison to the US has a disadvantage for not being as united. The European Union countries are too young together and I personally fear that the information flow going from London to Frankfurt, from Frankfurt to Madrid, and so on is endangered because of this fact. There is no attitude such as, "We have the European Parliament." The US is one entity which Europe is not. What is your opinion on this issue?

Vladimír Dlouhý: I had the opportunity to spend a couple of weekends in Washington where I took part in the seminars with only the "créme de la crème" of brains. So there are two views. An American colleague's point; he is afraid that the ECB does not have enough liquidity. ECB does not have such a mandate because it is basically a monetary institution and all the measures are of a fiscal nature. And as the EU budget is only about one per cent of the total GDP of the Eurozone, there is nervousness about coordination. On the other hand there are people from Europe and elsewhere who say, "If Europeans are able to coordinate different decisions with different governments in a proper time, and if the governments are courageous enough to survive the negative reaction from their own populations, then it should not be such a problem." The most important thing is that each government does its homework in some kind of coordinated way and is ready to provide the financial support. In the last couple of days we have seen an improvement in that sort of coordination.

Dagmar Grossman: For us, the companies financing the aircrafts might result in endangering our business. Even though in fact aviation is not really endangered, aviation always waits six months before something occurs and then takes advantage of the crisis. This is because the world feels endangered and as a result people move more. Then there are the private jets, not the luxury ones, we use to save time. I see we might have a little more business but we have more problems financing the aircrafts because there is no bank anywhere in the world which will take the risk and this is a real problem for us.

Jean-Francois Ott: I think there is an important philosophical subject that we should jump into. What is happening in Europe? And you are right, it is happening in the US as well, just on a larger scale with the nationalizing of AIG. The name of this insurance company is "American Insurance Group". Therefore, it is American and it be-

longs to Americans if only by the name, like Coca-Cola. When the French are stepping in to save the French Bank, or the British to save the Royal Bank of Scotland, they are saving themselves. So we are going back to saving companies at home. I think this might be one of the answers today, or maybe one of the questions – the beginning of a new trend for me. And hopefully, after listening to you all, I can think of one term that will maybe become a new path, and it is a "public-private partnership". When the state steps in to buy 30 percent, 50 percent, or 70 percent of the company which used to be private and belongs to as many nationalities as it could, it basically creates, without asking the taxpayer, a "public-private partnership." It is going to happen to all of the banks, and all of the insurance companies because this is a new system to ensure that we have financing. Without financing in automobile and real estate companies, we cannot do anything.

If the clients do not get the financing for an apartment, they will not buy it. They would have to save 30 or 40 years before they could buy it and that does not work because you will already be 60 or 70 before you can buy a house. Financing is really important for people in their own towns and country. Maybe we have to think of a new system where globalization does not seek to include everyone. It is ok for Microsoft to sell a system and computers in countries all around the world because that works. But does this apply to insurance, life savings, and mortgages? I think it does not because the banks which exploded were the most global ones. When things are becoming very complicated, we CEOs make parallels to warfare. But there were no leaders who thought that they could take over the world and succeed. It never worked. Can this also be applied to companies?

Frank Lampl: I think that we shall be facing a very different form of capitalism, and very different forms of international activities when this crisis is over. When the banks are partially nationalized, national interests will immediately come to the fore, and the banks will not be the same as they are today. Goldman Sachs is American, but wherever they work, they work without bringing in the national interests. This may be different when the banks are partially owned by politicians and when the politicians change. Therefore we will face a very different situation in international dealings. I am not sure whether the situation will be safe. It will depend on how the politics between the governments work. I want to make another point, too. I think that the contacts with universities are very important and we should support them. This is the basis of future peace, of future understand-

ing among people, and the basis of future global business. It is up to the private companies and the public companies to support the sponsors, and give the universities the means. The American universities have enormous finance from donors; this is not the case of the European universities which sometimes do not have enough money to properly perform their own work. I think it is in the enlightened interest of commerce to support the exchange of students, and mutual understanding on an international basis.

Jan Mühlfeit: If I can conclude a round on the financial crisis; yesterday afternoon I was in the panel discussion with Jan Švejnar and Michael Moore. I began by saying that my friend Francesco, an Italian, runs a Citibank and really believes in Africa. I asked him what was going on, and he said, "Yeah! Everything is relative. This is just like the papers." And I think he is right, it is just like the papers. But the problem is with the credits, as Vladimír said, because the cash is the blood of the economy. But where is the cash today? Going back to Davos, there was a group of the countries everybody called the "Funny Creditors". This referred to China, Saudi Arabia, and others. They are called "Funny Creditors" because they have a large poor population in their countries while they are becoming creditors for the very rich nations. I think they will continue to be creditors for the rich nations, but it is not so funny anymore, is it? That is why I like what president Bush did in Washington. He invited other nations. It was not only a G7 or G8 discussion, but a much broader discussion.

International institutions like the International Monetary Fund need to take a different approach in the future, too. Because you still have a country like Belgium with a higher voting leverage in the IMF than China and this is really how we should look at it. Now let me comment on the both US's and Europe's reaction, which from the US perspective is a little bit delayed. It was a good reaction and obviously I agree that it is one market, one language, and one country. Here in Europe we are waiting too long. There was the validity coordination and there was something that we twisted a little bit. We have the Eurozone while the regulation is done locally. There should be political announcements. If you take the Irish for example; what their government did would take three times the Irish GDP to fulfill the promise. Would the political announcement be possible on the economic side? These are the questions we need to ask, because we talk a lot in Europe and the US. And I definitely think that the transatlantic dialogue is more important than ever. I think we need to include the other nations from Asia, too, whether we talk from the consumer

perspective or from the reverse perspective. I think Asia and Russia together would have close to four trillion dollars in their reserves.

Vladimír Dlouhý: First, back to the topic of today's panel. I would like to elaborate a little bit on what Frank Lampl said because I very much agree. When we speak about the internal organization of the business, it is not only about what must be done. We are a big conglomerate which happens to produce cars, drinks, cigarettes, etc., but we must be global in doing business. What the internal organization is becoming more and more about is the background of the business. The general education and universities are obviously very important, but they are not the only part of it. Things like research and development, the best business practices, and anti-corruption issues are no less important. When we speak about internal organization, we must always keep in our minds the companies which have the ambition to be called internationalized – which is a certain size up from everyone else.

All those companies should be able to cultivate the international markets in different areas – starting with education and bringing the best knowledge, and trying to disseminate them globally, thus helping to fight poverty. The regions with the emerging markets which are increasing their standard of living is a very important point, too. We should not forget that we tend to see through the view of business's working globally everyday. One of the very crucial moments was when the central banks decided to buy uncollateralized commercial papers. Those are the short term papers being issued by corporations for their short term finance and because of this short market, the interbank market dried up.

When the central bank decided to buy those papers it helped immediately to overcome the short term problem of the corporation financing. This is just one of the examples. Jan obviously mentioned a very imortant point too, with the emerging markets in France, we must realize one important thing – that this is not the crisis of the subprime – it was just a trigger. It is a crisis of which we all share huge responsibility for its coming. And not only the Americans and the investment banks. Here, I'm going to defend ourselves. It was even the binge of the emerging markets. The artificial exchange rate policy of China which kept on the strong pro-export level allowing huge surpluses, which then flew into the US capital markets and allowed for generating huge surpluses. Or if you bought let's say the American treasury paper or Freddie Mac's paper. The US bailed out many Chinese investors which is another paradoxical issue. This cre-

ated a huge surplus in the emerging markets which at the end of the day increased the amount of money on those markets and allowed millions and millions of Chinese, Indians, and other south Asians a standard of living and an access to such a huge amount of consumer goods which previous generations never enjoyed. And we all should keep it in our minds that not only the Americans and the investment banks but also the whole world had to get sober from the binge and the huge credit bubble which existed. It is not only about subprimes and the new progressive derivatives and other financial instruments. That was just the trigger.

Jan Bubeník: I will try to bring the topic a little bit back to the Czech Republic. In a couple of months, the Czech Republic will be leading European affairs for the first time in its history, and maybe, because of the crisis, also dealing with the US. Are we really up to it? The slogan, as the Czech presidency selected goes, "Europe without Barriers." And then we see how Mr. Kalousek – who has recently been named the best financial minister out of the emerging markets – as word follows basically stated that we really did not need the Euro in a hurry. Where do we stand? Does the Czech goverment along with the Czech institutions want to play any role, to look and focus on the Czech economy as well as to really steer and spearhead what is needed to coordinate in the very top markets? Can I have your statements on any of these issues?

Radek Špicar: Well, some of us are in working groups at the Ministry of Education and the government office, trying to help the government prepare the priorities for the Czech presidency. So correct me if I am wrong, but it seems to be, at least when it comes to priorities, so far so good. But that is just step 1. I think, at least according to business people's opinions, the priorities have been defined well. But as I said that is only step 1. Of course they must be followed and one must be able to push his/her priorities and to see some concrete results. In that respect I am a bit sceptical because I witnessed it myself when I was working for the government. To do business, whether political, or business itself in Europe within the European Union, is not an easy task. It requires a certain know-how. You really need to be familiar with all of the levels where you have to operate; you have to know the people, the procedures, you have to be able to define your own interests, to fight for them, but at the same time to be ready for compromise, be able to find consensus amongst 27 members, push it through, and that is far from easy. I am not saying

that the government is not ready. I am just saying that the government has defined the priorities and defined them well but they are very ambitious. It will require a lot of time, energy, and know-how to push them through and I just do not think that we will be able to do it 100 percent. For example let's take energy tax as a very complicated issue. We will be the ones deciding how it is going to look like in Europe within many years to come and I do not think that at the moment it is going well. Unfortunately.

Jan Bubeník: Before I thank our panelists, I want to thank you once again for listening and participating and I can assure you that the Corporate Council of Forum 2000 is committed to bringing more interesting topics. We have heard from our speakers that we indeed experienced twenty years of a very rapid transformation, economic growth and development, and we will probably have some hiccups now for the next couple of years. We still have lots of challenges in order to maintain the level of comfort and economic lifestyle. We have to focus on the talent management and bring the talent as well as increase the efficiency of public administration. And if we talk about "Europe without Barriers," a little bit of a red tape to get out of the system would not hurt either. Thank you.

Interfaith Dialogue: The Roots of Religious Extremism

Moderator (Doris Donnelly):

Ladies and Gentlemen,
Welcome to this afternoon session the title of which is "The Roots of Religious Extremism." I promise all of you that you will find this a very fruitful, energizing, and thoughtful symposium because of our distinguished panel and our keynote speaker. One member of this panel, however, is not present physically but he is most definitely present spiritually. And that person, his Holiness the Dalai Lama, is not here because of physical reasons – nothing acute – but serious enough so that prudential judgement, on the part of his physicians, required him to postpone travel at this time. I have the privilege of reading his welcome to you. Here is the message from His Holiness, the Dalai Lama.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Message: I would like to offer my warmest greetings to everyone participating in this year's Forum 2000 conference, and to express my regret at not being able to join you in person. I have greatly enjoyed taking part in previous conferences and had been looking forward to this year's meeting too. The current theme – openness and fundamentalism in the 21st century between traditions and modernity – is very pertinent. As responsible members of our shared world we all have a duty to think about the challenges before us and to seek for solutions together. If we look back on the events that took place in the 20th century, mankind made tremendous improvements as far as material well-being is concerned. However, at the same time there was massive destruction in terms of human lives, physical property and the natural environment, as people resorted to confrontation instead of dialogue to resolve their various claims and problems. In this new century, we still

bear the scars of these past mistakes such as terrorism, born out of a sense of injustice, whether righteous or misplaced, and proliferating where there is a lack of education, a sense of being neglected, and not being included, and the overwhelming threat posed by climate change, these are among the major concerns we face today. Since these problems are man-made, we human beings need to recognise that we can take steps to avert and correct them. We have sufficient intelligence to analyse and understand our past mistakes. I believe that one of the root causes of our problems is the inability to control our agitated minds and hearts which the teaching of the world's religions have much to offer by way of resolution. A Chilean scientist once told me that it is inappropriate for a scientist to become emotionally involved with his particular field of the study, because to do so would undermine its objectivity. I believe this is also true of religion. People often use religion for purposes and intentions other than spiritual development and unfortunately once religion becomes involved, the emotions of millions can become aroused. On the other hand, all religions counsel forgiveness, patience, and compassion and ways to cultivate them. These are practical qualities that are of great value in creating a dialogue that we can share with others. On the other hand, we also have to admit the sorry fact that religion is sometimes the source of conflict and violence. When this is the case, the cause more often than not is ignorance, misunderstanding, and the fear that results from them. Religious differences should not be the grounds for antagonism but should be the basis for friendship, brotherhood and sisterhood. I believe that people with religious interest have special responsibilities in this regard, and that we can contribute to countering what shortcomings exist by encouraging active dialogues with members of other faiths' traditions. We accept the need for pluralism in politics and democracy, yet we all often seem hesitant about the plurality of faiths and religions. It is essential to remember that wherever they came from, all the world's major religious traditions are similar in having the potential to help human beings, live at peace with themselves, with each other, and with the environment. Non-violence is essential in resolving our problems. The Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia and other pro–democracy movements in the world have given us living evidence that a non-violent approach can achieve its goals of positive change. Today, the only realistic, lasting solution to human conflicts will come through dialogue and reconciliation based on the spirit of compromise. In general, I feel optimistic about the 21st century. In the 1950's and in the 1960's, people believed that war was an inevitable condition of

mankind, and that conflicts must be solved through the use of force. Today, despite ongoing conflicts and the threats of terrorism and religious fundamentalism, most people are generally concerned about world peace. They tend to be far more committed to co-existence and are far less interested in merely proclaiming ideology. I have greatly valued listening to and taking part in the vibrant discussions that have taken place at earlier conferences. I hope that despite being unable to attend in person, you will allow me to make this small contribution this year. I wish this year's Forum 2000 conference every success. With my prayers and best wishes. His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, signed 29 September 2008. Thank you.

Moderator: We shall send the Dalai Lama the applause of those of us gathered in Prague and our gratitude.

I will introduce our distinguished panelists one by one after the keynote address by Father Tomáš Halík. I address him as 'Father' Tomáš Halík, but, in addition to being a Roman Catholic priest and the Rector of Saint Salvator, the University parish here in Prague at the foot of the Charles Bridge, he is also a Professor of Philosophy at the Charles University and a prolific – let's underline that word – a prolific author of many books, published here, of course, in the Czech Republic, and also in Poland, where he is a best-selling author. And I am happy to tell you that as of April, one of his books will be published in the United States. The book party will be held, I understand, in New York City, after Father Halík gives an address at the Harvard Divinity School earlier in April. It is a pleasure to introduce revered professor Tomáš Halík.

Tomáš Halík: Under the agenda of this conference that is 'openness and fundamentalism,' we have been asked to talk about the roots of religious extremism. After 9/11, some terms such as fundamentalism, extremism, and even the very term religion alone have tended to be associated very quickly, perhaps too quickly, with the painful reminiscence of the falling skyscrapers in New York and the very strong emotions accompanying these events. However, is fundamentalism the actual root of extremism, and does extremism necessarily involve terrorism, and how do all these things bear on religion?

Very complex concepts such as fundamentalism and extremism are often employed as labels for those whom we do not like. For example, saying that somebody is a religious extremist suggests that we know or even decide what is right, what is normal, and what is politically correct in religion. But do we actually know this?

The term fundamentalism that a group of American Protestants used to call themselves at the beginning of the 20th century, is now used so widely that it actually loses its contours and perhaps also its underlying meaning. Instead we should perhaps use the term 'fundamentalist tendencies.' Trends reveal that our labeling of a certain group of people we may talk about is the result of temptation. To put it simply, it is the temptation to give simple answers to very complex questions. It is a temptation that responds to people's very strong need to find their ways in this world, to have clear rules, to stand on solid ground, to reduce very complex matters to very simple matters, to go back from the dangerous present to the golden age of the very beginnings, often to our childhood, for example, or our ideas of childhood and the very roots of our own culture, like "getting back to mothers", as we know from Goethe's Faust. It is a temptation that many people across boundaries of various religions, ideologies and cultures fall for.

But despite this, if we do use the term fundamentalism, we should stress the fact that there are other fundamentalisms, including secular fundamentalism, and ideologies like nationalism, racism, but also green calls to get back to Mother Nature and simple lifestyles, in the ideology of some environmentalists or, for example, radical feminism. And these ideologies are in fact different forms of the same tendency to look for salvation and escape from the complicated modern world into simple principle of purity.

Fundamentalism is rather tricky not only because such escaping from this complex world is usually not realistic and feasible – you cannot enter the same river twice – but also because no such thing as pure religion exists, this is only a romantic projection. No such thing as pure religion, pure race, or pure nature exists; in fact they have never existed. The actual anti-thesis to this fundamentalist prospective and the only alternative – not only in religion – is the hermeneutic approach: the art of seeing, the art of interpreting things in the context of changes in history and cultures. Peter Berger, whom we were hoping would be with us today (unfortunately illness has prevented him), says that fundamentalism is actually a modern phenomenon that illegitimately refers to traditions. I would put it even more radically. Fundamentalism is a rebellion against history, against traditions.

Traditions are dynamic streams of continuous re-interpretation. Only those are loyal to traditions who enter the stream of history and, like many generations before us, aim to stay loyal to the respective purport and substance by interpreting the same and new forms

that respond to the needs and situations of a given time and culture. Who maintains the form often unwearyingly changes the very substance and the purpose. More than a hundred years ago Cardinal Newman said that people expressing faith using the same words used by our grandfather say something different from what our grandfathers meant, because the meanings of words do change.

Fundamentalists are modern or "in" if you will, because they apply the principle of modernity and modern rationalism, requirement for clear and distinctly expressed ideas, as we know it from Descartes. And they apply this principle to the ideas and texts of the past and, by doing so, they deform and distort them. Fundamentalists shield themselves behind orthodoxy, but in fact they are "heretics", as they deliberately choose, out of this treasure of tradition, only what they need and what they make the most of. For example, those who interpret the Bible and other Holy Scriptures literally often understand the same texts differently from what the authors actually understood. Fundamentalists often ignore the historical and cultural context and, in a naive way, project their own criteria, their pre-understandings, and misconceptions of these texts. Today's surveys of archaic and medieval cultures show that the pre-modern mentality was not fundamentalist, was not single-dimensional, rather that it saw and used symbols as symbols – something that refers to things above themselves.

Fundamentalism takes over at times of crisis of the traditional symbolical universe. Modernity brings a different attitude to reality, but the dominant element is then later developed into materialism and positivism, into a certain single dimensionality in understanding the reality, a single dimensionality determined by the dominance of the rational approach and also the suppression of other versions. (Let us remember what Michael Foucault says in his analysis of rationalism of the Enlightenment in his History of Madness).

Religious fundamentalism is a certain form of inversion of materialism and positivism to religious thinking that endangers the very essence of religion i.e., seeing and using symbols as symbols. Fundamentalism uses symbols in a very straightforward way, seeing them as single one-dimensional facts. But symbols are not single one-dimensional facts, they always refer somewhere beyond, and will make people meditate about them in search of a deeper meaning. The primitive enlightenment-time atheism and fundamentalism are in fact very similar as far as religion is concerned, as they share the superficially straightforward approach to religion and only differ in that they reject – either reject or defend – the religion which is perceived in this

way. In other words, they share the same concept of religion, which is very often superficial, very straightforward. Some people defend it, some people reject it, but I think both of these groups are mistaken.

The interpretative approach to religion is the alternative. The beginnings of modern theological hermeneutics involved efforts aimed at protecting the symbolical universe against the materialism "of positivism" as well as against the materialism "of fundamentalism." Fundamentalism is afraid that efforts to interpret religious documents are a step to distraction, to degradation, of the same. The motif for fundamentalist attitudes is this anxiety.

Fundamentalism sees itself as an effort to defend and maintain certain loyalty to traditions. But when we look closer, we can see some psychological motives, be it fear for one's own integrity or the ambition to suppress doubts. A religious fundamentalist is a human being whose faith is too weak to sustain doubts and critical questions. Such a man suffers from weak faith, and this faith is not able to sustain all the doubts and all the critical questions. The alternative is faith that does not search for certainties, but instead teaches us the art of living with mystery and paradoxes, because life, let's face it, is full of paradoxes.

John Paul II spoke, and Benedict XVI also speaks about the need of creating an alliance of faith and rationality. On a number of occasions they have both repeatedly stated that faith without thinking and rationality are both dangerous. In my books I am trying to consider faith and doubt as two sisters who need each other and can complement each other. Faith without any doubt would lead to fanaticism, while doubt without faith would lead to cynicism.

Fundamentalist attitudes are attitudes that people who have come across alternative perspectives often resort to, and this has led to a cognitive dissonance – doubts and anxiety. And such people then try to address these problems by turning to the earlier stages of religion, to the certainties of the old times, to the certainties of their childhood and youth, or to the primal euphoria after their conversion. People often eliminate these doubts using the projection method. In other words, they project their doubts onto others and distort that they know how to come to grips as that they speak about the others, particularly, about more liberal of members of their own community as renegades, traitors, enemies of faith. And this is where the frequently seen combination of fundamentalism and aggressiveness comes from.

Which is not to say that every fundamentalist becomes a fanatic and not every fanatic turns to violence and terror. There are many si-

lent fanatics in the world who do not harm anybody. Research shows that an individual fanaticism or original fanaticism is not a real danger. The real danger is the potential or potentiality of many people and whole social groups to become induced or infected fanatics as well as the fact that these people are very often prepared to become fanatic. This is what makes the situation even worse.

F. Haecker, a psychoanalyst, talks about changes in the primary processes of socialization and the growing number of individuals who do not clearly see the boundaries of their personality. Such people are often prone to regressive and projective identification with "heroes" and leaders and they enjoy their subordination. We could spend hours talking about things like lost identity, group narcissism and so forth. Fanaticism leads to violence provided certain preconditions in people's minds and the state of society around them are met. The indicator of acute danger is the moment when conflicts in the world become fuelled by religious symbols. Religious symbols, and symbols in general, are ambivalent and are also accumulators of energy that can be used both for Good and for Evil. Mark Juergensmayer, says quite correctly that the question is not why religion leads to violence, but rather why conflicts in the world tempt to absorb religion, or attract religion.

Mark Juergensmayer says that terrorism escalates at the moment when parties of a conflict start seeing it as a space war – a fight to protect their fundamental identity, fundamental dignity, where losing is unthinkable, and in which the parties are too desperate to believe that winning by using the usual resources is possible. This is why we see these suicide bombers and so forth. Sacralisation of war then goes hand in hand with all these symbols and the sacralisation is often accompanied by demonisation of the enemy. So the enemy is not a human being, but is presented as a source of evil like Great Satan, for example. Finally, it is dangerous to become fanatic in the "fight against fanaticism" (like in times of the French Revolution) and in the "war with terrorism" to adopt the language of the terrorists. Madeleine Albright, who has attended this conference on a number of occasions, has said very correctly that the fight against terrorism cannot be won by using power or weapons. It is also a war of ideas, a dispute whether or not we will give up the voucher for transcendence to those who call for it in a perverse way. And in regards to this voucher for transcendence, then the question is whether we leave this to those people who believe in violence or whether we find this in free society. Thank you very much.

Moderator: Thank you for this excellent and thoughtful address. Allow me to explain the procedure for the rest of the time that we have together. I've asked the panelists to respond to particular questions as well as to Father Halík's talk, with a time frame of five minutes each so that there will be time to have a discussion among the panelists at the end of this session. By way of information, in addition to responding to the talk, the panelists have been asked, if they choose to, to respond to these questions: "What are the roots of religious fundamentalism and fanaticism in the world's religions and how can they be prevented?" "Is religious extremism caused primarily by social factors or can doctrinal causes be found?" "How can the world's religions and their representatives fight to eliminate extremism in their own religious traditions?" And the last: "Are there any analogies between religious fanaticisms and different forms of secular fanaticisms?" The first person to respond is the very distinguished person to my left, His Excellency Ammar Al-Hakim, who is the Vice President of the Supreme Islamic Iraqi Council in Iraq. Our guest did his seminary studies in Iran because of persecutions under Saddam Hussein in Iraq. I only met His Excellency a few minutes before this panel began, but in our short conversation we talked about the important value of listening. So I present to you somebody who is a supreme listener, His Excellency. We all look forward to your remarks.

Ammar Al-Hakim: So, in the name of Allah, ladies and gentlemen, peace be with you. It is a great opportunity for us to meet here today, to speak about one of the most important requirements of human co-existence and that is the issue of dialogue, mutual understanding and co-existence. I very much appreciate the reports that we heard here today. There is no doubt that it is absolutely necessary for us today to listen carefully to the views of others and give them an opportunity to speak aloud, because understanding amongst the cultures will allow us to contribute to a good situation. Today, we are here to speak about the most important aspects of human co-existence. Dialogue has always been one of the most important principles during the dissemination of religions in human communities. We may even see that these religious messages are a challenge for dialogue and argumentation about the help of logic and evidence, because religion is a heavenly project, which helps to complete the thinking and spirit in the awareness of man. Research into the life of the prophets and messengers of God provides a clear evidence of the fact that dialogue has always been important in their messages. God's prophets: Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed, may God bless them all, always con-

ducted a dialogue with their communities. And these dialogues were never interrupted as long as these prophets lived their lives on Earth. And so we may claim that religion stands against the use of violence. The mentioned prophets suffered due to violence on the part of the rulers; these ruling forces did not have the power of evidence on their side. Abraham was threatened by being consumed by fire; Moses was persecuted, his people were threatened by genocide; Jesus was crucified, and Mohammed had to face social and economic oppression. And so we know that the possibility of dialogue with others is something which could lead to the establishment of co-existence.

The divine message to the prophet Mohammed, may God bless him and give him peace, is based on the focus of dialogue with others, as the Koran says, that we have to call others to join us on the road to the Lord by our own wisdom and preaching and by using good words. This means to conduct such dialogue that would be based on the best words and not on the kind that appeal with threat, terrorism, and force. During the long history of mankind, religion was often misused as a tool of power and in some cases it became the tool of murder, pressure, and persecution. This resulted in the introduction of dangers and distortions into religious teaching, and led to the development of a very dangerous gap between the true understanding of religion and its role in the human life. Religion then in some cases became a kind of monster representing darkness, illiteracy, and fear. And now we bear the consequences of this erroneous understanding of religion. This erroneous understanding led to the erection of barriers between nations, to conflict, to the supremacy of the language of war, and it is certainly not the language of co-existence. The heavenly religions, including Islam, knew no such thing as conventional decrees inciting to mass murder. But today some so-called believers issue such decrees. And this is a very alarming situation which leads to disasters in the life of mankind. These are not natural disasters, but rather disasters caused by man. And that is why we now call for dialogue and co-existence, which is one of the most important foundations of world peace.

Islam, which was brought from the heavens to our prophet Mohammed, may God bless him and give him peace, calls mankind to understand, to learn and to have faith. The Koran says: "People, we have created as man and woman, we created of you nations and tribes, for you to know one another." This is a clear declaration of the united origin and variety of mankind. In the Koran there is a sincere call for understanding and for learning about one another.

So how does this relate to the reality in Iraq, my country? Five years ago, the totalitarian regime, the cruellest totalitarian regime in modern Iraq history, fell, and the outcome was a large political and security vacuum. And that is why it was necessary to establish a political system and government that would guide matters of the state and promote the interests of the people. Our vision was to focus on the liberation of the will of the Iraqi people, a will that was restricted and oppressed for three and half decades. From the very beginning we emphasized the necessity of establishing such a political system in which man would be able to exercise his freedom of choice and expression. That is why we adopted a Constitution in which we stipulated the rights and freedoms of the Iraqi citizens. During the last five years we had three national and local elections. In the beginning of 2009 we will have new local elections and at the end of 2009 there will be another national election. We also experienced a referendum on the Constitution. The whole world was witness to this wonderful and honest experiment which took place in an environment where bombs and rockets disturbed the peace. But the Iraqi people took a firm stand during this experiment. They leaned on their experience of resistance to the dictatorship. The tragedies which occurred in Iraq after the fall of the dictatorship on April 9th 2003 were the consequences of the deeds of these apostates of Islam, those who understood Islam superficially and erroneously. These people call themselves the guardians of men, but they have shed the blood of Muslims for one single reason – because they belong to a different sect, and because they have a different opinion. And yet Islam forbids killing the human soul. The Koran says: "Anybody who kills one man, not because of revenge, is considered a person who killed all of mankind". Very often these apostates are former followers of the Saddam regime who lost power in Iraq. The fight in Iraq today is the fight between freedom and slavery. The Iraqi people have chosen the road of freedom. All of us in Iraq want everybody to gain their rights according to the Constitution and law. And we believe that all Iraqis are equal in their patriotism, irrespective of their religious differences. We reject discrimination among Iraqis based on their religious conventional national affinities. We want to develop Iraq as a civil and secure country, where man can feel that he is a true partner in the development of the state. To ensure people feel that the state promotes their interest, we have exerted a lot of effort to anchor the idea of national dialogue and established a ministry to confirm that we are interested in a dialogue that will lead to permanent peace in Iraq. We also emphasised our vision that all Iraqis must participate in the

leadership of the state, and that is why we appealed for the establishment of a national unity government. According to a UN testimony, the elections in 2005 were honest and transparent and all Iraqis were widely represented in these elections.

We wish to emphasise our faith in the national partnership of all Iraqis and all components of Iraqi society. We believe that by dialogue we can ensure mutual understanding that will lead us to respect different opinions and accept the fact of coexistence. In Iraq, we are a nation of diverse ethnic groups, faiths, and religious groupings. It has been only recently that Iraq has freed itself of political regimes that have ruled for more than eight decades, causing a lot of grief and suffering. It is a nation with a lot of experience, a nation which understands that injustice leads to more hate, depression, repression, instability, war and bloodshed. Our people have chosen a political system which guarantees the same rights to all, without giving any preference to any group that could assume the rule and natural wealth of the country. This is what we need to strengthen in our new Iraq as that we can live side by side as brothers and be able to heal the bleeding wounds of racism and sectarianism that followed the rule of Saddam Hussein. And I once again thank you. Peace be with you and God bless you.

Moderator: So now the conference thickens a little bit, because we also have the remarks of His Excellency to consider. I turn now to His Royal Highness Turki Al-Faisal, who is the Chairman of the King Faisal Centre for Research and Islamic Studies in Saudi Arabia, and a founding member of the King Faisal Foundation, and who also has had a distinguished career as a diplomat, serving as ambassador to the United States, and the Republic of Ireland. So, your Royal Highness, we ask you for your comments.

HRH Turki Al-Faisal: Thank you Madame Chairman. Ladies and gentlemen, I am a fundamentalist. I say that because in my view and in my belief, I would like to adhere to the teachings that were brought down in the holy Koran and by the prophet Mohammed, peace be upon him, who taught us when he was asked to define himself as a Muslim, by those who were not Muslims. In answer to the question, "Who are we Muslims?" He said, "We are people of the middle." He taught tolerance and willingness, as Sheikh Ammar mentioned earlier, to reach out to others in order to engage with them. The verses from the Koran do likewise when they describe God's creation of man and woman in terms of tribes and peoples, so they get to know each

other. The only distinction between them is that those who are closer to God are those who are devoted to him. Prophet Mohammed also taught us in one of his sayings, that we should live our lives as if we would live forever and prepare ourselves for the afterlife as if we were to die tomorrow. And hence, since Father Halík mentioned that there were fundamentalisms other than religious fundamentalism, I would add another one, and that is democracy. Democracy as a model of fundamentalism is a return to the teachings of Socrates and Plato. Yet one cannot say that Socrates and Plato are living in today's world, but rather for the time that they lived, they made up rules and regulations and Europe chose to go back to those rules and regulations for historical, as well as social and political reasons. Needless to say, that does not mean that democracy is either evil or good, but rather the question is, how do you apply these fundamental rules that were established or propagated centuries before and that you may return or not. This is where the distinction with extremism comes in, because extremists choose to interpret those teachings in a way that suits either their political ambition or social and religious aspirations. And alas, in most cases, religion is used for political purposes.

There is a famous example in Muslim jurisprudence from one of the four teachers of Sunni Islam, Shahih al Shafi who was a judge in Baghdad, and who after spending scores of years in Baghdad, moved to Cairo where he also became a judge. Some of his entourage and followers noticed that the fatwas he issued in Cairo over certain legal cases differed from fatwas he had issued in Baghdad. And they came to him, not complaining, but rather to better understand how he could rule on a certain subject one way in Baghdad and rule on it in another way in Cairo. Very simply, he said, he did so because the situation in Baghdad was different from the situation in Cairo. So it is that kind of fundamental teaching that I think many people should look into as a definition of fundamentalism and not just the view that fundamentalism is necessarily a return to a more closed outlook on life. I would just like to say that fundamentalism has been plagued with many crimes that have been committed in its name. People like Bin Laden describe themselves as fundamentalist yet, the way that they interpret Islam is definitely not representative of the fundamentals of Islam. Yet they use that interpretation to propagate their views. And, finally, I would like to say that, ladies and gentlemen, that all of us, if the extremists would only return to the original teachings as described to us whether by Jesus, or by Mohammed, or Buddha, or by the other great teachers of other religions have done, we would all be in a better place today. Thank you.

Moderator: Thank you very much, Your Royal Highness for this enlightening perspective on fundamentalism. I now present to you Gabriel Nissim. Father Nissim is a Dominican Roman Catholic priest, who also has his plate full with assignments and responsibilities as Head of the World Catholic Association for Communications, and also as President of the Human Rights Commission of the NGOs in Strasbourg, France. A native of France, he will speak to us in English on the topic of the roots of religious extremism.

Gabriel Nissim: Thank you Madam Chairperson, and I beg your pardon for my poor English. Globalization is, in my view, the main challenge we have to cope with in entering the 21st century. It could be a fantastic opportunity to openness. Never in the past have we had such opportunities to travel outside and to welcome home so many people of so many different countries, cultures and religions. But actually, instead of a positive opportunity, this openness often elicits a different result. Why? First, because the 'other', as the 'other', is always, in every time, primarily a threat of danger for me. Second, because through globalization my way of life is put in question by the otherness of the other.

So the first reaction to globalization is individualization. It's a tribal and defensive attitude to protect my territory. With globalization I have the feeling that my identity is at stake. Second point: When identity is at stake, religion is wanted to defend and to sacralise the endangered identity. Each human group needs cohesion, but this cohesion is fragile. Among each human grouping there are permanent exploding forces and native violence. Therefore, in order to maintain the cohesion under solidarity among the group, we look for a transcendental reference and transcendental guarantee so that religion is cement to insure the group's cohesion by sacralising this cohesion in God. Human links become sacred links. And because violence is still there, religion is turning away the violence on someone inside or outside the group, on the so-called scapegoat. The source of fanaticism is not religion as such, but the sacralised violence among each group. Religion is demanded by each human group, little or big, to be sacralised for the sake of the jeopardized identity and cohesion.

Third point. A good example of this process can be found in all of Europe with the rule: "cujus regio, ejus religio." "You must adopt the religion of the ruler, of the king, or of the queen." It was the case in the Roman Empire, first with the pagan Roman religion and after the conversion of Constantine, for the Christian Roman re-

ligion. Even if today the rule of separation between state and religion is widely accepted in Europe, we have to be aware that this model still shapes our mentalities. "God save the Queen." "Gott mit uns." "Catholique et Français toujours"... Catholic and French always." So months ago the new president of the Italian parliament paid a tribute, I quote: "...to the fundamental role played by the Christian religion, to shape and to defend the cultural identity of our country." That's why I am strongly opposed to mention the Christian roots of Europe, because we are not to forget that the European cohesion sacralised by Christianity was often, too often, a forced cohesion. Forced conversions, exclusions, persecutions, pogroms, and religious wars. The violence is not new because of recent terrorism and fanaticism. Violence by sacralised cohesion was here in Europe for millennia. But this is a betrayal of religion, and a betrayal of God when a group – national, cultural or whatever else – wants God and religion for its own purpose. I visited the Church of St. Nicholas here in Prague yesterday. You can see there the statue of our holy bishop using his crook that should be the very expression of pastoral care and pastoral love used instead to crush and kill someone unfaithful. For the sake of religion, for the sake of God, we have to fight against any instrumentalization of the religion. Instead, the message should be universal love, peace, and justice.

Fourth point. In the year 2000, Pope John Paul II begged the pardon of God and of humanity for the sins of the Roman Catholic Church and among these sins he quoted the sins committed against love on behalf of truth. And he asked Cardinal Ratzinger, the current pope, to express this intention. Yes, truth is crucial, but truth is not something to impose by force. Truth is something to live. Truth is not something I have, I posses, I can dominate, and I can master. When I believe I posses the truth, truth becomes the source of violence. Not only the religion, the religious truth, but as well the secular ones. Actually for a believer, only God is the Truth, not all words, not all thinkings about God. Especially for the Christians, only the person of Jesus Christ is the Truth. Therefore, by no means, can I master the truth. I can only go my way together with the others towards the Truth.

To conclude, three brief suggestions. First: give back to Kaiser what is from Kaiser, and give back to God what is from God. On the opposite of the rule "cujus regio, ejus religio", the rule should be a true separation between state and religion. Both as citizens and as believers, we have to refuse any mutual instrumentalization between political power and religious power. Second suggestion: all religions

and all states have simply to respect the freedom of consciousness and the freedom of beliefs. But religions are not only to claim this respect from the others when they are a minority. They have to give this respect to the others' beliefs and to the non-believers when this religion is in a dominant position. Religions have to refuse any abuse of dominant positions. Third and last suggestion, is the last and main suggestion perhaps: we have to stress the distinction between faith and religion. Faith needs religious expression, and even religious institutions, but faith as a personal experience, and personal relationship between each human being, surpasses any religion. The more we will be true believers, the more we will have a real experience of God, the more we will become humble, and the more we will enter a true love for the other. Openness to God and openness to my brother or sister go along with each other. Thank you.

Moderator: Thank you very much. We turn now from theologians and philosophers, to a political psychologist and sociologist for a different point of view. Ashis Nandy is here from India and some of you, I know, heard him earlier today. He is an important witness in the field of human rights and for those of who do not know, Foreign Policy magazine recently posted him as one of the top one hundred public intellectuals. And when I asked about professor Nandy, I was told that he is a noted intellectual who will provide a different perspective for everybody on the subject of roots of religious extremism. So we look forward to your comments, Ashis Nandy.

Ashis Nandy: I have decided to tell you a couple of anecdotes and to provide you with few scraps of data, leaving my interpretation out of it.

A little more than a decade ago in Sri Lanka I visited a Buddhist Vihara, a church, if you like. In Sri Lanka, the convention is that in every Buddhist Vihara campus there is a Hindu temple. In Sri Lanka, as many of you might know, a civil war has been raging for fifteen years. And my friend, a human rights activist, who was subsequently assassinated, told me that most of those who come to worship in the Buddhist Vihara are parents of young Sanghala soldiers going to fight the ethnic Tamil army in the north of the island seeking blessings. The ethnic Tamils are Hindus and Sanghalese are Buddhists and they see the Tamils as a threat to Buddhism in South Asia. But I also noticed that they invariably made a beeline to the temple, a Hindu temple, within the Buddhist campus. I wanted to talk to them and my friend acted as an interpreter. I asked them why they came to

the temple and not to Vihara. And the answer was almost uniformly the same among the three or four people I approached. They said we are Buddhist all right, but the Buddhist gods are too austere and otherworldly. Whereas, the Hindu gods, if you vow to them that you will give them a silver lamp stand, or a silver chain for the goddess, then they will help you to find those Hindu traitors. So here are Buddhists going to fight Hindus, asking the Hindu blessing of Hindu gods.

In South Asia, and this is not the only case, the holiest Islamic shrine is at Haram al-Sheriff. On an ordinary day, that is if the day doesn't have Islamic religious significance, a majority of the pilgrims are non-Muslims. There is a Hindu-Christian riot going on in eastern India at the moment, but in Bombay, the Mahim Church is supposed to be very sacred and potent, and more than ninety percent of the pilgrims are non-Christians: Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Zoroastrians – every religion is represented. And I would propose to you that the term "religion" means something entirely different in that part of the world as compared to this part of the world. The present term 'religion' has come to India in the present sense, (it doesn't even have a proper translation in Indian languages), only in the last one hundred and fifty years. India is not an exception. I think this area extends all the way from East India and East Asia, almost to Iran. To give you an instance, Japan and India have had a religious census for the last one hundred and fifty years. The Indian census was started by the British. It was a colonial system. So if you add up the percentages of all religions in India, they add up to one hundred percent: 82 percent Hindus, 2 and half percent Christians, 14 percent Muslims, 1 and half percent Sikhs, and so on and so forth. It adds up to one hundred percent. The Japanese census is Japanese. So, more than 95 percent of Japanese, according to the data on religion, are Shintos. But more than 85 percent are also Buddhists. So I defy you to produce Shinto-Buddhist violence in Japan, however hard you may try through any Japanese politicians, you cannot do that. You are simultaneously Shinto and Buddhist. And it is partly a remnant of that which extends up to India.

In China, many people claimed to be all three: Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist. The Chinese data probably adds up to 250 percent. Now, that is a very different concept of religion, and I would suspect that something has been changing in the last hundred and fifty years. I can, unfortunately, give you data only after Independence because that's the only data I have.

In India, in the last fifty years, on an average, 25 percent of Indians have stayed in cities, and 75 percent in villages. In the same

fifty years, during all of the religious violence, 3.6 percent have died in villages, and of the 25 percent who live in cities 96.4 percent of people who have died in religious violence have died in cities. Almost all riots, all pogroms begin in cities. In modern India, they happen in villages only occasionally. I have known only four instances where villages were affected in the last fifty years. Do these hold any lessons for us? I would have left it here, but I want to add two more instances which will fit into this picture. The most venerated Islamic nationalist or Islamic extremist leader is Mohammad Ali Jinnah who carved out an independent Muslim state out of British India called Pakistan. The largest Muslim state at that time, Bangladesh, was not yet born. Mr Jinnah, a highly sophisticated barrister, was very fond of his Scotch whiskey and ham sandwiches. But he fought the case for the Muslims and, like a good lawyer, won it for them. And one of Jinnah's friends is supposed to be the father of Hindu extremism; in fact he has written what you might call the 'Bible' of Hindu extremism. You cannot talk of Hindu fundamentalism, because at the moment you try to specify the fundamentals of Hinduism, you will lose the majority of the supporters, because they will not agree with it. Mr. Savarkar wrote this Bible called the Hindutva ("Hinduness") and makes it clear in the same book that he was an atheist, that he did not believe in Hinduism. And indeed when his wife died, despite a public movement and demonstration by his own followers, he refused to give them the right to give his wife a Hindu funeral. He willed that he did not want a religious funeral, and that he must be carried, according to his will, on nothing other than a motorised wagon, just to fight the canons of Hinduism.

Would I be too wrong if I proposed that what we call religious extremism is something else? That it is not at all religious in its origins? It mobilizes the people in the name of religion for other kinds of purposes and if you look deep into it, in both of these instances, Savarkar makes it very clear, that what he was looking for as a secular politician, and secular man, the same for Jinnah – was for a basis for something called nationality. And the assumption was this – that without a properly defined nationality, you cannot have a nation. And if you cannot have a nation, you cannot have a nation state like the Europeans have. And the Europeans have dominated us because they had a nation state and we did not. And the nation state was your salvation, too. And in the absence of a proper nation, you have to use whatever resources or source materials you have, and hammer them into a nationality, à la nineteenth century Europe. I leave you with this question. Regarding the underlying religious violence in South

Asia, is there a passion to break into the modern world and reclaim what an entire generation of South Asians thought was a pathway to secular salvation? Thank you.

Moderator: Well, those were certainly fascinating anecdotes and I thank you very much. Our last speaker is Charles Levesque, an attorney in the United States, the C.O.O. (the Chief Operating Officer) of the Interfaith Youth Core, based in the United States, who also had some experience in the United States diplomatic corps, with postings in Brazil and Albania and who had been involved, rather extensively, in community education programs in Chicago, and who served as the General Counsel of the Chicago Housing Authority. So Mr. Levesque has roots in the Mid-West of the United States of America and now is working with Interfaith Youth Core. For another different perspective we turn it over to him.

Charles Levesque: Madam chairman, thank you very much. Distinguished members of the panel, it is truly an honour to join you at this table. Regarding Father Halík's remarks, I found that his concept of moving to fundamentalism as succumbing to a temptation to have great relevance. And I would suggest that, in my own country, this temptation is particularly attractive because of the world in which we live. We live, as Father Nissim said, in the world of globalization. And there is a desire, I think, for people to find something they can control. The world is characterized today by speed. We move faster than ever, for example, with people coming into contact with others they would never dream to come into contact with before. The world is also characterized by uncertainty. And so, when despite your best efforts at your job, your job may be outsourced to another country. Something you have no control over. When suddenly your neighbourhood is filled with people who speak a different language, have different customs and whom you don't understand and when the gays next door not a husband and a wife, but two men are raising a baby, sometimes some people are thrown into confusion. And I think fundamentalism is attractive, because as Father Halík said, it's an attempt to get answers, to find one's place in the world, and to return to a golden age. How do we combat this tendency? I think there are two things.

Number one, we have to have a place to accommodate disparate ideas. I think that is a failing in my own country, and I'll come back to that. And then second, I think, of course, as a person who runs an organization dedicated to dialogue, we need dialogue. Sura 49 in

the Koran says: "God made us different nations and tribes so that we may come to know one another." The only way to do that is through the dialogue. But let's go back to the argument of place. The United States was characterized politically, I believe in the early 1990's, by the growth of the religious right, which many people call "fundamentalist." That means people who united behind ideas that were faith-inspired and very conservative for the most part. This block gravitated towards the right of the Republican Party. There is a current debate in the United States as to whether that coalition still holds, but I think you see people moving away from that constellation. But when you talk to people who have the fundamentalist perspective, it is amazing what you hear. You often hear that the move to politics resulted because their ideas were ridiculed, because their beliefs were ridiculed by teachers, by the elites, and by the media. So it was a reaction against a perceived hostility.

And I think that in our discourse, we have to refrain from being coarse and I mean coarse —C-O-A-R-S-E— the rudeness that characterizes the political debate. You may disagree with creationism, you might not support the candidate who believes in creationism, but to ridicule that person, and to ridicule that person's beliefs marginalizes them, and I think causes people to find shelter among like-minded ideas. There is no sharing of ideas and no respect in that kind of discourse. I don't know how to guarantee a place for disparate thoughts. It is a very difficult undertaking and I will leave that to the theologians and to the political theorists, but it is something that is essential. But something we can always do is engage in dialogue. And I heard a number of people today mention that. Dialogue is an exchange of ideas and not an attempt to convert. It is not an attempt to change people's beliefs, or their understanding of the world. It's an attempt to find common values, common purpose and then to take those words and move them to common action. That's what we need to do and we need to guarantee that our educational systems teach and promote these skills.

Moderator: I asked the panelists if there is anyone ready to ask someone a question of each other.

Gabriel Nissim: Thank you Madam Chairperson. Yes, I was very interested by all panelists, and the contributions, it was high-level, but especially by Mr. Ashis Nandy about perhaps another conception of religion in Far East today. And perhaps a different conception of re-

ligion in the West, could he give some precision about that? Thank you.

Ashis Nandy: Well, I cannot give precision, because those who practice it have not defined it precisely, because scholarship is dominated by the other concept of religion. But let me put it this way. That one of the fundamental criteria of this kind of religion is not, or should not be, unknown to many historians of religion, even in Europe. Namely, that one of the main components of religion in everyday life is seen as not what you believe, but what you do. I find scraps of evidence in the histories of religion in the West, that there was something of this kind, even here earlier where beliefs were underemphasized. And everyday religion included primarily what you do. Let me give you one example. Thailand is a Buddhist country. It has a Buddhist monarchy and a Buddhist dynasty. If you go to Bangkok, in the capital, go to the Royal Palace. Next to it is a settlement of Brahmins from India, who were there for hundreds of years. With the Thai Buddhist King leading his life in Buddhism, these Brahmins are expected to preside over four events in the royal household: birth, death, marriage and coronation. No Thai finds this strange either. And no Hindu finds this strange. Only modern Hindus and modern Buddhists may find that strange, because religion in the Western sense has been crystallizing over the last one hundred and fifty years in that part of the world. So you can say that in urban South Asia, urban Southeast Asia, and even in urban East Asia, the dominant meaning of religion makes some kind of sense today despite all limitations on it. The other thing survives in the injustices of religious experience.

Moderator: Thank you. Father Halík has a few remarks.

Tomáš Halík: First, on the wonderful contribution of his Royal Highness, I think that the return to our Scriptures is something that is very important, but it's very important to return without our modern prejudices. We need to interpret our Scriptures in the context of the culture and not with our projections. And fidelity to man's own principle is something which is a great value, it is not a fundamentalism! So I don't see any great differences between these contributions.

To Mr. Nandy, there are many other differences in the various concepts of religion. Not only between the Western concept and the Eastern concept, but also in the history of Western culture, there were so many different understandings. At the beginning, "religio" was the pagan, ancient Roman concept, which is something similar

like today's civil religion – it was the system of rituals and symbols, and mainly an expression of the fidelity of the state's identity. When Christians came with their Good News, with the Holy gospel, they were asked, "What it is your message, is it philosophy, or is it religion?" "It's something like religion", they answered. St. Augustine used the concept of religion like an analogy.

Now we have a modern concept of religion, that there is one general concept of "religion" and there are some substructures like Christianity, Islam and so on. It's a concept which was developed by the Cambridge philosophers in the seventeenth century. In the Middle Ages the concept of religion was quite different. Thomas Aquinas wrote about "fides," and not about "religion", the word "religion" was used another way.

I also met in India some Christians, they said they were Christian, but also Buddhist and Hindu, and for them Hinduism was part of culture, not a competitive religious system, and Buddhism was for them a way of life. So they don't see it like different systems that should be in conflict and so on.

HRH Turki Al-Faisal: There is one observation, which is hardly talked about in the modern world, particularly in the West. We all remember the saying that "the Lord works in mysterious ways but straightforward in his work." He tells us what he wants of us quite clearly, lays out the rules and regulations, and the balance sheet between what is good and what is evil. He even offers us a choice between hoping for reward in the afterlife, or punishment. And in the Christian tradition, it is somewhere in between those two. But many people don't mention, especially among those who believe in the scriptures, whether it is Muslim, Jewish or Christian, that the devil also works in mysterious ways. And the devil, historically, has been a figure of deviousness, enticement, and lure for the innocent human being to fall into sin as a test of that human being's faith. In today's world I don't think that the devil has to come down to us to do that, because there are many human beings who act as devils in any case. But these lures and enticements, I think, can be described by psychiatrists and psychologists perhaps better than a layman like myself. Whether they are expressions of arrogance, or some kind of personal complex, or the way that the person has been brought up by his family, whether he had received beatings from his father, or his mother was unkind to him, or other interpretations. In school, whether he was the victim of a bully, or was himself a bully, bullying others and so on, which make up the psychological factors that can contribute to someone turning either

towards criminality or not. And I think people like Osama Bin Laden and others definitely suffer from personal characteristics that affect them in that manner. Whether it is megalomania or arrogance or any of the characteristics that allow them to think of themselves as the ones who are right, and of the rest of us as the ones who are wrong and therefore give themselves the license to use whatever means at their hands, by violence, murder, explosion, to teach us a lesson, so that we may learn from their point of view that this is the right way, which in the end is their way. Or we take the highway, as the expression in America goes.

Moderator: Thank you, Your Highness for these interesting elaborations. We have just about two minutes left before President Havel comes here and we depart from this panel. I wonder if I could ask all of the members of this panel, since we are talking about the word "dialogue," if you could identify one virtue, from your religious tradition. And since we are talking about your holy books, one virtue from your holy books, or book, that would facilitate, encourage, promote dialogue. One word will do.

Charles Levesque: The gospel story of the Good Samaritan.

Moderator: So what would the one word be?

Charles Levesque: The tale of the Good Samaritan. The openness to the other, the person who is oppressed and not understood.

Moderator: Thank you. Yes.

HRH Turki Al-Faisal: Truth.

Tomáš Halík: Humility and patience.

Gabriel Nissim: Unity and diversity.

Moderator: Thank you. Unity and diversity.

Ammar Al-Hakim: To maintain diverse opinions, but not to be antagonistic. This means that you can maintain your opinion but you don't want to go against all the others on the basis of these opinions.

Moderator: Professor Nandy, do you have a remark, a virtue that we need for a dialogue?

Ashis Nandy: I think the examples I give involve not only a dialogue between faiths, consciously, self-consciously, deliberately and with a great degree of self-awareness, but an ongoing everyday dialogue which goes on almost despite yourself. Here I mean what in a modern context might almost seem schizoid, in another context; it's a part of everyday life. The Indonesian Muslim is not bothered by an iota that all around his mosque, the walls depict Buddhist gods and goddesses and Hindu gods and goddesses.

Moderator: Thank you.

Ashis Nandy: I want to clarify something. It is not a matter of Buddhism being a part of culture, as professor Halík would explain. That's a modern interpretation of it. That distinction between religion and culture is not maintained in the older tradition of religion. To them it is not defined that culturally we are also Hindus. That would be, that we do something, but you know if you push me, we will say Hindus. But we could also be classified for what we do. You live with your classification we live with ours.

Moderator: Thank you very much. Will you please join me in thanking our speakers and our panelists for an adventurous exploration.

Václav Havel: Forum 2000 Conference Closing Remarks

Ladies and Gentlemen,
Dear Friends,

Because the twelfth Forum 2000 was attended by one hundred delegates from various countries and continents and people of different faiths, professions and orientations gathered at eight places in Prague, no-one managed to see and hear everything that was said by these wise men and women of the entire world. The gatherings, panels and meetings have, therefore, been documented and published on the Conference website. The Conference Report, with all the speeches and other documents, will follow shortly.

Open to the public and in line with its openness theme, Forum 2000 attracted the attention of over three thousand people. Openness was not only visible the theoretical debates, theoretical interpretations and views on the given topics – openness was demonstrated in the meetings too, where people of diverse ideas and views were able to discuss in a friendly way. What does the openness actually stand for? In its deepest sense the word means understanding, mutual comprehension, empathy, rational distance, and detachment from oneself. When hearing something you do not agree with, there is a tendency to be angry or impatient. But would it not be better if you were to smile instead, laugh at yourself and the situation you are a part of, and comment on it in an intelligent way, making your counterparts look at it from a certain distance?

Some of you might have noticed the interesting and important views on fanaticism, fundamentalism, and obsession. Modernity, contemporary civilization and its possibilities, democracy, and plurality – they have all been discussed here. As a result of being interconnected with one another, these topics will undoubtedly be periodically revised. Accompanying events, private meetings, unofficial

debates and discussions, preparing various projects – both related and unrelated – have, however, played a crucial role too.

Let me therefore thank you for your attendance, as it is all of you who make the Forum 2000 conference exist. Over the last twelve years, the conferences have been attended by at least five hundred guests from all over the world, some coming to this event more than once. I therefore strongly believe that the Forum 2000 conference will be held next year once again, this time for the thirteenth consecutive year. We welcome all of you and hope to see you return next year.

Debate with Ammar Al-Hakim

Date: October 12th, 2008
Organizer: Forum 2000
Venue: Church of St. Salvator
Form: Debate
Guests: Ammar Al-Hakim – Vice President of Supreme Islamic Iraqi Council
Tomáš Halík – Rector of Saint Salvator University parish

Czech Republic's EU Presidency Priorities in Latin America

Date: October 13th, 2008
Organizers: Forum 2000, Respekt Institute CAS LA
Venue: Černin Palace, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic
Form: Workshop
Guests: Carlos Alberto Montaner – Political analyst, Cuba/Spain
Vladimir Petit – Political analyst, Venezuela
Bruce Jackson – President of Project on Transitional Democracies, USA
Robert Amsterdam – Attorney, Amsterdam & Peroff, Canada
Jose Maria Argueta – Former National Security Adviser, Guatemala

The State of Media Freedom in the World

Date: October 13th, 2008
Organizers: Forum 2000, Embassy of France
Venue: Laterna Magika
Form: Discussion
Guests: Robert Ménard – Former Secretary General,
Reporters Without Borders, France
Jan Urban – Journalist, Czech Republic

Religion and Terrorism

Date: October 13th, 2008
Organizer: Forum 2000
Venue: Hussite Theological Faculty
Form: Debate
Guest: Mark Juergensmeyer – Professor and Sociologist, USA

Civil Resistence in the Modern World

Date: October 13th, 2008
Organizers: Forum 2000, ANO pro Evropu,
International Center on Nonviolent Conflict
Venue: Goethe Institut
Form: Panel Discussion
Guests: Trudy Stevenson – Opposition Leader, Zimbabwe
Anastasia Crickley – Personal Representative of Chair OSCE
on Discrimination, Ireland
Adam Roberts – President-elect of the British Acadamy, United Kingdom
Tomáš Vrba – Chairman of the Board, Forum 2000 Foundation, Czech Republic

Belorussian Political Landscape in 2008

Date: October 13th, 2008
Organizers: Forum 2000, Association for International Affairs
Venue: Goethe Institut
Form: Debate
Guest: Alyaksandar Milinkevich – Opposition Leader, Belarus
Adam Michnik – Former Dissident and Chief editor of Gazeta Wyborcza, Poland

Current Financial Crisis: Just Financial?

Date: October 13th, 2008
Organizers: Forum 2000, CERGE-EI, RSJ Invest
Venue: CERGE-EI
Form: Panel Discussion
Guests: Mike Moore – Former Director General of WTO, New Zealand
Jan Švejnar – Professor of Business, Economics, and Public Policy, Czech Republic
Jan Mühlfeit – Chairman of Microsoft Corporation, Europe, Czech Republic

The Importance of 1968 for 1989 and Lessons for Today

Date: October 13th, 2008
Organizers: Forum 2000, ANO pro Evropu,
International Center on Nonviolent Conflict
Venue: Žofin Palace
Form: Panel Discussion
Guest: Adam Roberts – President-elect of the British Academy, United Kingdom

Latin America Today: Possible Roads to Development

Date: October 13th, 2008
Organizers: Forum 2000, Respekt Institut, CAS LA
Venue: Goethe Institut
Form: Panel Discussion
Guests: Vicente Fox – Former President, Mexico
Oswaldo Álvarez Paz – Former Governor, State of Zulia, Venezuela
Jose Maria Argueta – Former National Security Advisor, Guatemala

Václav Havel and Rama Yade Meet with Dissidents

Date: October 13th, 2008
Organizers: Forum 2000, Embassy of France
Venue: Žofin Palace
Form: Informal meeting and Discussion
Guests: Václav Havel – Former President, Czech Republic
Rama Yade – State Secretary for Foreign Affairs and Human Rights, France
Alexander Podrabinek – Editor in Chief Prima, Information Agency, Russia
Alyaksandar Milinkevich – Opposition leader, Belarus
Carlos Alberto Montaner – Political analyst, Cuba/Spain
Trudy Stevenson – Opposition leader, Zimbabwe
Zoya Phan – Political activist, Burma/United Kingdom

Lecture by Ammar Al-Hakim

Date: October 13th, 2008
Organizer: Forum 2000
Venue: VŠE, Prague School of Economics
Form: Lecture
Guest: Ammar Al-Hakim – Vice President Supreme Islamic Iraqi Council, Iraq

Public Policy Dinner with Ammar Al-Hakim

Date: October 13th, 2008
Organizer: Forum 2000, Prague Society for International Cooperation
Venue: Danish Embassy
Form: Discussion
Guests: Ammar Al-Hakim – Vice President Supreme Islamic Iraqi Council, Iraq

Venezuela: A Threat to Regional Stability?

Date: October 14th, 2008
Organizers: Forum 2000, Respekt Institut, CAS LA
Venue: Goethe Institut
Form: Panel Discussion
Guests: Carlos Alberto Montaner – Political analyst, Cuba/Spain
Leopoldo López – Mayor of the Municipality of Chacao of Caracas, Venezuela
Jose de Jesus Noguera – Professor, Whittemore School of Business and Economics, Venezuela/USA
Robert Amsterdam – Attorney, Amsterdam & Peroff, Canada

Civil Resistance in the Modern World: Responsibilities for Action?

Date: October 14th, 2008
Organizers: Forum 2000, ANO pro Evropu,
International Center on Nonviolent Conflict
Venue: Žofin Palace
Form: Roundtable
Guests: Trudy Stevenson – Opposition leader, Zimbabwe
André Glucksmann – Philosopher, France
Alyaksandar Milinkevich – Opposition leader, Belarus
Adam Roberts – President-elect of the British Academy, United Kingdom
Tomáš Vrba – Chairman of the Board, Forum 2000 Foundation, Czech Republic
Tomáš Etzler – Journalist, Czech Republic

Empowering Women in the Developing World

Date: October 14th, 2008
Organizers: Forum 2000, Otevřená společnost, o.p.s.
Venue: Goethe Institut
Form: Debate
Guest: Trudy Stevenson – Opposition leader, Zimbabwe

Forum 2000 Conference History

The idea for the Forum 2000 Conference originated in 1997, when former Czech President Václav Havel, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Elie Wiesel, and philanthropist Yohei Sasakawa invited world leaders to Prague to discuss the challenges humanity was facing on the threshold of a new millennium. Since then, Forum 2000 has evolved into a successful and widely recognized conference series, where distinguished guests continue to address a diverse international community on topics ranging from religious dialogue to human rights and national security and various aspects of globalization.

Among the topics were:

- Dilemmas of Global Co-Existence
- Our Global Co-Existence: Challenges and Hopes for the 21st Century
- Bridging Global Gaps
- Human Rights-Search for Global Responsibility
- Education, Culture, and Spiritual Values in the Age of Globalizations
- Process of World Integration-Alternative Visions
- The World of Co-operation and Conflicts: Institutions and Instruments

"Your discussions [at the Forum 2000 Conference] *are even more relevant in the context of the recent controversy about the caricatures depicting Prophet Mohammed."*

Kofi A. Annan, United Nations Secretary General, 2006

"Forum 2000 presents its utility as a place for reflections about the globalization process."

Jacques Chirac, President of France, 2004

"The insights achieved by the Forum will, I am certain, be of great value to the work of the international community in tackling these issues."

Romano Prodi, President of the European Commision, 2004

"Today it is very necessary to have a GLOBAL debate on the future of our civilization. Your Forum 2000 Conferences are in my view an essential part of this discussion."

Wolfgang Schüssel, Austria's Federal Chancellor, 2006

"The significance of this Conference is that it provides a valuable opportunity to work together to further enhance the positive aspects of globalization while rectifying the negative aspects."

Yohei Sasakawa, President of the Nippon Foundation, 2003

"As Václav Havel has often said, his conferences are not aimed at directly influencing immediate events, but to identify the threats through a free and responsible debate."

José Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission, 2007

Forum 2000 Delegates 1997–2008

Information about participants refers to the time of their stay in Prague.

TAHIR ABBAS
Director of Birmingham University's Centre for the Study of Ethnicity and Culture, United Kingdom

SHARIF M. ABDULLAH
Director of the Commonway Institute, USA

NASR HAMID ABU-ZAYD
Scholar of Islamic Studies, Egypt

PATRICIA ADAMS
Economist and Executive Director of Probe International, Canada

AKYAABA ADDAI-SEBO
Consultant on Preventive Diplomacy and Conflict Transformation, United Kingdom

MOHAMMED AFZAL KHAN
Former Lord Mayor of Manchester, United Kingdom

FARISH AHMAD-NOOR
Historian and political scientist, Malaysia

YILMAZ AKYÜZ
Economist and scholar, Turkey

TARIQ JAWAID ALAM
Students' Forum 2000 delegate, Pakistan

MADELEINE ALBRIGHT
Chair of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs and President of the Truman Scholarship Foundation, former Secretary of State, USA

AMMAR AL-HAKIM
Vice President of the Supreme Islamic Iraqi Council, Iraq

H.E. SHEIKH MOHAMMED MOHAMMED ALI
Islamic researcher and politician, human rights activist, Iraq

NADER SALEEM AL-KHATEEB
Director of the Water and Environmental Development Organization, Palestine

SABAH AL-RAYES
Founder and Managing Director of Pan Arab Consulting Engineers, Kuwait

JITZSCHAK ALSTER
Partner at Shimoni, Alster & Rasiel, Israel

OSWALDO ALVAREZ PAZ
Founder of the Venezuelan political party the People's Alliance, Venezuela

ROBERT R. AMSTERDAM
Attorney, Canada

EDUARDO ANINAT
Economist, scholar and former Minister of Finance, Chile

CHRISTIANE AMANPOUR
CNN's chief international correspondent, USA

MOHAMAD BASHAR ARAFAT
President of Civilizations Exchange and Cooperation Foundation, Syria/USA

MAEN RASHID AREIKAT
Coordinator General, Negotiation Affairs Department of the PLO, Palestine

JOSE MARIA ARGUETA
Former (and first civilian) Nationals Security Advisor of Guatemala, Guatemala

OSCAR ARIAS SÁNCHEZ
Former President, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate (1987), Costa Rica

TIMOTHY GARTON ASH
Political scientist and writer, United Kingdom

KEN ASH
Deputy Director for Food, Agriculture and Fisheries at the OECD, Canada

HANAN ASHRAWI
Former Minister of Education, Palestine

SHLOMO AVINERI
Professor Emeritus of political science at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel

EDITH AWINO
Students' Forum 2000 delegate, Kenya

MEHMET AYDIN
Dean of the Faculty of theology at the University of Dokuy Eylül in Izmir, Turkey

PATRICIO AYLWIN AZOCAR
Former President, Chile

MARK AZZOPARDI
Students' Forum 2000 delegate, Malta

HUSEYIN BAGCI
Professor of international relations at Middle East Technical University, Turkey

MIRIAM BALABAN
Secretary General of the European Desalination Society, USA

LESZEK BALCEROWICZ
Former Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, Poland

CATHERINE BARBER
Economic policy adviser for Oxfam, United Kingdom

ANDRIS BARBLAN
Historian and political scientist, Secretary General of the Association of European Universities, Switzerland

DEBI BARKER
Executive Director of the International Forum on Globalization, USA

ALEXANDRE CHAMBRIER BARRO
Economist, Gabon

HIS ALL HOLINESS BARTHOLOMEW
Head of the Orthodox Church, Greece

WADYSLAW BARTOSZEWSKI
Historian, Author and Diplomat, Poland

THOMAS BATA
Czech-born businessman, Canada

WALDEN BELLO
Professor of sociology and public administration, Philippines

CARLOS FELIPE XIMENES BELO
Nobel Peace Prize Laureate (1996), East Timor

PAVEL BÉM
Lord Mayor of the City of Prague, Czech Republic

ROBERT L. BERNSTEIN
President of Human Rights Watch, USA

KURT BIEDENKOPF
Prime Minister of Saxony, Germany

MURAD J. BINO
Executive Director of the Inter-Islamic Network on Water Resources Development and Management, Jordan

AKIN BIRDAL
Former President of the Human Rights Association, Turkey

LAJOS BOKROS
Former Minister of Finance, Hungary

SYLVIA BORREN
Director of non-governmental organization Novib, Netherlands

LYDIA BOSIRE
Students' Forum 2000 delegate, Kenya

WILLIAM BOURDON
Attorney, former Secretary General of the International Federation of Human Rights Leagues, France

JEAN-LOUIS BOURLANGES
Chairman of the European Movement, France

JOSEP BRICALL
Former President of the Association of European Universities, France

HANS VAN DEN BROEK
Member of the European Commission, Netherlands

DAVID BROOKS
Senior Advisor – Fresh Water, Friends of the Earth, Canada

JAN BUBENÍK
Founder of Bubeník Partners and Chairman of the Corporate Council of the Forum 2000 Foundation, Czech Republic

IGNATZ BUBIS
Chairman of the Central Council of Jewish Organizations, Germany

MARTIN BURSÍK
Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister of Environment, Czech Republic

MARTIN BÚTORA
Sociologist, writer and President of the Institute for Public Affairs in Bratislava, Slovakia

MARIO CAFIERO
Politician, Argentina

KIM CAMPBELL
Former Prime Minister, Canada

FRITJOF CAPRA
Physicist and systems theorist, USA

JORGE G. CASTAÑEDA
Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mexico

CORNELIUS CASTORIADIS
Philosopher, Greece/France

VOJTĚCH CEPL
Professor at the Faculty of Law of Charles University, Czech Republic

CHI STEVE CHAN
Politician, Taiwan

JOSEPH CHAN
Sociology professor at the University of Hong Kong, China

CLEMENT C. P. CHANG
Founder of Tamkang University, Taiwan

TZE CHI CHAO
President of World League for Freedom and Democracy, Taiwan

THE RT. H. LORD HOLME OF CHELTENHAM
Chairman of the Steering Committee of the International Chamber of Commerce Environment Commission, United Kingdom

SHUNLING CHEN
Students' Forum 2000 delegate, Taiwan

SHIH-MENG CHEN
Politician, economist, President of the Ketagalan Institute, Taiwan

SIR ROBIN CHRISTOPHER
Former British Ambassador to Argentina, Indonesia, Ethiopia and Eritrea, United Kingdom

MAMADOU CISSOKHO
Honorary President of the Conseil National de Concertation et de Coopération Ruraux, Senegal

YAVUZ ÇUBUKCU
Water Adviser for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey

VLADISLAV ČERYCH
Educational Expert, Czech Republic

WILLIAM J. CLINTON
42nd President, USA

HILLARY CLINTON
First Lady, USA

ROBERT COOPER
Director-general Politico-Military Affairs, Council of the EU, United Kingdom

ANASTASIA CRICKLEY
Chairperson, Management Board of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, Ireland

PÁL CSÁKY
Member of the National Council, Slovak Republic

LORD RALF GUSTAV DAHRENDORF
Political scientist and sociologist, Germany

HIS HOLINESS THE DALAI LAMA
Supreme spiritual representative, Tibet

JOYCE DAVIS
Director of Broadcasting of the Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty in Prague, USA

STEPHEN M. DAVIS
Specialist on international corporate governance, USA

THOMAS C. DAWSON
Director of the External Relations Department of the International Monetary Fund, USA

FREDERIK WILLEM DE KLERK
Former President, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate (1993), South Africa

GUIDO DE MARCO
Former President, Malta

LORD DESAI OF ST CLEMENT DANES
Professor of economics at the London School of Economics, United Kingdom

JAMES DEANE
Executive Director of Panos Institute, United Kingdom

GÁBOR DEMSZKY
Lord Mayor of Budapest, Hungary

JAYANTHA DHANAPALA
Chairman of the UN University Council, Sri Lanka

JIŘÍ DIENSTBIER
Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia, Czech Republic

PHILIP DIMITROV
Former Prime Minister, Bulgaria

THOMAS A. DINE
President of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, USA

WARIS DIRIE
Human rights activist and fashion supermodel, Somalia

VLADIMÍR DLOUHÝ
Economist, Senior Advisor of ABB, Czech Republic

DEBORAH DOANE
Chair of the CORE, coalition of over 40 NGOs, Canada

DORIS DONNELLY
Professor of theology at John Carroll University in Cleveland, USA

DITTA DOLEJŠIOVÁ
Students' Forum 2000 delegate, Slovakia

SHIRIN EBADI
Nobel Peace Prize Laureate (2003), Iran

GABRIEL EICHLER
Founder of Benson Oak, USA

RIANE EISLER
Cultural historian, USA

KAKUHAN ENAMI
Representative of the Tendai School of Buddhism, Japan

AMITAI ETZIONI
Sociologist and social psychologist, Germany/USA

TOMÁŠ ETZLER
Journalist, reporter, editor, and producer, Czech Republic

GARETH EVANS
Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Australia

H.E. SHEIKH FAWZY FADEL EL ZEFZAF
President of Al Azhar Permanent Committee of Dialogue among Heavenly Religions, Egypt

MARIA CELINA DEL FELICE
Students' Forum 2000 delegate, Argentina

JÁN FIGEĽ
European Commissioner for Education, Training, Culture, and Youth, Slovak Republic

FRANZ FISCHLER
European Commissioner and former Federal Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, Austria

RIAN FOKKER
Spokesperson of NOVIB Oxfam, Netherlands

JOERG FORBRIG
Students' Forum 2000 delegate, Germany

ROSENDO FRAGA
Journalist, political analyst and historian, Argentina

ALBERT FRIEDLANDER
Rabbi of the Westminster Synagogue in London, United Kingdom

FRANCIS FUKUYAMA
Writer and political scientist, USA

JOSTEIN GAARDER
Writer, Norway

IVAN GABAL
Sociologist, Czech Republic

PETER GABRIEL
Singer and composer, United Kingdom

JOSEPH GANDA
Archbishop of Freetown and Bo, Sierra Leone

PETR GANDALOVIČ
Minister of Agriculture, Czech Republic

HENRY LOUIS GATES
Director of Harvard's W.E.B. Du Bois Institute for Afro-American Research, USA

JOACHIM GAUCK
Former Federal Commissioner for the Stasi Files, Germany

MOHAMMAD GAWDAT
Managing Director for Emerging Markets, Google, Egypt

FARA GAYE
Sufi sheikh involved in projects for Islamic-Jewish Dialogue

JEFFREY GEDMIN
President of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, USA

SUSAN GEORGE
Political scientist, USA/France

HUMBERTO CELLI GERBASI
First Vice-Chairman of the Consultative Council of the Latin-American Parliament, Venezuela

BRONISLAW GEREMEK
Historian and Member of the European Parliament, Poland

RONALD E. GEREVAS
Former US Presidential Appointee in the Ford Administration, USA

WOLFGANG GERHARDT
Chair of the Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, Germany

ANTHONY GIDDENS
Sociologist, Director of the London School of Economics, United Kingdom

ANTHONY C. GIFFARD
Scholar, Member of the Board of the Inter Press Service, USA

HANS VAN GINKEL
Rector of the United Nations University in Tokyo, Japan

MARY ANNE GLENDON
The U.S. Ambassador to the Holy See, USA

ANDRÉ GLUCKSMANN
Philosopher and writer, France

EDWARD GOLDSMITH
Scientist, ecologist and scholar, founder of *The Ecologist Magazine*, United Kingdom

ÁRPÁD GÖNCZ
Former President, Hungary

RICHARD GRABER
The U.S. Ambassador to the Czech Republic, USA

VARTAN GREGORIAN
President of Carnegie Corporation of New York, USA

NORBERT GREINACHER
Professor of theology, University of Tübingen, Germany

EDUARDO MARCAL GRILO
Director of Gulbenkian Foundation and former Minister of Education, Portugal

DAGMAR GROSSMAN
CEO of Grossman Jet Service, Austria/ Czech Republic

TEOFISTO T. GUINGONA
Vice President and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Philippines

TOMÁŠ HALÍK
President of the Christian Academy, Czech Republic

JOHN HALL
Sociologist and professor at McGill University in Montreal, Canada

LEE HARRIS
Essayist and contributing editor to Tech Central Station, USA

FAOUZIA HARICHE
Communal politician, Algeria/Belgium

BAMBANG HARYMURTI
Editor in Chief of the news magazine Tempo Weekly and the newspaper Tempo Daily, India

H.R.H. EL HASSAN BIN TALAL
Prince of the Jordanian Hashemite Royal Dynasty, Jordan

VÁCLAV HAVEL
President, Czech Republic

HAZEL HENDERSON
Futurologist, USA

PHILLIP HENDERSON
Vice President of the German Marshall Fund, USA

EVELINE HERFKENS
UN Secretary General's Executive Coordinator for the Millennium Development Goals Campaign, Netherlands

THOR HEYERDAHL
Ocean traveler and author, Norway

COLIN HINES
Author of "Localization: A Global Manifesto", United Kingdom

MAE-WAN HO
Professor of biology at the Open University, United Kingdom

JEREMY HOBBS
Executive Director of Oxfam, USA

TAKEAKI HORI
Anthropologist and advisor to the President of the Nippon Foundation, Japan

HSIN-HUANG MICHAEL HSIAO
Director of the Center for Asia-Pacific Area Studies, Taiwan

THEODORE M. H. HUANG
Chairman of the Teco Group, Japan

ELLEN HUME
Former White House Correspondent for The Wall Street Journal, USA

JACQUES HUNTZINGER
Former French Ambassador to Israel, France

AZHAR HUSSAIN
Vice President for Preventive Diplomacy and Director, Pakistan

ANWAR IBRAHIM
Former Deputy Prime Minister, Malaysia

MICHAEL INACKER
Deputy Editor in Chief of the Wirtschafts Woche paper, Germany

VICTORIA PEREYRA IRAOLA
Students' Forum 2000 delegate, Argentina

AKIRA IRIYAMA
Vice President of the Sasakawa Africa Association, Japan

HIROYUKI ISHI
Professor of Hokkaido University, Japan

MIHOKO ITO
Students' Forum 2000 delegate, Japan

VJAČESLAV IVANOV
Professor of linguistics at the University of California, USA

MAREK JACINA
Students' Forum 2000 delegate, Canada

BRUCE P. JACKSON
Founder and President of the Project on Transitional Democracies, USA

ASMA JAHANGIR
Lawyer, Chair of the Human Rights Commission, Pakistan

MARTIN JAHN
Member of the Board of Management of Škoda Auto a.s., Czech Republic

JOSEF JAŘAB
Rector of Central European University in Budapest, Czech Republic

CLAUDE JASMIN
Professor of oconolgy, France

MICHAËLLE JEAN
Governor General, Canada

WEI JINGSHENG
Dissident and father of the Chinese movement for modern pro-Western democracy, China

ERIK JONNAERT
Chairman of the European Center for Public Affairs, Belgium

JONAS JONSON
Bishop of Strängnäs and Member of the World Council of Churches, Sweden

MARK JUERGENSMEYER
Director of the Orfalea Center for Global and International Studies.

WAHU KAARA
Activist and Member of the Women's Environment and Development Organisation, Kenya

JÜRGEN KAISER
Former Coordinator of the Jubilee 2000 campaign, Germany

MARY KALDOR
Professor of economics at the London School of Economics, United Kingdom

NOERINE KALEEBA
Activist fighting HIV/AIDS, Uganda

AHMAD KAMEL
Bureau Chief of Al-Jazeera's North and Central Europe, Belgium

KÓEI KANI
Representative of the Tendai Buddhist School, Japan

DANI KARAVAN
Sculptor, Israel

JOSHUA KARLINER
Senior Fellow of Corp Watch, USA

MATS KARLSSON
Economist and Vice President of the World Bank, Sweden

JAN KASL
Architect and former Lord Mayor of Prague, Czech Republic

GARRY KASPAROV
Opposition leader, Russia

MIKHAIL KASYANOV
Former Russian Prime Minister, Russia

INGE KAUL
Director of the Office of Development Studies at the United Nations Development Program, Germany

YOUSIF KHOEI
Director of the Al Khoei Foundation, Iraq/United Kingdom

HILDE KIEBOOM
President of the European Federation of the Communities of S. Edigo, Belgium

KENZO KIIKUNI
Professor at Tokyo Women's Medical University, Japan

HENRY A. KISSINGER
Politician, diplomat, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate (1973), USA

MICHAEL U. KLEIN
Vice President of the World Bank Group's Private Sector Advisory Services, Germany

IVAN KLÍMA
Writer, Czech Republic

LESZEK KOLAKOWSKI
Philosopher, Poland/United Kingdom

PETR KOLÁŘ
Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Czech Republic

TED KOPPEL
Anchor and Managing Editor of ABC News' "Nightline", USA

DAVID C. KORTEN
Economist, President of The People Centered Development Forum, USA

SERGEI KOVALYOV
Deputy of State Duma and human rights activist, Russia

MEENA KRISHNAMOORTHY
Students' Forum 2000 delegate, Australia

MARTIN KRYL
Students' Forum 2000 delegate, Czech Republic

JÁN KUBIŠ
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Slovakia

KRISHAN KUMAR
Professor of social political science, USA

HANS KÜNG
President of the Foundation for Global Ethics, Germany

RICARDO LAGOS
Former President, Chile

SIR FRANK LAMPL
President of Bovis Lend Lease, United Kingdom

JACK LANG
Former Minister of Culture, France

MEIR LAU
Chief Rabbi, Israel

ANWEI LAW
Founder of Hansen's Disease Association, USA

PETR LEBEDA
Students' Forum 2000 delegate, Czech Republic

JOSHUA LEDERBERG
Nobel Prize Laureate for Medicine (1958), USA

MARGUERITE S. LEDERBERG
Professor of psychiatry at Cornell University, USA

LEE TENG HUI
Former President, Taiwan

FRANCIS LEMOINE
Senior policy analyst with European Network on Debt and Development, France

CHARLES LEVESQUE
Chief Operating Officer of the Interfaith Youth Core, USA

BERYL LEVINGER
Education Development Center, USA

FLORA LEWIS
Correspondent of The New York Times, USA

CHAN LIEN
Politician, former Vice President, Taiwan

ONDŘEJ LIŠKA
Students' Forum 2000 delegate, Czech Republic

MIKULÁŠ LOBKOWICZ
Philosopher and former Rector of Munich University, Germany

BJÖRN LOMBORG
Director of Environmental Assessment Institute, Denmark

LEOPOLDO LOPEZ
Mayor of the Municipality of Chacao of Caracas, Venezuela

JAMES LOVELOCK
Scientist and writer, United Kingdom

H.E. JEAN MARIE CARDINAL LUSTIGER
Archbishop of Paris, France

GRAHAM MACKAY
CEO of South African Breweries, USA

KISHORE MAHBUBANI
Dean and professor in the Practice of Public Policy at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University, Singapore

KHOTSO MAKHULU
South African-born Archbishop of Central Africa

IRSHAD MANJI
Senior Fellow, European Foundation for Democracy, Brussels, Canada

MICHAEL MANN
Historian, living in the USA

DAVID MARTIN
Professor of sociology at the London School of Economics and Political Science

JANA MATESOVÁ
Economist, senior advisor to Executive Director of the World Bank, Czech Republic

DON MCKINNON
Former Secretary General of Commonwealth, New Zealand

VLADIMIR PETIT MEDINA
Political analyst, Venezuela

MICHAEL MELCHIOR
Deputy Prime Minister, Israel

ROBERT MÉNARD
Journalist and former Secretary General of Reporters Without Borders, France

RAJA MIAH
Director of Peacemaker, United Kingdom

ADAM MICHNIK
Former dissident, Editor in Chief of the Gazeta Wyborcza daily, Poland

ALYAKSANDAR MILINKIEVICH
Leading opposition politician, Belarus

ANURADHA MITTAL
Journalist, Co-Director of the First Institute for Food and Development Policy, India

H.E. SHEIKH ABBAS MOHAJERANI
Professor and a leading Iranian-born Islamic scholar

BEDŘICH MOLDAN
Former Czechoslovak Minister of the Environment

CARLOS ALBERTO MONTANER
Political analyst, Cuba/Spain

MIKE MOORE
Director-General of the WTO, former Prime Minister, New Zealand

DOMINIQUE MOÏSI
Deputy Director of the Institute of International Affairs, France

FREDERIC MOUSSEAU
Independent expert focusing on humanitarian aid, France

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About Forum 2000

Forum 2000 Foundation

"Confronting the major contradictions of today's civilization—that is what we deal with at the Forum 2000 conferences."

Václav Havel

Mission

The Forum 2000 Foundation was established in 1996 as a joint initiative of Czech President Václav Havel, the Japanese philanthropist Yohei Sasakawa, and the Nobel Peace Prize laureate Elie Wiesel.

Forum 2000 Foundation aims are:

- to identify the key issues facing civilization and to explore ways in which to prevent the escalation of conflicts that have religion, culture, or ethnicity as their primary components
- to provide a platform to discuss these important topics openly and to enhance global dialogue
- to promote democracy in non-democratic countries and to support civil society, respect for human rights and religious, cultural, and ethnic tolerance in young democracies

Projects

Annual Forum 2000 conferences

The annual Forum 2000 conference is the most significant project of the Foundation. In twelve years it has evolved into a successful and widely recognized conference series, which provides global leaders with a platform for open discussion about crucial global issues.

Dozens of prominent personalities from all over the world take part in the conference every year. Past participants include Bill Clinton, Frederik Willem de Klerk, the Dalai Lama, Wole Soyinka, El Hassan bin Talal, Madeleine Albright, Nicolas Winton, Shimon Peres, and a number of other political, intellectual, spiritual, and business leaders.

Shared Concern Initiative

This project brings together recognized personalities who issue joint statements addressing the most important problems and challenges of today's world. The members of this initiative are: El Hassan bin Talal, the Dalai Lama, Frederik Willem de Klerk, André Glucksmann, Vartan Gregorian, Václav Havel, Hans Küng, Mike Moore, Michael Novak, Shimon Peres, Mary Robinson, Yohei Sasakawa, Karel Schwarzenberg, George Soros, Richard von Wëizsäcker, Gregory Yavlinski.

Excerpts from the Initiative's statements:

"It is time to strongly condemn the exclusion of a considerable number of people from voting and to insist on the release of Burma's political prisoners. The United Nations and the European Union should be ready to reject conclusively the result of the referendum and strengthen sanctions against the regime. Burma's neighbors in ASEAN should stop looking the other way as Burma's rulers trample on Burma's citizens."

Statement on the situation in Burma, 2008

"...because Darfur is emblematic of wider difficulties in the world, the international community must look beyond the immediate circumstances of the conflict and increase efforts to deal with the threats that have played a role in the disaster, such as climate change and

environmental degradation. Indeed, the accelerating expansion of deserts will likely lead to a decrease of agricultural yields from the surrounding areas, acute deterioration of the availability of water, and possibly to further conflicts and displacement of people."

Statement on the situation in Darfur, 2007

"...indeed, the fundamental principle of democracies and civilized states is at issue in Chechnya: civilians' right to life, including the protection of innocents, widows, and orphans. International agreements and the United Nations Charter are as binding in Chechnya as anywhere else. The right of nations to self-determination does not imply the right of rulers to dispose of their people."

Statement on the situation in Chechnya, 2006

NGO Market

The Forum 2000 Foundation also organizes the largest event of its kind in the Czech Republic and Central Europe with a nine-year tradition. This year's NGO Market was attended by more than 100 NGOs, mostly from the Czech Republic, Taiwan, Belarus, Austria, the USA, Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, and other countries. NGOs active in education, volunteering, human rights, environmental and other issues are given an opportunity to present their activities to the broader public, establish new partnerships, address potential sponsors and volunteers, and gain valuable know-how needed for successful NGO-management.

Interfaith Dialogue

The aim of the Forum 2000's Interfaith Project is to promote dialogue between the world's faiths and secular society. The tradition of the Forum 2000, together with Czech history and the history of Prague in particular, represents a unique platform for the dialogue of secular humanism with the world's great spiritual traditions.

Exploring Water Patterns in the Middle East

This year marks the twelfth year that the Forum 2000 Foundation has addressed the issue of water scarcity in the Middle East through

its initiative, Exploring Water Patterns in the Middle East (EWaP), a project that receives joint support from Václav Havel and HRH El Hassan bin Talal from Jordan.

The aim of EWaP is to comprehensively address the issue per a series of events which stay abreast of political, economic, and technological developments, and ultimately, help facilitate a peaceful, equitable, and stable resolution that is shared by all stakeholders.

More information about our activities is available on our website www.forum2000.cz.

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