The World We Want to Live In

14th Annual Forum 2000 Conference
Prague, October 10–12, 2010

CONFERENCE REPORT

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Editors' Note

Changes in the transcripts were made in order to enhance readability. These included eliminating interjections, correcting misused phrases, and adapting spoken language to written language. We can assure that the original intent of the delegates was maintained and thus the edits were for the sole purpose of clarity. Any remaining errors are our own.

We hope that you will find this report as interesting as we did and would greatly appreciate any feedback via e-mail to secretariat@forum2000.cz.

Oldřich Černý, Boris Kaliský, Eleanor Hammond

Original video recordings of all of the transcribed presentations can be found on the Forum 2000 website: *http://www.forum2000.cz/en/projects/forum-2000-conferences/2010/video-recordings/*

Founders' Messages

Václav Havel
Former President
of the Czech Republic

Dear Friends,

In 1997 when I and my friends Yohei Sasakawa and Elie Wiesel convened the first Forum 2000 Conference to discuss the challenges faced by mankind on the threshold of the new millennium, we thought that it would be a single event. However, during the course of that first conference, the distinguished participants decided that the theme was so broad and multifaceted that another four annual conferences would be needed to cover it sufficiently. And after those first five years were up, the tradition of annual Forum 2000 Conferences just continued, with no need to specify its shelf life. During the last thirteen Forum 2000 Conferences, we have explored many themes: the phenomenon of globalization and the multitude of its positive and adverse impacts on our civilizations. For the past three years, we have focused on the issues of democracy and responsibility, on fundamentalism and openness in this century and on the fate of freedom and democracy in an emerging multipolar world.

This year's conference, "The World We Want to Live In" attempts to reflect the notion that where we happen to live affects how we live and who we are. We will discuss the environment and why, despite so many green politicians and policies all over the world, it is still in serious decline. Other important issues will be the state of our settlements that are affected by overpopulation, chaotic urbanization, wastage of natural resources and ever expanding transport systems. In my opinion, the most important question is why it is at all possible that human beings treat not only the countryside that surrounds them in a senseless way but the whole planet on which they are settled. We know that we are behaving in a suicidal way and yet we continue to do so. How is it possible and when will we finally learn to take personal responsibility for the state of the world?

I believe that this year's Forum 2000 will debate not only architecture and urbanism, which are its main themes, but also the broader context of freedom, democracy, respect for human rights, civil society, etc. After all, who would want to live in a world without these fundamentals of decent human existence?

Yohei Sasakawa
Chairman of the Nippon Foundation

Dear Friends,

The theme for this year's Forum 2000 Conference is "The World We Want to Live In". President Havel visited the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum in 1995. There, he saw the devastation wrought by the war with his own eyes and that led him to ponder seriously what should be done to save humanity. Later, President Havel wrote to me saying that he would like to establish a forum in Prague that would bring together the greatest minds from around the globe to think about the future of the world that we live in. I agreed wholeheartedly and suggested that the forum should not be a one-time event but rather a series of conferences to be sustained over the years. This exchange later gave rise to Forum 2000. Since then, President Havel and I have held this forum thirteen times and have also made numerous appeals on various issues facing our world through the Shared Concern Initiative. The Forum has always served as a place where participants discuss the many challenges facing our world, such as issues of globalization and democracy, from multiple perspectives, based on shared moral and spiritual values.

This year we are asking ourselves: "What kind of world do we want to live in?" Yet, this question has of course always been implicit in the Forum 2000 Conferences. The answer to this question will no doubt differ depending on where people were born and where and in what kind of conditions they live. The reality of the world we live in today is that, while many live peaceful lives, 1.4 billion people subsist

on less than $1.25 a day and many live under the constant threat of famine, natural disasters, war and human rights violations. I believe that the people-centered concept of Human Security, that is, to protect people's vital freedoms from critical and pervasive threats, may offer an important way forward. Globalization and the market economy have in many ways encouraged human greed. If there is a need in the market, you can make a profit. But this kind of system brings wealth only to a limited group of people. The majority of the world's population does not benefit.

What kind of world do we want to leave behind to future generations? It is high time that we gave this question serious thought and began seeking answers. This year, as part of the Forum 2000 Conference, we will be holding a Hiroshima – Nagasaki Exhibition, which will hopefully provide us with inspiration and renewed commitment as we consider the kind of world in which we want to live.

Oldřich Černý, Vartan Gregorian

Delegates' Profiles

Hasan Abu Nimah

Director, Regional Human Security Center, Jordan

Director of the Regional Human Security Center and Advisor to H.R.H. El Hassan bin Talal. Served as Director of the Royal Institute for Inter Faith Studies (2004–2009) as the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan's Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the United Nations (1995–2000). Performed a variety of diplomatic roles in Baghdad, Washington, London and the European Community and served as the head of the Research Department at the Foreign Ministry in Amman. Mr. Abu Nimah was a member of the Jordanian delegation to the peace talks between Jordan and Israel (1993–1994). He regularly contributes to English and Arabic newspapers and lectures at the Jordan Institute of Diplomacy in Amman.

Dewi Fortuna Anwar

Deputy Chair, Indonesian Institute of Sciences, Indonesia

Research Professor, Deputy Chair for Social Sciences and Humanities at the Indonesian Institute of Sciences and Director for Program and Research at the Habibie Center in Jakarta. She was a Visiting Researcher at the Center for Southeast Asian Studies at Kyoto University (early 2010) and a Visiting Professor at the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University (2007). Dr. Anwar was Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs during the Habibie administration (1998–1999). She holds a Ph.D. from Monash University and M.A. from the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London.

Anna Teresa Arco

Chief Feature Writer, Catholic Herald, United Kingdom/Austria

Chief Feature Writer for the Catholic Herald, a British Catholic newspaper, since 2008. Before joining the Catholic Herald full-time, she was an associate editor with the paper and a freelance journalist writing for the Times, the Daily Telegraph and the Spectator. She received her M.Sc. from the Columbia School of Journalism and her B.A. Oxon in English language and literature from Oxford University.

Hamed Assaf

Water Resources and Environmental Engineering, American University of Beirut, Lebanon

Professor of Water Resources Engineering at the American University of Beirut (AUB). Prior to joining AUB in 2003, he was a senior water and risk analysis engineer at BC Hydro Corporation in Canada. Mr. Assaf is actively involved in research on the vulnerability of communities and countries to the impact of climate change on water resources in the Middle East and North Africa. He received his Ph.D. in civil engineering (water resources) from the University of British Columbia, Canada.

Khassan Baiev

Chairman, International Committee for the Children of Chechnya, USA/Russia

Plastic and maxillofacial surgeon at Grozny's 9th Hospital and Chairman of the International Committee for the Children of Chechnya. Dr. Baiev has been involved in several Operation Smile missions in different countries providing free surgery to children born with facial deformities. During the Russian-Chechen war he operated on Russians and Chechens, both soldiers and civilians (1994–1999). Before the war he worked at Grozny's 1st Hospital (1988–1994). He obtained his medical degree from the Krasnoyarsk Medical Institute. He holds an M.D. in plastic surgery and maxillofacial surgery.

Zdeněk Bakala

Entrepreneur and Investor, Czech Republic

Founder of the investment bank Patria Finance, co-founder of RPG Industries and a major Czech investor, mostly into the energy sector. He is an important shareholder of Ostravsko-Karvinské doly (OKD), the only producer of hard coal in the Czech Republic and of the publishing house Economia, the largest publisher of economic and business-to-business periodicals in the Czech Republic. Studied economics at the University of California, Berkeley and finance at Darmouth College.

Zygmunt Bauman

Sociologist, United Kingdom/Poland

British sociologist and philosopher of Polish-Jewish descent. Dr. Bauman is Emeritus Professor of Sociology, having served as Professor of Sociology and, at various times, Head of Department at Leeds University from 1971 until his retirement in 1991. He also taught at Tel Aviv University and at the University of Warsaw. He gained prominence through his studies on the connection between the culture of modernity and totalitarianism. He became known for works such as "Legislators and Interpreters" (1987), "Modernity and the Holocaust" (1989), "Modernity and Ambivalence" (1991) and "Postmodern Ethics" (1993). His most recent publications are "Living on borrowed time" (conversation with Citlali Rovirosa-Madrazo, 2010) and "Collateral casualties of inequality" (2011).

Stefan Behnisch

Architect, Partner, Behnisch Architekten, Germany/USA

Partner in the architectural practice Behnisch Architekten designing innovative sustainable buildings, among them the Unilever Headquarters in Hamburg's HafenCity (2009), the LEED-Platinum-rated Genzyme Center in Cambridge, Massachusetts (2004), the Norddeutsche Landesbank in Hannover (2002) and the Institute for Forestry and Nature Research in Wageningen (1998). Mr. Behnisch is also a Visiting Professor at Yale School of Architecture. In 2005 he received the Global Award for Sustainable Architecture. He studied philosophy and economics in Munich, and architecture at the Technical University of Karlsruhe.

Andrzej Błach

Partner, CMS Cameron McKenna, Head, CEE Energy Sector Group Poland

Partner in the Energy, Projects & Construction Department of the CMS Cameron McKenna's Warsaw office and heads its CEE Energy Sector Group. He has practiced in the United States and Poland with a focus on energy matters and cross-border transactions occurring in central Europe. Mr. Błach worked on the energy and infrastructure projects such as the gas-fired "brownfield" project in Zielona Góra, Elcho – the first coal-fired independent power project in Poland and coordinated the legal work for Grupa Lotos SA. He is a graduate of the Warsaw University including a Ph.D. in legal studies and holds an M. A. from Yale Law School.

Richard Burdett

Professor of Urban Studies, London School of Economics, United Kingdom

Professor of Urban Studies at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) and director of LSE's Cities and the Urban Age program. He is Chief Adviser on Architecture and Urbanism for the London 2012 Olympics and the Olympic Legacy Park Company, and was architectural adviser to the Mayor of London (2001–2006). He curated numerous exhibitions including, Global Cities at Tate Modern, was Director of the 2006 Architecture Biennale in Venice and Chairman of the Jury for the 2007 Mies van der Rohe Prize. He is architectural adviser to the City of Genova and a member of the Milan Expo 2015 steering committee. He is a Council member of the Royal College of Art and sits on the Mayor of London's Promote London Board.

Martin Bursík

Former Minister of Environment, Czech Republic

Former Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Environment of the Czech Republic (1998 and 2007–2009) and former Chair of the Green Party (2005–2009). Worked as a consultant of energy and environmental protection and as director of Ecoconsulting. Served as a member of the Prague City Council (1994–1998), including the position of the Chairman of the Environmental Committee. As a member of the Czech National Council, he co-authored the law on the protection of nature and landscape. He was one of the founding members of the Civic Forum (1989) and holds a doctoral degree in environmental protection from Charles University.

Natasha Carmi-Hanna

Policy Advisor, Negotiations Support Unit, Negotiation Affairs Department, Palestine

Policy Advisor on Water & Environment to the Negotiations Support Unit within the Palestinian Negotiations Affairs Department. Ms. Carmi was dealing with the challenges and issues of water resources and environment in the Middle East for the past 15 years and has developed a comprehensive understanding of water resources management from various key players implementing development and emergency projects in Palestine. She has participated in several regional projects and forums, including Amhy Friend, Huphat, Adu-Res, Wasamed, Gabardine, Xerochore and has been a member of the Mediterranean Water Scarcity & Drought working group within the framework of the European Union Water Initiative.

José Casanova

Sociologist of Religion, Georgetown University, USA

Professor of Sociology and Senior Fellow at the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs of Georgetown University in Washington. He was Professor of Sociology at the New School for Social Research in New York (1987–2007). He has held visiting appointments at New York University, at Columbia University, at the Institut für die Wissenschaften des Menschen in Vienna, at Central European University in Budapest, at the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin, at Freie Universität in Berlin, at the University of Uppsala and at the Lichtenberg-Kolleg in Göttingen. He holds a Ph.D. in sociology from the New School for Social Research and an M.A. in theology from the University of Innsbruck.

Tain-Jy Chen

Former Minister, Council for Economic Planning and Development, Taiwan

Professor of International Trade and Economic Development at the Department of Economics, National Taiwan University (since 1995). Former Minister of the Council for Economic Planning and Development (2008–2009), a government agency responsible for drafting overall plans for national economic development. Former President of the Chung-Hua Institution for Economic Research (2002–2005). Holds a Ph.D. in economics from Pennsylvania State University.

Alexander Cherkasov

Board Member, Memorial, Russia

Journalist and human rights activist, board member of Memorial, a Moscow-based human rights center whose goal is to preserve the memory of political repression in Russia's recent past. Mr. Cherkasov specializes in developments in North Caucasus, and is author and co-author of papers and books on the subject of human rights in Chechnya.

Václav Cílek

Writer and Geologist, Czech Republic

Geologist, writer, author and moderator of radio and TV shows about science. Director of the Geological Institute of the Academy of Sciences since 2004. He also worked in the Center for Theoretical Studies (1994–2001) and at the Mining Institute of the Academy of Sciences (1980–1990). Recipient of the Vize 97 Prize and the Tom Stoppard Award for his books "Landscapes of Inner and Outer" and "Makom". Mr. Cílek studied geology at Charles University in Prague.

William Cook

Professor of History and Religion, State University of New York, USA

Distinguished Teaching Professor in the State University of New York at Geneseo with a Ph.D. degree in medieval history. He is the author of six books, mostly about the Franciscan movement, has won numerous awards for teaching excellence, and has lectured throughout the world, including Italy, China, and Kenya in 2010. He has been deeply involved with the issue of abandoned and abused children, has adopted three teenage boys and been legal guardian for eight others. He has made nine audio/video courses with The Teaching Company. Dr. Cook is an avid student of democracy and especially of the works of Alexis de Tocqueville. He was a candidate for the US Congress in 1998.

Colin Crouch

Professor of Governance, The University of Warwick Business School, United Kingdom

Professor of Governance and Public Management. Author of various works on the social structure of European societies, in particular on industrial relations, institutions, local economic development, and challenges of democracy. He has been the External Scientific Member of the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies (MPIfG), Cologne, Germany since 1997. He was previously Professor of Comparative Social Institutions at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy (1995–2004), Professor of Sociology and Fellow of Trinity College, University of Oxford (1985–1994) and Reader in Sociology, London School of Economics and Political Science (1973–1985).

James A. Cusumano

Chairman and Owner, Chateau Mcely–Castle Hotel, Czech Republic/USA

Chairman and Owner of Chateau Mcely, voted "The World's Leading Green Hotel," a holistic retreat and home to Leadership for Life, which assembles change-makers to address critical issues through values-based leadership. Mr. Cusumano is a Silicon Valley entrepreneur. He founded several companies, including Catalytica Pharmaceuticals. Former Exxon R&D Director with patents and publications. Co-author of "Freedom From Mid-East Oil". He holds a Ph.D. in physical chemistry from Rutgers University with business studies at Harvard and Stanford and is a Foreign Fellow at Churchill College, Cambridge University.

Martin Davidson

Chief Executive, British Council, United Kingdom

Chief Executive of the British Council since 2007, previously the Deputy Director General (2005–2007). Mr. Davidson joined the British Council as Assistant Representative in Beijing in 1984 and returned to Beijing in 1995 as Director. He speaks both Cantonese and Mandarin. He has also held various posts in the British Council's Geographical Directorate with responsibilities that have included South East Europe, the Middle East, East Asia and the Americas. Mr. Davidson graduated with an M.A. honours degree in English language and literature from St Andrew's University. He is a Governor of Goodenough College and Board Member of the Great Britain China Center.

Grace Davie

Sociologist of Religion, University of Exeter, United Kingdom

Professor of Sociology at the University of Exeter and Director of Exeter's Center for European Studies (2002–2006). Former President of the Association for the Sociology of Religion (2003) and of the Research Committee 22 of the International Sociological Association (2002–2006). Kerstin-Hesselgren Professor at Uppsala University (2000–2001). Author of "Religion in Britain since 1945" (1994), "Religion in Modern Europe" (2000) and "Europe: the Exceptional Case" (2002); co-author of "Religious America, Secular Europe" (2008). She holds a Ph.D. from the London School of Economics and an Honorary Doctorate from Uppsala University.

Pepper De Callier

Member, Corporate Council, Forum 2000 Foundation, Czech Republic/USA

Syndicated columnist, author, Chairman of Bubenik Partners and Founder of The Prague Leadership Institute. A personal advisor and coach to CEOs, Boards of Directors, and senior executives in Asia, Europe and North America for leading multinationals such as Microsoft, Emerson Corporation, McKinsey & Company and The Young Presidents Organization among others. Previously, he has served as a Board Member of the William Elliott Education Foundation, a Member of the Arizona Academy and the University of Arizona Foundation and as a Guest Lecturer and Member of the Advisory Board of the College of Business at California State University.

Lieven De Cauter

Philosopher and Art Historian, Belgium

Philosopher, art historian, writer and activist. He teaches Philosophy of Culture at the Department of Architecture, Urbanism and Planning of the Catholic University in Leuven, at the Media school RITS in Brussels and the Berlage Institute in Rotterdam. He has published several books on contemporary art, experience and modernity, on Walter Benjamin and more recently on architecture, the city and politics. Beside this, he has published poems, columns, statements, pamphlets and opinion pieces. His latest books are (as author) "The Capsular Civilization. On the City in the Age of Fear" (2004), (as co-editor) "Heterotopia and the City. On Public Space in a Postcivil Society" (2008) and "Art and Activism in the Age of Globalization" (2010).

Gábor Demszky

Former Lord Mayor of Budapest, Hungary

Five times elected Lord Mayor of Budapest (1990–2010) and one of the founding members of the Alliance of Free Democrats, the Hungarian Liberal Party (SZDSZ), which he led briefly (2000–2001). In 2004 he was elected Member of the European Parliament for the SZDSZ but due to problems of incompatibility, he had to renounce his mandate. During the 1980s Mr. Demszky organized an underground publishing house, signed the Act of Solidarity for Charta '77 and became founder of SZETA a Foundation to Help the Poor. He holds a degree in law and sociology from Budapest University.

Doris Donnelly

Director, The Cardinal Suenens Center, John Carroll University, USA

Professor of Theology at John Carroll University in Cleveland, Ohio, where she directs the Cardinal Suenens Center for Theology and Church Life. The Center was established and funded by Mrs. J. Peter Grace of New York City and it exists to serve the unfinished agenda of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965). It has sponsored local and international conferences on interreligious dialogue, leadership of the laity, collaborative leadership, and the affective, intellectual, and spiritual formation of clergy. Professor Donnelly has served as President of Pax Christi, the international Catholic peace movement and also as President of the North American Academy of Liturgy, an ecumenical association of liturgical scholars. Ms. Donnelly is the author of several books and many articles.

Aslan Doukaev

Director, North Caucasus Service for RFE/RL, Czech Republic/Russia

Director of the North Caucasus service for Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty (RFE/RL, since 2002). In this capacity, he oversees the daily operations of a service which broadcasts in 3 languages of the North Caucasus region. Prior to joining RFE/RL, he was a contributor to various Western news agencies and a university lecturer. Mr. Doukaev is a frequent speaker at international conferences on security issues and Russia's policies in the North Caucasus. He holds a Ph.D. from Moscow University.

Dana Drábová

Chair, State Office for Nuclear Safety, Czech Republic

Chair of the State Office for Nuclear Safety since 1999 and former Chair of the Western European Nuclear Regulators' Association (2006–2009). Previously served as Director of the National Radiation Protection Institute (1996–1999) and was Head of the Emergency Response Department at the State Office for Nuclear Safety (1995–1996). Ms. Drábová also worked in various positions in the National Public Health Institute, National Reference Laboratory for Internal Contamination and in the Center of Radiation Monitoring Network. She holds a Ph.D. from the Czech Technical University, Faculty of Nuclear Science and Physical Engineering.

Shirin Ebadi

Lawyer, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, Iran

Iranian lawyer, human rights activist and Founder of the Children's Rights Support Association in Iran. In 2003, Ms. Ebadi was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for her significant and pioneering efforts in promoting democracy and human rights, especially women's and children's rights and is the first Iranian and first Muslim woman to receive the prize. In 2005, Ebadi was voted the world's 12th leading public intellectual in the 2005 Global Intellectuals poll by Prospect magazine.

William Echikson

Senior Manager for Communication, Google, Belgium/USA

Google's Senior Manager for Communications based in Brussels. Former correspondent of Christian Science Monitor, Wall Street Journal, Fortune, and BusinessWeek. Served as Brussel´s Bureau Chief for Dow Jones (2001–2007). He worked as Editor-in-Chief of Libération's special international supplements during the mid-1990s. He also has written, directed and produced for television documentaries for America's Public Broadcasting Service. Mr. Echikson has published three books and is finishing the fourth one. He graduated from Yale College with a Magna Cum Laude degree in history.

Peter Eigen

Founder, Transparency International, Germany

Founder of Transparency International (1993), a non-governmental organization promoting transparency and accountability in international development. He was Chair of Transparency International (1993–2005) and is now Chair of its Advisory Council. In 2005, Mr. Eigen chaired the International Advisory Group of the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) and became Chair of EITI in 2006. In 2007 he founded the Berlin Civil Society Center. He was the Director of the Regional Mission for Eastern Africa of the World Bank (1988–1991). He has worked in economic development as a World Bank manager of programs in Africa and Latin America. Mr. Eigen has taught law and political science at the universities of Frankfurt and Harvard, Johns Hopkins University, University of Washington, Bruges College of Europe and at Freie Universität Berlin.

Gregory Feifer

Senior Correspondent, RFE/RL, Czech Republic/USA

Editor and senior correspondent for Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) with expertise in Russia, security and military issues. He was Moscow correspondent for National Public Radio (NPR). Before joining NPR in 2005, Mr. Feifer lived in Paris and New York, and wrote for outlets including Agence France Presse and World Policy Journal. He is the author of "The Great Gamble", a history of the Soviet war in Afghanistan, and he co-wrote "Spy Handler" with former KGB Colonel Victor Cherkashin. Mr. Feifer received his B.A. and M.A. degrees from Harvard University.

Charles D. Ferguson

President, Federation of American Scientists, USA

Adjunct Professor at the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Mr. Ferguson was Senior Fellow for Science and Technology at the Council on Foreign Relations (2004–2009) and Scientist-in-Residence at the Monterey Institute's Center for Nonproliferation Studies (2002–2004). He served as a Physical Scientist in the Office of Nuclear Safety in the U.S. State Department (2000–2002). After graduating with distinction from the U.S. Naval Academy, he served in the U.S. nuclear navy (1987–1990). He holds a Ph.D. in physics from Boston University.

Oded Fixler

Deputy Director General, Israeli Water and Sewage Authority, Israel

Deputy Director General of Engineering of the Israeli Water and Sewage Authority responsible for sea water desalination and the development of Israel's water sector and head of the tender committee (since 2008). Served previously as head of the Development Division (water plants) in the Israeli Water Commission responsible for the development of water supply systems, including brackish water desalination facilities, flat and deep drilling projects. Mr. Fixler also worked as Senior Deputy General Manager in Bank Leumi Ltd. And as CEO and Director in Binyaney Bank Ltd., Lyn City Center Ltd and Nadlan Ltd. He studied Civil Engineer in Technion, Haifa and hold an MBA in finance from the Tel Aviv University.

Štefan Füle

European Commissioner for Enlargement and European Neighbourhood Policy, Belgium/Czech Republic

Commissioner for Enlargement and Neighbourhood Policy (since February 2010). Former Minister for European Affairs (2009) and former Deputy Defense Minister (2001–2002). Mr. Füle served as Czech Permanent Representative to NATO (2005–2009), Czech Ambassador to the United Kingdom and to Lithuania. He was Director of the Security Policy Department and the United Nations Department at the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He studied at the Faculty of Philosophy of Charles University and at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations.

José Luis García Paneque

Surgeon and Independent Journalist, Cuba

Surgeon, specialist in plastic surgery and independent journalist. In 1998 he joined the Free Press agency, a project of alternative journalism in Cuba and was appointed Director of the Agency in 2000. He was a member of the Manuel Marquez Sterling Journalists' Association and administrator of the Carlos J. Finlay independent library in his hometown of Las Tunas. He founded an independent medical association and took part in the Varela Project. For his activities he was imprisoned by the Cuban Government during the "Black Spring" of March 2003 and sentenced to 24 years. Mr. Paneque was released in July 2010 following the intervention of the Catholic Church and the Spanish Foreign Ministry and was deported to Spain.

Adam Gebrian

Architect, Czech Republic

Member of the Ostrava 2015 Project team which prepared the City of Ostrava's bid for European Capital of Culture 2015. Mr. Gebrian graduated from the Faculty of Architecture in Liberec (2006), received a Fulbright scholarship and is a graduate of the Southern California Institute for Architecture (SCI-Arc) in Los Angeles (2008). He has lived, studied and worked in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Prague, Paris, London and Los Angeles.

Misha Glenny

Journalist, United Kingdom

He is a regular contributor to the New York Times, the New York Review of Books, the New Yorker, The Guardian and The Financial Times and is a recipient of the Sony Gold Award for Special Contribution to Broadcasting. He is a fellow of the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars in Washington, was a Visiting Research Professor at the London School of Economics and has advised governments on both sides of the Atlantic on the Balkans and Organized Crime. He is currently finishing a book on cyber crime, Dark Market, which will be published next year.

Vartan Gregorian

President, Carnegie Corporation of New York, USA

President of Carnegie Corporation of New York (since 1997), and former President of the New York Public Library (1981–1989) and Brown University (1989–1997). Mr. Gregorian is the author of "The Road to Home: My Life and Times", "Islam: A Mosaic, not a Monolith", and "The Emergence of Modern Afghanistan 1880–1946". Recipient of the National Humanities Medal from President Bill Clinton and the nation's highest civilian honor, the Medal of Freedom, from President George W. Bush. Born to Armenian parents in Iran, Mr. Gregorian holds a Ph.D. in history and humanities from Stanford University.

Tomáš Halík

Sociologist, President, Czech Christian Academy, Czech Republic

Professor of Philosophy at Charles University in Prague, Pastor of the Academic Parish in Prague and President of the Czech Christian Academy. He is also a writer and a member of the European Academy of Science and Art. 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. In 1992, Pope John Paul II appointed him Advisor to the Pontifical Council for Dialogue with Non-Believers and in 2008, Pope Benedict XVI granted him the title of Monsignor – Honorary Prelate of His Holiness. In 2009 he received the "Truth and Justice" prize for his defense of human rights and justice and in 2010 Romano Guardini Prize.

Václav Havel

Former President, Czech Republic

President of Czechoslovakia (1989–1992) and the first President of the Czech Republic (1993–2003). He was a founding member and one of the first three spokespersons for the Czechoslovak human rights movement Charter 77. A prominent figure in the Czechoslovak dissident movement and a famous leader of the Velvet Revolution (1989). He is the author of a number of essays and plays. He recently finished directing and is now editing the movie adaptation of his latest play called "Leaving" (Odcházení, 2007). President Havel is a recipient of many awards and honorary doctorates. Together with his wife Dagmar Havlová he co-founded the Vize 97 Foundation.

Pavel Hroboň

Former Deputy Minister of Health, Czech Republic

Former Deputy Minister of Health responsible for health insurance, drugs and medical devices. Co-founder and former Chairman of the Civil Association for Health Reform which prepared and published a comprehensive proposal of Czech healthcare reform in late 2005. He worked for the General Health Insurance Corporation as a consultant and director of strategy (2002–2005) and as a consultant for McKinsey & Company (1998–2002). Mr. Hroboň lectured at the 2nd Medical Faculty and at the Faculty of Social Sciences of Charles University. He studied health policy and healthcare administration at Harvard University and medicine at Charles University in Prague.

Josef Jařab

Former Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defense and Security, Czech Republic

Former Member of the Senate of the Parliament and Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defense and Security, former member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. He was Rector and President of the Central European University in Budapest and Warsaw and of Palacký University in Olomouc. In 1990, he was named Professor of English and American Literature. He has represented Czech humanities in the European Science Foundation and is a member of the Observatory of the Bologna Magna Charta Universitatum.

Vladimíra Josefiová

Chief Business Officer, Intesa Sanpaolo Group, Slovenia/Czech Republic

Chief Business Officer and Board Member of Intesa Sanpaolo Card in Slovenia, previously worked for Intesa Sanpaolo Group as Director of Integration and Development. Ms. Josefiová was Director of Human Resources for the banks VÚB, UniBanka and Živnostenská banka, and Senior Associate for McKinsey & Company. Prior to this she held various positions as manager and consultant. Ms. Josefiová graduated from the University of Economics in Prague and the Harvard Business School in Boston.

Gilles Kepel

Sociologist, Sciences Po, France

Professor and Chair of Middle East and Mediterranean Studies at the Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris (Sciences Po), where he heads the programs on the Muslim World. Founder and Chairman of the Eurogolfe Network. He was Visiting Professor at New York University and Columbia University (1995–1996). He has published several books on Middle East and Islamic Terrorism and contributes to the Financial Times, Le Monde, La Repubblica, El Pais, Al Hayat, and a number of Arabic language and international newspapers. Mr. Kepel holds degrees in Arabic, English and philosophy from Sciences Po and received his Ph.D. in political science.

Daud Khattak

Journalist, Radio Mashaal (Pakistan Service of RFE/RL), Pakistan

Pashtun journalist in Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty's Pakistan Service, Radio Mashaal. Mr. Khattak worked with Pakistan's English dailies The News and Daily Times and Afghanistan's Pajhwok Afghan News. He has also written for the Christian Science Monitor and London's Sunday Times. He is an expert on the Pakistani Taliban and Pakistani politics. Mr. Khattak has published numerous analytical articles on the Pakistani Taliban and terrorism. He holds an M.A. degree in journalism and mass communications from the University of Peshawar.

Karel Kovanda

Director-General (Acting), DG External Relations, European Commission, Belgium/Czech Republic

Acting Director General responsible for Common Foreign and Security Policy at the External Relations Directorate General of the European Commission. Mr. Kovanda was Permanent Representative to NATO and the Western European Union (1998–2005) and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs (1997–1998). He was also Permanent Representative to the United Nations as President (1997) and Vice-President (1996) of the Economic and Social Council and Representative to the Security Council (1994–1995). He holds a Ph.D. in political science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and an MBA from Pepperdine University, California.

Ján Kubiš

Executive Secretary, United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, Switzerland/Slovakia

Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (since 2009) and former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic (2006–2009). Since 2005, he has been the EU Special Representative for Central Asia with an office in Brussels. He held the office of Director of the OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe) Conflict Prevention Center (1994–1998) and was OSCE Secretary General (1999–2005). Mr. Kubiš served as Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary General, as the head of the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (1998–1999) and as Ambassador and Permanent Representative of the Slovak Republic to the UN (1993–1994) after working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. He is a graduate of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations.

Satish Kumar

Editor, Resurgence Magazine, United Kingdom/India

Editor of the magazine Resurgence for over 30 years. He is also the founder of Schumacher College, an international center for ecological studies, and of The Small School, a pioneering secondary school which brings into its curriculum ecological and spiritual values. His most notable accomplishment is the "Peace walk", a trip of over 8,000 miles with a companion to the capitals of four of the nuclear-armed countries: Washington, London, Paris and Moscow. Mr. Kumar has been a Jain monk and a nuclear disarmament advocate. He is the author of 5 books: "No Destination", "The Buddha and the Terrorist", "Spiritual Compass", "You Are Therefore I Am" and "Earth Pilgrim".

Hana Lešenarová

Member, Corporate Council, Forum 2000 Foundation, Czech Republic

Practice Leader for the region of Central and Eastern Europe in the London office of Control Risks, an international risk consultancy. Prior to joining Control Risks Ms. Lešenarová worked as news editor for the English-language newspaper Prognosis, published in Prague (1991–1995), the business investigative weekly, Prague Business Journal (1996–2002) and business editor of Czech daily Mladá fronta Dnes (2002–2004). She also contributed to Business Week, Los Angeles Times, Emerging Markets and to the Economist Intelligence Unit's publications. In 2004, she spent one year in Brussels and throughout the European Union as the EU correspondent for the daily.

Pierre Lévy

Ambassador to the Czech Republic, France

French Ambassador to the Czech Republic. Served as Director of the Policy Planning Staff of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was Secretary General of the Commission of the White Paper on France's Foreign and European Policy and Head of the Service for Common Foreign and Security Policy (2002–2005). Mr. Lévy was Deputy Director in the cabinet of Pierre Moscovici, Minister for European Affairs (1997–2002). Mr. Lévy taught at the École Nationale d'Administration and at the Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris. He holds degrees from the European School of Management, the Paris Institute of Political Studies, and an M.A. in economics from University of Paris-Dauphine.

Edward Lucas

Journalist, The Economist, United Kingdom

International Editor and Central and Eastern Europe correspondent. Mr. Lucas oversees the paper's political coverage of Central and Eastern Europe. He has been covering the region for more than 20 years and specializes in energy security and Russian foreign and security policy. Mr. Lucas is author of "The New Cold War: Putin's Russia and the Threat to the West". He was managing editor of The Baltic Independent, a weekly newspaper published in Tallinn (1992–1994). He holds a BSc. from the London School of Economics, and studied Polish at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow.

Fyodor Lukyanov

Editor-in-Chief, Russia in Global Affairs, Russia

Editor-in-Chief of the journal Russia in Global Affairs, previously Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the Time of News. Mr. Lukyanov also worked in the international section of the newspaper Today and in the early 1990's in broadcasting in Northern Europe and for the international Moscow radio station Voice of Russia. He is a graduate of the philology Faculty of Moscow State University with a degree in German philology.

Jan Macháček

Journalist, Czech Republic

Journalist and musician. Economic commentator of the daily Hospodárske noviny and the weekly Respekt. In 2000 he served as Deputy Editor-in-Chief of Respekt and was awarded The Ferdinand Peroutka Award in 2009 for his writing. Mr. Macháček was a Fellow of the National Forum Foundation in Washington and of the William Davidson Institute at the University of Michigan. He lectured on the Politics and Economics of Transformation at the Anglo American College in Prague and at New York University in Prague. He also serves as a board member of Transparency International, Czech Republic. Mr. Macháček was a member of the underground music band The Plastic People of the Universe and is now guitarist in the band Garage.

Joseph Maïla

Head, Religions Team, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France

Specialist in Islamic studies and international mediation. Former President of the Catholic Institute of Paris, former director of the French Center of Research for Peace and founder of the French Mediation and Negotiation Training Institute. He sat on the Commission responsible for the White Paper on France's Foreign and European Policy and was a consultant for UNESCO in charge of establishing its International Center for Human Sciences at Byblos. He is a Visiting Professor at the University of Montreal, at the University of Lyon and at the University of Tarragona. Dr. Maïla holds Ph.Ds in philosophy and in social sciences.

Fumihiko Maki

Architect, Principal, Maki and Associates, Japan

Since 1965, Principal of Maki and Associates, a Tokyo-based architecture studio. He has studied and taught at the University of Tokyo and the Graduate School of Design at Harvard University. His completed projects include the Spiral, Hillside Terrace, Kaze-no-Oka Crematorium, and the most recently completed MIT Media Lab Complex Building. His World Trade Center Tower 4 at Ground Zero in New York City is expected to be open by 2013. He is a recipient of the Pritzker Prize, UIA Gold Medal, Praemium Imperiale, and the Prince of Wales Prize in Urban Design. Mr. Maki´s essays on the city and architecture "Nurturing Dreams" were published by the MIT Press in 2008.

Michael Melchior

Politician, Former Chief Rabbi of Norway, Israel

Former Chief Rabbi of Norway, presently the Rabbi of an orthodox synagogue in Jerusalem. In 1999, he was elected to the Knesset as the Meimad Party's representative and appointed to Ehud Barak's Cabinet as Minister for Israeli Society and the World Jewish Community. He served in successive governments as Deputy Foreign Minister, Deputy Minister of Education, and Deputy Minister in the Prime Minister's office. From 2006 to 2009, he served as Chairman of the Knesset committee for Education, Culture and Sports and the Knesset Caucus on the Environment. Rabbi Melchior became one of Israel's leading legislators initiating and completing major legislative reforms in the areas of education, children's rights, environment, and social justice.

Ladislav Miko

Director for Nature, Directorate General for Environment, European Commission, Belgium/Czech Republic

Director in charge of the protection of nature and biodiversity, agriculture, soils and forests. In 2009, he was Minister of the Environment of the Czech Republic in the country's caretaker government. Previously he was Deputy Environment Minister (2002–2005). Mr. Miko worked as consultant on the evaluation of EU-funded programs and spent 8 years at the Czech Environmental Inspectorate establishing the inspection system and standards in nature protection, creating a system for checking CITES implementation. Throughout his career, he also worked as a trainer, lecturer and adviser. He holds a Ph.D. in zoology and ecology. His research interests focused on zoology, soil zoology and ecology.

Bedřich Moldan

Member, Senate of the Parliament, Czech Republic

Czech geochemist, environmentalist, publicist and politician. Since 2004, Member of the Senate of the Parliament for the Civic Democratic party and is now candidate for the Senate elections for the TOP 09 party. Prof. Moldan played a major role in the introduction of environmental legislation in the Czech Republic after 1989. Served as the first Czech Minister of Environment (1990–1991). He is a founder and director of the Charles University Environment Center and the author of hundreds of publications and articles. His publications include "Geology and Environment" (1974), "Ecology, Democracy, Market" (1992), "(Un)Sustainable Development – Ecology, Threat and Hope" (2001) and his latest "Subdued Planet" (2009).

George Monbiot

Author and Columnist, The Guardian, United Kingdom

Columnist for the Guardian, author of the best-selling books "Bring on the Apocalypse", "Heat", "The Age of Consent" and "Captive State", as well as the investigative travel books "Poisoned Arrows", "Amazon Watershed" and "No Man's Land". He studied zoology at the University of Oxford and has also held Visiting Fellowships or Professorships at the universities of Oxford (environmental policy), Bristol (philosophy), Keele (politics) and East London (environmental science). In 1995, Nelson Mandela presented him with the United Nations Global 500 Award for outstanding environmental achievement.

Beatrice Mtetwa

Lawyer, Human Rights Advocate, Zimbabwe

Media and human rights lawyer and a senior partner in the law firm Mtetwa & Nyambirai. Former President of the Law Society of Zimbabwe, founder and Board Member of Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights and board member of various national and international human rights organizations. Despite being a target of human rights abuses and police attacks, Ms. Mtetwa has consistently defended journalists, civil society activists and opposition leaders against spurious charges brought by President Robert Mugabe's government. Ms. Mtetwa holds an LLB degree from the University of Botswana and Swaziland.

Surendra Munshi

Sociologist, India

Fellow at the Bertelsmann Foundation and Professor of Sociology. Professor Munshi served for more than thirty years at the Indian Institute of Management Calcutta as a faculty member until his retirement in 2006. He has published and spoken on various subjects in India and abroad, including on the subject of good governance. He was the academic leader of an international project on good governance that was supported by the European Commission. Author of the theme paper of Trilogue Salzburg 2009 under the title: "Global Crises and the Human Potential". He holds a Ph.D. in sociology from Bielefeld University, Germany.

Jiří Musil

Member, Board of Directors, Forum 2000 Foundation, Czech Republic

Professor of Sociology at Charles University, Prague. He was Academic Director of the Central European University in Prague, Professor at CEU Budapest, and first Director of the renewed Institute of Sociology of the Czech Academy of Sciences. In 1999, Mr. Musil was elected President of the European Sociological Association. He was consultant to the United Nations, UNESCO, International Federation for Housing and Planning and other international professional associations. He is author of the study "Fifty years of Urban Sociology in USA and Europe" (2003), co-author of "The Birth of Metropolis. Urbanization of Czech Lands and Europe" (2002) and editor of "End of Czechoslovakia" (1995).

Willem Jan Neutelings

Architect, Principal, Neutelings Riedijk Architecten, The Netherlands

Established an independent architectural practice in 1987 in Rotterdam. He was partner of Neutelings Roodbeen Architects (1989–1991) and he has been working with Michiel Riedijk in Neutelings Riedijk Architects since 1992. Mr. Neutelings also worked at the Office for Metropolitan Architecture (1981–1986). He has taught at various architectural institutes including the Berlage Institute in Rotterdam and was Visiting Professor at Harvard University. In 1991, his work was awarded the Rotterdam Maaskant Award for Young Architects. Mr. Neutelings is a graduate of the Delft University of Technology.

Masashi Nishihara

President, Research Institute for Peace and Security, Japan

President of the Research Institute for Peace and Security in Japan and the Chairman of the Japan Association for International Security. Previously Dr. Nishihara was President of the National Defense Academy (2000–2006). He also served as a member of Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi's Task Force on External Relations (2001–2003). Prior to that, he taught international relations at the National Defense Academy (1977–2000). He has written extensively on Asian security and the Japanese-U.S. alliance. He received his Ph.D. and M.A. in political science from the University of Michigan.

Olusegun Obasanjo

Former President, Nigeria

Former President of Nigeria (1976–1979 and 1999–2007). After training in the United Kingdom, he served as an officer in the Nigerian Army, reaching the position of Chief of Staff of Supreme Headquarters. He became President for the first time (1976–1979) after the death of President Murtala Mohammed and was the first military head of state in Nigeria to peacefully transfer power to a democratically-elected government. In 1999 he ran as candidate of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and was later reelected in 2003. After his presidency he was Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the PDP. Mr. Obasanjo is a member of the Africa Progress Panel and was appointed United Nation's Special Envoy to the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Juhani Pallasmaa

Architect, Principal, Juhani Pallasmaa Architects, Finland

Principal of Juhani Pallasmaa Architects in Helsinki. He has been active in urban planning, architecture, exhibition, product and graphic design since the early 1960s. Professor and Dean at the Helsinki University of Technology (1991–1997), Director of the Museum of Finnish Architecture (1978–1983) and Rector of the Institute of Design, Helsinki (1970–1971). He has held several visiting professorships in the USA, and teaches and lectures continuously at various universities. Mr. Pallasmaa has published 30 books including "The Thinking Hand", "Encounters: Architectural Essays" and "The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses".

Oswaldo Payá Sardiñas

Political Activist and Dissident, Cuba

Oswaldo Payá Sardiñas has repeatedly accepted the invitation to the Forum 2000 Conference but has been denied permission to travel by the Cuban government.

Cuban political activist and dissident. He was a founding member of the Christian Liberation Movement in 1988. Created by secular Catholics, it is 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.

Josef Pazderka

Former Moscow Correspondent, Czech Television, Czech Republic

Moscow Correspondent for Czech Television (2006–2010). Worked for People in Need (1999–2004), a Czech relief aid and developmental assistance organization. For two years, he was head of the People in Need humanitarian mission in Chechnya. He is the author of a book of interviews with Petra Procházková, "Journalist in the Wild East" (2008) and is a regular contributor to Respekt magazine and the daily Hospodářské noviny. He studied history at the Philosophical Faculty of Charles University and development studies at Oxford Brookes University.

Jana M. Petrenko

Director, Coalition for Health, Czech Republic

Director of the Coalition for Health, a nonprofit organization lobbying for improvements in healthcare by creating a platform for dialogue between patients' associations, care providers, government, and the insurance industry. Ms. Petrenko was member of the Advisory Forum in the European Center for Disease Prevention and Control in Stockholm, member of the Patients'Working Group of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Member of the Minister's of Health Patients' Advisory Board in the Czech Republic, the Insurance

Pricing Committee for Treatments and Procedures, Ethics Committee of the Ministry of Health and the Committee for the National Program for Rare Diseases. She also worked as an international business executive for ABC News in New York and was President of the New York Latin American Integration Center.

Octavian Purcarea

Director, Industry Market Development Europe World Wide Health Team, Microsoft, France

Expert on eHealth, health information networks and telemedicine. Worked for six years in the eHealth Unit of the European Commission (Directorate General Information Society and Media) as a Scientific Officer. He was in charge of the policy aspects of Interoperability of eHealth applications and the research aspects related to Patient Safety. He joined the Worldwide Health Team of Microsoft in 2008, where he deals with policy aspects in eHealth, collaboration with international organizations and various communities in the eHealth area. Mr. Purcarea is a Medical doctor with general surgery training and a post-graduate degree in health administration (MBA).

James A. Rice

Executive Vice President, Integrated Healthcare Strategies, USA

Executive Vice President of the Governance & Leadership Services practice at Integrated Healthcare Strategies and Vice Chairman of the Governance Institute. He has served as a Principal in the Health Care Group of Larson Allen and as President of the International Health Summit Institute. He has advised health systems in over 30 countries. Dr. Rice holds faculty positions at Cambridge University, the Nelson Mandela School of Medicine in Durban, and at the University of Minnesota. He serves on the boards of directors for Children's Heart Fund and HeartLink. Dr. Rice holds MHA and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Minnesota.

David Rosen

Chief Rabbi, International Director of Interreligious Affairs, American Jewish Committee, Israel

Former Chief Rabbi of Ireland (1979–1985) and past chair of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations (2005–2009). He is also the Chief Rabbinate of Israel's Honorary Adviser on Interreligious Relations. In 2005, he was made a papal Knight Commander of the Order of St. Gregory the Great for his contribution to Jewish-Catholic reconciliation and this year he was invested by Queen Elizabeth II as a Commander of the British Empire for his contributions to interfaith understanding.

Jacques Rupnik

Political Scientist, France

Director of Research at the Center for International Studies and Research (CERI) at Sciences-Po, Paris and Professor at the College of Europe in Bruges. He has been Visiting Professor at several European universities and at Harvard, Executive Director of the International Commission on the Balkans. He was consultant to the European Commission (2007–2010), member of the Independent International Commission on Kosovo (1999–2000) and Member of the Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation in The Hague (2010). He has focused on democratization and European integration of East–Central European countries and nationalism and post-conflict reconciliation in the Balkans and has published several books on this topic. Mr. Rupnik completed his M.A. in Soviet studies at Harvard University (1974), and his Ph.D. at the Sorbonne University (1978).

Yohei Sasakawa

Chairman, The Nippon Foundation, Japan

Chairman of The Nippon Foundation, one of the largest private foundations in Asia. A renowned Japanese leader in the philanthropic and NGO fields, he has initiated projects and worked on a global scale in such areas as public health, agricultural development, education and social welfare. He serves as the World Health Organization Goodwill Ambassador for Leprosy Elimination, as well as Japan's Goodwill Ambassador for the Human Rights of People Affected by Leprosy. Together with Václav Havel and Elie Wiesel, Mr. Sasakawa cofounded the Forum 2000 Project.

Shigeko Sasamori

Hiroshima Survivor, Japan

Survived the Hiroshima Atomic Bomb at the age of 13 and was one of 25 Japanese women known as the "Hiroshima Maidens", who received medical treatment for their injuries in the United States. She later returned to Los Angeles, where she worked for many years as a nurse. For the past 30 years Ms. Sasamori has been involved in campaigns for nuclear disarmament. She has traveled and spoken extensively about her life experience, including an appearance in the movie "White Light/Black Rain: Destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki", a documentary on victims of the atomic bomb.

Saskia Sassen

Sociologist, London School of Economics, Columbia University, United Kingdom/USA

Sociologist focusing on globalization, immigration, global cities, the new technologies and changes within the liberal state that result from current transnational conditions. In addition to her appointments at Columbia University and the London School of Economics, Ms. Sassen is a Member of the Council on Foreign Relations and of the National Academy of Sciences Panel on Cities. She has received the first Distinguished Graduate School Alumnus Award from the University of Notre Dame and was one of four winners of the first University of Chicago Future Mentor Award, covering all doctoral programs. She has written for The Guardian, The New York Times, Le Monde Diplomatique, the International Herald Tribune, Newsweek International, Vanguardia, Clarin, and the Financial Times, among others.

Jiří Schneider

First Deputy Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Czech Republic

First Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic. Previously Program Director at the Prague Security Studies Institute (2005–2010) and Partner at Keynote Inc. (2007–2010). Former Political Director and Director of the Policy Planning Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1993–1994, 1999–2001, 2003), Ambassador of the Czech Republic to Israel (1995–1998). He served as an International Policy Fellow at the Open Society Institute in Budapest (2002) and as Member of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (1990–1992). Prior to 1989 and his entry into public service, he was employed as a forestry surveyor. Jiří Schneider holds a Diploma in religious studies from the University of Cambridge.

Gesine Schwan

Politician, President, Humboldt-Viadrina School of Governance, Germany

Joint founder and President of the Humboldt-Viadrina School of Governance in Berlin (since 2010) and a member of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD). In 2004 and 2009, Professor Schwan was the Federal Presidency candidate of the SPD. She served as the Federal Government Coordinator for German-Polish Relations and Civil Society Cooperation (2008–2009), Co-Chairwoman of the German-Polish Forum (2002–2009) and member of the Board of Trustees of the German Institute of Poland (since 2002). She was President of the European University Viadrina in Frankfurt (1999–2008) prior to which she was Professor (since 1977) and later the Dean of the Department of Political Science at Freie Universität Berlin (1993–1995).

Karel Schwarzenberg

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Czech Republic

Minister of Foreign Affairs (since 2010) and Chairman of TOP 09 party. He has already served as Minister of Foreign Affairs (2007–2009) and was a member of the Senate of the Czech Parliament (2004–2010). During the first half of 2009, he also served as the President of the Council of the European Union. President of the International Helsinki Committee for Human Rights (1984–1991) and former Chancellor to President Václav Havel. He was awarded, together with Lech Walesa, the Human Rights Award of the Council of Europe in 1991.

Roger Scruton

Philosopher, Political Scientist, United Kingdom

Visiting Professor of Philosophy at Oxford University and Visiting Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. Writer and philosopher, author of 40 books. He taught at the University of London (1971–1990) and at the University of Boston (1990–1993), before becoming a full-time writer and consultant. During the 1980s he played a part in founding and supporting the underground universities in Prague, Brno and Bratislava and was subsequently awarded the Medal for Merit, First Class by President Havel for services to the Czech Republic. He holds a Ph.D. in philosophy from Cambridge, and an honorary doctorate from Masaryk University, Brno.

Tomáš Sedláček

Chief Macroeconomic Strategist, ČSOB Bank, Czech Republic

Chief of Macroeconomic Strategies of ČSOB Bank and a member of the National Economic Council (NERV). He was advisor to President Václav Havel and to the Minister of Finance (2004–2005). He lectures on philosophy, economy and the history of economic theories at Charles University. He is the author of numerous articles and a best-selling book "Economics of Good and Evil". He studied at Yale University and holds a PhDr., in theoretical economics from Charles University.

Richard Sennett

Sociologist, London School of Economics, New York University, United Kingdom/USA

Founder of the New York Institute for the Humanities at New York University, Centennial Professor of Sociology at the London School of Economics and MIT Affiliate. In the 1980s he served as an advisor to UNESCO and as president of the American Council on Work. Mr. Sennett trained at the University of Chicago and received his Ph.D. at Harvard University. He has written several books, including fiction, focusing on life in cities, labor, and cultural history.

Salil Shetty

Secretary General, Amnesty International, United Kingdom/India

Expert on human rights and poverty. Mr. Shetty leads Amnesty International as the organization's chief political adviser, strategist and spokesperson. Previously, he was the Director of the United Nations Millennium Campaign (2003–2010). Prior to joining the U.N., he was the Chief Executive of ActionAid, an international development NGO. He served as director of ActionAid in India and Kenya. Mr. Shetty gained an M.A. with Distinction in social policy and planning from the London School of Economics and has an MBA from the Indian Institute of Management in Ahmedabad.

Alison Smale

Executive Editor, International Herald Tribune, France/USA

Executive editor of the International Herald Tribune, the global edition of The New York Times. Previously, she worked at The New York Times as weekend foreign editor (since 1998) and later as deputy foreign editor (since 2002). Ms. Smale was the Vienna Bureau Chief for Eastern Europe at the Associated Press (1986–1998), covering the fall of communism across Eastern Europe. She was also posted in Moscow (1983–1987). She studied journalism at Stanford University.

Radek Špicar

Director, External Affairs, Škoda Auto, Czech Republic

Director of External Relations at Škoda Auto, responsible for relations with public institutions at national and European level, structural funds and the Corporate Social Responsibility concept. Previously served as Deputy to the Vice-Prime Minister for Economic Affairs of the Czech Republic. Lecturer at the Institute of Economic Studies at the Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University in Prague and at the Diplomatic Academy Prague. Studied at Charles University and the University of Cambridge.

Deyan Sudjic

Director, Design Museum, United Kingdom

Director of the Design Museum in London (since 2006) a center for exhibitions of modern design history and contemporary design. Previously Dean of the Faculty of Art, Architecture and Design at Kingston University, Visiting Professor at the Royal College of Art and the Academy of Applied Art in Vienna, and the Observer newspaper's design and architecture writer. He was Director of Glasgow 1999, UK City of Architecture, and in 2002 was Director of the Venice Architecture Biennale. Editor of Domus (2000–2004), and Founding Editor of Blueprint magazine (1983–1996). In 2004 Mr. Sudjic was awarded the Bicentenary Medal of the Royal Society of Arts for the promotion of design, and was made an honorary fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects. He was made Officer of the Order of the British Empire in 2000.

Aung San Suu Kyi

Opposition Leader, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, Burma

Given the detention of Aung San Suu Kyi under house arrest by the government of Burma her invitation to the Forum 2000 was confiscated by the police and the Forum 2000 Foundation was not able to verify whether it was 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, she 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 Burma government repeatedly extending her detention.

Keizo Takemi

Former State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Japan

Former State Secretary for Foreign Affairs (1998–1999), currently Senior Fellow at the Japan Center for International Exchange and Professor of School of Political Science and Economics at Tokai University. Professor Takemi was a research fellow at the Harvard School of Public Health (2007–2009), a member of Japan's House of Councilors for 12 years and served as Senior Vice-Minister for Health, Labor and Welfare (2006–2007). He led the initiative to establish the UN Trust Fund for Human Security (1999) and was made a member of the High Level Panel on UN System-Wide Coherence in the areas of development, humanitarian assistance and environment by former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan. He holds an M.A. in Law from Keio University.

Peter Thum

Founder, Ethos Water, CEO, Fonderie47, USA

Chief Executive Officer and Co-Founder of Fonderie47, a social venture addressing assault rifle proliferation in Africa. After leaving McKinsey & Company, he founded and was the President of Ethos Brands (2002–2008) a company raising money for clean water programs in the developing world. Ethos was acquired by Starbucks in 2005. In 2008, Peter founded givingwater.org, serving water to schoolchildren in Kenya. Mr. Thum holds an MBA from the Kellogg School of Management at Northwestern University and a Bachelor of Arts in government from Claremont McKenna College.

Mirek Topolánek

Former Prime Minister, Czech Republic

Former Prime Minister of Czech Republic (2006–2009), former President of the European Council (2009) and former chairman of the Civic Democratic Party (2002–2010). Served as Member of the Senate of the Parliament (1999–2002), its Deputy Chairman (2002–2004) and Member of the Chamber of Deputies (2000–2009). Mr. Topolánek co-founded the engineering company VAE Ltd. (1991) and was a member of the VAE Inc. Board of Directors (1996–2003). He holds an engineering degree from the Brno University of Technology.

Jan Urban

Journalist, Czech Republic

Journalist, university teacher and one of the leading dissidents during the communist régime. Presently Professor at the New York University in Prague. Member of the International Independent Commission on Kosovo. Mr. Urban worked in Iraq training journalists and on heritage preservation projects (2003–2006). He served as a war correspondent in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1993–1996) and was the publisher of Transitions magazine (1997–1999). He made two documentary films on the Kosovo conflict. In November 1989, he helped to found the Civic Forum, was its spokesman and led it to its victory in the first free elections in June 1990. He studied history and philosophy at Charles University.

Marek Vácha

Catholic Priest, Biologist, Ethicist, Czech Republic

Catholic priest in Lechovice near Znojmo, molecular biologist and expert on medical ethics. Heads the Institute of Ethics at the 3rd Medical Faculty of Charles University and lectures on the relationship between Christianity and ecology at the Faculty of Social Studies in Brno. Participated in two expeditions to Antarctica (1997–2000). He studied molecular biology and genetics at Masaryk University in Brno and theology in Olomouc and Brussels.

Tomáš Víšek

Chairman, Supervisory Board, McKinsey & Company, Czech Republic

Partner of McKinsey & Company in Prague. He joined McKinsey in 2000 and since then has worked mainly for clients in the energy and financial institutions sectors, both in Central and Eastern Europe and the United States. Prior to joining McKinsey, Mr. Víšek was assistant lecturer and researcher in the fields of operations research and econometrics at the University of Economics. He holds a Ph.D. with a major in econometrics from Charles University in Prague and a Diploma in finance and accounting from the Prague University of Economics.

Tomáš Vrba

Chairman, Board of Directors, Forum 2000 Foundation, Czech Republic

Chairman of the Board of Directors of Forum 2000 Foundation and President of the Board of Directors at Theater Archa. Professor at the New York University in Prague. Founder and former President of the Czech section of the Association of European Journalists. He was the Editor-in-Chief of the monthly magazine Nová Přítomnost (1997–2000) and of the Czech and Slovak edition of Lettre Internationale Quarterly (1990–1995), International Vice President of the Association of European Journalists (2002–2004) and Chair of the Czech News Agency Council (ČTK, 2004–2007). Mr. Vrba was a member of the Civic Forum and a signatory of the Charter 77. He holds a Ph.D. in philosophy from Charles University.

Paul Wolfowitz

Former President, World Bank, USA

Former President of the World Bank Group (2005–2007) and currently Visiting Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research and Chairman of the U.S.-Taiwan Business Council (since 2008). Served as Deputy Secretary of Defense (2001–2005), Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, Ambassador to Indonesia and as Special Assistant for Strategic Arms Limitation Talks at the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. He is the former Dean and Professor of International Relations at Johns Hopkins University and former Professor at Yale University. Studied mathematics at Cornell University and holds a Ph.D. in political science from University of Chicago.

Grigory Yavlinsky

Economist and Politician, Russia

Professor of Economics at the State University – Higher School of Economics in Moscow. Co-founder and former Chairman of the Russian Democratic Party Yabloko (1993–2008). In 1996 and 2000 Mr. Yavlinsky was Yabloko´s official candidate for the Russian presidency. He served as a member of the Russian State Duma (1993–2003). He is Chairman of the Board of the Center for Economic and Political Research. Since the mid–1990s, he has focused his efforts on tax and budget reforms. He studied at the Plekhanov Institute of the National Economy in Moscow.

Rudolf Zajac

Former Minister of Health, Slovakia

Advisor to the Minister of Finance of the Czech Republic Miroslav Kalousek and the TOP 09 Party (since 2009), former Minister of Healthcare of the Slovak Republic (2002–2006) and author of Slovak healthcare reform. He is a member of the Civic Conservative Party (since 2006). Prior to entering public service, he worked in commerce and as a physician specializing in urology and radio diagnostics. He studied medicine at Comenius University, Slovakia.

Fareed Zakaria

Editor-at-Large, Time Magazine, USA

Editor-at-Large of Time Magazine and Host of CNN's Fareed Zakaria Global Public Square, a weekly foreign affairs program. Before joining TIME as Editor at Large in October 2010, he spent 10 years overseeing all of Newsweek's editions abroad. Mr. Zakaria came to Newsweek in October 2000 after spending eight years as Managing Editor of Foreign Affairs. His book "The Future of Freedom" was a New York Times best-seller. His most recent book is the "The Post-American World". He received a B.A. from Yale College and a Ph.D. from Harvard University. He currently serves as a Trustee of Yale University.

Miroslav Zámečník

Partner, Boston Venture, Czech Republic

Partner in Boston Venture Central Europe and member of the National Economic Council (NERV). He specializes in international financial institution operations, financial sector development and mergers and acquisitions. He served as CEO and Member of the Investment Committee of the Revitalization Agency (2000–2001), Deputy CEO of Konsolidační banka (2001) and advised the Czech Ministry of Finance as Senior Consultant in ADL. He was Assistant to the Executive Director of the World Bank (1994–1998) responsible for bank operation reviews in South East Asia and the private sector. Mr. Zámečník graduated from the Prague School of Economics and completed the Pew Fellow Program at Georgetown University.

Elia Zenghelis

Architect, Greece

Architect and professor of architecture. He studied, and later taught, at the Architectural Association School in London. Co-founder of the Office for Metropolitan Architecture and of Gigantes Zenghelis Architects office. Mr. Zenghelis taught at the Berlage Institute and was Professor at the Düsseldorf Academy of Fine Arts, Visiting Professor at the École Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne, at the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule Zürich and at the Accademia di Architettura in Mendrisio. He has also taught at Princeton, the University of California and Columbia University. He is External Examiner at the Bartlett School of Architecture and the Edinburgh College of Art. He was recently awarded the RIBA Annie Spink Award for outstanding contribution to architectural education.

DELEGATES' PROFILES

Yohei Sasakawa, Václav Havel, Štefan Füle

Transcripts

Opening Ceremony

10th October 2010, Prague Crossroads

Opening Remarks:
Štefan Füle, European Commissioner for Enlargement and European Neighbourhood Policy, Belgium/Czech Republic
Yohei Sasakawa, Chairman, The Nippon Foundation, Japan

Opening Speech:
Václav Havel, Former President, Czech Republic

Musical Performance:
Shahab Tolouie

Štefan Füle: President Havel, Chairman Sasakawa, ladies and gentlemen. It's an honor to have the possibility to address you at the opening of this year's Forum 2000. I was pleased to accept your invitation for many reasons. Because of the distinguished guests who have gathered here. Because of the location – this city whose genius loci works as an irresistible magnet. And last but not least because of the topic that I consider extremely inspirational.

"The world we want to live in". A thesis formulated like this almost immediately evokes a logical question: What should our world be like? And the most common response that I hope comes to the mind of all of us is very brief. We could express it with a single word: Better! It is easy to deduce that we are not satisfied with the current state of the world.

The most likely reasons are problems, conflicts, crises that are rolling in on us in the form of bad news behind every corner, or every day. Due to this we are living under constant pressure and fear. Some credit for this development goes to the philosophers, who seem to have defined the limits of our time. In this context, it might be enough to recall Francis Fukuyama and his *"End of History"*, *"The Clash of Civilizations"* by Samuel Huntington, and thirdly – Tony Judt: *"Ill Fares the Land"*.

I do not intend to discuss the mentioned essays, which have literally become a cult during the past 20 years. Let me just present one personal comment. I cannot ignore one impression: to me the name of each of the books creates the illusion that the past was better. Folk literature highlighted this attitude with a sarcastic saying: The good times have passed.

But joking aside, I think it is necessary to counter this negative attitude. Mainly because the experience of this country is different. The last 20 years have taught us that the state of the present depends on us. I admit that, just like Fukuyama, I was looking for inspiration for my remarks today from Hegel. I have to add that I do not aspire to be as brilliant as the two of them.

Let me just remind you that Hegel, who had dedicated his philosophical work to freedom, is working with the category of self-awareness. In his conception, the human spirit wakes from trauma thanks to the fact that it frees itself from fear, and rises from being a servant to a spiritual master of life.

What I consider to a large extent alarming is that even after almost two hundred years, we don't tend to be fully free in the Hegelian sense. Instead, our time is still working with the fear of the people. It often consciously exploits unjustified fears, be it only of a part of the public. Apparently it's effective. According to opinion polls, people are always afraid of something. Therefore, I consider this scheme as being particularly relevant. We notice two antagonistic positions, which reflect the approach to freedom. I personally prefer Hegel's. Because fear and ignorance keep people in serfdom! That is not acceptable to me.

At the same time I believe that one day we can free society from all fears. In this regard, am I – like Hegel – an idealist? After all – without idealism it probably wouldn´t be possible to enter public life. It is said that politics is the art of the possible. I prefer the paraphrase of President Václav Havel that "politics is the art of the impossible, which makes us better." That is what politics should be like in its finest form. And it is definitely worth striving for it.

In this context we face a challenge that the ancient Greeks poetically (but aptly) summed up with the formulation that society must rely on the *Demos*. But it is not a sufficient condition. In addition, society must acquire the *Ethos*. That is certainly not an easy task. However, as JFK said – "We choose our goals, not because they are easy, but because they are hard." We share a common interest in the future of this world. It's understandable – we don't have any other one. We are not satisfied with its current form. We want it to be better. We have a strong motivation. Let´s turn it into a driving force.

Here I end my remarks for the evening. Let me say goodbye using a greeting from two wise clowns (Voskovec/Werich) of this country: See you in the better times! I believe that this year's Forum 2000 will contribute to this. Just look at the program, at the speakers on the individual panels. More than 90 very respectable people from all over the world have gathered, therefore, I definitely can conclude that this conference definitely has the intellectual capital to bring us closer to the better times.

I wish all of you a truly inspirational Forum 2000 and I thank you for your attention.

Yohei Sasakawa: President Havel, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen;

This year – as we approach the end of the first decade of the 21st century – we have gathered here to think about an important question. To ask ourselves: "What kind of world do we want to live in?' The question itself might seem quite simple. But it is a question that only raises more questions. Before we even begin to ask "what kind

of world?" we need to ask ourselves: Who are "we"? What do "we" mean by "we"?

When we talk about the "world we want to live in" we are obviously not just talking about the people here today. We are not just talking about our families, friends, colleagues, and fellow citizens. We are not even just talking about the six billion people living on this planet today.

We are talking about those from whom we inherited this world, those of us who live in it and shape the world today and those who will sustain it long after we are all gone. One problem is, of course, that we all have different – at times competing, at times coexisting, and sometimes directly conflicting – ideas about what kind of world we want to live in. Such differences lie at the root of many challenges facing our world today. What can be done about this? Or more specifically, what can WE – the people here tonight – do about this?

We have all taken on the difficult task of simultaneously trying to put ourselves in the positions of the countless "we's" in our world; and to understand the needs of the greater human – and non–human – community.

We are here to seek ways in which we can work together towards a world that respects, nurtures, and strives on diversity, and yet in which people can work together towards a similar vision of a better world. This, I believe, has been the vision of the Forum 2000 Conferences from the very beginning. It was a vision initially inspired by President Havel's visit to the city of Hiroshima.

Ladies and Gentlemen, tomorrow evening we will hold a ceremony to mark the opening of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki Exhibit here in Prague. I believe that we visit and revisit Hiroshima and Nagasaki to, of course, try to better understand what happened, how it happened, and how it affected, and continues to affect, individual lives as well as the larger world we live in. But I think that we also visit Hiroshima and Nagasaki to try to understand just how difficult it is to really understand. And to remind ourselves just how important it is to keep trying to understand the un-understandable.

It is my sincere hope that the exhibit will inspire us to continue building on the foundation of our shared moral and spiritual values, and that by doing so, we can take gradual steps towards a world that we – past, present, and future generations – would all be proud to live in.

Thank you.

Václav Havel: Ladies and Gentlemen, Dear Friends,

I cordially welcome you all to this year's Forum 2000 Conference. I am firmly convinced that you will not consider the time you spend here wasted.

While I am aware of the countless more serious problems with human settlements on this planet – from the slums on the fringes of Asian or Latin American megalopolises to cities devastated by earthquakes or floods – with your permission I will start in a somewhat personal vein. Years ago, when I used to drive by car from Prague to our country cottage in Eastern Bohemia, the journey from the city center to the signboard that marked the city limits took about fifteen minutes. Then came meadows, forests, fields and villages. These days the selfsame journey takes a good forty minutes or more, and it is impossible to know whether I have left the city or not. What was until recently clearly recognizable as the city is now losing its boundaries and with them its identity. It has become a huge overgrown ring of something I can't find a word for. It is not a city as I understand the term, nor suburbs, let alone a village. Apart from anything else it lacks streets or squares. There is just a random scattering of enormous single-storey warehouses, supermarkets, hypermarkets, car and furniture marts, petrol stations, eateries, gigantic car parks, isolated high-rise blocks to be let as offices, depots of every kind, and collections of family homes that are admittedly close together but are otherwise desperately remote. And in between all that – and this is something that bothers me most of all – are large tracts of land that aren't anything, by which I mean that they're not meadows, fields, woods, jungle or meaningful human settlement. Here and there, in a space that is so hard to define, one can find an architecturally beautiful or original building, but it is as solitary as the proverbial tomb – it is unconnected with anything else; it is not adjacent to anything or even remote from anything; it simply stands there. In other words, all the time our cities are being permitted without control to destroy the surrounding landscape with its nature, traditional pathways, avenues of trees, villages, mills and meandering streams, and build in their place some sort of gigantic agglomeration that renders life nondescript, disrupts the network of natural human communities, and under the banner of international uniformity, attacks all individuality, identity or heterogeneity. And on the occasions it tries to imitate something local or original, it looks altogether suspect, because it is obviously a purpose-built fake. There is emerging a new type of a previously described existential phenomenon: unbounded consumer collectivism engenders a new type of solitude.

Where has all this woeful development come from and why does it go on getting worse? How is at all possible that humans can treat in such a senseless fashion not only the landscape that surrounds them but the very planet which they have been given to inhabit? We know that we are behaving in a suicidal manner and yet we go on doing it. How is it possible?

We are living in the first truly global civilization. That means that whatever comes into existence on its soil can very quickly and easily span the whole world. But we are also living in the first atheistic civilization, in other words, a civilization that has lost its connection with the infinite and with eternity. For that reason it prefers short-term profit to long-term profit. What is important is whether an investment will provide a return in ten or fifteen years; how it will affect the lives of our descendants in a hundred years is less important.

However, the most dangerous aspect of this global atheistic civilization is its pride. The pride of someone who is driven by the very logic of his wealth to stop respecting the contribution of nature and our forebears, to stop respecting it on principle and respect it only as a further potential source of profit. And indeed, why should a developer go to the trouble of building a warehouse with several storeys when he can have as much land as he wants and can therefore build as many single-storey warehouses as he likes? Why should he worry about whether his building suits the locality in which it is built, so long as it is reached by the shortest route and it is possible to build a gigantic car park alongside it? What is to him that between his site and his neighbor's there is a wasteland? And what is it to him, after all, that from an aero plane the city more and more resembles a tumor metastasizing in all directions and that he is contributing to it? Why should he get worked up over a few dozen hectares that he carves out of the soil that many still regard as the natural framework of their homeland?

I sense behind all of this not only a globally spreading shortsightedness, but also the swollen self-consciousness of this civilization, whose basic attributes include the supercilious idea that we know everything and what we don't yet know we'll soon find out, because we know how to go about it. We are convinced that this supposed omniscience of ours which proclaims the staggering progress of science and technology and rational knowledge in general, permits us to serve anything that is demonstrably useful, or that is simply a source of measurable profit, anything that induces growth and more growth and still more growth, including the growth of agglomerations.

But with the cult of measurable profit, proven progress and visible usefulness, there disappears respect for mystery and along with it humble reverence for everything we shall never measure and know, not to mention the vexed question of the infinite and eternal, which were until recently the most important horizons of our actions.

We have totally forgotten what all previous civilizations knew: that nothing is self-evident.

I believe that the recent financial and economic crisis was of great importance and in its ultimate essence it was actually a very edifying signal to the contemporary world.

Most economists relied directly or indirectly on the idea that the world, including human conduct, is more or less understandable, scientifically describable and hence predictable. Market economics and its entire legal framework counted on our knowing who man is and what aims he pursues, the logic behind the actions of banks or firms or the shareholding public and what one may expect from a particular individual or community.

And all of a sudden none of that applied. Irrationality leered at us from all the stock-exchange screens. And even the most fundamentalist economists, who – having intimate access to the truth – were convinced with unshakeable assurance that the invisible hand of the market knew what it was doing, had suddenly to admit that they had been taken by surprise.

I hope and trust that the elites of today's world will realize what this signal is telling us.

In fact it is nothing extraordinary, nothing that a perceptive person did not know long ago. It is a warning against the disproportionate self-assurance and pride of modern civilization. Human behavior is not totally explicable as many inventors of economic theories and concepts believe; and the behavior of firms or institutions or entire communities is even less so.

Naturally after this crisis a thousand and one theorists will emerge to describe precisely how and why it happened and how to prevent it happening in the future. But this will not be a sign that they have understood the message that the crisis sent us. The opposite, more likely: it will simply be a further emanation of that disproportionate self-assurance that I have been speaking of.

I regard the recent crisis as a very small and very inconspicuous call to humility. A small and inconspicuous challenge for us not to take everything automatically for granted. Strange things are happening

and will happen. Not to bring oneself to admit it is the path to hell. Strangeness, unnaturalness, mystery, inconceivability have been shifted out the world of serious thought into the dubious closets of suspicious people. Until they are released and allowed to return to our minds, things will not go well.

The modern pride that I refer to did not manifest itself in architecture recently. In the inter-war period, many otherwise brilliant avant-garde architects already shared the opinion that confident and rational reflection was the key to a new approach to human settlement. And so they started planning various happy cities with separate zones for housing, sport, entertainment, commerce or hospitality, all linked by a logical infrastructure. Those architects had succumbed to the aberrant notion that an enlightened brain is capable of devising the ideal city. Nothing of the sort was created, however. Bold urbanist projects proved to be one thing, while life turned out to be something else. Life often demands something quite different from what the architects offer, such as an urban district consisting of the strangest hotchpotch of different functions, where the children's playground is next to the government building, the government building next to a pub, and the pub next to an apartment house, which in turn is next to a small park. For centuries humankind lived in culture-forming civilizations, in other words, settlements had a natural order determined by a universally-shared sensibility, thanks to which every illiterate medieval blacksmith, when asked to forge a bracket, infallibly forged a Gothic bracket, without needing a teacher of Gothic or a Gothic designer. The designers' civilization in which we live is one of the many secondary consequences of that modern-era pride, whereby people believe they have understood everything and then they can therefore completely plan the world.

Wonder and an awareness that things are not self-evident are, I believe, are the only way out of the dangerous world of a civilization of pride.

Can anything be absolutely self-evident? Wonder at the non-self-evidence of everything that creates our world is, after all, the first impulse to the question: what purpose does it all have? Why does it all exist? Why does anything exist at all? We don't know and we will never find out. It is quite possible that everything is here in order for us to have something to wonder at. And that we are here simply so that there is someone to wonder. But what is the point of having someone wonder at something? And what alternative is there to being? After all if there were nothing, there would also be no one

to observe it. And if there were no one to observe it, then the big question is whether non-being would be at all possible.

Perhaps someone, just a few hundred light years away from our planet, is looking at us through a perfect telescope. What do they see? They see the Thirty Years War. For that reason alone it holds true that everything is here all the time, that nothing that has happened can unhappen, and that with our every word or movement we are making the cosmos different – forever – from what it was before.

In all events, I am certain that our civilization is heading for catastrophe unless present-day humankind comes to its senses. And it can only come to its senses if it grapples with its short-sightedness, its stupid conviction of its omniscience and its swollen pride, which have been so deeply anchored in its thinking and actions.

It is necessary to wonder. And it is necessary to worry about the non-self-evidence of things.

I hope and trust that this year's Forum 2000 will not only deal with architecture and urbanism, which it has taken as its main topic, but also with their wider implications. For what else should be the major challenge for reflection on today's world than the manner in which humankind settles one of the many billions of cosmic bodies?

Thank you for your attention. I don't take it for granted.

Žofín Palace

The World We Live In

11th October 2010, Žofín Palace, Forum Hall

Opening Remarks:
Václav Havel, Former President, Czech Republic

Keynote Speech:
Roger Scruton, Philosopher, Political Scientist, United Kingdom

Moderator:
Karel Kovanda, Director-General (Acting), DG External Relations, European Commission, Belgium/Czech Republic

Participants:
Zygmunt Bauman, Sociologist, United Kingdom/Poland
Karel Schwarzenberg, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Czech Republic
Richard Sennett, Sociologist, London School of Economics, New York University, USA/United Kingdom

Karel Kovanda: Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. My name is Karel Kovanda and I'm one of the notorious Brussels bureaucrats spending taxpayers' money and doing nothing much. In order to earn my keep, Oldřich Černý invited me here.

Speaking of Olda Černý: at the opening yesterday he was complaining about Forum 2000 getting bigger and bigger, and that he can't stop it, but then he invites the European Commissioner for Enlargement to give the keynote speech. President Havel, yesterday, in his quite extraordinary opening remarks, contrasted the "hubris" with which various forces dictate various aspects of our life, with our diminishing capability for wonderment and appreciation of mystery. I thought those were very interesting remarks, and I would not be surprised if there were some further comments on them today from members of the panel.

This is what I picked out of President Havel's remarks yesterday, and he is here again today. Almost twenty years ago, I recall there was a phase in his life as President of Czechoslovakia when there were voices in certain circles arguing "we've had enough of Havel". I don't think this is a sentiment that would be shared by anybody in the audience today. So, let me shut up now and invite President Havel to open the conference in more or less official fashion. President Havel.

Václav Havel: Ladies and gentlemen, dear friends, I would like to cordially welcome you to this year's 14th Forum 2000 Conference. Yesterday we formally opened the conference in a beautiful church, the Prague Crossroads, which is nowadays used as a cultural center. Today the working part of the conference begins. Perhaps I should repeat what I usually say on this occasion, because there is always someone who has not heard it before. How did it all begin?

Over twenty years ago I became President, I received my passport, and I began to travel. To those who still regarded the Czech Republic as an anonymous part of the enormous Soviet Bloc, I wanted to present it as an independent, free and democratic country. I visited many countries, and was acutely aware of the overwhelming plurality, variety and great number of problems today's world has to deal with. It occurred to me that it might be fruitful for the philosophers, political scientists, theologians and experts of many nations and continents to have the chance to meet and discuss the state of our civilization. This is how the first Forum 2000 Conference came

into being, and we thought it would be the last. Lo and behold, this is the 14th Forum 2000 Conference.

It's probably because reflection on the world and its issues today, unconstrained by religious, philosophical or ideological boundaries, is so important, that the Forum had to continue. Today, with considerable attention from the local and international public and the media, for which we are very grateful, the fourteenth conference begins.

In opening our conference, I should like to read a part of the letter which Mr. Payá, one of the most famous Cuban dissidents, sent us. As usual, Mr. Payá was invited to the conference, but he did not come; he was not allowed to.

"I cannot be with you today because in Cuba we are denied the right to travel. It is the government who decides which Cuban man or woman should be allowed to enter the country, and who should be allowed to leave it. Because of that, on the 6th October we started to support the draft law on national reunion to ensure the rights of Cubans to enter and leave the country freely, and to put an end to discrimination against Cubans in their own country. There have been some discussions about changes, but the government does not take any steps to acknowledge lawfully and in practice the human and civil rights of the Cubans, as the project Varela as well as the above-mentioned draft law on national reunion requests. We Cubans want reconciliation, a peaceful path to democracy, and we want to give the Cuban nation not only its own future, but also its own present."

Oswaldo Payá Sardiñas, on behalf of the Christian Liberation Movement, Cuba.

Oswaldo Payá could not come, but another recently released political prisoner, Mr. García Paneque is here. For many reasons we think it is important to invite even those who have a 90% chance of being prevented from coming. Based on my own memories and experience, I know how important it was for those of us who were imprisoned that our friends took an interest in us, and invited us abroad despite the expectation that the regime would not let us go, especially when we were in prison. Nevertheless, the very fact that we were invited abroad greatly strengthened the position of the dissidents, and showed the regime that the world was aware of them, and that it had not succeeded in consigning them to the pit of oblivion. Therefore, it is a distinctive feature of this conference to invite those who are involved in the pursuit of human rights, and who, as citizens, work for

their country and their fellow citizens without any reward. I firmly believe that sooner or later, but rather sooner, Mr. Liu Xiaobo, this year's Nobel Prize Laureate, will be released from prison. We here were the first to nominate Mr. Liu Xiaobo for the prize, and are extremely happy that he received it. Naturally, we will also continue to invite Mrs. Aung San Suu Kyi from Burma.

That should suffice by way of introduction. I am now happy to pass the word to the thinkers who will open up the first of many debates and panel discussions which will be held during this year's Forum 2000 Conference.

Karel Kovanda: Thank you very much, President Havel. This is only the beginning of the conference, but even so, we can probably look forward to the next one, and I would join you in wishing that Oswaldo Payá and Liu Xiaobo and Aung San Suu Kyi can join us for the next year's conference here, which, of course means that it is going to happen.

The first panel today is focusing on the world we live in. The theme of the conference is "The World We Want to Live In". I think it's probably quite appropriate to start by a diagnosis of the world that we actually ARE living in, and it's a difficult thing to contemplate, because there are major differences between how we live in the North and how people live in the South. The Millennium Development Goals are one issue which comes to mind. In the West, we are probably for the first time experiencing shortening life spans. As somebody said yesterday, "the good times are behind us". The next generation, our children, in the West will probably not be better off than we are. We heard President Havel's warning, his fairly pessimistic view yesterday. On the other hand, we see attempts to start measuring how well we are living not by Gross Domestic Product but by Happiness.

These are just a few random thoughts on the difficulties that we face when trying to assess the world we live in. To help us do that, we have Roger Scruton, sitting next to President Havel, who is a philosopher and political scientist from the United Kingdom. You might say he is a philosopher at the very liberal, almost libertarian end of the spectrum. But I would add that, for us here in Prague, Roger Scruton is important not only as a philosopher, but also as an activist who, in the dark years of Communist overlordship in this country, was instrumental in organizing and keeping the intellectual ferment brewing here. I hope I'm not mixing my metaphors – he organized

philosophical discussions outside the normal channels of controlled communication, brought in literature and generally speaking, helped us not to succumb to intellectual degeneration.

Roger Scruton: Ladies and gentleman, Mr. President. There is no point in describing our world if I do not attempt to identify, at the deepest level, the things that we value in it, and the things that threaten what we value. And no attempt in either direction can proceed without first defining who "we" are. Wars have been fought, and civilizations have crumbled, as a result of that little word "we"; and no definition can be offered without somebody, somewhere, taking it as a provocation. But there is no better definition than the one suggested by the place where we now meet. Prague lies at the center of Europe; it was for a long time a symbol of European civilization, and the focus of our civil wars. It is a shining example of the "European city", a place of civic pride without pomp, and ornament without vulgarity. By "we", then, I mean we Europeans; and by "our world", I mean the world made in Europe, which includes all those places to which European civilization was spread, most notably by my countrymen during the eighteenth century, and which have lived by the same lights as those that shone at home. Many people refer to European civilization as "the West" for historical reasons that need not concern us. But this civilization owes its greatness to forms of order that came into being on the continent of Europe, as a result of a synthesis that has no parallel in human history. The order of Europe derives from Christianity, and its Jewish ancestor, from the Greek city state and its conception of the self-governing community, and from Roman law, with its ideal of a universal and secular jurisdiction, in which laws made by human beings would take precedence over the alleged commandments of sectarian gods. These three influences led, in time, to the conception of the nation state as a self-governing community which would combine secular law with religious custom, without allowing the one to extinguish the other.

The Second Law of Thermodynamics tells us that entropy is always increasing. In other words, unless energy is injected into a system, it tends towards disorder. This is what we have been witnessing in Europe. The energy was injected, first by the Christian religion, then by the scientific revolution and the Enlightenment, then by the democratic process. But each injection of energy was also a source of conflict: wars of religion in the 16th and 17th centuries, the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars in the 18th and 19th centuries,

and the war between democracy and totalitarianism in the 20th. We are recovering now from the last of those conflicts, and we have enjoyed a unique spell of order, and have been able to witness how order crumbles of its own accord when the spirit of renewal is withdrawn. Secular jurisdiction is deeply entrenched in Europe. But already the demand is being made to modify it, so as to give precedence to the Sharia in those matters of primary concern to Muslims. Since there is no agreement as to what the Sharia requires, this is tantamount to a demand that communities living under European jurisdictions should be to a certain measure exempt from the law. In other words, it would spell the end of territorial jurisdiction and its replacement by jurisdiction by faith of the kind that prevailed under the Ottoman Empire. To give in to such a demand would be to abandon the most important aspect of our political inheritance, that is, of secular jurisdiction supported by territorial allegiance, in which everyone is equal in the eyes of the law, and bound by ties of neighborhood and patriotism which in emergencies take precedence over the ties of faith. It is not surprising, therefore, if many ordinary citizens in Europe find it difficult to accept the rise of Islam in their midst. They register their protest through their vote, creating, in the Netherlands, Belgium and Sweden, a new kind of challenge to the liberal elite. Quite suddenly we find the values of democracy and the Enlightenment being invoked against the political establishment, not in support of it. The effect of this is beginning to change the political climate of Europe, in ways that were not, I think, foreseen by the architects of the European Union.

Disorder has also entered our world from within. In a work that I regard as the greatest contribution to political philosophy composed in modern times, Hegel distinguished three spheres of obligation: family, civil society and state. He regarded these as autonomous but mutually dependent; each was threatened with collapse should its obligations be invaded and confiscated by the others. One of the achievements of European civilization has been to hold the three spheres of obligation apart. In the Middle East and Africa the state tends to be confiscated by the family – as notoriously in Saudi Arabia. Under communism, civil society was confiscated by the state, which was itself confiscated by the ruling Party. In my view, being European means being able to close a door on the state, to live undisturbed in one's family. It is to acknowledge that the formation of the child is not the state's responsibility but the parent's, and that the state has no ownership of the things that are owned by the family just as the family has no ownership of the things that are owned by the state. Being European also means being free to associate, to form clubs, groups, schools, universities, churches, networks, orchestras, institutes, without asking permission of the state, and without surrendering control to any external authority. It was not only Hegel who emphasized this: Edmund Burke in Britain and Alexis de Tocqueville in France both regarded the greatest threat posed by the Revolutionaries as the threat to abolish civil society and the family, so as to make every citizen and every child into the property of the state.

Insensibly, however, and despite those warnings expressed at the very outset of the modern period of our history, European society has been sliding in that direction. The family is ceasing to be a sphere of obligation and is becoming instead a kind of contract between man and woman, one that can be set aside at any time, regardless of the children, who then become dependents of the state. Sexual obligations are now short-term, private and provisional, and the knowledge that the state is there to pick up the pieces makes it easy for a man to walk away from the children he has fathered. The inevitable result is that the state is acquiring the duties that were previously exercised by the family, and the sphere of the family is being absorbed into that of the state.

For different reasons the same thing is happening to civil society. Although there is freedom of association in the European states, it is heavily qualified by the state. Non-discrimination laws, health and safety regulations, tax liabilities and bureaucratic interference have exerted a negative effect on the spirit of association. And the gradual takeover by the state of the work of volunteers has made volunteering so much the rarer. The Europe of "little platoons", as Burke called them, in which local communities provided their own help, their own entertainment, their own associations, schools and evening societies is now a thing of the past. Here in the Czech Republic, such things were deliberately destroyed by the communists. In my part of Europe, they simply decayed. I do not blame anyone for this; nor do I see how it could have been avoided, given the near universal demand for the welfare state, and the ready availability, through the media of mass communication, of entertainment within the home. Nevertheless, we should try to appreciate the consequences. We now live in communities where the most important obligations are defined by the state, and where neither the family nor civil society exert the strong hold over the lives of individuals that they once were able to exert. Of course the state is not a totalitarian state,

and it does its best to protect the freedom and the sovereignty of the individual, whenever these are under direct threat from something other than itself. But the state is nevertheless increasingly in charge of society, and in particular of those crucial associations and institutions in which social capital is now passed on – schools, universities and youth training schemes. In some countries, home schooling is now all but illegal, and everywhere the state controls the curriculum in ways that rarely meet with the approval of religious people or those who would like national history to be taught as a source of pride rather than guilt.

I mention those things because they form the background to any attempt to say something about the world in which we live, and how we might amend it. And in conclusion I want to say how they have affected one of the most important issues that we will be addressing in this conference, which is the issue of the environment.

It is not often that people address the history of environmental control, or understand the peculiar successes, as well as the failures, of the past. Although the successes are small successes, they contain a lesson for us today. For they are the result, by and large, of the European inheritance, which has made room for civic initiatives of a kind that states undertake rarely, and international bodies never. Everywhere in the world today you find environmental destruction: sprawling cities, ruined countryside, poisoned lakes and streams, decimated forests and fields veneered with plastic. I say everywhere: but not, by and large, in Europe. The English countryside remains to a great extent what it was when painted by Constable, although of course squeezed into smaller parcels by the motorways. The French towns and villages are still viable communities, supported from their local economies, and looking roughly as they looked when the Impressionists painted them. The German forests are intact and meticulously cared for. The Norwegian fisheries operate under a system of cooperative rights that has existed for a century, and which has maintained fish stocks at a constant level. In a thousand ways, Europeans have looked after their environment, even though living in a crowded continent under massive pressure from migration and international commerce.

Sure, there are places where it has gone badly wrong. The Dutch and the Belgians have allowed grotesque building in the countryside and the qualification of their cities; Eastern Europe suffered the disaster of collectivized farming and socialist housing; and the destruction of the German cities by the Allies was only partly compensated by the post-war reconstruction. Still, if you know anything of the rest of the world, you will soon see that Europe is, comparatively speaking, a success story, two terrible wars notwithstanding. And the success is to be explained by the freedom of European citizens to associate, and to create the pressures on government that ensure a measure of protection.

Let me conclude with a few thoughts about the city, and what it has meant to us. As I said, Christianity in Europe is in retreat. Our legal systems are weighted down with European Union regulations; our civil society is slowly being handed over to the state. But still we retain, in our hearts, the first of history's great gifts to us, which was the city – not the city of Jerusalem only, the city that God commanded as his house on earth, but the city as the Greek philosophers knew it, the man-made and man-commanded place of open discussion, law-abiding congress, and shared settlement. Nowhere has the nature of the city been more thought about than here. Prague was chosen by the Emperor Charles IV as the capital of a multinational empire. He refused the advice of the great Petrarch to move to Rome, and earned his reputation as "otec vlasti" (Father of the Country) by gradually discarding the parts of the Empire that were without interest to him, in order to make Prague into the center of a polyglot national culture. Under the reign of Rudolf II this city became a city of the spirit, home of magicians and alchemists, as well as the crucible of the scientific revolution. And the great schism that marked the end of Christendom was accomplished here, at the Battle of White Mountain. Since then, Prague has retained its identity as the polished button that holds the flapping coat of Europe to the globe: the sacred place of pilgrimage to which all of us, Protestant, Catholic and Jew, return in search of our inheritance. The central European city which survived the disasters of the 20th century without being defaced, and which stands for all of us today as a reminder of what the city has meant to the people of Europe.

In the last years before his murder at the hands of the secret police, Jan Patočka delivered in the catacombs the lectures that summarized, for me, the perennial meaning of this city. These lectures were published in samizdat as "*Platon a Evropa*", (Plato and Europe), and were an attempt to uphold Plato's original vision of the city, as a place that should "take care of the soul". In a city, people are side by side, their loves, hates and destinies woven together in an inextricable tapestry, each enjoying the protection of law and the rewards of high culture. The city, in Patočka's view, was the greatest of the

gifts that the Greeks had bestowed on Europe. Of course, cities have grown elsewhere – in India, China and the Middle East; and under European influence in Africa and America. But only in Europe has the city grown according to its inner nature, to become a law-governed community in which diverse classes, occupations, creeds and opinions flourish side by side, in the mutual pursuit of scientific knowledge, aesthetic taste and spiritual improvement. Only in Europe has the city become the model habitat, the place where our humanity is not degraded or exploited but raised to the level of mutual respect. Hence the city shows us how we can live together side by side, without destroying our environment. It is, or should be, our guide to environmental thinking. The ideal city is bound to its citizens by a relationship of mutual care. In such a city, people respect the public space that they share with their neighbors, and strive to ensure that the resources on which all depend are free from contamination. The true city grows from the love of place, and from the recognition of a place as sacred to a community and its needs. In building a city, therefore, two requirements are uppermost: the harmonious use of public space, and the humility of all buildings that impinge upon it. This is what you see in the old streets, churches and palaces of Prague. Even in the most flamboyant baroque façade, such as that of the Clam-Gallas Palace, we find a love of the street, an attempt to harmonize with adjacent buildings, and a desire to emphasize the boundary between the public and the private, while showing respect for both. The reason why the visitor to Prague stares in awe at this jewel of a city is that here, before his eyes, is the physical embodiment of a moral idea. So it was, at any rate, in the days of Dvořák, Neruda and Julius Zeyer. And so it was in the First Czechoslovakia, when Janáček, the Čapeks, Nezval and Martinů walked these streets. So it was even in the days of the crumbling stage-set that the communists had left to decay. But alas, things are not so today. Unprotected as it was, emerging fragile and uncertain from the fifty years of tyranny, the city had to face the sudden invasion of the predators – people from elsewhere, who did not value the city as a home and a settlement, who had not the faintest inkling of that moral idea so quietly expressed by Patočka, who appreciated beauty only as a commercial prospect and a tourist attraction. Within a space of 20 years, they have littered Prague with grotesque "gadgets", like the Hotel Giovanni, the faceless office block on Karlovo náměstí, and the Palladium shopping mall which mutilates the Náměstí Republiky, structures that destroy the city as a communal

habitat and which erase the public spaces that have been treasured by so many people over the centuries. Of course, the effect should not be blamed only on international capitalism and its placeless imperatives. The communists did what they could to rub out the tranquil face of the old city, and one of the greatest triumphs of their "uglification", as Kundera calls it – the television tower at Žižkov – was lauded as a visitor from the future, proof that "actually existing socialism" could "move with the times".

However, something new has entered the scene since 1989: the image of the individual and his appetites is now replacing that of the community and its spiritual needs. It is easy to turn human beings away from the care of the soul; they are natural predators in search of excitement, pleasure and things to fondle and consume. And those who love the city know how important it is to prevent this predatory instinct from taking hold. Hence almost all cities since the 15th century have had laws protecting the face of the city, the street plan, the language of the façade, the permitted ways of advertising one's words. In all such things, communism had maintained a contemptuous silence, and following that silence had come the sudden, unrestricted noise of a commerce that knows no decency and no law. This was the hubris referred to yesterday by President Havel. Even the most beautiful building in Prague can now be dressed from roof to street in a poster advertising anything that might grip the base appetites of a passerby, from chocolate to motorcars. And usually these posters capture our attention by displaying a human face – an attractive face that looks directly and seductively into the heart. And they illustrate the most important truth: namely, that nothing defaces more completely than a face – a face that covers with crude and tempting gestures the real, gentle and public face that expresses the spirit of the city. Well, that is an instant of something that might have been prevented by a simple piece of legislation of the kind that exists almost everywhere else in Europe.

But it reminds us of why we are gathered here today. Environmental activists today spend much time protecting endangered species, fragile wilderness and arctic ice-floes and they are right to worry about these things. But far more important, to my way of thinking, is the future of the city as a place of shared settlement and public space. There is no greater threat to the environment, it seems to me, than the contempt expressed by so many architects, developers, city planners and those who exploit them for the old idea of beauty and for the European notion of the city as a place that develops organi-

cally from its inner life, and which "cares for the soul". There is no worse form of pollution than aesthetic pollution, since it is an act of aggression against mankind, an attempt to privatize the public space, and to put what is most precious and irreplaceable on sale. I know many people don't agree with this. And perhaps I would not have thought this way myself, had it not been for Prague, the city, and Prague, the moral idea, relayed to me by the samizdat edition of lectures delivered underground by an old professor who was murdered for his pains. Thank you.

Karel Kovanda: Thank you very much, Roger, for this broad-ranging introduction to the problematique that we are dealing with today. You recalled the second law of thermodynamics as though it operated in social sciences and in history as well. You pointed out the energy that was introduced into our societies by one: the Christian religion, two: science, and three: democracy. And then you pointed out the disorders that are caused these days by territorial jurisdiction being confronted by jurisdiction by faith, in other words, secular versus faith-based jurisdictions, as being a major danger and a challenge to the elite. You talked about Hegel's three realms of obligations, namely, family, civil society and state, and pointed out how these individual realms of obligations are being distorted and even endangered by current developments. Throughout your speech there was this red thread of environmental concern and in the second half of your presentation, you focused on the city. As I understood it, you consider one of the key roles of environmentalists being to protect the city, in the ancient Greek sense, which in Prague is the heritage of Charles IV and Rudolf II. I hope that those visitors who don't know Prague very well are going to explore some of the historical memorials associated with these two and other leaders. Your tribute to Prague I found absolutely glowing, and, of course, being a denizen of Prague myself, absolutely spot-on, and your references to the philosopher, Mr. Patočka were, I would say, poignant.

Thank you very much for a set of remarks which were full of provocative and interesting observations. We now have a very distinguished panel which will elaborate on the same theme, namely, the world that we live in. We have Professor Zygmunt Bauman, Minister Karel Schwarzenberg and Professor Richard Sennett who will provide us with their own reflections, and after they finish, I will have them fight it out among themselves and with Roger.

You've got the short bios of our participants in your program booklet. I would just recall that fifty years ago or so, this country did not officially recognize sociology. Sociology was considered a bourgeois pseudoscience, what we had at the time was Marxism-Leninism. I'm not going to describe that as a science, pseudo- or otherwise. Fifty years ago, a ray of bright light, a bit of fresh air came into the country's social sciences and into the general public's awareness when a little book was published called *"Sociology for Everyday"*. The author was Zygmunt Bauman, who now gets the floor.

Zygmunt Bauman: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Whatever problems I try to handle here will be at the expense of others and, actually, contrary to my intentions, undermining their significance. As far as "The World We Want to Live In", well, I can't tell you much really because, first of all, in sixty years of dealing with sociology, studying sociology, I've never been good at prophesying and I wouldn't dare to attempt it now at your expense. Secondly, at the end of my unforgivably long life, the only definition of good society which I've come up with is that the good society is a society which believes that it is not good enough. Beyond that, I have very little to offer. Therefore, I would slightly shift the emphasis in the title of this conference and speak not so much about the world we want to live in as about the world we MUST live in, simply because we don't have any other world to escape to. It goes back to a very old 19th century quotation by Karl Marx who said that people make their history, but not in conditions of their choice. Whenever I hear it, it reminds me of another very perceptive statement – this time made by an Irishman in an Irish joke which tells us about a driver stopping his car and asking a passer-by: "I'm sorry, sir, could you please tell me how I can get from here to Dublin?" and the passer-by stops, scratches his head and after a while, answers: "Well, dear sir, if I were going to Dublin, I wouldn't start from here." That is the problem: we are, unfortunately, starting from here, and we have no other point to start from.

What I would like to convey to you, which I am trying to resolve but so far without much effect, is that the world in which we start out on our road to Dublin, whatever Dublin means here, is filled with challenges and urgent tasks which can only be called "unputdownable, unputoffable" and very short on means. I think that if the 20th century was the era when people were asking the question "what is to be done?", the 21st century will increasingly be the era in which people will be asking the question "who is going to do it?" There

is a discrepancy between the goals and the means at our disposal. Means which were created, ladies and gentlemen, by our ancestors who created the nation state, and supplied it and armed it with a lot of extremely important institutions – Professor Scruton told us quite a lot about it – which were made-to-measure for the nation state. As far as the nation state is concerned, that was the very peak of the idea of self-government, sovereignty, being at home and so on. Above all, the nation state was a reliable, impeccable means of collective action, means of achieving collective social goals. That was believed beyond Left and Right. Both Left and Right believed that if you either defended the Winter Palace or assaulted and captured the Winter Palace, you changed history. The nation state is able to implement the ideas which are promoted. Ideas might differ, but all of them were concentrated on it.

Why was it so? It was so, ladies and gentlemen, because the nation state was considered to be, and to a great extent was, for quite a long time in history, the homestead of power and politics. Power and politics is a marriage made in heaven which no human can tear apart. Power means the ability to do things. Politics means the ability to direct this activity of doing things, saying what things are to be done. Now, what's happening today, ladies and gentlemen, is the undoubted separation and prospect of divorce between power and politics. Power evaporating in cyberspace and manifesting itself in what I call Negative Globalization. Negative in the sense that it applies to all aspects of social life which have one thing in common, namely, the sapping, eroding, ignoring of local customs, local needs, the local represented will of the population, the rules of the game and so on. Such entities use, exploit, their exquisite mobility and by pressing a button on a keyboard are able to move to places which are more hospitable to their own interests. Negative Globalization embraces powers like finance, capital, trade, information, criminality, the arms trade, drug trafficking, terrorism and so on. It's not followed by Positive Globalization. At the global level, we don't have anything remotely resembling the effectiveness of the instrument of political control over power, of expression of popular will, representation, jurisdiction and things like that which were developed and still are frozen at the level of the nation state.

In the light of this discrepancy, whenever I hear the concept of "international community", I cry and laugh at the same time. There is no such thing. We haven't even started building it. Our problems really are global, but we have only the local means of dealing with

them; and they are blatantly inadequate for the task. Hence the question which I suggest will concern the lives of so many young people here in this room. Not mine fortunately, I am already over on the other side, but it will probably be the life and death question for the 21st century. Who is going to do it? That will be the question.

I don't have the answer to this question. I can only suggest some words of encouragement. You all know about Edward Lawrence and his tremendous discovery that even the smallest, tiniest, negligible events may, given time, given distance, develop into huge, shocking catastrophes. It was Edward Lawrence's discovery known in the allegory of a butterfly in Beijing flapping its wings and changing the itinerary of hurricanes in the Gulf of Mexico six months later. Now, this idea was received with horror because it went against the grain of our belief that we can have full knowledge of what will come later. It went against the theory of everything. That we can know, we can predict, we can make – if necessary with our technology – the world predictable. I suggest to you, ladies and gentlemen, that in this discovery of Edward Lawrence, there is a glimmer of hope as well, and it is tremendously important. Look at what one butterfly can do. A tremendous amount of things, you know. Don't neglect small moves, don't neglect minority, local, marginal developments. Talking of this, the taking of the Winter Palace was reported at the time by The Times on the 9th or 10th page of the issue as a minor event, not deserving of much attention. Our imagination goes far, far beyond our ability to do and spoil things. We have in our human history quite a few butterflies that have changed history. President Havel is one of them. Really. What he has done single-handedly is something which our entire crowd at forums can only dream of accomplishing. The only advice I can give you, ladies and gentlemen, is: look at the butterflies, they are many-colored, they are fortunately very numerous. Let's help them to flap their wings. Thank you.

Karel Kovanda: Professor Bauman, thank you very much for pointing out that we've got many urgent tasks ahead of us. You said that the 20th century asked the question: "what is to be done?" And the 21st century asks the question: "who will do it?" You elaborated on Negative Globalization, that is to say, all the negative aspects which, due to the forces of globalization, have spread from continent to continent. I was intrigued by your observation that you don't know whether to laugh or cry when you hear the term "international community", considering that while problems are global, solutions are

only local, and, in fact, there is no such thing as an international community. Now, President Havel has been called many things in his long career and in his long life. I would bet that this is the first time he was described as a butterfly. Of course, the point that Professor Bauman makes about the butterflies and the Butterfly Effect is that one should not underestimate the role and the impact of even small events, even small actors, and many of us will recall President Havel's article with two of his fellow dissident colleagues in the Herald Tribune about a month ago advocating that Liu Xiaobo should be nominated for the Nobel Prize, and look what happened.

The next panelist today is Minister Karel Schwarzenberg, currently the Foreign Minister of the Czech Republic, who has been associated with democracy in this country for many, many years. One of the first roles that he took up after the democratic revolution twenty years ago was to work as President Havel's right hand man in the Castle. Minister, take the floor, please.

Karel Schwarzenberg: Thank you. When I read the title "The World We Are Living In", I couldn't resist the idea of The World We Are Leaving. I have the distinct impression that whatever we in this room still consider as a world is disappearing, and it's disappearing much faster than we think.

I remember that sixty years ago when I lived in my parents' house on the corner of Voršilská and Národní, in a then huge, modern house, every day I would review the news of the day, which was always very interesting for a curious boy of nine or ten. I remember then the following events impressed me very much: the independence, decolonization of India – the end of the British Raj, the murder of Mahatma Gandhi and the awful Civil War in China in the fifties followed by the Cultural Revolution – one of the greatest human tragedies to ever happen. Now, we face these two powers, India and China, becoming the leading powers of our world. Something I remember as a colony, something torn apart by civil wars and revolutions which seemed totally senseless. Today, sixty-three years after decolonization, the epitome of British cars, the brands Land Rover and Jaguar, are owned by Indians, and even here, in our small country, the biggest steelworks belongs to an Indian concern. Wherever we go, we meet Chinese products, Chinese imports. It's the natural course of history, and I don't believe much in Samuel Huntington's theory about the clash of civilizations. Very seldom in history have we seen the total destruction of a civilization, as in Central and

Southern America when the conquistadores arrived. Of course, for the Aztec and Inca cultures, it was as if aliens from another planet were to land in Europe today.

As a rule, civilizations slowly rise and slowly disappear. Who – save for very few scholars of ancient history – could tell us the exact year when the famous Academy of Athens ceased to exist? Hardly anybody saw the significance of this, and then a strong emperor, Romulus Augustus, disappeared. European cultures are slowly receding into the dawns of history. What may be is not as important. This has often happened.

Roger Scruton earlier described very well the great values of this European culture. There was always a difference between the culture which developed on this small Asian peninsula of Europe, with its small rivers, many hills, many mountains, smaller valleys, and the big culture of the big streams, be it of Mesopotamia, be it of the Nile, of the Yangtse, Brahmaputra or Ganges. These big streams and other developments with great agricultural influence produced completely different cultures.

It's true that this tiny peninsula dominated the world from the end of the 15th century. That only came to an end with the First World War and with the political rise of America. European ideas dominated the world until our time – communism, which was invented in Germany, and then commanded a great part of the world. I'll never forget when I was at the gymnasium, Stalin ruled an empire which was the first to surpass the Empire of Kublai Khan, which until then was the biggest empire in the world – an empire which ran from Erfurt, Cheb to Pyongyang. Even that has passed: Russia in its European part is reduced to its pre-Poltava days and Central Asia has developed as a totally independent world.

But another thing happened, which we should maybe realize. For many decades, we all thought that welfare, economic prosperity, the rise of industrial production, all these impressive things were irreversibly connected with democracy, with liberty, with the market economy. We found out that it isn't the case. There can be enormous progress, an enormous rise in gross national product, without any democracy, without even a proper market economy, which, of course, brings a big temptation to the world again. You don't need democracy, you don't need human rights, and you don't need these old-fashioned, problematic ideas. You can have a flourishing state, a flourishing economy while suppressing human rights, suppressing the rule of law and suppressing the mar-

ket economy, which is something which we've only learned in the last fifteen years.

Clearly, Europe produced some bad ideas such as communism or national socialism. People, as a rule, identify only with its most radical form which was in Germany under Hitler. But national socialism was actually as winning and successful an idea as communism, be it the idea of Peronism in South America, of Nasserism or the idea of the Ba'ath Party in Iraq, and Syria and the Arab world. Many aspects of Chinese communism are successful mutations of national socialism. It's a very tempting idea. It was so tempting because it combines things which are logically contradictory, that is the notion of nationalism and socialism. Contrary to nationalism, socialism is, by its own definition, an internationalist idea. The combination of it was the temptation of the 20th century and many, many regimes in the past, and even today have it as their leading idea. Let's be honest, this awful export was a European export. It was invented here.

Now, probably, with the disappearance of Europe, these ideas will disappear too, and I ask myself: which ideas will command the world of my children and my grandchildren? The European ideas are exhausted. We haven't brought anything relevant into the world in the last decades. The big ideas of today will come from another world, from another society, and of course, they will grow on quite another soil than the ideas which were bred in Europe, be they good or bad. European ideas are built on Sinai, on Zion, on the Acropolis and the Capitol; all that is now slowly receding. The cultures which developed along the great streams are rising again after receding for the last five or six hundred years. I wonder what will be the great ideas, what will be the great temptations, which ideas of the future will lead to similar cruel deeds, to mass murder, to civil war, as the ideas which Europe brought into the 20th century all around the world and which destroyed Europe. Thank you very much.

Karel Kovanda: Thank you very much, Minister. If I were to paraphrase the way I understand it: we are based on the Greek cities, on Roman law, on Judeo-Christian heritage – Roger Scruton mentioned some of these things – and what you are pointing out, Minister, is that these are bases for the world which today is disappearing in the wake of the rise of powers which you recalled from your youth

as being marked by the murder of Mahatma Gandhi, by the Civil War in China, by the Cultural Revolution in China.

You reflect on the Academy of Athens having passed away, Romulus Augustus having passed away, and we, too, are slowly receding. The fascinating aspect of your remarks, I thought, was your reflection on the developments of the past fifteen years, which prove that economic progress is possible even without democracy, even without respect for human rights, even without a market economy. Then, you made this extraordinary comment concerning national socialism which, when we say Nazism, we sometimes forget what the origin of that term is. You pointed out that in its less extreme mutations it was a successful ideology in other parts of the world such as South America and the Middle East. And you reflect that, conceivably, the Chinese system is another mutation of it. You concluded by reflecting on what the big ideas of the world are going to be now and where they will come from. You believe that they will not come from this part of the world. Thank you for those very provocative remarks, some of which one would not necessarily associate with the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Let me now invite Richard Sennett who is so British and so American that he's actually a mid-Atlantic scholar. When I was in graduate school, his *Hidden Injuries of Class* was one of the books that I read.

Richard Sennett: Thank you very much. Since President Havel has invited us to think about the city, I thought I might say something about cities outside of Europe which are undergoing an extraordinary revolution today; a revolution which is simply, as a matter of size, very difficult for us to understand. When you hear that twenty-five million people live in Mexico City, perhaps the same number in Mumbai, it's hard to imagine what that means. It means getting our minds around the idea that Prague, for instance, all of Prague, could be considered a small neighborhood in Mumbai. This extraordinary change in the scale of cities and the problems that they face outside of Europe now is a great challenge for urbanists. We are trying to think about what we can do and how people should live in places for which our own experience as Europeans has almost no reference.

I wanted to make a few remarks about a problem which bedevils people who work in cities outside this old European context. And that's the problem of the edge, of the join between these enormous spaces filled, packed with human beings, who are very differ-

ent from one another. A city like São Paulo, for instance, is a city that is rigidly segregated by class certainly, by where people have come from in Brazil, by their fortunes in the city. It's an enormous place of many parts; and those parts don't seem to connect. There is no such thing as a center to São Paulo uniting all the people in it. São Paulo is too big and too differentiated to have a center. The question for us as urban designers, as architects, as planners, is how do we get these parts to interact? There are two ways to think about an edge in a city. It can be either, as we put it in English, a border or a boundary. A boundary is where something stops – the natural world boundaries are places where there is very little biological interaction between different groups that meet up at this edge. A border is a place where differences meet and there's lots of activity. The two are very different concepts. The problem for us, in the 20th century, was that urbanists knew how to build boundaries but they didn't really know how to build these live edges, these interactive borders. We knew, for instance, how to use traffic – eight, ten, twelve lanes of traffic – to rigidly separate people in the city; that's the story of Sao Paolo or the story of Mumbai. Most of our knowledge was about how to define, make precise, keep people apart. Whereas the notion of how, for instance, to use the advent of a new highway to create new interactions between people who live beside it is something we don't know how to do. My wife and I were recently in Istanbul. They have an enormous influx of migrants due to the wars in the Middle East and in Central Asia and planners there are trying to puzzle out how they can create services that bind together these neighborhoods on the edge of roads.

How to make differences interact in these cities? We simply don't know how to do this. This is an enormous challenge for us. One way to think about this is to think about the city in relation to an ideal that we have about the nation or, indeed, about human rights. In Europe, we think about getting rid of national borders. We might imagine in cities the way to have these active edges is simply to erase any resistance between various groups. As a practical matter, it's very dangerous. When you take away, in the reality of a modern city, any power of the community to resist the outside world, you invite invasion. You invite, in particular, gentrification. In Mumbai, for instance, nearly two million people are, in the name of integrating the city, being forced with eviction from it as the city develops economically.

In thinking about a live edge, about how to knit the city together, I think we would do better to think more about the distinction that biologists make between cell walls and cell membranes. A cell wall holds everything in as much as possible, it gives away as little as possible; a cell membrane is another kind of edge – it's both porous and resistant, things flow in, flow out, and yet the cell retains its structure. In a certain way we need to discover that principle of cell membranes to create the structure of a city: how can poor neighborhoods be connected to richer neighborhoods, or Islamic neighborhoods in a city like Brussels or New York to a Christian neighborhood?

In thinking about the structure of making cities now – particularly outside of Europe where differences are so big in size and so concentrated – we need to find a way which is not a world without borders. Instead it is something which resembles more the cell membranes all of us contain within us, which are porous and yet resistant. Like Zygmunt, I don't know how this will work out. I'm glad that I'm just about to retire from the world of designing cities and I leave this problem to others. But I think it's a problem that will resonate throughout the 21st century. Cities will become more complex and this complexity becomes more and more of an urgent problem. The knowledge that we have at the present is not really a knowledge that serves us in rising to that challenge. Thank you very much.

Karel Kovanda: Richard, what you brought out is a focus on urbanism, on the city, something which President Havel focused on quite a bit yesterday in his remarks, and I was very intrigued by the distinction you made between boundaries on the one hand, which are pretty rigid and stop things, stop developments and don't allow them to cross and borders on the other hand. Of course, for us, in this country, the first thing that comes to mind is the boundary, the frontier that we faced under communism when we wanted to visit Western Europe. You were distinguishing between a boundary and a border as a limit where differences meet and where there is a lot of activity, but which is permeable, which is life-giving, so to speak. In Prague we know how a city can be slashed in half by a motorway. It didn't actually serve to separate two communities; it just crippled the city.

You were focusing on cities which are of a different scale – megalopolises, so to speak, like Sao Paolo and Mumbai. In places like that, individual neighborhoods are segregated by class, by income, by the provenance of the people. You were wondering how in

these kinds of cities, different to anything that Europe knows, borders could be created which are porous like cell membranes, rather than rigid, like cell walls. I was intrigued by the fact that you echoed some of the remarks which President Havel made yesterday.

Now, I would ask if anyone on the panel would like to take the floor and pitch in with additional comments that may have been provoked by the other speakers.

Karel Schwarzenberg: I do think that what we have to realize is that the basic character of our towns and cities has ceased to be, to a large degree, what it used to be. In the United States over the past decades, the city centers emptied, and the citizens moved to the outskirts. City centers turned into slums. Maybe that will happen to us too. Then, of course, we have cities which are not comparable to anything we understood as a city, as a town, because we have many cities in the world today which have larger populations than many states. If you have cities with ten, fourteen million inhabitants, then the very character of the city changes. If a city exceeds a certain size, it changes its basic character. In ours or the next generation, I think the city as described by Roger Scruton will probably end up as something where there's no beginning and no end, no difference between town and countryside. The countryside becomes more and more "townside". It loses its old character, at least to people who live outside – they become proletarians of the city society. We see it very much in China, of course, and in other places in the Third World.

I do think we have to realize that we are entering a totally different society than the one that developed in Europe and, to a certain degree, in the United States in the last century. I don't know if I'm really eager to see this world of the next century, as I've seen some tendencies which Václav Havel described yesterday. I do think that the basic character of the European city civilization, the great differentiation, will disappear. I am afraid we are losing those great differences between town and village, between different classes, between different nations. In this world, we all become equal. It will be a bit more boring than we knew it.

Richard Sennett: Short comments. I think that it would be sad for us to be in a way sad. I mean the civilization we've made is what it's been, and something else – as you quite rightly say – is going to take its place. I certainly don't think – and it's something that saddened me in China – that copying the way that European cities look is right

for them. I would also say that no matter where it is, an urban milieu, a place which brings different people together and gives them a chance to interact locally on the ground breeds something like democracy. I am very biased about this. I don't think national law is what breeds democracy. I think it is the experience of having to deal with people who are different to you. China will develop. If its cities become more interactive, it will become a more democratic society. Maybe not in our lifetimes, but some time. Interaction of difference tends to have a democratic effect. I think the notion of the search that we're practically engaged in, which is how to get these different economic, ethnic and religious groups to interact, will eventually have a good political consequence. Perhaps another way to say this is that the possibilities for democracy in a city don't just belong to cities which are Western. There's something in the basic way in which cities work, which has the potential to release a kind of democratic power. I wouldn't be quite so saddened by the passing of the way of life we know. Another way of life may produce something that has some of the virtues that we see in our own condition.

Karel Kovanda: Thank you, Richard Sennett, the optimist, Minister Schwarzenberg, the pessimist. Where does Roger Scruton fit?

Roger Scruton: I think I'm not entirely pessimistic. I agree with something that Richard has said, that these developments that we've been seeing everywhere – the expansion of cities and the flight of people from the countryside to the cities – do create conditions in which people have to get on with each other and cannot any more regard each other as strange. When the Christian sees his Muslim neighbor's washing hanging on the line and recognizes therein the identity of the basic needs of the human being, then, of course, that has a softening effect on the conflict between them. Cities do have this effect. Whether that will lead to democracy is another matter, but I think that is an important observation.

What we've been talking about, all of us, is the sense of place. The question is not how do we live but where do we live. Zygmunt Bauman interestingly mentioned the place where power is, which is increasingly cyberspace, an imaginary space which we can occupy with our influence. He contrasted that with the place where politics is, which is on the ground, so to speak, among people. He gave us a little bit of hope that we're not going to be entirely absorbed into

cyberspace by saying that even our little talk with each other can have a huge effect in the long run.

We've witnessed here in Prague exactly what that means: those little underground seminars of Jan Patočka's to which I referred, which President Havel also attended, were places where people spoke very, very quietly. So quietly that they couldn't be heard outside the room, and it led to the destruction of the communist system and the more or less successful attempt of this country to become once again an icon for Europe. There is an example of the Butterfly Effect that we all know.

I agree though with Karel Schwarzenberg that our European culture is and has been only one among many, and it's based on ways of understanding the world and the place where we are which don't necessarily have their parallel everywhere else. There are other places beginning to show their influence. They grow economically even though they are not growing politically. Like China. It is very difficult to understand what the future will be like.

Although I think Richard Sennett is absolutely right about the two concepts of edge – the boundary and the border. I also think that the city should be designed with a boundary. In Britain, since 1946, we have a piece of legislation which tells us that every city has to have a boundary beyond which there is a green belt: all development must become centripetal, finding its place in the center, so that the life of the city does not evaporate into the suburbs, and it's been the most successful piece of environmental legislation ever invented, and I wish it existed here. Thank you.

Karel Kovanda, Zygmunt Bauman

The Future of Freedom and Democracy

11th October 2010, Žofín Palace, Forum Hall

Keynote Speech:
Fareed Zakaria, Editor-at-Large, Time Magazine, USA

Moderator:
Jacques Rupnik, Political Scientist, France

Participants:
Shirin Ebadi, Lawyer, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, Iran
Saskia Sassen, Sociologist, London School of Economics, Columbia University, United Kingdom/USA
Colin Crouch, Professor of Governance, University of Warwick Business School, United Kingdom
Grigory Yavlinsky, Economist and Politician, Russia
Alison Smale, Executive Editor, International Herald Tribune, France/USA

Jacques Rupnik: Twenty years ago, as democracy was being reinvented here in the heart of Europe, the age of democracy seemed to coincide with that of globalization. The progress of democracy was celebrated by politicians, studied by academics, and monitored by NGOs. Twenty years on, the post-democratic triumphalism seems to have ended. Everybody pays lip service to democracy, but the context has changed. First, we see the rise of authoritarian capitalism in China, Russia, and elsewhere. Secondly, we've also seen that the idea of democracy promotion – the assumption that the West can foster democratic change in the Middle East as it did in middle Europe – has learned its limitations the hard way. And thirdly, the established democracies in the West suffer from what some authors call the disenchantment with democracy. Yes, we have free elections and parliaments, but the gulf between political society and the citizens has grown. In exploring the reasons for this crisis, we have rediscovered two themes – very familiar not just to our panelists, but to most of you in this room. One is that elections are a necessary, but not sufficient condition for a liberal democracy. This is particularly what the new democracies have discovered. We in the old democracies have also discovered the classic distinction between the enjoyment of freedom and democracy as civic participation. Benjamin Constant, in a famous essay in the 19th century, had already made that distinction. Isaiah Berlin in a different context in the 20th century distinguished between negative freedom, the freedom from the state, and positive freedom, the freedom to influence the quest for public good.

This dilemma leads us straight to the topic of our panel today and to our keynote speaker, who has brilliantly addressed the issue in his book *"The Future of Freedom."* His notion of illiberal democracy had a major impact, particularly in this part of the world, where after a decade of post-communist change people were becoming aware that elections didn't necessarily mean democracy and that the new freedoms acquired were only as good as the constitutional order and the rule of law that sustained them. I remember the initial essay that Fareed Zakaria wrote in Foreign Affairs, and I still see students discussing it passionately.

Fareed Zakaria was born in India in 1964. He studied at Yale and got his Ph.D. from Harvard. He's known to most of you as the host of the CNN foreign affairs news program Fareed Zakaria GPS and as the editor-at-large of Time Magazine. His columns in the Washington Post are the model of lucid, rational analysis of international affairs in a time when the media often prefers emotional

and knee-jerk responses. His most recent book, *"The Post-American World"*, is a powerful guide to understanding the recent changes in the international system. Fareed Zakaria writes eloquently and profoundly on the present democratic predicament. He will introduce our panel about the future of democracy and freedom.

Fareed Zakaria: Thank you so much, Jacques. It is a great pleasure to be here. I have wanted to come here for many years and I'm delighted to finally have been able to do so. I'm particularly delighted because the topic of the conference is a broad and important one, "The World We Want to Live In". I'm going to try to inject, at least at the very start, a dose of optimism into what I think has been a gloomy set of discussions. I am going to suggest that the world we want to live in looks remarkably like the one we live in. Let me tell you why. We are living through an extraordinary moment in history, an extraordinary period in history, marked by four rather distinct and unique phenomena which have been rare in history. It is especially unique that they have all come together at one time.

The first is great power peace. If you ask yourself, are the seven or eight richest countries of the world in significant geopolitical or geo-military competition with one another? The answer is no. You can find a few shenanigans here and there that the Russians are doing and a little bit of arm wrestling between the Chinese and the Japanese. But compared with any other historical period, what is striking is the absence of geopolitical competition among the great powers – in other words, great power peace. When was the last time we had an extended period such as that? Perhaps for a few decades in the early 19th century, but realistically you would have to go back to the late Roman Empire. This is an extraordinarily unusual phenomenon. We are living through it, and it is the foundation for all the blessings that we enjoy. Peace among the great powers and political stability is like oxygen. When you have it, you don't notice it. When you don't have it, it's all you think about. Trust me, if this room had no oxygen, we would all notice.

The second phenomenon, which builds on the first, is the creation of a global market economy which has allowed for the rise of the living standards of average people over the last three or four decades. If you think about it, we have created in the Western world, and increasingly are creating in the rest of the world, a mass middle class. This is a historically unprecedented phenomenon. The idea that there could be significant wealth among middle class people

is simply without precedent in human history before the end of the Second World War. The first broadening of that area of middle class wealth was of course in the United States. After the Second World War it broadened towards Western Europe, after 1989 it broadened to Eastern Europe, and over that same period you begin to see the rise of Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and now of course China and India. To give you just one sense of what this world looks like, between China and India, 450 million people have been raised out of poverty in the last 25 years. That is more than had been raised out of poverty in the preceding 150 years. We are living through something quite extraordinary in economic terms.

There is a related phenomenon which I would point to, not because of its purely economic dimension, but because of its social dimension. We are living in an era of extraordinarily low inflation. Why is that important? If you go back to the 1970s, the world I grew up in was beset everywhere by inflation; hyperinflation of some kind was the norm in almost every country. Hyperinflation is in many ways more socially destabilizing than a recession. A recession means that you lose your job, so you lose the prospect of future wages. Hyperinflation destroys not what you might have had – had that job been available, had those raises and bonuses been available – but what you already have. It destroys the present, not the future. It destroys your assets and thus it destroys the middle class. The consequence of destroying the middle class is extraordinary social instability. If you look at the world in the 1970s, what you will see is a series of highly disruptive social movements, and the background condition to all of those was high inflation. I grew up in India. India has had an extremely successful democratic reign for the last 60 years. It was interrupted only by two years: 1975–1977, when martial law was declared in India. The background condition for that was the highest inflation that India had ever had. The Shah of Iran's regime fell in the late 1970s; the background condition to that was high inflation. You can trace every coup and countercoup in Latin America to the background condition of high inflation. I don't need to remind us that even in much smaller ways, the British "Winter of Discontent" and America's period of malaise all coincided with extraordinarily high inflation rates. We live in a period in which inflation has almost vanished, and thus you have price stability and low interest rates. That means that people can plan for the future, build for the future, work for the future. It adds to the social stability I was talking about.

We have also lived through a period of extraordinary technological revolutions that have empowered ordinary people. One can exaggerate the importance of this phenomenon, but it is in fact true that the rise of the information revolution has had the effect of turning information, which was essentially a one-to-many medium – such as is going on right now, me speaking to lots of people – into a many-to-many medium. Everyone is connected, but no one is in control. It has its problems, but it has had the effect of breaking the monopoly over the power of information and the power of technology. It has also had the effect of further connecting and consolidating the global economy.

Finally, we have been living through a period which I would call a kind of Anglo-American consensus. Ideas about the way in which you should organize your politics, the way in which you should organize your economics, and the way in which you should organize your society have verged toward Anglo-American ideas that exalt freedom, individualism, and liberty. Whether you look at the role of women or at the role of individuals versus their families, you have seen a kind of template for the world that was set by Anglo-Americans. It also involves broader conceptions about politics and economics. Now, I realize that we are living through a period of enormous and tectonic shifts in the world system – that was what my last book was about. There is no question that these are very profound. I would describe the world we are living in as one that is going through a power shift on the scale of the one experienced in the 16th century with the rise of Europe and on the scale of the one we experienced in the late 19th century with the rise of the United States. We are experiencing a phenomenon that I describe as "the rise of the rest", because it is not just happening in Asia, though it is primarily in Asia. You see this extraordinary rise of countries around the world, finally being able to participate effectively in the global system.

Does this extraordinarily important phenomenon have the effect of threatening all the conditions I described? Are we at a point where we will look back nostalgically at a world of great power peace, of a broad middle-class, of low inflation and thus social stability, and of technology that seemed to have the effect of empowering human beings rather than regimes?

I don't think there is an easy answer to the question, but let me suggest again why I think there is some room for optimism. The great problem with the spread of democracy has not been the rise of countries like China – modernizing societies that are modernizing their economy. The problem I have is with countries like Nigeria, which

have adopted the trappings of democracy with none of the inner stuffing that goes with it – none of the constitutional order. If you are skeptical about this, then I ask you a very simple question. Where would you rather live: Singapore, or Lagos, the capital of Nigeria? The more you learn about Lagos, I think the question will answer itself.

I know that there are many fears and concerns about places like China. The fact is, as countries modernize their economies on market principles, you see an almost ineluctable widening of the sphere of personal freedom. With market development, you do see the rise of liberty. There is a very simple piece of data on this – a mass correlation of all the countries that have ever gone democratic and sustained that democracy. Seymour Martin Lipset, the great American political scientist, pointed this out in the 1960s, and it has been confirmed in every empirical study done since. The correlation is that as your per capita GDP rises, there appears to be a point beyond which it is both extremely rare to have a non-democracy, and it has hitherto never happened that there has been a democratic reversal. At about $ 6,500 of per capita GDP, you find that almost every country that has earned income above that level (by earned income I do not mean oil economies, but actual developed economies) is democratic with one exception, and that is Singapore. It is a small city-state which I think is in some ways sui generis. Furthermore, at around that point, no consolidated democracy has ever had a regression. The Argentinean coup is the high point on that scale, which is why the point is even as high as $ 6,500. Otherwise it would be around $ 5,000. My point is, when you look at China, keep in mind two things. First, that China today is a much freer country than it was 30 years ago. Freedom is not simply the ballot box; it is the freedom to move, to work, to own property, to live where you like, and increasingly in China to worship where you like, if you do it very quietly. These are all freedoms that John Locke would have recognized. These are all freedoms that Thomas Jefferson would have recognized. They are the constitutive elements of Western liberal democracy, though they of course apply more to the liberal part of that phrase than to the democratic part.

Should you worry about the Chinese regime and its authoritarian capitalism, I ask you to consider what Franz Joseph was like on the eve of the First World War. Franz Joseph was a monarch who believed that he was divinely sanctioned by God to rule, that absolute power lay in the monarchy and its family, and that any kind of political opposition to him should be met with execution or severe imprisonment. This was a man who we now regard as part of the great

Western tradition that has brought us liberty, humanity and democracy – and correctly, I think, because there were processes going on in Austria–Hungary that fed this tradition.

All of which is to say that I worry less about the modernizing countries of the world because I believe you will see over time that they will expand the sphere of personal liberty. Eventually, China will become more pluralistic than it is now. What I worry about more – and I will close with this set of remarks: (a friend of mine, who is a preacher and thus very skilled at speaking, said to me, "In the middle of your presentation, always say in a very loud and clear voice "in conclusion." It wakes up the audience."), what I worry about is actually not the fate of liberal democracy in the periphery, but rather the fate of liberal democracy at the core. Western liberal democracy is becoming something like a supernova – dazzling and something to be admired at the outer reaches of the universe, but becoming increasingly hollower here at home. I worry about it on a number of dimensions that relate to the ones I was describing. The worst is what somebody once called "demo-sclerosis" – the inability of our democratic system to really do anything. It is simply failing to solve the problems of the country, plan for the future, or build for the future. We face a demographic reality in almost every Western society that we have taken on extraordinary burdens for the state that are no longer going to be affordable over the next 20, 30, or 40 years. And yet it is impossible in any Western society to do anything about this because our democratic system has created a grip where the special interests of the present exercise total control. There are no special interests for the future – no special interests that worry about our children, our grand-children, the industries of the future, or the planet of the future. Instead we have very powerful special interests that are able to block, veto, and demand ever more from the state. It is the tyranny of the present over the future and it is very much a constitutive feature of modern Western democracy.

I'll give you one example on this front. It is trivial, but it occurs to me since there was so much discussion about China in the last panel. Norman Foster, who built the Beijing Airport, told me once that between the time it took for Heathrow Airport to go through the environmental review process for Terminal 5, he had built the entire Beijing airport from start to finish, which is larger than terminals 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 put together and doubled. What's striking about this is that everybody knew that Terminal 5 had to be built. This was not actual democracy. This was a sham process of environmental review

to pay homage to special interests that have to be accommodated in the process of building and doing things. My point is that this has now become a circus democracy, where we are not even engaging in something that is real. Everybody knew that London could not survive as a city without an expansion of Heathrow. But yet, we delayed it by several years as the price of paying off various interest groups, either ideologically, politically or economically.

My final point is the disturbing rise of illiberalism in the West itself. You can see this in different ways and from different directions. You can see it in the rise of nationalist parties in Europe, you can see it in the rising intolerance towards immigrants and Roma, and you can see it in the United States, where you had this extraordinary debate about whether or not an Islamic center can be built two blocks from Ground Zero. That debate to me encapsulates what I worry is happening in the Western world. When I expressed my support for the ability to build, on private property, an Islamic center that would have a prayer room in it (along with a Christian prayer room and a Jewish prayer room), people said to me, "You have to consider the views of the majority: 75% of Americans are opposed to the building of this mosque." Of course, 75% of Americans also believe in alien abductions. In writing the Bill of Rights – the first ten amendments to the American constitution – the Founding Fathers had in mind the creation of an anti-democratic document. The Bill of Rights is by definition anti-democratic, because it says that no matter what the majority thinks, these rights cannot be abrogated. First among them was freedom of religion. If you say that you believe we should take into account the wishes of the majority, what you're saying in the context of the United States is that the will of majority should override the constitution of the United States. What you are saying, in a sense, is that democracy should override individual liberty. That we have come to this point in the oldest constitutional democracy in the world, one which is often regarded as the leading exponent of freedom in the world, makes me very worried.

I conclude by saying again that I worry less about the fate of democracy in far-off places like China and I worry a great deal more about what is happening in the United States and in Europe. Ultimately, these are connected, because what has to happen is a revival of faith in the Western system, faith in the Western constitutional order, belief that this applies to all human beings, and a sense of optimism and generosity. What we appear to have now is a narrowing of the Western mind – a fear of Mexicans, of Muslims, of Roma, of immi-

grants. As a result of that, what will happen more than anything else is that the power of the West, which ultimately was always the power of an idea, will be lost. You will not be able to distinguish narrow parochial French nationalism from narrow parochial Chinese nationalism or narrow parochial Japanese nationalism. The West was distinctive because of this dedication to universal values, despite the fact that there would often be mob rule or majorities opposed to them. If we lose that, we are losing the distinctive element of the West which has been, in my opinion, a great gift to the world. Thank you.

Jacques Rupnik: Thank you very much, Fareed, for that great opening speech. I'm sure it will provoke many reactions – particularly your contrast between the closing of the Western mind and the optimistic view of developments in the rest of the world, or your very opening sentence – that the world we want to live in is the world we do live in. That reminds me a bit of Hegel – what is rational is real, what is real is rational. Your optimistic thesis that though we now have authoritarian capitalism, the new bourgeoisie will in due course push us towards democratic transformations recalls Barrington Moore's famous book *"Social Origins of Democracy and Dictatorship"* – no bourgeoisie, no democracy. If we're building the bourgeoisie, perhaps we're building the social conditions for democracy. That is your optimistic view, and I don't know whether it will be shared by all the panelists – that is why we have panels and conferences like Forum 2000. We will now hear from someone who can discuss freedom from having experienced "unfreedom". That is the position of Shirin Ebadi, an Iranian lawyer, human rights activist, founder of the Children Rights Support Association, and winner of the 2003 Nobel Peace Prize. It is a great, great pleasure to welcome her here. Miracles sometimes do happen, and the Nobel Peace Prize is sometimes a way to make change happen. We thought that when it was won by Walesa or Sakharov, we think that now about the new Chinese laureate, and we certainly thought and still think that about your Nobel Peace Prize. It is a great pleasure to give you the floor today.

Shirin Ebadi: Ladies and gentlemen, we are talking about democracy and the developments that democracy has gone through. At the beginning of the 20th century, the perception was that free elections are a sign of democracy. In other words democracy is a majority coming to power as a result of winning an election. But let us not forget that many dictators in the world came to power because of democ-

racy. Therefore, having elections does not mean having a democracy. A majority that comes to power in free elections must respect the framework of democracy. That is human rights, norms and regulations. And this majority must rule within that framework. Governments do not get their legitimacy merely from their ballot boxes. They gain legitimacy from ballot boxes as well as by respecting human rights. Using that definition of democracy, we will see that some ruling powers have come to rule thanks to elections, but are not democratic governments. An example of such a government is the Iranian government. In 1979, the regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran came to power with a majority of over 90% of the vote. The question is, should we call the Islamic Republic a democracy because it came into being with such a high percentage of votes? No, in my view it is not a democratic system because the government has consistently violated human rights. Despite the fact that the Iranian government has been a signatory to international conventions, such as the Civil Political Convention, as well as economic and social conventions, it has violated them consistently. I'm going to highlight a few examples of breaches of human rights in Iran.

Despite the fact that one of the most fundamental human rights is the lack of discrimination, there has been gender discrimination in Iran since the 1979 Islamic Revolution. I'm going to give you a few examples. The value of a woman's life is considered to be half that of a man. For instance, if a man and a woman are involved in an accident, the compensation awarded by the court to the man is twice as high as that awarded to the woman. The testimony of two women is tantamount to the testimony of one man in the court of law. A man has the right to have four wives. All these laws were enforced after the 1979 revolution. We also have religious discrimination. I'm just going to highlight one instance of this. If somebody kills a member of a Muslim family and cannot persuade the family to forgive him, he will be executed, whereas if a Muslim kills a non-Muslim and does not manage to gain the forgiveness of the family of the non-Muslim, at most he will be imprisoned for 10 years. I don't mean to say that I'm in favor of executions, but that the value of the life of a Muslim and a non-Muslim in the Islamic Republic of Iran are not the same. The most important people in the eyes of the Islamic Republic are those who are men, Muslims and Shiites. The reason that I'm mentioning the Shiites is because there is also discrimination between the Shiite and Sunni peoples in Iran. For example, in Teheran, which has a population of 12 million, the Sunnis have thus far not been allowed to

have a mosque of their own. Freedom of expression is very limited, especially in the wake of the June 2009 elections. According to a report by the Reporters Without Borders, Iran has the highest number of journalists imprisoned. A number of very bad laws entered our legal system after the 1979 Islamic Revolution. We have punishments such as stoning to death, amputation of limbs, flogging, and even crucifixion. Worst of all, children under the age of 18 can be punished with the death penalty. In fact, in 2009 Iran had the highest number of juvenile executions in the world and after China, Iran has the highest number of adult executions in the world.

Furthermore, elections in Iran are not free. People are not free to vote for anyone they choose because candidates must first be endorsed by a supervisory council called the Guardian Council. The Guardian Council is appointed, not elected by the people. Any candidate who criticizes the government's policies in any way is deemed disqualified by the Council. For instance, in the June 2009 elections there were 300 candidates, but the Guardian Council only endorsed the qualifications of four of them. One of them was the incumbent president and the other three were prominent figures from within his regime. The rest were disqualified and the Guardian Council did not even clarify why they were deemed not to meet the qualifications. The elections took place, but the outcome of the elections was announced before the vote was counted. Millions of people took to the streets to protest against the election result. The government responded by firing bullets and imprisoning them. I am sure you have seen all these events through YouTube and in the news. Thank you.

Jacques Rupnik: Thank you very much, Shirin Ebadi, for showing us not only how an authoritarian regime can seek legitimacy in elections, but also that elections may be an opportunity to challenge that regime. There is perhaps no better opportunity for such a challenge than an imperfect electoral process. Our next speaker is Saskia Sassen, sociologist from the London School of Economics and Columbia University.

Saskia Sassen: I want to pick up on Fareed Zakaria's comment that we should worry much more about liberal democracy in the core countries than in China. The vortex of energy, of claim-making that I see in the cities of China tells me that they are making democracy there – their version of it, but they are making it. Workers' struggles in the workplace are far more successful right now in China than they are in the United States. I do think that is an emerging reality

of our future. The key proposition I want to develop – and I will do so very, very briefly – is the notion that democracy has to be made. Democracy is a very old practice. It was not necessarily invented in Athens. It was in tribal societies and many other places – same thing with citizenship. It is extraordinary how these categories have existed for so long. One of the reasons for this is that they are incomplete. I think of citizenship as an incomplete agreement between the state and people, in that incompleteness lies the possibility of making, of transforming; hence, a long life for these kinds of aspirations that we capture with those words. I think in our rich countries, especially in the United States – the country I live in, the country I love, but a country I'm also a critic of – too many people consume their democracy and consume their rights. It is then interesting to ask the question – as part of our future, as part of the world we're moving to – where can we make democracy? What are the places where democracy is actually made? I think that Shirin just gave us an extraordinary account of her struggle to bring in democratic concepts.

Now, I have one starting point: the new constitutions in the 1980s – the ones that emerged in your countries in Central and Eastern Europe after 1989, after apartheid in South Africa, after the military dictatorships in Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay. This is a very interesting period. All those constitutions contain a very important clause that has gone completely under the radar, but that I bet will come to life and be invoked. It is a clause that comes out of the claims by very powerless people – by people who have nothing. That clause matters because it represents a foundational break with the template of our modern constitutions (and I'm giving it to you in my language – a very synthetic version of a clause that in some of these constitutions is enormously long, as in the Brazilian) and is as follows. The accomplishment of the French and American Revolutions was to say, "Sovereign, you are not divine; I am you and you are me." In its time, this was a major accomplishment. Right now it doesn't feel quite as real as it did then. This clause in the new constitutions qualifies that. It says that the sovereign (which is the government, not necessarily a monarch), even if legitimately elected, cannot presume to be the exclusive representative of its people in international fora. This breaks with the American and French template and all modern constitutions because in our system the state is the representative of its people in international fora. We have emergent global laws, most notably the International Criminal Court, which began to unsettle that idea. But it is embedded in these constitutions. The origin of this change is in the active work, struggle and claim-making by indigenous peoples in Brazil, Canada, and a whole range of countries (and of course in South Africa in a different sort of way), who say "You know, Sovereign, you don't always represent us." In the United States, when the bombing of Iraq began, we invoked the old phrase "not in our name," but it is not written into our constitution. I was very intrigued by the distinction that Fareed made between the question of the Bill of Rights and the question of the liberal democratic model.

Now, a second quick half on the making of democracy. I want to look at cities, especially since Václav Havel talked about them. I think that is not his usual speech, so I found that very, very interesting. Cities, as was already mentioned on the first panel, force people to recognize that they can coexist with diversities and differences. One contrast that we can use is that it is in the DNA of cities to try to avoid militarizing conflict. It is in the DNA of cities to triage conflict via the civic and via commerce. It is in the DNA of the modern state to easily militarize conflict. What we have is asymmetric war, which means a conventional army versus an irregular combatant. I totally agree that it's not that the United States and France are going to war. When a conventional army goes to war today, its enemy is going to be an irregular combatant, a subject that takes on many different names – terrorist, insurgent, freedom-fighter, etc. Now, under those conditions the pursuit of national security by the state, which is part of its obligation, actively produces urban insecurity. This insecurity is not only in the theatre of war, but way beyond it – the bombings in London, the bombings in Casablanca, the bombings in Bali, the bombings in Lahore, etc.

My question then, is: what hints are there today that cities which are under threat are still a place where we can actually make rights and make democracy? You can try and imagine an answer to that question, and I am going to jump ahead due to the shortage of time and end with another question. Coming back to the question of asymmetric war; when 52 people die in the subways and in a bus in London, when 173 die in a luxury hotel in Mumbai, when 191 die in Madrid, etc., there is a kind of ontological fear that rushes throughout the world. 100,000 die all the time of malaria. Millions die of curable diseases, but we don't have the same reaction. Another image that I would like to invoke is that of the Buddhas being destroyed in Afghanistan, where every hacking produced ontological *"Angst"* (fear). What is it? I think that it is in our DNA that death is part of us. We are not ontologically threatened by death. We couldn't be, otherwise we couldn't live. But could it be that

the city (and I love saying this in a city like Prague, as it's a lot more difficult to say it in, say, Los Angeles) is our collective production? Hence, violent death and armed conflict-related death in the city produces horror. Deaths caused by malaria or by conventional armies fighting in big open fields are an entirely different matter. Is there something about the city and violence in the city – and violence can also move into extreme exclusions due to economic inequality – that actually causes this kind of ontological horror? It is our inheritance, it is our future. Cities have survived national states, sovereign states and big firms. They keep on going, while all the others eventually seem to go down. So that's my question. Could it be that the city is a kind of weak regime against conflict and a site for making democracy?

Jacques Rupnik: Thank you very much. The German language has a perfect connection between the words *Burg* (castle, city), *Burger* (citizen), and *Burgergesellschaft* (civic society). There you have the connection – the city, the citizen and the civil society. I think perhaps we will return to this topic – or perhaps not, since we don't have much time. And I apologize for being the enlightened despot, or perhaps not so enlightened, but I am trying to keep to the schedule. Our next speaker is Professor Colin Crouch from Warwick University Business School, and it's a pleasure to give him the floor.

Colin Crouch: Thank you. Mr. Zakaria invited us to see Anglo-American hegemony as one of the benign forces for which we should be grateful in our modern world. We have to remember that this hegemony as it has developed over the last 30 years has been based on a financial system that has been completely unsustainable and rotten. And yet, this financial system will be maintained because we don't know any different. After a little period of a bit of regulation, the governments of the West and the rest of the world will be desperate to get that model back again because it's the only way we know of sustaining prosperity. The banks have been deemed too big to fail and that means they are not actors governed by the market. They are actors that are not governed by the state, but govern alongside the state. In that sense, they've been the most extreme example of what is the elephant in the room so far here today – the political role of a large corporation. We see this role to some extent in the ability of global firms to pick and choose where they invest. This can be exaggerated; it's not really true that there's a race to the bottom, otherwise the Scandinavians and the Germans wouldn't be among the

most successful economies in the world. But it's there, especially for the poorer countries trying to develop their own policies and desperate to participate in the beauty contests for investing firms. It's there more generally in the dependence we all have on large corporations for our economy's future. We produce corporations that are so large that, as I said with respect to the banks, they can't be governed solely by the market. They are so large that they become political actors.

Differently, but with a similar outcome, is the way in which public services are delivered by subcontracting firms. Now, we know according to the theory of principal agent, that the principal – in this case the government – says, "This is what you will do" and the contractor says, "Yes, give me the money and I'll do it." We know from studies of complex commercial contracts that this isn't true. Principal and agent negotiate. This means that in the case of public policy delivery by private contractors, they actually get a share in public policy making.

The success of the large corporate model has meant that all organizations, whether they are charitable bodies, universities, orchestras, or churches, are all told, "You would be much more efficient if you were run like corporations." They can't do this, because one of the things that defines a corporation is the simplicity of its profit maximization motive, which none of these other bodies have. They are always inferior to corporations, so people from the corporate sector are invited in to govern them. They co-opt them onto their boards and governments appoint them as directors of public services. In this way, the corporate sector begins to play a role in the governance of the public sector. Furthermore, it's impossible to run major organs of public debate without newspaper or television companies either being owned by enormous corporations or being dependent on advertising from them. Most importantly, in some political systems, particularly in the USA, corporations can quite literally buy the votes of democratic representatives. Lobbying is seen as a way of persuading someone of your arguments, but a very persuasive argument can be, "If you vote against this health reform bill, here's 15 thousand dollars to your election campaign." This is only available to people with very large sums of wealth. It is something which has very recently been made much worse by a decision of the Supreme Court of the USA, stating that corporations, for the purposes of participating in political activity (apart from voting), are individuals. The corporation has as much right to fund campaigns as

do individuals. As a result, we are about to see an enormous increase in the role of corporate wealth in the US political system.

This has been the elephant in the room here – this actor which is seen as being governed by the market, but which is left out of the control of the market and can't actually be governed by it. It was mentioned to some extent by Roger Scruton. In his description of what had gone wrong with the European city, he argued that quite a large part of the environmental damage in cities and in the countryside was caused by large corporations. However, they didn't feature in his analytical scheme; he just saw the state as the enemy and civil society as a good thing. The large corporation was invisible, as if we were to describe the city of Prague and not mention that there is a river in it.

The problem of the corporation is that democratic politics can't actually do much about it, because the dependence on corporate wealth that we all have is quite real. No party that wants to be elected would dare confront it in any major way; funds would be withdrawn from it, funds would go to its opposition, and people wouldn't be willing to buy that country's bonds. In a way, democratic politics has to take for granted the preferences of the great corporations in much of their policy-making. We take it for granted so much that we don't even notice it's happening.

But there are challenges to this phenomenon. This is a fascinating development in the politics of the last 15 years – the rise of little civil society action groups, who are noticing and publicizing various malfeasances and evils perpetrated by certain corporations. 20 years ago, such campaigns would say "corporation X is doing something disastrous to the rainforest; therefore we must get the government to do something about it". Now, as well as saying that, the same groups say: "we will expose this corporation and we will get it to do something about this." Most of the great corporations have critical websites attached to them. There are various campaigning groups who have websites and blogs that tell you what corporations are up to around the world. This is a new kind of politics that has added a new richness to life in democracies. You can't do it outside democracies. It is to these campaigns that we have to look, because as the corporation becomes a political actor it becomes the object of political criticism. It's not a question of: "we must blame the government because corporations aren't doing right," but rather: "we blame the corporations too and so we expose them." There is a new politics centered around the corporation. Amnesty International, for instance, now lobbies corporations as well as governments.

Also, another thing about these groups is that they can be transnational. Our actual politics is still trapped largely at the nation state level. European political parties do not really exist at European level. However, some of these groups (such as Amnesty International) are able to transcend national boundaries and give us a politics that is transnational just as corporations are transnational. There are limitations on what we can achieve with these politics. I am talking about little groups who pit themselves against giants. Little groups of campaigners can be corrupted and bought just as politicians can, and some of them are. But there are always new ones springing up to take their place. In a way, their actions can only achieve so much with the corporations themselves.

There's only one book I know of which has really looked at these phenomena in great detail. It is a book by a young Italian sociologist named Deborah Spini, *"La Società Civile Postnazionale"* (Post-National Civil Society). But at the end of her book, Spini says that we can't expect that civil society is going to do everything. You can't actually create a politics that leaves out the state. It was interesting that even in Roger Scruton's discussion on what we can do about the city, he saw civil society as the agent for trying to improve the cities but the endpoint was still going to be laws. So we can't do without the nation state. The new politics of the civil society is pluralistic, liberal, and rich in diversity, but it has two main weaknesses. Firstly that it depends on a lot of weak groups and secondly that it's not formally constitutionally democratic. That does matter. It's not a democratic politics, but it is a rich politics that is running alongside the rather tired and weary structures of democracy in advanced countries. Even so, that rich, advanced part of the world is probably the best hope we have for the next few years.

Jacques Rupnik: Thank you very much, Professor Crouch – not only for the clarity of your exposé, but also for keeping to time. Our next speaker is Grigory Yavlinsky, professor of economics in Moscow and better known to you as founder of the political party Yabloko and as a former presidential candidate in Russia. Last time I met him here in Prague at Forum 2000, I asked him what the West should do about Russia. He replied with one sentence: "Tell them the truth of what you think about them." So this is how I turn to Grigory now. Grigory, please tell us the truth and nothing but the truth.

Grigory Yavlinsky: I will start by addressing Mr. Zakaria's intriguing point that the main problem of liberal democracy is in the core – the United States and Europe – rather than in the periphery. I want to accept that point, as I also have no concern about democracy in Russia because there is no democracy there. I really have a big concern about democracy in the West, especially because the ability of the largest democracies to do anything is being questioned.

I would suggest several explanations as to why my colleagues and I think that this problem is very serious. The first is the deep and serious misinterpretation of the results of the end of the Cold War. It is now clear that the idea that this would be the end of history, after which all countries would continually progress in the direction of liberal democracy, was wrong. The result of the end of the Cold War is that the world is now very different. The world was divided in two parts during the Cold War, but since its end we have discovered that diversity among different countries is greater than we thought. Secondly, it's not possible to apply the standards of the 20th century to the 21st century after the end of the Cold War. Thirdly, it's clear that democracy is not effective or operable in divided nations. If the people in a country are divided, democracy can't help. This is a big issue.

Another problem which is very important is the substantial economic growth of some authoritarian states in the last 20 years. Though they are authoritarian, they are moving up and up. Of course it's due to market development and oil prices, especially in the case of Russia, but not entirely. I'll give you an example. It may surprise you that corrupt Russian officials and semi-criminal Russian oligarchs were not keeping their money in Saddam Hussein's banks or in North Korea. They are keeping their money in different countries – you know perfectly well which ones. Our corruption is a joint venture. We do it together. This is also very important for us.

Another important issue is illustrated by the Freedom House report that there has been a setback of democracy and freedom in the world. What is the cause? I want to attract your attention. I think that one of the most important problems is that there are no positive examples. The democracies – the countries that everybody believes are democracies – are not offering positive examples. Once again, let's take the example of the peripheral countries which are not democracies. What do the people in these countries see on television all day long? They see stories about Guantanamo, Iraq, explosions, Bernie Madoff, CIA prisons in Europe, and things like that. They see these stories every day, twenty times a day, all over the news. It's very

difficult to say that the West should be the example towards which the rest of the world should head. This idea is powerfully used by authoritarian leaders to cultivate anti-Western sentiment.

Why is this so? Here, I am coming to what is in my mind a very important issue. We have a very serious crisis of elites. The quality of political elites is very low. This is our common problem. I think that nations are not good or bad; in fact, nations are very similar to each other. A nation's quality depends on the quality of its elites, who can be good or bad. That is why democracy sometimes creates a Hitler. Sometimes it brings a real leader who can take the country to prosperity. It depends on whether the country is able to choose whom to elect. The election is the machine; it can bring you whoever you want. It brings the mind of people to the surface. But it is necessary for this mind to have substance and to know whom to elect. This is a very important point.

What is my conclusion? I will try to give some recommendations. The first is very simple: the most important task is to increase the quality of the elites and to adjust them to the modern, post-Cold War political situation. Secondly, the most practical and pragmatic policies in the long run are policies which are based on values. Recent research has shown that if principles and values are neglected in favor of realpolitik, we will constantly be having economic crises, recessions, or stagnation in the globalized economy, and there will be no economic growth. Therefore, increasing the quality of elites and returning to principles and values in policy making is the recipe for success in the next 20 years. Thank you very much.

Jacques Rupnik: Thank you very much, Grigory. You started by saying that there is "no democracy in Russia." I don't think Fareed said that there was a liberal democracy in Russia, but perhaps we will return to that in the discussion. In fact, he agrees with you; you are perhaps closer than you think in your thinking. Also, thank you for mentioning how hard it is to build democracies in ethnically divided countries. I've been very much involved in following the Balkans in the 1990s and since. You cannot build a democratic polity if you do not have a basic consensus on the territorial framework of the democracy (though you can transcend that framework after regional European integration). Anyway, last but not least will be Alison Smale, executive editor of the International Herald Tribune. She was a correspondent in the former Soviet Union and in Central Europe after that, so she remembers the Velvet Revolution in Prague. Welcome back.

Alison Smale: Thank you very much. It's unenviable to be the last speaker on this panel and I beg your patience for just a few minutes. I'm in very distinguished academic company and I am just a journalist, so my point will be fairly obvious and perhaps less cogently argued.

What I think is going wrong with the core democracies (and I definitely agree with Fareed Zakaria's point that they have become hollow or "circus" democracies, as he puts it) has to do with my everyday business, which is language. Language is the only thing we have that distinguishes us from animals. If we forget what it means, then we will forget what freedom and democracy are. The Velvet Revolution was very much about the triumph of Václav Havel and other people who wanted to make words mean something. One of the things that I think was common to people who dissented under communism was that they constantly poked fun at the hollowness of the language that was deployed by the regime. They wanted to make words mean something. It's very easy to rail against that, because rather like Fareed Zakaria was saying, you don't notice the absence of oxygen until you don't have any oxygen. People didn't notice, while building a communist takeover, that they were signing away their rights, which they spent a long time regaining. Once you have these rights back, it is easy to forget that there was ever an absence.

One of the greatest phenomena that I observed going back to ex-communist countries is how difficult it is to bridge the generation gap. The generation gap in ex-communist countries is particularly large. I experienced this last December in Moscow, when I was walking along the sidewalk where once in 1985 I had been grabbed, by people who I can only imagine were KGB agents, as I was meeting a Soviet citizen. They took him off, but I was able to wave my Foreign Ministry accreditation and persuade them to release me. While walking that stretch of sidewalk last December, obviously thinking about this episode, a young woman who was probably around 20 walked past, talking on her cell phone. She sees the Prada store of the present, the sushi restaurant; I see the drab Soviet stores and my temporary detention. I can't possibly see the same thing she does; she can't possibly see the same thing I do. So I think we have a great obligation to talk about that generation gap in our society. One thing that is also notable is that up here you've got quite a lot of middle-aged, old people like me talking about this. I hope that the young people in this room are gaining something from the discussion.

I would like to very briefly touch on China. We keep saying that we don't want to talk about China, but we must talk about China. It's

one fifth of humanity; you can't possibly discuss any subject now without discussing China. If you think about it, China doesn't have that many natural resources; its resource is that it has a vast population. We can only hope that these people will increasingly be able to think freely and produce creatively. I was thinking about this last week because for three consecutive days, on the front page of the International Herald Tribune we had large stories about China. One was about Wen Jiabao telling the Europeans, "Don't tell us when we are going to revalue our currency. We will make up our own minds, thank you very much." The next story was about the Chinese military, and how the United States, which is trying to increase its military dialogue with China, doesn't really know what the upcoming ranks of officers think about the United States. Most of them have a fairly inculcated Chinese nationalism and an anti-American viewpoint. Finally, over the weekend we had China on the front page because Liu Xiaobo had won the Nobel Peace Prize. If we think about the meaning of language, let's just think about the fact that he was sentenced to 11 years in jail. He's already been in prison before. It's a very long time – the man is 54 years old now and will probably be 65 when he comes out. I would just close by inviting us all to think about what that means. Thank you.

Jacques Rupnik: Thank you very much. You may be sentenced to 11 years, but out before the people who sentenced you expect. Václav Havel was put in jail at the beginning of 1989, and by the end of the year he was the president of the country.

Anyway, let me now ask the panelists if they want to briefly react to something they heard. Otherwise, I will follow your advice and turn to some of the young people in the audience and ask them to put a question to our panelists and particularly to our keynote speaker. It would be unfair to have a panel on democracy and simply say, "Well, thank you for listening and democracy is a long-term project." Let's see. Young people in the audience, Alison Smale wants a question from you. She's tired of middle-aged and aging academics.

Audience question: My name is Jana. I'm a Ph.D. student at Charles University and a volunteer for Amnesty International. Professor Crouch, you're a fine observer of ways in which the private corporations access the public sector to influence the public realm of our democracies – not only Western democracies, but progressively and very apparently Central European democracies as well. Now, you're a teacher at a business school. Do you see any way in which the iden-

tity of these corporations changes with their entrance into the public realm? Does the democratic public realm have an influence on their behaviors, even contrary to their own strategy and will? Is there something we can work on there, or not at all? Thank you.

Jacques Rupnik: We will take a second question. Then we'll give the panelists a chance to answer. Yes, over there.

Audience question: Mr. Zakaria, thank you for your remarks. At the end of your speech you talked about the current milieu we have in the liberal democracy of the West, with regards to tolerance, Roma, Muslims, and other ethnic groups. It's interesting to me, as an American, that initially after 9/11, the tolerance in my own country towards Muslims was very high. Subsequently we've seen this eroded. This summer I was in Turkey for six weeks. That country had an immense multi-ethnic and multi-religious cultural heritage when the Ottoman Empire was at the height of its economic power. As that started to degrade at the end of the empire, the amount of tolerance decreased. Are we seeing this again now, with the global financial crisis and other economic uncertainties causing an increase in intolerance? If that's so, is tolerance a luxury of economic growth? Thank you.

Jacques Rupnik: I'm afraid that's all we will have time for, so I'll give the floor first to Professor Crouch and then to Fareed.

Colin Crouch: Yes, one sees it in the phenomenon of the corporate search for responsibility, which can be a simple public relations trick. However, once corporations have started to claim that they act responsibly, it's much easier to get into a critical dialogue with them and say, "Right, you made these claims, now deliver them." A number of these really large, prominent corporations are beginning to accept that that is the framework we're in. In business schools, we do try and teach the new generation to listen to these things.

Fareed Zakaria: I will make a couple of prefatory comments on what Mr. Yavlinsky said. I want to second what Jacques said. My whole point was that Russia is not a liberal democracy – it is an illiberal democracy. Russia is like Nigeria. My point is that when a country is genuinely modernizing and developing its economy, over time that produces a bourgeoisie and a civil society. Russia has become a Siberian Saudi Arabia, entirely sustaining an oligarchic elite on oil wealth. Just as I don't think

of Saudi Arabia as a model for democracy, I don't see Russia that way either. Frankly, I don't see very much changing in that regard.

One point about business, if I may. I think that Professor Crouch's points about business are well taken. I also think that while one must be skeptical of the claims and power of business, I think it is fair to also be somewhat skeptical about the power and claims of the state. The state is not always a benign, disinterested actor in these situations. In fact, in this country they ran a little experiment for four decades on what happens when the state allocates resources; that also had its problems. I just raise that as a small, tonal corrective.

To that very important question, I think you can actually make the case that in almost all successful, large-scale empires, there is an enormous amount of tolerance for diversity during the period of the empire's rise and greatness. In fact, that is how the empire acquires its diverse and far-flung character, and it feeds on the energy of that diversity. Then when you begin to see the empire start to fail, it begins to close itself down. You can make this case about the British Empire, the Habsburg Empire, the Ottoman Empire, and indeed the Roman Empire. It is my deepest hope that the United States does not go in that direction. The United States is different in that it did not merely acquire its diversity in the course of acquiring an empire. It has always had diversity at its core and was in fact founded in a way to allow for diverse religious viewpoints to coexist and flourish. So we may be a little bit better off than the Ottomans, but I'm certainly as worried as you are.

Jacques Rupnik: Thank you very much. I will not attempt to conclude this panel by summarizing. I will simply mention two things, starting with the proposition Fareed just mentioned: the optimistic view that, "Yes, illiberal democracies can in due course be overcome through economic and social transformation, which will create the conditions for a democratic polity." The second thing that I take from this panel is the concern that the future of democracy depends on the fate of established Western democracies. They're not doing too well at the moment, but this is a very old problem – the crisis of democracy has been debated for many decades. We are like a leaking boat – we are constantly taking on water and we constantly have to pour it out in order to stay afloat. It's a Sisyphean task, but we have no other choice. It's still better than any other alternative.

Lieven De Cauter, Elia Zenghelis

The World We Want to Live In: The Asian Perspective

11th October 2010, Žofín Palace, Forum Hall

Opening Remarks:
Yohei Sasakawa, Chairman, The Nippon Foundation, Japan

Keynote Speech:
Dewi Fortuna Anwar, Deputy Chair, Indonesian Institute of Sciences, Indonesia

Moderator:
Surendra Munshi, Sociologist, India

Participants:
Martin Davidson, Chief Executive, British Council, United Kingdom
Keizo Takemi, Former State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Japan
Daud Khattak, Journalist, Radio Mashaal (Pakistan Service of RFE/RL), Pakistan
Tain-Jy Chen, Former Minister, Council for Economic Planning and Development, Taiwan

Surendra Munshi: Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. I have the honor of being the moderator of this panel. As far as the Asian perspective is concerned, in my eyes there is not one perspective, but many. There is of course the idea of growth which is really overwhelming in Asia – the growth of China and India, South East Asia. For Asia, the growth driver is not just to be richer, but also to reduce poverty in the sense of including people who are below the poverty line. To what extent the growth story of Asia is inclusive is a controversial issue, but nevertheless, this is one aspect.

The second aspect I would like to highlight is associated with a Pakistani social scientist, namely Mahbub ul Haq, who along with an Indian economist, Amartya Sen, created the *"Human Development Report"* which goes beyond national income data and tries to highlight that there is something called empowerment and there is also something called human choices.

And thirdly, I do not know whether you have heard, but Bhutan has come up with the concept of Gross National Happiness. They pursue this idea very seriously and I'm told the principles of sustainable development, cultural integrity, ecosystem conservation and good governance are four pillars of the Bhutanese experiment.

If I may be allowed to, I will bring up a name from my own country: Gandhi, for whom civilization was an immoral concept, and in this respect he was opposed to western civilization in so far as it highlighted the Machiavellian principle of might is right and the capitalist principle of survival of the fittest.

Gandhi wrote a book in 1909 translated from his native language into English as *"Sermon on the Sea"*. Now the book is available under the title *"Hind Swaraj"*. In the book, Gandhi talked about something that might be considered as one of the Asian perspectives, namely that civilization could move in a different direction compared with industrial capitalism in the western world.

With these few comments, I wish to invite Mr. Sasakawa to give his opening remarks. Mr. Sasakawa is the chairman of the Nippon Foundation in Japan and he is the moving spirit of Forum 2000. He is a renowned Japanese leader and philanthropist; he has initiated projects on a global scale in such areas as public health, agricultural development, education and social welfare. He serves as the WHO Goodwill Ambassador for leprosy elimination as well as Japan's Goodwill Ambassador for the human rights of people affected by leprosy. Together with Václav Havel and Elie Wiesel, he

co-founded the Forum 2000 project. Before coming here I was also pleased to discover that he is a recipient of the Gandhi award for his distinguished work.

Yohei Sasakawa: Ladies and gentlemen, last year for the first time, Forum 2000 hosted a panel with an Asian focus. It generated a lot of interest among all who took part. This year we have another panel with an Asian connection. It applies the Asian perspective to this year's theme: "The World We Want to Live In".

On my travels for the Nippon Foundation I have seen and heard that dynamic changes are taking place in the world; nowhere have I seen and heard these changes more strongly than in Asia. Asia has a huge population; the region is developing fast. Economic growth in Asia benefits people all around the world. The region is destined to become even more important. Yet Asia faces major challenges; though its economy is growing, economic disparities are widening. Rapid industrialization is causing environmental destruction. And although democratization is progressing, deep-seated human rights problems remain. These are not just Asia's problems; they are complex global issues that the whole world is grappling with. Asia cannot solve these problems by itself and the world cannot solve them without Asia. Asia is indispensable to global development and to solving the problems that development brings. Asia boasts a rich treasure of language, faith and culture. By including the perspectives of this diverse region, we can only enrich our discussions here. The panelists for this session include famous scholars, journalists and political leaders from Asia. I have no doubt that their experience and knowledge will contribute much to our debate on this year's theme, "The World We Want to Live In". Thank you.

Surendra Munshi: Thank you indeed. Now, I would request Professor Dewi Fortuna Anwar to deliver her keynote speech.

Dewi Fortuna Anwar: Thank you very much Mr. Chairman. Your Excellency, President Václav Havel and the Forum 2000 Foundation, Mr. Yohei Sasakawa, Chairman of the Nippon Foundation, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen; it is truly a great honor for me to give the keynote speech today on the theme "The World We Want to Live In – the Asian Perspective".

Given the tremendous diversity and huge size of Asia, it would clearly be beyond anyone's capacity to speak on behalf of Asia as

a whole. Please allow me therefore to offer you in the brief time available one Asian perspective of a desirable world against the background of the current problems and challenges that we face in Asia.

In the past decades, eyes have turned to Asia as the most dynamic region in the world, which will increasingly define the 21st century. We tend to deal with superlatives as well as contradictions when speaking of Asia. Asia is home to over half of the world's population, with China, India and Indonesia being the world's first, second and fourth most populous countries respectively. But there are also tiny kingdoms and a city state. A quarter of the members of G20, of which two are the world's second and third largest economies – China and Japan – are in Asia. But the majority of the world's poor also live in Asia. India and Indonesia are the world's largest and third largest democracy, but the greater number of Asians still live under autocratic or semi-autocratic regimes. No other region in the world is as diverse as Asia in terms of cultures and religions: Confucianism, Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism and Christianity have all planted strong roots in different parts of Asia. Indonesia is the world's largest Muslim majority country, with probably the greatest number of religious holidays, as Indonesians equally celebrate Islamic, Christian, Hindu, Buddhist and Chinese holidays.

While tolerance and moderation have characterized life in Asia for centuries, communism and religious extremism have also reared their ugly heads from time to time. Asia is justly proud of its ancient civilizations and rich cultural traditions, but there still exist practices that discriminate against women and marginalize minority groups. Most of the nation states in Asia are new and many are still in the process of nation and state building, with weak institutions and limited capacity, jealously guarding their sovereignty and territorial integrity. Many national boundaries are ill-defined and still contested, leading to tensions and occasional clashes between states. While the growing economies of Asia are becoming more integrated and regional cooperation intensifies, increasing wealth has also led to increases in arms spending and more emphasis on protecting national interests.

The continent and archipelagos of Asia are rich in natural resources and straddle strategy groups, yet many parts are vulnerable to natural disasters, with frequent incidents of earthquakes, tsunamis, typhoons and floods causing huge losses of life and property. Rapid economic growth and relentless development have accelerated the pace of environmental destruction, compounding the vulnerabilities

of the human sphere. The list of Asia's advantages and disadvantages could go on and on, but my time to enumerate them is limited.

Life is a constant struggle and it would be unrealistic and utopian to wish away all the problems and challenges that we face today. Yet, given the great progress that Asian countries have achieved in the past half-century, it is not beyond our current capacity to make meaningful changes that can improve the world we live in, if we really put our minds to it. We would like to see Asia become a region of peace and prosperity, where human security is secured, human dignity upheld and where mutual respect and tolerance prevail.

As many countries in Asia score impressive economic growth, which has improved the livelihood of a great number of people, there has also been growing concern about the widening gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots". Recent reports also highlight the distressing fact of the continuing high numbers of infant and maternal mortalities in Asia, including in some of the most vibrant economies. Abject poverty is still a serious problem in many Asian countries, where access to the basic necessities of life is still beyond the reach of many. Many gleaming Asian cities hide slums and squalor. This inequity is unacceptable and untenable. Asia needs to find better ways to promote both economic growth and social justice. The rapid pace of globalization and regionalization must not ignore the needs of those who cannot compete as widening social gaps can also lead to tension and instability. Asian countries, which often pride themselves on their attachment to community and family values, need to be much more caring and inclusive in their development policies.

Ladies and gentlemen, nationalism is a strong force in Asia. Many Asian countries have taken pride in their struggle for independence against foreign colonial rulers. The struggle for independence was inspired by the French revolutionary battle cry of liberty, equality and fraternity; the oppression of men by men was unacceptable. Yet, ironically, many formerly oppressed states have now become oppressors of their citizens. The pursuit of state security is often used as justification for denying human security. Democracy, fundamental freedoms and the rule of law are still regarded as contested values in too many Asian countries, despite their zeal for prosperity and material progress. Different political values have continued to divide Asia, making it difficult to achieve regional unity. It is to be hoped that before long, Asian countries will adhere equally to universal values where democracy, human rights, fundamental freedoms and the rule of law are respected.

Asians are no different from Europeans or other people. Asians want to be able to enjoy freedom from fear and freedom from want as much as anyone else, so there should never be a trade-off between democracy and economic development; human dignity demands both. Communal conflicts, religious violence and terrorist attacks have continued to mar Asia's development and stability, often triggered by events from outside. In Indonesia, where I come from, as the country democratizes and overall human security improves, we have also seen the unfortunate rise of religious intolerance among certain Muslim groups, where their numbers remain small. Democracy has at times been translated into simple majoritarianism, where majority groups force their will on minorities.

We should strive for a world where religious values teach us compassion and humility, bringing men and women to a higher level of humanity, rather than breeding intolerance and conflict. Democratic space and freedom of speech should never be used as an excuse to incite hatred and violence against those of a different race, ethnicity or belief, or for political demagogues to win popular votes by fomenting fears of others. Differences can enrich our lives and conflicts can be resolved through dialogue, not through armed conflict or terrorist attacks. No matter the root causes, indiscriminate attacks against innocent people can never be justified and the world must condemn terrorism as the common enemy of all humanity. Yet we must also ensure that the action of a few does not stigmatize whole communities or religions, which can only breed a cycle of hatred and violence. We must work towards a world where attacks against places of worship, the burning of holy books, the lampooning of sacred figures and symbols or the shedding of blood in the name of religion are things of the past. Asia with its rich and highly diverse tradition should lead the world in demonstrating that we can all live together in peaceful harmony, amidst differences, as we have done for centuries.

Some people have warned that Europe's past could be Asia's future if extreme care is not taken. Overzealous nationalism, myriads of unresolved bilateral disputes and the build-up of defense forces continue to mar Asia's development. Asia must not wait for catastrophic wars to take place before we forge closer regional cooperation and integration based on shared values and a common vision that would make wars and open armed conflicts unthinkable. As Asian countries develop their economies at a rapid pace, and competition for resources intensifies, special efforts must be made to

strengthen interdependence and build regional mechanisms to ensure that all conflicts can be resolved through peaceful means. As in Europe, Asian countries need to strive towards the development of a regional security community where the use and threat of force are forbidden. Asia must also aim to become a region where all weapons of mass destruction are outlawed.

Last but not least, we want a secure and sustainable living environment. While we cannot control the natural elements, we need to ensure that natural disasters, such as earthquakes and tsunamis, cause minimal loss of life and property through better preparedness and mitigation. Asian countries must also ensure that environmental degradation caused by human action is dealt with seriously. Arguments that protecting the environment must wait while Asian countries catch up with the developed world cannot be sustained, as Asians are affected on a daily basis by the impact of climate change such as unseasonal rain, drought and rising sea levels, which have caused havoc to the livelihood of farmers and fishermen. As relative latecomers in the development game, Asian countries are unfortunate in that they must conform to the more exacting values and standards of the modern age as they try to move forward, unlike European countries in an earlier and more permissive period. On the other hand, Asian countries are fortunate that they can learn from the mistakes of others and learn to avoid them. Thank you for your attention.

Surendra Munshi: While I was listening, I was reminded of an expression, I have no clear idea who it is attributed to, about India. The expression goes like this: "Anything you say about India by way of a proposition is valid, anything ien; as long as you agree that the opposite is also true." So to give you some concrete examples, India is a land of poverty – true. India is also a land of wealth – true. India is a land of illiterate people – true. India is also a land of educated people – true. India is a land of spiritualism, which you in the West are sometimes very much attracted to, but you forget that India is a land of class materialism; that's also true. So what is true of India, I think, listening to you Professor Anwar, can be said about Asia. Asia is passing through such a massive transformation, that many contradictory trends and challenges are surfacing. That's one thing I noticed from your presentation. The second thing I noticed is that in order to have stability in Asia, we can learn a lot from the European Union. If England and France and Germany can live in peace together, after having fought world wars, why can't India, Pakistan

and other countries find ways of living together? Here the European Union is an extremely good example of the regional cooperation to which you have made reference.

Now with these comments that struck me while Professor Anwar was speaking, I thank you again for your speech. The next speaker is Mr. Davidson, Chief Executive of the British Council, United Kingdom.

Martin Davidson: Mr. Chairman, thank you very much indeed. I have to admit to some surprise at finding myself as a very obvious European on a panel talking about the Asian perspective. But I have spent a little bit of time in China. In the context of this discussion, I think it is quite interesting to ask the question: how do we as Europeans respond to our understanding of the Asian perspective and where Asia is going? And the thing that our keynote speaker pointed out so eloquently was the diversity, size and dynamism of Asia across its many, many different facets and the extent to which that dynamism is going to help define the 21st century. I think one of the great problems that we Europeans have when we look at Asia is that we tend to think about it as a big bloc. I think one of the important aspects of our conversation today is going to be about recognizing that sheer diversity, and that there are many, many different Asians and that if we try to think about Asia as a single bloc, we will fundamentally misunderstand what is happening there and what it might mean for us.

At its worst, it seems to me that it often falls into a very old-fashioned bipolar type of approach to the world. We talk about the Asian century rather in the way we used to talk about the 19th century as the European century and the 20th century as the American century. It seems to me we ought to be asking ourselves whether those sorts of very polarized approaches are actually relevant to the sort of change in Asia which our keynote speaker has pointed out. There are many different kinds of Asia; there are many different sorts of responses from other parts of the world to that. And if we are really going to be talking about the sort of world we want to live in, it seems to me that we should be looking at a response which is much more multilateral or multi-polar, rather than bipolar or trying to set ourselves up in opposition. At its worst, that opposition leads to winners and losers and the fear that if it's not our century we're going to be the losers seems to me to be a critical danger for us, looking at Asia from the outside.

If we are going to respond more effectively to Asia then I think one of the starting points has to be a new humility from Europe and perhaps also from the United States. What Asia is going through is going to be hugely exciting, hugely dynamic, and hugely different from the sort of development that we went through as a continent or as a group of countries. That cultural diversity, which Ms. Anwar pointed out, seems to me to be vitally important if we are going to understand Asia. If we try to think about Asia as that single bloc, without understanding the diversity, the cultural diversity and the pride that different countries in Asia have in their heritage, in their culture, in their background, we will fundamentally misunderstand the nature of Asia and what is going on there. If we think about Asia purely in terms of the economic growth of its new power economies, of China, India and Indonesia and the others, and without understanding and recognizing that there are many other dynamics also going on within their societies, we will fail to understand the complexity and indeed the opportunity for us there. We need to understand the importance of nationalism and pride that those countries have in the way in which they have developed their nationhood. We need to understand that they're going through huge growth pains as new nations. If we don't, we're going to lose our opportunity to have a really vital and exciting dialogue with Asia.

The opportunity seems to me to be huge if we break away from an old-fashioned and essentially mid-20th century approach to how the world is actually going to operate in the future. That as I said requires a degree of humility on our side; it also requires a degree of clarity about the value set that we as Europeans bring to that dialogue. I think there is always a danger in the present environment that we become rather relativistic in terms of our value set. That we recognize other nations or other peoples have different sets of values and therefore ours are less important. It seems to me that if we are going to have a dialogue, then one of the things which is most critical is that we are clear about where we as individuals and as nations and as cultures come from. Because it is only when you have that clarity that you can actually engage in a conversation that identifies similarities and differences. The differences have to be ones that we recognize and embrace, not ones we are afraid of. One of the things which shapes the dialogue between different parts of the world at the moment is a fear of the other, rather than embracing a difference as something which is exciting and makes us more human. In order to be able to do that, we need to be able to speak a language which we

each can understand. The great problem we have in the UK is that we are likely to become the last monolingual country in the entire world because we are so bad at learning other peoples' languages. If we are not prepared to actually learn to speak other peoples' languages, then we're going to have great difficulty really engaging in that dialogue.

We also need to have a set of skills that enable us to operate effectively in a globalizing world. If the world is going to become more multi-polar, then the skills set needs to be much more complex than the one we often teach our young people at the moment. That requires us to explore cultural diversity, it requires us to explore the issues of cultural understanding, of cultural relations, it requires us to ask our young people to be able to put themselves in the position of the other, rather than purely the position that they're in at the moment.

That development of a new set of skills to be able to respond to the rise of Asia, but also the opportunity that Asia brings us living in Europe, that challenge for those new skills, seems to me to be critically important for the next ten to twenty years. At the moment I don't see us really responding to that challenge.

In the end, the new division is not going to be between old Europe and new Asia or between Asia and the United States. It is more likely to be one between those who have the skills to operate effectively in a globalizing world and those whose citizens have failed to acquire the skills. Thank you.

Surendra Munshi: Thank you very much for your remarks. The next speaker is Professor Takemi, Japan's former State Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

Keizo Takemi: Thank you very much Mr. Chairman. I would first like to draw your attention to the new type of power politics of the 21st century. The traditional power politics of the 19th and 20th century was based on the size of nation states´ military power, economy, population and territory. Now, we have a new power politics in which a totally different power game is taking place. Why? As a result of globalization and increasing interdependence amongst each nation state, we have many common agendas beyond national boundaries. The common agenda beyond national boundaries includes climate change, influenza pandemics, energy crises and water shortages. There are many potential common agendas beyond national boundaries. The nation state cannot resolve these common agendas alone. We have to collaborate with each other; public-to-public collaboration and public and private collaboration, including civil society. It's a very unique power politics which has emerged. In this 21st century-type power politics, nations need to strengthen their own capacity to resolve those common agendas in their own country. Then they need to utilize those capacities in order to contribute to global and regional rulemaking and by this nations can strengthen their own power base.

I recognize several countries, such as Norway, complying with this new power politics. Recently Norway did a wonderful job awarding the Nobel Peace Prize to Liu Xiaobo, a very courageous Chinese. But in addition to that, Norway now commits to improving global health by focusing on mothers' and children's health, closely related to UN Millennium Development Goals 4 and 5, and also infectious diseases. Norway has no traditional power base, such as military or economic power, but it still has a big influence on the global community and politics of the 21st century. We have to take it very seriously and we have to encourage our policymakers to commit to these new types of power politics to solve the common agenda. This is a shared challenge not only within Asia, but in Europe, in the United States and throughout the global community.

I would also like to draw your attention to the concept of human security. This concept was introduced by Mahbub ul Haq, the Pakistani economist Mr. Munshi mentioned, in collaboration with Amartya Sen, who was the first Asian winner of the Nobel Prize for Economics. The concept of human security was introduced as a part of the *"Human Development Report"* of UNDP in 1994. After that, the Japanese government in collaboration with the then UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, established a Human Security Commission co-chaired by Amartya Sen and Madam Sagato Ogata, who is the President of Japan's International Cooperation Agency (JICA). They publicly refreshed and sharpened the concept of human security with their 2005 report to Secretary General Kofi Annan. The report focused on people and the community as a unit of policy making.

This is a critically important approach to resolving the issues closely related to humanity. The human security approach tried to combine two different approaches to decision making: top-down decision-making and bottom-up decision-making, focusing on people and the community. For example, human empowerment from the bottom-up approach gives people in the community the ability to have more efficient educational services and training and the protection of local and central government. How do you combine those

two different types of decision-making? Focus on the community is one of the crucial points. If we can share this concept of human security at the global, regional, national and local levels, including the level of communities, then we can have consistent policy making, focused on the people in need, most of whom are socially vulnerable. This is a very important concept we have to share and this is the point I want to emphasize.

Finally, I would like to emphasize a very unique demographic tendency: global aging. Except for Africa, India and parts of Central Asia, the world is aging. More than 30% of the population is over 65 years old, which means chronic diseases are more frequent and a more efficient healthcare system is needed. Quite fortunately, or unfortunately, I don't know, Japan is the most advanced aging society. We have a lot of experience of coping with an aging society.

I hope my own country is one of the countries in Asia that contributes to the deepening of human security approaches and managing issues connected with the aging of societies around the world. This is one of the very humanitarian approaches that we Japanese try to adopt. Thank you very much.

Surendra Munshi: I would now like to invite Mr. Daud Khattak from Radio Mashaal, Pakistan services of Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty. Before I invite him to speak, I would like to remind you, ladies and gentlemen, that India's famous poet Tagore once wrote a story called Kabuliwala in which an Indian girl, a little girl, became friends with an older Afghan man and how this young girl forgot him when she grew up, and it is one of the most endearing stories that we have.

Daud Khattak: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My fellow panelist have highlighted the challenges and opportunities in Asia and as Mr. Chairman described, I'll be highlighting the situation in Pakistan, Afghanistan and the Talibanization of the tribal areas of Pakistan, because this is my field of expertise. While there are a lot of opportunities in Asia for peace-building, Pakistan and Afghanistan have been in an unresolved dispute for the past 40 years. What is the local perspective of the conflict in Pakistan, in Afghanistan? There are 2 major problems in this region. One is ethnic and the other is religious. In Pakistan, the problem is between different ethnicities, like the Pashtuns, Punjabis, Balochs and Sindhis. There have been religious disputes in the federally administered tribal areas of Pakistan

every year since the Cold War. These disputes have been taken over by Taliban and Al Qaeda elements who are mostly Arabs. How did these people come into this region? This is a long story dating back to the Cold War era. After the 9/11 attacks and the deployment of multinational forces in Afghanistan, these people crossed into the tribal areas in Pakistan and started to establish themselves there. The forces fighting the Taliban in Afghanistan at that time ignored the tribal areas where the Al Qaeda and Taliban elements were regrouping. By 2005, these people were well established there and started crossing back into different parts of Afghanistan and attacking international troops there. Now the Islamists are so strong that the international community, with all its power and 100,000 strong force, and the Afghan government, are forced to hold talks with these people who were once considered defeated.

The root of this problem in Pakistan, in Afghanistan, in Central Asia, in India, even in China, lies in education. It is illiteracy. In the tribal areas of Pakistan illiteracy is widespread. In addition there are few health facilities available to the people. The outsiders – I'm referring to Al Qaeda people who came from other parts of the world, mostly Arab countries – have hijacked the local system. The tribal system is based on 3 pillars. The tribal elder, the political authorities and the mosque with the hudjra (hudjra is the community guesthouse where Pashtu society holds its gatherings). The Al Qaeda elements that came there with the help of local Taliban supporters started killing the tribal elders. From 2001 to 2009, more than 700 tribal elders were killed. They attacked the mosques and hudjras. Then the remaining political authority was taken away by the army which moved into those areas. A vacuum was created which was filled by Al Qaeda and Taliban elements.

Now we see attacks every day in Pakistan and Afghanistan, and this region is becoming unstable. This is particularly dangerous since Pakistan is a nuclear country with a large army. It is disturbing for the rest of the world. Reports mention Germans, and other country nationals undergoing training in tribal areas and planning attacks in Europe and in other countries. This region – Pakistan, Afghanistan, India – could be a trade route, a hub between central and south Asia, bringing prosperity to the people of these communities. Unfortunately, it is instead becoming a problem for these countries and for the world.

What is to be done? The first thing is to educate the people. There is no education at all, and where there is no education, people

are easily attracted to the Taliban and Al Qaeda agenda. Where there is no education there are no health facilities, there is no infrastructure, no roads, no communication links with the rest of Pakistan and Afghanistan. These regions are easily becoming a breeding ground for militants. Although 80% of Pakistanis oppose the Taliban agenda, there are still people, young men, who are joining the fundamentalists because there is no education and no work opportunities.

The international community unfortunately used gun power instead of education, building schools, hospitals and roads and linking the people with the developed parts of Pakistan and Afghanistan. The power of the gun was used, but this is not a solution. Thank you.

Surendra Munshi: Thank you. We heard in the keynote speech from Mrs. Anwar how Indonesia is a model in many ways: it has the largest Muslim population of any country. We've also heard about the troubles in Pakistan and Afghanistan due to the presence of the Taliban. This challenges not only Asian stability, but global stability.

So we have these situations, which need to be addressed. With this, it's now my privilege to invite Professor Tain-Jy Chen, former minister of the Council for Economic Planning and Development in Taiwan.

Tain-Jy Chen: Thank you very much Mr. Chairman. I feel honored to be invited to this conference. I feel a little bit worried about the topic I'm going to speak on: the Asian perspective, the world, it's a little bit philosophical. I'm an economist, so forgive me if I am wrong.

I don't know how the Asian perspective would be different from the perspective that we heard for example in the session this morning. I really see no difference. All the values that have been cherished by the world, particularly here in Europe, are the same. People need to be able to feed themselves, people need to be respected, to have dignity, people need freedom. It is better if they can choose their own government, choose their own way to live, and define their media. They want to have their own home, a family and so on. All these values are shared by Asians. I really don't know what is different.

However, in Asia whenever we have international conferences of this sort, you continue to hear people, particularly political leaders, talking about Asian values. This suggests that Asian values are somehow different from Western values. I really wonder how. If you listen really carefully, then most of the Asian political leaders, both from authoritarian regimes and from democracies, will always emphasize several things. They emphasize collectivism, rather than individualism. That we work together for the common good, for the family, for society as a whole, sometimes for the nation state as a whole, rather than for the objectives of the individual. For that reason, we, as individuals in a society or as members of a family, should always be prepared to sacrifice ourselves for the rest of the family or for society as a whole, including dying for the nation. This has been emphasized a lot by most political leaders. When you talk about human rights, they will tell you that the most important human right is to enable people to live; that is, to feed themselves. So as a government in China, we want to make sure that our people can feed themselves. All the rest is secondary. Therefore, if I put somebody in jail for speaking against the government or for advocating democracy, that's acceptable, considering that the government's priority is to make sure that everybody is fed. That's the kind of philosophy that you usually hear in Asia.

Some people will tend to interpret this kind of philosophy as a Confucian tradition. Actually Confucius never said anything like this. It's all interpretation by his disciples, and their disciples, who I think have been taken advantage of by some political leaders. In the old days, when we studied development economics, we were told that countries which follow the Confucian tradition are not capable of growing their economies, because Confucius himself was very much against commerce. He didn't value people engaging in commerce. People should study for the good of society and do good for society rather than engaging in commerce.

History has proven that all Confucian countries, including Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and Hong Kong, developed very well and Confucianism is cherished in these societies even today. So that's been proven to be wrong.

My current interpretation of this seeming conflict between philosophy and the way economic activity and political structures ought to be organized, is that there's a difference between institutions and values. I really don't believe that Asians or Chinese in particular, or people in Taiwan, really have different values to Western people. As I said, the fundamental values are pretty much the same. There are very minor differences there. It's rather the institutions that make the difference. Again in terms of economic development, it has been repeatedly proven that a particular goal, such as an economic goal, can be achieved with different institutions. China has done it with a very different type of economic and political organization. We

have done it differently to China. Korea has a different industrial organization, a different market system, and they have achieved a lot. Different institutions can achieve the same economic goal.

Until now, Asian countries, particularly the developing countries, have emphasized economic growth. If you put the priority on feeding people, people may be willing to sacrifice some other objectives, such as dignity and human rights. But that's only going to work up to a certain point. Once you reach the point where you are able to feed yourself, then other issues become something that you cannot avoid.

In the previous session we all talked about democracy and whether Asia, particularly China, is going to embrace democracy. Look what is happening there. Compare it to the situation ten years ago and you'll see a vibrant democracy emerging. It has been criticized by many countries for still practicing authoritarian leadership. Some say that this is inefficient. Yes, it may be inefficient, but this is what people like to have. I think that eventually, because of the different path that we are going down, we are going to see different development histories. However, Asians are pursuing objectives and have basic values which are not that different to the rest of the world. Thank you very much for your attention.

Surendra Munshi: We have now heard from all the panelists. One issue which came up was the issue of diversity and how Asia has many dimensions, for example Pakistan and Indonesia. The panelists offered very contrasting situations.

The other issue is the need for dialogue to overcome problems. That's something very vital for an organization like Forum 2000, which promotes dialogue.

The third issue: to what extent is Asia or Asian values unique? When Professor Chen was speaking, I was reminded that not only Confucianism can create the opposite of its intended results in terms of economic development. Max Weber, the famous German sociologist highlighted that puritan values were originally not meant to promote economic wealth. Ironically the opposite was achieved. You learn that by reading his book: *"The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism"*. It is precisely the irony of intention and accomplishment.

The issue that I would like to emphasize is to what extent the challenges and opportunities thrown up by Asia are the opportunities and challenges which Asia needs to address along with the rest of the world.

You will recall that in his opening remarks, Mr. Sasakawa highlighted this very effectively. The challenges and opportunities that Asia throws up are the ones that need to be addressed jointly. In this respect, the next century, whether it's going to be the Asian century or not, is going to be a human century for once, not American, not British. It's going to be human, because we live as a family now and we can't escape it.

I propose to the panelists the problem of challenges and opportunities. To what extent are the challenges and opportunities thrown up by Asia the ones that need to be handled by Asia, or by Asia in cooperation with the rest of the world?

Dewi Fortuna Anwar: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. You highlighted the contrast between Pakistan and Indonesia. Indonesia is the largest Muslim majority country. Over 88% of the population are Muslims, and now it is a vibrant democracy. But you also know that we face the challenge of rising religious extremism. One of the challenges that we need to address quickly is also related to opportunities, and this is very much an aspect of globalization and interconnectivity.

If you remember the Bali bombing of 2002, most of the people involved were trained in Afghanistan. This is very important to note. A conflict in one part of the world leads directly to conflicts in other parts. It is not possible to isolate conflicts anymore. A lot of the Jemaah Islamiyah terrorists in South East Asia in the earlier periods targeted western interests in revenge for western policies. They attacked Americans, Australians and so on. Think about the continuing tensions in the Middle East. The Palestinian-Israeli issue has always been used as a battle cry for a lot of extremist groups. Many Muslims in Indonesia make very few comments about foreign policy, but they're all united about certain things, one being anti-Americanism. We have to address this issue very quickly. This is both a challenge and an opportunity.

Secondly, on the issue of Asian values, I'd just like to remind people that before the economic crisis, the Mahathirs of this world were champions. They talked about Asian values all the time, that Asians don't need democracy; they need discipline, hard work, and espouse Confucianism as a very important basis for economic vibrancy. Remember not long before that, Confucianism and many other ideas were used to explain why Asia was so lacking in dynamism. For thousands of years, Asia was subjected. Now even China is beginning to talk about the need for democracy. I do not really

believe that we can make a dichotomy between feeding people and arresting them in the middle of the night. This is not a trade-off. I think we need to pay attention to both, and I don't think Asia can afford to avoid these issues. Thank you.

Martin Davidson: I don't actually see how any single part of the world can meet all those challenges if it tries to do so in isolation from the rest of the world. The challenges are much more multilateral and much more shared. What are the tools that we're going to be able to use to actually address that? There are two critical things for me. One is education and the other is familiarity. One of the things that is going to be critically important is an education system which actually allows us to share knowledge and share understanding around the world. Take the higher education systems. Those truly effective higher education systems are now ones that are actually drawing people from all around the world. It is not by accident that there are now more than 160,000 foreign students studying in China. It sees this variety as a vitally important aspect of developing its own system. And that is true of my own country and of many others.

The second thing is to create familiarity. Earlier somebody was asking: "Are there things to learn from the European experience?" Well, one of the things the European experience has shown is how critically important it is to dispel fear of others by getting people to be familiar with each other. One of the greatest successes of post-war Europe has actually been getting young people to visit each others' countries, learning with each other, studying with each other. This seems to me a critically important fact for Asia and other parts of the world. It is very difficult to hate somebody if you know him or her well.

Surendra Munshi: Thank you. Professor Takemi.

Keizo Takemi: Thank you, Chairman. Everybody wants to talk about diversification in Asia. There are so many differences and values, but I don't think this is a productive way of thinking to create a society which can resolve these really serious issues beyond national boundaries. What we have to do is identify the common agenda in Asia as a whole and create the schemes for collaboration beyond national boundaries, between government-to-government and also private-to-private, and create a dynamic society to resolve the common agenda not only in Asia, but globally. This approach is critically important, not only in Asia, but elsewhere in this global community.

Secondly, I would like to emphasize how we have to highlight the socially vulnerable people in Asia, such as those in Pakistan. Those people are targets for exploitation by terrorists such as the Taliban and the Al Qaeda. Therefore we have to mobilize those limited resources for socially vulnerable people and give them a chance to develop their own more meaningful life. I do hope that we can share this sort of humanitarian approach in the name of human security. Thank you.

Daud Khattak: As I belong to the conflict zone, I will talk about that. The challenge and the solution in my region is to promote democracy. Democracy can be promoted through peace and education. In my view, education will encourage people and strengthen their trust and confidence in the state, which is not visible now. At the same time, education will create awareness in people of their rights, and then no one will be able to misguide them in the name of religion. Together the two will strengthen democracy which will help to develop a society based on tolerance and respect for religion and creed. Thank you.

Surendra Munshi: Professor Chen.

Tain-Jy Chen: Thank you. I will be very brief and just comment on the challenges, particularly for global institutions. Global institutions, of course, have until today been dominated by western countries, particularly by the United States and the European Union, to a lesser extent. But recently we all realized that Asian countries have emerged as more important economic powers. On one hand, we'd like those countries to play a more constructive role in global institutions, and on the other hand we also worry that the global institutions may be too dominated by countries that are not yet ready to play that role. There's an apparent conflict there. I just read in today's paper the article about the IMF trying to persuade China to revalue their currency. I think that Asian countries, until today, have been taking advantage of these global institutions that are pretty much maintained by the western countries, taking advantage of the currency system, the trading system, and we all benefit from that. It is time for Asians to pay back and take on more responsibility. Japan has increasingly been asked to do that, but I think more importantly there are bigger Asian neighbors, such as India, China, Indonesia. Integrating them into those global institutions is a big challenge that we face. Thank you.

Surendra Munshi: I will now take three questions from the audience.

Audience question: My name is Paul Ermite, and from my early childhood I heard about the yellow peril, and until now I hadn't met the yellow peril. You don't look any more yellow than I do. In Europe, we got from Asia many important products like paper, haiku, ikebana, spaghetti, fireworks, philosophy, Kurosawa and others. I would like to ask all of you if you can mention at least one thing, product, philosophy or experience that Asia got from Europe.

Audience question: My name is Milada Švecová, and I work for the Milada Horáková Club. I found what Mr. Takemi had to say very interesting, especially when he said that Japan is the most advanced country when it comes to care of the aging population, population over 65. I would like to know how you do that. Where do you get the funds, the money for this? Could you tell us briefly how you do that? And could you please advise our own politicians what to do, because in this country, interest in the elderly comes last when it comes to political interests in general.

Audience question: Hello, my name is Lydia Kan and my question is for Mr. Davidson, and other panelists if they'd like to answer. You mentioned the need for a new type of skills for a global economy. In my mind, I'm thinking about empathy, tolerance and understanding and resilience and opening your mind and hearts beyond your own personal needs and those of your family. I would like to find out if that's the kind of skills the British Council is thinking of trying to teach.

Audience question: I'm Danny Teal, Director of Business and Marketing Intelligence for Asus from Taiwan and this is for the gentleman from Pakistan. Can you tell us from your experience what is the allure of being a part of the Taliban or Al Qaeda? What's the sexy part that draws people into being part of an organization like this?

Surendra Munshi: Let's start with the answers. Who on the panel will take the question? Some are very clear, because the speakers are identified, but this question of "What have you taken from the West", who will answer that?

Dewi Fortuna Anwar: We only have one minute to answer these questions. We have taken a lot from the West. In Asia, many of us luckily or unluckily suffered from long periods of western colonization, and most modern education, of course, is based on European experience. One of the things that we learned from Europe is about the birth of nation states – the Westphalian states. Asians did not have nation states before the twentieth century. The ideas of modernity and rationalism, ideas about republics, democracies, and institutions – I think we took these from Europe. We embraced them. My quarrels with many Asian political leaders emerge when looking at the sources, and they say, "Ah, these are not native to us, therefore we reject them." That is what General Suharto used in an argument to defend authoritarianism. But we argued that the Republic of Indonesia is a nation state. It's a western concept, why don't we reject that too?

The ideas of even authoritarianism, fascism, also came from Europe. Why are so many Asian countries interested in embracing that and not others? So it is unproductive to look at what you get from where. The most important thing is that we have a lot of things to learn from each other. Western societies learned a lot from Islamic societies: astronomy and medicine for example. The most important thing is not to look at where these things come from, but how we can take the best from everything and learn from each other and regard them as a common heritage. Thank you.

Surendra Munshi: Professor Takemi, how do you handle the aging problem?

Keizo Takemi: This is a very difficult question. Every policymaker in aging societies is facing this very serious question. I can tell you that nearly 50 years ago, we successfully established the universal insurance system in Japan. Next year we celebrate the 50th anniversary of this universal insurance system for health, which relies on three financial resources. One is the premium for social insurance, the second is the patient charge. 30% of charges are the patient charges, 10% for the elderly. We also limit the maximum charge for each patient. In addition to that, there are taxes, such as the consumption tax, and those resources finance the universal insurance system. So these three kinds of financial resources are the resources for this universal insurance, including for elderly people.

But as you know, with an aging population, lower economic growth and progress of medical sciences are very costly. Policymak-

ers always have to think about how to recreate and evolve the universal insurance system as a whole. But in a democratic society, this sort of reform of universal insurance is always politically a very risky job for policymakers. When I was a senior vice minister for health, I committed and requested elderly people to share the 10% charge for each patient, but that was enormously unpopular. That was one of the reasons I lost my job at that time.

Martin Davidson: Skills. All those skills you mentioned are hugely important, though very difficult to tackle. We now have curricula, certainly in the UK and I think more widely across Europe, focusing on European history and European geography to the exclusion of other parts of the world.

One of the things I'm very proud of is that we had some schools in Manchester, in one of the wettest cities – I believe the wettest city in the whole of Europe – doing a geography project on the meaning of water with some schools from Baluchistan in Pakistan, one of the driest places on Earth. So actually getting people thinking about other places seems to me to be vitally important. Above all the skills are curiosity and fascination with the other.

Surendra Munshi: Thank you. The last question, a difficult question to Mr. Daud Khattak. What's so sexy about the Taliban? What is so special about the Taliban?

Daud Khattak: The Taliban is now becoming a phenomenon. I will explain what the word Talib means. A Talib is a man in Pakistani or Afghan society who cannot earn for himself, who cannot earn money, who cannot earn bread for himself. And people from the neighborhood feed him. These men are studying in a madrassa or religious seminary. Now this is a big question – how do such people who cannot earn for themselves become a big enough power to pose such a threat to the rest of the world, not only to Afghanistan and Pakistan? There may be some hired hands behind them. In addition, in some areas, the Taliban exist because of frustration. That is the shortest answer.

Surendra Munshi: Ladies and gentlemen, you will agree with me that our panelists have done a splendid job. And allow me as a moderator to thank them on your behalf and my behalf as well. I think I can safely say that this panel has shown not just diversity, but also inter-

dependence. To think in terms of Asia becoming the superpower of the 21st century would be a fallacy. To think in terms of competition by virtue of multiple powers fighting it out would be suicidal. The sanest attitude that we can take is that humanity is faced with massive opportunities and at the same time with massive challenges, and today, Asians, along with others on this globe have the possibility of working together, either for our extinction as a human race, or for greater prosperity. I thank you all.

Shirin Ebadi

Planetary Environmental Boundaries

11th October 2010, Žofín Palace, Forum Hall

Keynote Speech:
George Monbiot, Author and Columnist, The Guardian, United Kingdom

Moderator:
Bedřich Moldan, Member, Senate of the Parliament, Czech Republic

Participants:
Stefan Behnisch, Architect, Partner, Behnisch Architekten, USA/Germany
Ladislav Miko, Director for Nature, Directorate General for Environment, European Commission, Belgium/Czech Republic
Peter Thum, Founder, Ethos Water, CEO, Fonderie47, USA

Bedřich Moldan: I'm very happy that you have gathered for this panel. I believe it is one of the important topics of this year's Forum. If you look closely at the program, you can see that the environmental aspects are represented by many other events. The panel we are just starting is central to it. Our topics are planetary boundaries and environmental boundaries. Environmental issues have been the main topic of a great number of conferences, starting almost 40 years ago with the Stockholm conference in 1972, up to today. Some of the topics like climate change dominate a lot of high level international gatherings. Despite this, many kinds of environmental pressures are not diminishing.

One very important contribution was made about a year ago by my Swedish colleague, Professor Rockström and his team, who defined the planetary boundaries. These boundaries define a space which he calls a "safe operating space for humanity". When these boundaries are crossed, there is a danger of unpredictable and potentially catastrophic developments. Our panel will try to respond to the following questions: Do you believe that such boundaries really exist, how can they be determined and how can they be translated? If you believe they exist, then how can they be translated into practical policies? And what then are the consequences of these policies, either existing or proposed, and what are the consequences for the lives of citizens, not just entrepreneurs and politicians, but for everyone.

This is a very important question: are these boundaries really important or relevant? Should people strive not to cross them? If so, some of the policies could be rather harsh and possibly in conflict with human freedoms and with the wishes of ordinary people. I would like to invite our keynote speaker, George Monbiot, a journalist and publisher from the UK, to open our panel with his keynote address.

George Monbiot: Thank you very much for inviting me to speak here. I'm not going to spend too much time on planetary environmental boundaries and spelling out exactly what they are, because you can look them up on Google; that's what the internet is for. What I want to do here is to stimulate an exciting and perhaps radical discussion as to why we are evidently failing to remain within them and what on earth we are going to do about it.

Very briefly, the concept was first formulated in a clear way in September last year. A paper published in the journal *"Ecology and Society"* named nine key critical environmental boundaries, and tried to quantify those boundaries to show at which point we go beyond them into a phase which could damage the global environment and human

survival. The issues they've identified are: biodiversity, the dispersal of man-made chemicals, climate change, fresh water systems, stratospheric ozone depletion, land use change, nitrogen and phosphorus impacts and atmospheric aerosols, the particles high in the environment.

They say that on three of those areas we are already way beyond the safe limits. Those ones are biodiversity; the safe limit is the extinction of no more than 10 species out of every million – we appear to be far beyond that. Nitrogen, where they said we should be producing through industrial and agricultural means no more than 25% of nitrogen naturally fixed by the terrestrial ecosystem – again, we are way beyond that. Climate change, where they identified the boundary as being 350 parts per million of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere – well we're already at 390 plus some.

With one of these boundaries we seem to have got the situation under control and that's the depletion of the ozone layer – stratospheric ozone. With all the others, we're heading in the wrong direction. Why are we able to sort out ozone and nothing else? Primarily because the problem was a very specific one, coming from a few point sources. It was the manufacturers of chlorofluorocarbons. They were depleting stratospheric ozone; we dealt with them and got rid of the problem. They were relatively easy to confront, because they were a small industrial lobby group and they didn't have much weight with governments. The Montreal Protocol could come along and simply say "We're going to ban these refrigerants, these chlorofluorocarbons, end of problem".

There's a lesson in there, that basically if you've got a relatively weak industrial lobby group, you can get somewhere. That should show us that part of the problem, at least, is the strength of industrial lobby groups.

Why have we made such catastrophically poor progress with everything else? I believe that the root cause for this environmental destruction, which these planetary boundaries document, is the same as the root cause of loss on so many progressive fronts, all the way from social justice and the welfare state, through to inequality. On many of the issues that we're facing today we are spiraling backwards in terms of progressive policy – why is this? Well, there was a strong clue I feel in one of the sessions we had earlier today, where Fareed Zakaria was talking about his vision of global democracy, and he was giving us a wonderful panglossian view of how everything is improving and we're going to end up with the best of all possible worlds as a result of just letting the free market have its head and everybody gets richer. As a result the world becomes more

democratic. But he said there is a problem; there's a problem of vested interests spoiling this picture and pursuing short-term advantage which will damage future generations.

I thought great, perhaps now we're going to hear about Exxon Mobil and its attempts to prevent climate change from being tackled; maybe we're going to hear about the Koch Brothers in the United States who are funding and directing the Tea Party movement and massively undermining democracy over there; perhaps we're going to hear about the ways the multinationals corrupt developing world governments. No, the vested interests he identified were environmental lobbyists who are preventing growth by lobbying against the new airport development in the United Kingdom, the Terminal 5 development. It was an appalling example to choose because this very bureaucratic cumbersome cock-up which was the Terminal 5 public inquiry was opposed just as much by environmental groups as by those who wanted a new airport.

But how on earth could someone as intelligent, as interesting as Fareed Zakaria come to the conclusion that the big democratic problem today is civil society lobbying and not corporate power? How could he come to the conclusion that the problem which is damaging the prospects of future generations is concern about environmental issues rather than a lack of concern about environmental issues?

The reason is that the views he gave us this morning, though doubtless genuinely held by him, were the absolute mainstream establishment views which are now represented in Washington, which you will hear among the elite in the United States and indeed around the world. These have become mainstream, and they have not become mainstream by accident. They have become mainstream through an extremely effective system of corporate lobbying and the corporate shaping of public discourse. If you like you can take it back to 1947 and the foundation of the Mont Pelerin Society by people like Friedrich von Hayek, who were at the time a very marginal group indeed, but they were supported by some big money. A lot of multimillionaires and corporations liked what they were saying: that the market should triumph over all and the role of the state should be confined solely to securing the market, securing private property and facilitating business. Big business liked that message and gradually their ideas spread and became mainstream. Václav Klaus takes the word of von Hayek and Von Mises and gives it the same biblical authority as his communist opponents once gave to writings of Marx and Lenin, and he sums up the neoliberal position thus: "Human wants are unlimited and should remain so." This I believe is one of the most chilling statements I've ever heard.

Now, what these guys have done, particularly in the United States, but elsewhere around the world as well, is to recast the debate to distract people from the actual issues of environmental deterioration and other problems of inequality and social injustice. They have recast the debate in terms of values. Getting people away from talking about facts and figures where things go horribly wrong from the right wing point of view. In doing so, they've cleverly pushed our values along the spectrum from intrinsic to extrinsic.

Intrinsic values are those held strongly by people who put a lot of weight on relationships, on their relationships with friends and families and communities and who are quite happy in themselves. Extrinsic values are all about our self-image, it's about financial success, it's about the way we look, about the impression we create, about seeking rewards or praise from other people. Now, we've seen a very sharp shift, closely documented by psychologists, over the past few decades, from intrinsic to extrinsic values; people put far more weight on those outward shows, especially on financial success. What psychologists also show very clearly, and this is consistent in 70 countries where this has been studied, is that those who put strong weight on financial success tend to be much less caring about other people. They have less empathy; they are less interested in human rights, less interested in equality, less interested in the environment. The conservative and corporate effort has been to inculcate and foster those extrinsic values. This creates a more favorable environment for corporate power to grow and in doing so they make it extremely hard for any of us to pursue either the protection of the environment or other progressive liberal ideas that we favor. Unfortunately, progressives have completely played into their hands, because rather than trying to confront those values and to shift them back along the spectrum from extrinsic to intrinsic, we have tended to appease them. For instance environmentalists have said: "You could be really cool if you buy a hybrid car." And in doing so, we emphasized the value of being cool, looking good and impressing your friends. Rather than what we should really be talking about which is being kind and caring and empathetic towards other people. Until we can start shifting those values back along the spectrum, I believe we will continue to fail to deal with any of these planetary boundaries or any of our wider progressive aims.

By simply confronting people with facts when they're not ready to receive them because their values are in the wrong place, we're not going to succeed. Instead of breaking this up, breaking it up into those 9 boundaries, breaking it up issue by issue, trying to tackle it piece by piece, knowing that we are failing on all fronts, we should instead start coming together and start talking about what society should look like, what values we want to hold, what ideals we should be aspiring to. Whether we really want to end up as a fundamentally selfish, neoliberal people who put enormous store on financial success or whether we want to end up with a world that's better for everybody. A world where we care about people who are less fortunate than ourselves, where we care about future generations, and we care about the unborn.

This is the values-based discussion that we should be having. The more technical we make it, the more specific we make it, the more we divide it up into these 9 subject areas or 20 subject areas or 100 subject areas, and treat them all as if they were separate, discrete issues, the more we will fail to address any of them. This is about hearts and minds. This is about a serious and coordinated assault on hearts and minds going back at least 60 years; an assault whose figureheads are people like Václav Klaus, but which is promoted covertly by some very powerful corporate actors who fund think tanks, who fund political movements like the Tea Party, who try to change our values and change the sort of people that we are.

We cannot fight them without fighting them, on the territory of values, on the territory of culture, on the territory of society. We have to be the change we want to see. And being the change we want to see means being the good people we want to be. That means we must not allow the territory to be seized from us by market fundamentalists, we must not allow them to monopolize public debate. Instead we should seek to establish those values that we believe in and should stop being embarrassed about saying simple things like: "These policies are good and kind, and these other policies are selfish and cruel."

Thank you.

Bedřich Moldan: I hope that your speech will provoke the other panelists to answer not only my questions, but also your questions so that there will be a lively debate. I will now invite the panelists to add their piece. First I would like to give the floor to Stefan Behnisch, who is an architect promoting sustainable architecture.

Stefan Behnisch: Let us establish the idea that the change we are looking at is not a minor change; it is a re-thinking of ideals, it's a change of paradigms, a change of parameters. If we want to change the outcome, we have to change the parameters from the start. In my field, most people think we can build the same buildings we have built all over and just add a couple of technical gimmicks and we are home free. That's not working. Now, for fundamental change, I don't even understand why people really look to politics, because fundamental change is never top-down. It is always bottom-up. I come from a country where the Green Party has been very well established for twenty years. And even though they are a very interesting political power, which we now notice in debates, they've become part of the establishment. I think once we establish or understand that politics is more or less the common denominator, it becomes very difficult for politics to react in a radical way.

We could go on to talk about lobbyists; you described the NRA phenomenon in industry here. I wouldn't go along because lobbying is only functional in a very established environment, in established politics. In the city I come from, Stuttgart, we have a phenomenon; I don't know if you have heard about it. They want to build a new train station, Stuttgart 21. It has provoked a revolution. We haven't had such violent protests, such big protests, since the mid-1980s and it is not only to do with the train station, but with politics. The way politics works, the project was delayed for 15 years and then they suddenly decided to build it. No changes, no amendments, no reaction. At first people just wanted the project to be reconsidered but then suddenly it turned into total dissatisfaction with politics.

The phenomenon is not that it's a Green Party, the phenomenon is the conservatives as well. Conservative voters are suddenly demonstrators. You see middle-aged people, older people, and retirees with pearl necklaces standing in front of anti-riot water tanks, police cordons and violence the like of which I've never seen.

We are discussing a phenomenon here that is environmental, and it's not new. The Club of Rome´s report *"The Limits of Growth"* is an old story, but the consequences are now more violent. We tend to relate to politics and I don't think it works. It doesn't work through governments, it doesn't work through legislation, because legislation is the common denominator. In my opinion, it only works through individualism, through interest groups, different interest groups. It works through non-political and also political interest groups, but not through the established parties, because they all think in four-year terms, in terms of the next election.

The biggest challenge we have is common thinking and the economic belief that "We cannot afford it. We cannot afford a more environmentally-sound world." That's a big misconception; we cannot afford not to have a more environmentally-sound world! The question is not: "Does it make economic sense?" The question is "Can we afford to go on like this?" We have to rearrange our economy to cope with it. It might even make economic sense. Silicon Valley thinks it makes sense. The question is not "Whether we do it or not?" The question is "How do we do it?!" Thank you.

Bedřich Moldan: Thank you very much, I think that is precisely the sort of reaction we need on this panel. Now I am giving the floor to my friend Ladislav Miko, who is the Director for Nature of the Directorate General for Environment of the European Commission in Brussels.

Ladislav Miko: Good afternoon everybody. Let me make a few comments. First of all, I think that humans have to accept that they are strongly and dramatically influencing the planet, but they are not running the planet. We have to accept that there are ecosystems here. There is something more than just humans here. I don't think this is a generally accepted idea and this is very important.

Secondly, there is a Czech saying that humans can even get used to hell, which means we are highly adaptable animals. What we thought of in the 1970s as unacceptable is now happening and everyone is basically used to it. I remember some alarmist reports in the 1970s about flooding and storms etc. This is what we live with now. Is it a big problem? We have got used to it, and that's a big problem! We think we will intuitively get used to almost anything. I will come back to the theme of the Forum this year. It is "The World We Want to Live In". If you respect the boundaries, it will be "The world in which we can live". There's a difference between "want" and "can". I think what we want is a little bit more than what we can survive on, and that must be precisely defined.

I would say that there is one concept in the boundaries which I think is still missing. I have had many discussions around the fact that nothing new is created in terms of ecology. Anyone interested in ecology will tell you that in ecosystems, you have the flow of materials and energy. We are not talking about energy in terms of energy for human action, but energy to run this world. All the ecosystems, everything that is here, everything that is supporting us, human society, our economics, is energy which is in the ecosystems and is transformed.

What has happened in the last 200 years? Humans are using greater and greater proportions of energy. In some highly developed communities it's more than 50%, sometimes 70% of energy.

Now, you would say this is great, we are efficient; we get the energy and we use it. But the rest of the ecosystem needs the same energy to live and we are using this energy for another purpose, leaving less energy for natural systems (bacteria, fungi, plants….). I think this is a very good common denominator. There must be energy for the world to run properly. One of the approaches which can help is to use wisely the existing natural mechanisms. Although we can replace the mechanisms because we are so clever, we mustn't, because ecosystems can do it for us. We will not have to pay and spend energy. This is extremely important. Working with nature, if you wish, is very crucial, in order to not go beyond the borders of this planet.

People are afraid because they are pretty well manipulated by what they hear. "You will lose your job, you won't have enough food, you will have to go back to living in caves because there won't be any energy etc." People are afraid; they want to live as they live now. They are relatively conservative and if they don't know what is really happening, then these fears make them vulnerable to manipulation. Then even the bottom-up approach will only come once the crisis is already here and we cannot prevent it. You have to get to the point when the crisis has arrived and people say: "Enough is enough, we don't believe this anymore and we can do something."

With the information in the Rockström Report, it should be very clear that we probably don't have enough time to wait until we are confronted with the crisis. We have to be preventative. We need to work more on properly informing people about where we are. Thank you.

Bedřich Moldan: Thank you very much for being very precise and adding a lot to our discussion. Our last speaker is Peter Thum, who is a social entrepreneur focused particularly on Africa. The floor is yours.

Peter Thum: I'd like to start with a question for you. How many of you drive cars? How many of you drive a small car? And how many of you have ever driven what would be considered a large luxury car? A four-door sedan? Come on, you can admit it. I want you to imagine the difference between those two experiences. I've driven both kinds of cars. It's fun to drive a big luxury car with leather seats. With all these devices in it. It feels good.

I would differ in opinion with George. I think it's very clever to make change sexy. I think that the people at Prius were very clever in the way that they established their marketing campaign to make the Prius car the object of desire. Leveraging human need for success in a way that makes not consuming a desirable thing is a way to win.

Ultimately, when we talk about nature like something we're not a part of, when we think about nature as an object, rather than something that we are intrinsically linked with, when we think about it as the responsibility of activist groups, we put ourselves in great danger. At the highest level, the 9 boundaries are talking about an ecosystem within which we are only one part and then humanity comes along and nations come along and then your communities and the groups you belong to are part of that and you as an individual have to make decisions. Within all of this some people will make moral decisions and some people won't. And people who don't make moral decisions are often very good at organizing, a talent which the first group needs.

I was recently at an event in New York for a small political party, an interesting party that only exists in the State of New York but which has done some very extraordinary things in terms of lobbying for progressive movements. The people who run that organization were over the last year and a half aggressively attacked. It was one of the few organizations that's managed to survive. There were some other people in the room who are also involved in American politics who had not survived those kinds of attacks. I think that in political life, it's very difficult to be progressive and I think that, at least in the United States, the progressive political movement hasn't really organized itself effectively and it hasn't set up an ecosystem for survival of people who are fighting for human rights and issues that ultimately are of great concern to the population. That is something that is going to have to happen.

Back to this topic of change; if we want to ultimately have smaller cars by choice and live differently and consume less packaging, people will have to change their lives. One of the questions that was posed to this panel was: "Will the changes that we have to go through be harsh?" I suppose they could be considered harsh in terms of the change you would have to go through from driving a very large German automobile to a very small German automobile in one day. That might be emotionally painful for people, but the alternative is far worse and so I think it gets down to the individual level. To the moral choices you make on a daily basis, because politicians and corporations will not make the choices for us.

So the world that we want to live in is ultimately about desire. The question is: what do you desire, what do you want? What's very interesting is that some of the smartest people in the world – in terms of investment – live in a very small strip outside of San Francisco called Silicon Valley. Some of the smartest guys who I know there are investing in clean energy. I think that's a combination for them of their desire to have their money invested well for the future, but also these people have for the first time in their career a very strong connection between the way they make their investments and the fact that they've started to think about the world that their children will live in. I have seen them at conferences, they come with their children and I think that although their investment is certainly about future economic returns, it's also about placing money in a place where they think those returns will have an impact on the future of their children's' lives.

I'm a big believer in sex appeal and I think we should be investing in things to make them sexy so that people want to change and that the Darwinian desire of humanity moves in the direction of Priuses instead of big luxury cars.

Bedřich Moldan: I thank all of you for your presentations. I think that there was a rare consensus on several things. Let me try to summarize them. First of all, that the most important thing is human values, as was stressed by George Monbiot, and then it followed that it is not only just values about what is good and what is bad, but that these values should have a concrete shape. In the words of Ladislav, to work not against nature, but in consensus with nature. All of you actually stressed that there should be a bottom-up approach and Peter said it very clearly: Don't believe the politicians will do the work instead of you. It's up to all of you.

Let us start our second round: We would agree that there is a certain change of values needed. It's up to people. The political parties and politicians at large will not help much. So how to make it happen? How to achieve this fundamental change, that's not about small incremental changes but about fundamental change? How can we do it?

George Monbiot: What I'd really like to do is to pick up on some of the differences between Peter and myself because I think they're very interesting and I think Peter said some very interesting things which possibly reflect the Atlantic divide to some extent. The North-American perspective on this is, generally, very different from the European perspective. My general response is to quote Oscar Wilde: "the prob-

lem with being too modern is that you grow old very quickly". If you persuade people that a small car is the wonderful, sexy must-have thing which shows what a cool guy you are, it sure as hell isn't going to be cool or fashionable the next year. If you make it a fashion item, if you make it an object of desire, as Peter suggests, it very quickly ceases to be that thing because the fashion cycle moves on. The whole idea of fashion in marketing in general is to make sexy things unsexy, so that you can sell something else instead! You don't want people to stay still; you don't want people to stick with what they've got.

I thought your phrase "leveraging the human need for success is the way to win" is a very interesting phrase which you could look at in two completely different ways. What I think you were saying was appeal to those extrinsic values, appeal to people's desire for personal success and you will reach them where they're at. Now my response to that would be that this approach again reinforces and legitimizes those extrinsic values that tell people it is good to prioritize personal success over the generalized success of humanity. As a result of that, you're going to make the next battle harder to fight.

What you perhaps might have meant is the human need for success of all humanity and the survival of all humanity. Now if we were to emphasize that, we could do so by appealing to intrinsic values and by appealing to those values not only do we potentially win the battle, but we can also make it easier to win the wider war of pushing on more and more of an open door as you switch people's concerns back along that extrinsic to intrinsic axis.

Another interesting thing came up when you mentioned these friends of yours in Silicon Valley investing in clean energy. That is of course what we desperately need as a very big part of the solution, but it's only a part of the solution. Tackling climate change is not just the question of the investments you make. Far more important is the disinvestments you make – it's what you get out of, rather than what you get into. The fear that I have and we're seeing it worldwide, you know, people say: "Look at China, huge investments in renewables, in India, huge investments in renewables, fantastic, we love it!" But look at the huge investments in coal which are taking place at the same time. Investing in clean technology while not disinvesting in dirty technology is a bit like saying: "OK, I've had two Big Macs, a chocolate fudge cake and some ice cream today, but I've also had a salad, so how's that for my diet?" You don't lose weight by eating a salad on top of everything else, you lose weight by eating less of the other things. And this is what our approach to energy or indeed to any of these issues has to be. Investing in clean energy does not solve the climate crisis. What solves it is getting out of dirty energies. Not investing in fossil fuels. Leaving fossil fuels in the ground is the only form of carbon-capturing storage which is proven to be geologically stable. It's worked pretty well for the past 350 million years. I don't see why it shouldn't work for the next few thousand.

The danger is that we are so fixated on these market solutions, the market being the answer to everything, that we believe that we can fix this by selling people better cars or fix it by pouring money into clean energy. Actually, we need regulation, we need people to come along and say: "It's not just a question of doing what is good, but it's also a question of not doing what is bad."

But for regulation to be able to take place, we need a value system which makes it possible and that means we need to look at the bigger picture and stop playing to the situation as it stands. Stop trying to appease the market, stop trying to appease people's selfish desire for financial success. This, as all the psychological work shows, is in direct opposition to the desire for wider success of humanity to survive environmental and social and equitable crises. We have to think big on this. We have to stop thinking inside the box which the neoliberals and the market fundamentalists have created for us. My feeling, which might be unfair, is that Peter is thinking inside that box and I want us to smash that box and start thinking like human beings rather than pawns in this big marketing exercise which has been created for us to live in.

Peter Thum: I will just quickly respond, I think you have to do both at the same time. In the United States you can't achieve anything governmentally without industry. Maybe you can in Parliament, but you can't in Congress. So I think you have to be realistic about human behavior and address human behavior through market forces and through marketing at the same time as putting pressure on investment through governmental regulation. When I was a kid, we used leaded fuel, my father had an MG and he put leaded fuel into that car, but you can't get it anymore in the United States, because we outlawed it. Governmental regulation can make changes, but to some extent, starting from the point where you want to be is great in theory, but it doesn't get you there and I think you have to do both at the same time.

Stefan Behnisch: I would like to add something. There's good news and bad news. Let me start with the bad news about human behavior. In Germany, SUV sales for the first 6 months of this year are up 30%, and the bankers' bonuses are up again as well. So the industry is trying to go back to 2007 right now. That's the bad news.

The good news: When I was a kid and grew up, and we went to a forest, we would find refrigerators, old cars... We would drive behind a bus and see bottles and cans flying out. Today our kids and their friends wouldn't even spit out their chewing gum onto the street. I think there's been a huge behavioral change we haven't even noticed.

I don't really believe that fashion changes behavior, because fashion implements fast change. Good environmental behavior should actually be socially acceptable, not just fashionable, but acceptable in general.

But as for politics and governments, the 20th century was a century of ideologies. In politics, in architecture, everywhere. The 21st century is not. I notice especially in Germany that political parties are losing members. People are floating, they are far more pragmatic than they were in the past and I actually think people are more educated, more reasonable than they were in the past. Whenever we had a revolution, it was that people wanted something for themselves out of it – better living conditions, more freedom or whatever it was. Once people understand that this environmental challenge we are facing is their genuine personal interest, that it actually jeopardizes their private life and the lives of their children, I think we'll have a very basic foundation for fundamental change. People have to understand.

Ladislav Miko: I would agree but I still didn't hear an answer to the question: "how?" We basically speak about what we need, people to believe, change behavior etc, but how? Let me oppose slightly what might be a common view of the panel. I think that bottom-up is a necessary condition, but top-down must meet bottom up, it must be something that comes from the top as well. We cannot just wait until the bottom reaches the top of the political ladder, because we will lose a lot of time. It depends of course on the willingness and availability of people who are able to do something top-down, but I think it's important.

You said we need regulation, it must come from new values, but people must learn about that. How do they learn new values? It's education. Ecological education has been in schools for 40, 30 years, depending on the part of the world they're in. Where is the change? It's

not happening, because at the same time we're learning that you will only be successful if you are able to make money. The free market is a mantra which you have to learn, because it brought democracy, freedom, etc. For a child, it is very hard to find the way between market economy success and the link to environmental problems. And here comes what you said about intrinsic values. I agree that this is probably the most important, but I do believe as well that without translating these intrinsic values into the free market economic system we will not get the behavior change we need. The majority of people have been exposed for 40 or 50 years to a strong message about the system and how they have to operate it. Now we need to put these new values into the existing system. Just as people had to accept that there is a financial debt, we also have to agree that there is an ecological debt we have to pay and that it is also a part of the economy and only then will people say: "OK, it's better for our future not to create such a debt, because it will cost a lot more in the future", and then they can probably start to think other way, I believe.

Bedřich Moldan: Thank you very much and now before I give the floor to the plenary, I would give all the panelists just one minute to respond. George.

George Monbiot: I just wanted to respond to what Ladislav said. I think he is perfectly right. What changes people's values is not so much what is said to them but the lived experience of being within a particular system. Psychological work, empirical work shows very clearly that if you live in a system which is fundamentally fair and equitable, you tend to value fairness and equity much more and your values shift from extrinsic to intrinsic.

Take the health system in the UK for example. Regardless of all its faults, it is basically a universal system which applies to everybody. It has unquestionably contributed to having a slightly more intrinsic view of society and what we owe to other people and the general good of society. In countries where the poor do not have access to healthcare and are shut out of the health system, the psychological work indicates very strongly that that contributes to a more generally extrinsic set of values in the population.

So Ladislav is quite right. It's not just a question of promoting those values; it's a question of actually creating a political and economic system which reflects them. But of course you can't create that system until people are ready for it. What that means is that we must con-

stantly work not just at the little specific details of policy, but at that big picture of promoting values which are basically good and kind and empathetic and not being at all ashamed of that. People need to understand how these values operate, to understand how they've been spectacularly manipulated by neoconservatives, by corporate money going into think tanks. To expose that, to take on the advertising industry which has had an enormous affect in reshaping our values and making us worse people. Making us people who value personal success and personal appearance. People need to get together and expose the very cynical and manipulative way in which advertisers work. In doing that, we create a social environment which makes the sort of economic and political change that you were talking about more feasible.

Peter Thum: I think it's interesting that solutions that come across from either people operating on the edge of progressive politics or people operating on the edge of investing or new ideas for products will probably be roundly criticized from both sides. There were a lot of articles written about the Prius and hybrid technology as being something that wasn't necessarily the best solution. Those articles came from both editors of Forbes Magazine and people in government who were saying this is not the right direction for us to be moving in.

I don't think there will be a lot of perfect solutions coming from industry, but I think that those companies that try to make an effort to move in the right direction do need at least to be heralded. The things that they are doing will, if they are effective, gain support. Ultimately companies have to change, but they will only change in the direction where the money is. They'll only change in the direction where profit is, unless they're limited by government and unless very specific and strict market controls are set up that create a new box for them. And once this box is created, there will be fierce competition in that box, but that box has to be built.

Bedřich Moldan: Thank you. Now three audience questions.

Elia Zenghelis from the audience: My name is Elia Zenghelis and I'm an architect. I want to thank and congratulate this panel for giving us the most challenging arguments on what has been a very challenging day anyway. I have a question or an area of concern. Mr. Behnisch and also most of the speakers came to the conclusion that we shouldn't expect choice to be made for us by the politicians. That it's not a top-down issue, but a kind of bottom-up issue. I believe it is a highly political question, but when we're talking about bottom-up action, if it is to be effective, it requires mobilization. You may have convinced this audience, but how about the vast majority of people out there? How do you mobilize neoliberal consumers who are enslaved by the charms of the market, who do not care about the unborn, as you have so eloquently said? Do we have the time? If not, the question is rhetorical, or academic.

Lieven De Cauter from the audience: Even though it was great to listen to you, I missed three major things. Demography, the word demography was not mentioned, I think that's a fatal flaw. The logic of growth was not mentioned and it's not only neoliberal, it's deeply engrained in the economies modernity has known, even the communist economy. And thirdly, the globalization of mobility. I'm thinking of cheap flights. We can have smaller cars but won't achieve much for the environment as long as we have more flights. I don't want to test the audience of how many people fly more than once a year. We all do. So global mobility, the logic of growth and demography. Thank you.

Bedřich Moldan: Thank you, so I think we will start with Ladislav.

Ladislav Miko: I will first address the first two comments. I mentioned that I believe that instead of bottom-up we need top-down. I just want to demonstrate it in an example which is very well known here in the Czech Republic or any of the post-communist countries which joined the European Union. It was a pre-condition for entering the EU to accept the environmental and other "acquis communautaires". I believe that if this had not been the condition of entry to the club, our environmental legislation would not be as advanced as it is. This shows that sometimes you need to be in a situation where you are pushed to accept something that has been agreed elsewhere as a good concept.

The second issue is that I see in the Commission, or in the European Union as a concept, a chance for longer-term thinking. The political cycles in individual states predetermine the political debate, while those "bad" bureaucrats sitting in Brussels can develop longer views or strategies. They are not dependent on the next day. They don't need to say what people want to hear to be elected. So I see these as levels which can contribute to the top-down discussion. I'm not saying it is always done in the best way, but it's an opportunity. Second, obviously I agree with what you said here about the three important elements: global mobility, the logic of growth and demography. True, but I think

this is all linked to the economic system in which we live. It is a logical consequence. It is the end of a story which has evolved over a very long time. Until we are really able to internalize what is now an external, we will not get out of this discussion. I completely agree that it is about value change but I cannot imagine how to do it. As you said, 80–90% of people just need something that they can easily understand. Because they live in an economic system, they need to have what we consider and believe is important included in this system. Otherwise it will not be accepted. I think the only way at the moment is to internalize the ecological debt into the economic system we have.

Stefan Behnisch: First of all, we have one hour – we can't mention all the obvious stuff, that flying is too cheap, and driving is bad: it would lead nowhere. To the politics of bottom-up, top-down; for the sake of clarity and discussion we probably overstated some things. We probably made it sharper than it should be. The truth is always somewhere in the middle. Coming on to politics, I don't think we can depend on rituals anymore. Rituals are a problem for all of us. I think politics are very important and when we go to vote every 4 years, we have to vote with our conscience. We all agree on that, but I don't think we can afford any more to say "OK, we have good legislation, we have done a good job, let's go home." It's not working. In Germany, the minister responsible for architecture is actually responsible for traffic and infrastructure and architecture; that tells you where architecture stands in Germany, behind infrastructure, behind traffic. Actually more than 30% of energy is burned in buildings. Traffic is only something like 8%, so there is a huge field we have to look at and to work with.

I don't think it works as long as we think that it's enough to vote, to put your cross in the right box, to have our building minister say "OK, we have passed a new law, let's all go home and prepare for the next election". We have to overcome the rituals. It is not that I am saying we all should stand up and have a new revolution – that's not the point. The point is we have to overcome rituals and overcome the belief that things will rectify themselves. They won't. Thank you.

George Monbiot: I'll try briefly to answer those questions. The first thing: an example of where things have gone wrong. Feed-in tariffs: which allow people in Germany and now the UK and several other countries to make money by producing electricity (using solar cells on their roof) which they sell to the national grid. Feed-in tariffs have been extremely effective in ensuring that middle-class people make

a lot of money, because they have been very well rewarded for generating electricity. They have been absolutely hopeless at generating large quantities of renewable electricity. There's a very good reason for this. People do not live where ambient energy sources are strong. We don't live on the tops of the mountains, we don't live in the middle of the deserts and we don't live in the middle of the ocean. There are very good reasons why we don't live where there is a lot of ambient energy: because it's not very nice there. We generally live in very sheltered places in northern Europe; we live in places where when the sun comes up, people run into their houses, because they think it's a UFO, because they see it so seldom, which is certainly the case in the United Kingdom.

What we have is this crazy policy in the UK, which we have inherited from Germany, where we encourage everybody to put solar panels on their roofs, hoping that this is the way we're going to solve our energy problem. In the UK! Solar energy is completely inappropriate in a place like the UK. It has a poor yield for the investment that you put in, but it makes people feel good to be generating their own electricity. The only way they can do it on their own roofs is with solar panels, because windmills work even less. I would prefer that we invested that money where it's going to be 10 or 20 times as effective, which is in large-scale wind, large-scale solar in north Africa.

So put your money where it's most effective. It's a fundamental principle of sustainability that you use your resources to best possible effect and you use as little of those resources as you possibly can. What is the point of spending a thousand Euros on a solar panel which is going to produce 1 unit of electricity, when that same thousand Euros spent on a very well-sited wind farm in a place where the wind is very strong is going to produce 10 or 15 units of electricity? Feed-in tariffs are a waste of money, we shouldn't go down that route – it's not an environmentally effective way to operate. It seems to me that feed-in tariffs are just trying to appease existing attitudes. Attitudes that we will solve this problem by ourselves, as individuals, within the market, using market mechanisms to do it and we'll make ourselves rich and we'll save the planet. There is a fundamental contradiction between those aims and feed-in tariffs perfectly encapsulate it.

Now, the key question. How do we mobilize people who don't care? Do we have the time to do it? To come back to these planetary boundaries, for quite a few of them, we have effectively run out of time. Certainly if you look at climate change, it is very hard to see now how

we're going to prevent more than 2 °C of global warming. In fact it's becoming rather hard to see how we're going to prevent more than 4° of global warming. Look at where we are at in 2010. Catastrophic failure of the talks in Tianjin in the past few days, coming on the back of the catastrophic failure of the talks in Copenhagen, almost certainly a catastrophic failure of talks in Cancun. Once you've lost momentum in a process like this, you never really regain it. When you look at where we are, we are far behind where we were in 1992. In 1992, at the Earth Summit in Rio, there were grand targets set, there was optimism, there were lots of people lining up to say: "we're going to do this". It's not just that nothing has happened in those 18 years. We've actually spiraled backwards at a great rate.

Have we got time now to start all over again? The system, the approach we've taken, is broken. It's not working. Do we have time to switch to a new approach? Well, one thing we don't have time to do is to carry on with the broken one. Carrying on is only hitting our head against the wall when it's clear that the wall will not budge. I understand madness to be perpetually doing the same thing, expecting a different outcome. If we carry on doing the same thing, we will be mad and it's just not going to work. The best we can hope to do with any of these planetary boundaries, except possibly stratospheric ozone, is to minimize the ongoing damage. I'm afraid that's where we are at the moment. To do that we do need a fresh approach. The old approach patently is not working, we're losing on all fronts at the moment and when you're losing on all fronts, you have to go back and reconsider your strategy.

The third question on demographic growth, globalization of mobility, again critical issues, but not equally critical. I'm one of the people who feels that the impact of economic growth has been massively downplayed and the impact of population growth has been massively overplayed. We have for instance the Optimum Population Trust in the UK, most of whose public figures are over 70, quite a few of them are over 80. This is a generation which has been responsible for catastrophic environmental failures around the world, doing all sorts of things in terms of our consumption, in terms of the impacts we've had on all 9 of those planetary issues we've been talking about. But the one thing for which post-reproductive white males in the rich world cannot be blamed is population growth. Is it a coincidence that the one thing they want to talk about is population growth!

In fact there was a meeting of billionaires recently in the United States, who got together and said: "We're got to identify the issue which

is most important and concentrate on that". They all concluded, unanimously, that it was population growth, because if there's one thing that billionaires cannot be blamed for it's global population growth. So the result is to point the finger at the poorest people in the world and say: "They are responsible for the big environmental problem". Now, there's no question that population growth is an issue, but a very interesting paper published a few months ago by my uncle David Satterthwaite, looking at climate change and who was responsible for it, found conclusively that those populations which have been growing fastest are least responsible for climate change, because generally they are the poorest people on Earth. If you look at India for instance, the bottom 20% don't use any fossil fuels at all. In fact, because they are largely involved in the recycling industry, the street recycling industry, their environmental impact is probably positive. So having a lot of people in that category hasn't actually damaged the environment. But just a very few extremely rich people can have a devastating environmental impact for the very reasons you were talking about – globalization of mobility, economic growth, consumption and the rest of it.

The key issue here is economic growth, there's no question about that. While we persist with this model of growth and while we try to have as much growth as we possibly can, we undermine all those other environmental goals. The big question which I want to leave you with is: what are we going to do about economic growth? My partial answer to that is we cannot do anything about it until we address the value system that underpins it. Thank you.

Bedřich Moldan: Thank you. I'm not quite sure whether our panel ended up with more optimism or pessimism. I hope that there is an optimistic point which all of you have mentioned in some way. Optimism starting with what ordinary people are doing, with behavior change. Thank you all for your contributions, thank you for your attention.


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KAREL KOVANDA

Poverty and Social Exclusion: Challenges for Developed and Developing Countries

11th October 2010, Žofín Palace, Conference Hall

Moderator:
Jan Urban, Journalist, Czech Republic

Participants:
Olusegun Obasanjo, Former President, Nigeria
Ján Kubiš, Executive Secretary, United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, Switzerland/Slovakia
Tain-Jy Chen, Former Minister, Council for Economic Planning and Development, Taiwan
Salil Shetty, Secretary General, Amnesty International, United Kingdom/India
Beatrice Mtetwa, Lawyer, Human Rights Advocate, Zimbabwe

Jan Urban: Good afternoon. Talking about poverty and social exclusion depends a lot on definitions. So if I may, I will first read the definition of poverty, which we will find is very different in different parts of the world: "People are living in poverty if their income and resources – material, cultural and social – are so inadequate as to preclude them from having a standard of living which is regarded as acceptable by society generally. As a result of inadequate income and resources, people may be excluded and marginalized from participating in activities which are considered the norm for other people in society."

Social exclusion is defined as "being unable to participate in society because of a lack of resources that are normally available to the general population. It can refer to both individuals and communities, in a broader framework with related problems such as low income, poor housing, high-crime environments and family problems." The World Bank defines the poverty line as living on an income lower than $ 1.25 per day – this is absolute poverty. Moderate poverty is defined at the level of $ 2 per day.

We are fortunate to have representatives of politics, economics and human rights activism. So we will get a wide range of opinions. I would like to connect the issue of poverty to the issue of urbanization, because it is said that slum dwellers form 1/3 of the world's urban population.

My main question to the panel is: is poverty and social exclusion a never-ending story? Is it in decline or is it growing? Bear in mind different strategies for development and the extremely interesting Tufts University research led by a Forum 2000 participant two years ago, Guatemalan sociologist and diplomat Jose Maria Argueta, who came up with a very innovative approach: if one wants to look at social exclusion at the bottom, start by looking at social exclusion at the very top. Argueta used his Central American experience, linking the role of the oligarchy in society and the prevention of social mobility with poverty. Having said this, I would like again to welcome you and our panelists and turn to Olusegun Obasanjo.

Olusegun Obasanjo: Thank you very much, chairman. I will start with the question you asked. Is poverty a never-ending problem? Somebody the other day tried to give the answer to me in a religious context. He said, "Jesus Christ said the poor will always be with you and you don't have to worry."

Be that as it may, why are people poor? Are they poor of their own making or are they poor because of the circumstances imposed

on them? Are they innately poor or are they poor because of deprivation, lack of opportunity, poor distribution of resources? Are people poor because of a lack of resources? Are people poor because of a lack of opportunities? Are people poor because of a lack of education? Are people poor because of a lack of adequate healthcare facilities? I do not believe that anybody is born to be poor but are poor because of where they find themselves, how they find themselves, what society has done or has not done to them, how society and government is fashioned. People become poor because of exclusion. It is not social exclusion; it is exclusion from resources and exclusion from what they should be that they are not.

If this is the case, then for me we have enough resources in the world that nobody should go to bed hungry. So what is wrong? What is wrong is that those who have, have in abundance, have more then they should have and prevent those who do not have from having just enough for them to live a fairly ordinary normal life. Poverty, as I said, is not the making of the poor. If it is not the making of the poor and if society makes it possible, then we have to start at the core and banish poverty from society itself. Society has to be reorganized; society has to have norms that really deal with the issue of poverty.

Where do we start? I believe that we have to start at the family level, at the community level, at the local level, where things can be made to happen effectively. And then, of course, at the governmental level because government can redistribute common resources, government can ensure that every child has an adequate education to be able to manage his/her own life in a decent way. The private sector, which can enlarge the economy and can help development, may not necessarily be the best instrument to distribute or to redistribute. So this is where government comes in. The international community has a role to play. The international community must create standards, standards for the community, standards for the locality, standards for the nation.

We have that in the Millennium Development Goals. How do we monitor and make sure that the standard that has been set is carried out and is maintained and sustained? We have that through UNESCO in *"Education for All"* conference . Now, how much have we achieved? And why have we failed to achieve what we should have achieved? We have *"Health for All"*. What are we doing in the area of shelter? These are indicators of poverty levels. Again, we have people talking about aid fatigue, and I don't blame them. If you keep on planning and then what you think will happen is not happening, you

are bound to start feeling: "shouldn't we give up?" But I don't believe that giving up is the answer. Revisiting the aid system and the "I will give it and now it's utilized" attitude is the answer. We cannot give up in desperation and say, "We have failed."

How should we apply aid to make it effective to deal with the issue of poverty? We know that most of the aid goes in two directions: to feed the country and to the bureaucracy in the recipient countries. Now we have to deal with this. I believe that if we are going to deal with poverty, four or five areas must be looked at: education, health, skill acquisition, employment, and shelter. And if you ask me, what is one thing, one single factor that may be the key to unlock all the others, I will without hesitation say education. Thank you.

Jan Urban: Thank you. I hope we will have time to discuss what was the most provocative in your initial remarks: how should aid be applied so its effectiveness is not lost and we don't get into this "aid fatigue" situation? Ján Kubiš, your perspective please?

Ján Kubiš: Thank you very much. Poverty is omnipresent in our life and will be so in the future. It is extremely difficult to fight, and the task of combating poverty will be with us in 20 years, in 30 years, in 40 years.

If I could single out one of the main reasons, it would be urbanization. Urbanization is one of the biggest challenges in the coming decades, not only in this part of the world but everywhere. One of the most important accompanying factors of this is the question of energy accessibility and energy efficiency. That is perhaps both the instrument to address the problems of poverty, but also the challenge. If you look at what is happening in many countries in Africa, in Latin America, in Asia, energy access is still one of the main causes of poverty. You still have families and villages without access to reliable, sustainable sources of energy. This perspective includes questions of energy efficiency for the future, because of urbanization. So these are two elements.

Let me also recall that the topic is not new. The topic of poverty in many manifestations has been with us for a long time, and our efforts to get rid of it or at least change the situation in a qualitative way are not new. In 2000, the international community adopted the *"Millennium Declaration"* with indeed very important, very lofty objectives: the so-called Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Only some two weeks ago, in New York, there was a high-level review conference. There was an analysis of what is happening in this regard with the aim not only of analyzing but also recommitting the international community. This includes the donor community and new emerging donors accelerating their assistance and closing the gaps there. These gaps are very visible in the implementation of the MDGs, because the deadline for implementing them is 2015, so we basically have 5 years to go.

Let me recall what the goals are: Eradicating extreme poverty and hunger. Halving the proportion of people living in absolute poverty between 1990 and 2015. Achieving universal primary education. Promoting gender equality and empowerment of women. Reducing child mortality, improving maternal health, and combating AIDS, malaria and other diseases. Ensuring environmental sustainability, and developing a global partnership for development with targets for aid, trade and debt relief.

What was the outcome of the meeting? Encouraging? Hardly. It brought a recommitment on the part of the international community as The United Nations is the legitimate body expressing the will of the international community. It also brought a commitment that after 2015 this process will continue. There will be another stage, another phase, perhaps with refined MDGs, refined objectives that take into account current developments, including questions that were not covered by MDGs – like energy security, energy access, energy sufficiency or others.

There was also a recommitment of pledges from the major donor countries. Here I have to say that it is good to have them recommitted. It would be much better to have them delivered, and unfortunately this is not necessarily what is happening due to the economic crisis. The fact that we are still in a crisis or a post-crisis period has contributed to a slowing down and even to a reversal of the trend of combating poverty in many parts of the world. My part of the world – central Europe – included.

What was positive is that non-traditional donors were showing interest and many international companies came with new encouraging pledges. We are also witnessing a wave of philanthropy: top individuals on the Forbes lists, pledging significant amounts of their wealth to combat poverty. That is a new development which is very encouraging.

Is it sufficient? Not without government. We have to stay alert because of what is happening now. Even here in the European Union, the biggest donor community in the world, we must follow what is happening in the budget discussions for the new cycle of the EU.

You will see attempts to cut official development assistance, and to divert resources, regardless of all the pledges that we heard two or three weeks ago in New York.

The international community should pay more attention to the issues of MDGs as the instrument of the mobilization of the will of the international community. We have of course many other instruments, but this is one of the best instruments because it is legitimized by 192 member states of the UN. And they have said very clearly what their commitments now are. However it is not enough to get together in New York once a year or at a summit meeting. Nothing will happen without groupings like the EU and other regional and global groupings such as the G20. Here is another point: is the G20, in preparing for the meeting that will take place in the Republic of Korea, committed to delivering what they have expressed as their priorities in New York? Are they committed to reflecting their commitments in their outcome document? At this point of time, given the information that I have, I'm not sure.

Here you see where the gap is. It is between general political commitment and actual delivery, be it in substance, in money, in political attention. I'm concerned that if the G20 as the new emerging group is not focused on this, than all of us are missing the target and we will be faced with poverty in the decades to come. That is why we also need to work in this kind of forum. Thank you very much.

Jan Urban: Thank you for this rather gloomy perspective. Mr. Tain-Jy Chen.

Tain-Jy Chen: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm going to speak about globalization and poverty from an economic perspective. As you all know, globalization started in the late 19th century, and accelerated after World War II. Economic theory tells us that globalization helps goods and production factories move from low-return areas to high-return areas. So productivity increases, income gaps decrease. Such processes reduce poverty. Empirical evidence shows that globalization does reduce the number of people below the poverty line. The absolute number of people living in poverty will decrease as a result of their country's economy opening up to the world. There is very good evidence for this in India and in China in recent years. The number is pretty dramatic.

However, looking at internal income distribution within the country, in most cases you will see a negative development. The gap

between the rich and poor is widening in countries receptive to globalization. On one hand, there is a reduction in the absolute number of people living in poverty as a result of globalization; on the other hand, we are also seeing increasing inequality within a particular country. That is politically unwelcome and produces social instability. The new poor – people becoming poor because of globalization – usually live in urban areas. Mr. Kubiš just said that urban areas are most vulnerable to reversals in income distribution. What is the reason for this?

The underlying cause of this disparity is skills endowment. We do not invest enough in education to reduce the uneven distribution of skills due to globalization. As a result of globalization, jobs are moving from the high-income countries, such as the European Union, to low-income countries, such as China. What happens in Europe as well is an outflow of unskilled jobs. People without skills lose jobs to those countries with relatively low wages. Income distribution in Europe has worsened as a result of this work market phenomenon. On the other side of the globe, these jobs are going to China and India. These jobs look unskilled; but in a developing country, they become relatively skill-intensive. They require a certain level of skill in order to enter the market. This sort of movement of jobs from developed countries to developing countries is worsening income distribution at both ends – in high-income but also in low-income countries. The situation gets worse if this is not a result of trade but rather a result of direct investment. Multinational companies invest in low-income countries by moving their appliances and production activity there. They have a tendency to over-demand skill requirements in the country of production. There is already empirical evidence that consistently shows this.

Imagine a German company moving production to China: they require somebody who speaks German, English or something in order to work in that factory. The requirements of those companies are always more skill-intensive than the rest of the economy. Multinationals are known to pay high wages compared to their counterparts in the host economy. Skilled people who get the opportunity to be employed by those companies will enjoy premium wages – which can again worsen income distribution.

The situation is pretty severe in the case of service offshoring which has become popular in recent years. Software companies are outsourcing their programming work to countries like India and also require high skills. Usually only college-graduate students who

speak English and have a good understanding of commercial practice in western countries have the opportunity to be employed in those kinds of jobs. Again, this favors the skilled workers and is disadvantageous for unskilled workers.

Education becomes important. It is not only basic education: most developing countries provide basic mandatory education. But that is not enough to cope with modern globalization. If people in the developing world are to benefit from globalization, they must have access to education beyond the mandatory level. Higher education is becoming even more important, but how do most people obtain this? In the developing world, the government usually provides basic education at a very low cost, or even for free. But increasingly, in the name of marketization, they are increasing the cost of higher education.

One example is China. They have been advised to marketize higher-education colleges and post-secondary education. The cost of this education will become high compared with their present per capita income. Instead of offering their population relatively free access to higher education, Chinese people need to have enough money for human capital investments. That is going to prolong poverty. People born into a poor family won't be able to pay for their education, and therefore they won't have the opportunity to change their social status. Our experience in Asia always tells us that education is the best way to increase social mobility and change economic status.

Globalization destabilizes jobs and makes them less of a certainty. No matter whether you are in a high-income country or a low-income country, jobs become less secure as a result of opening up to globalization. A prime example is Japan, which used to have lifetime employment. It's no longer possible, because of globalization – so you are subject to many shocks and competition that you have to adjust to. Faced with job insecurity, skills become so important. Although you want to avoid unemployment, sometime in your lifetime your job or your company will suffer from international competition. The only insurance for reemployment is to have good skills or to retrain or re-educate.

This has implications for social security systems. If people are inevitably going to be unemployed due to globalization and they cannot help themselves because of a lack of resources, then government has to provide social security services – mainly healthcare and old age services. If governments are putting all their emphasis on economic growth, as many countries do, rather than looking at the disadvantaged of their population, then they are not going to provide enough social security coverage for their population. Therefore poor people will have less protection in these kinds of situations.

In a globalized economy, you really have to focus on education and social security policy, as they will become very important. Thank you very much.

Jan Urban: Thank you, minister. I will just support your remark about India and China being very different from the rest of the world, with Latin America coming not even near and Africa being very, very far away. Now, we get the perspective of Salil Shetty, Secretary General of Amnesty International. Welcome to Prague. I was your dutiful client in the 1980s, thank you again for saving my neck.

Salil Shetty: Thank you. I have been working on the Millennium Development Goals and poverty question for the last 25–30 years, and I have vowed to myself that I am not going to attend one more conference or discussion on poverty. If you look at the number of conferences and books and lectures on poverty, poverty should have been solved many times by now. By and large, we simply need less talk and more action. Having said that, let me talk.

Some of you might be wondering what Amnesty International is doing talking on the subject of poverty and economic issues. Let me start by clarifying that from our perspective, we believe that all rights are interlinked. Civil political rights are interlinked with economic, social, cultural rights. This distinction is almost meaningless if you go to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights – they are interdependent, indivisible.

Now of course, this is a very interesting question to discuss in the context of the Czech Republic, or in this part of the world. Many of the ex-communist countries, or even today as we speak, China, would tell us that you need to wait for civil political rights. First you sort out your economic, cultural, social rights and then the rest follow. There's a certain sequence to these things. We hear the same line of argument from other countries, not to mention Cuba, Rwanda or Zimbabwe.

I think the Czech Republic and many other countries in this part of the world have actually shown us that the opposite might also be true. That in fact, once you have civil and political freedoms, your economic, cultural and social rights can improve rapidly.

For Amnesty International, poverty is both the cause and the consequence of human rights violations. The prisoners of poverty

are, we think, in the millions if not in the billions. We have been working on prisoners of conscience, and will equally now be working on prisoners of poverty. The torture of hunger is as bad, we believe, as torture in a prison cell. Women dying while giving birth, and as you know 350,000 women die every year in childbirth. That is a violation of the right to life. That's Amnesty International's perspective.

What are the main reasons for violations of these human rights, for this level of extreme poverty and deprivation? Number one is state failure. Governments are failing to deliver basic services, and you have a whole range of reasons why this is happening. In some places it is just lack of state capacity, in other places it is inefficiency, and in other places the money is just being stolen. Most of the arguments I make will be backed up by Amnesty´s on-the-ground studies. For example, we have done a detailed study in South Africa about the distribution of antiretroviral medication.

Interestingly, to see where state services don't reach people and how it affects the lives of excluded groups, you don't need to go far. We have a big challenge of a study which we have done here in the Czech Republic relating to education and the Roma people. I want us to remember in this conversation that we are not talking about a problem in Africa; we are as much talking about a problem here, next door. So the first reason – state failure.

The second reason, a newer phenomenon, and here in a sense I might be saying something slightly different to my colleague from Taiwan, is corporate irresponsibility. You have heard of corporate social responsibility, but we also experience many cases of corporate social irresponsibility. Let me give you one example from my country, a case which we've done a quite a lot of detailed work on called Vedanta, a bauxite mining company. The Vedanta case is very fresh. We have a situation where hundreds of thousands of indigenous people who live in the eastern state of Orissa are facing the risk of displacement because of a bauxite-mining project. Fortunately, thanks to the campaigning of Amnesty International and others, the license for Vedanta to proceed with this has been stopped, at least temporarily. But this is an example of why we feel that corporate irresponsibility is exacerbating the problem in some places.

The third is the failure of the multilateral system, the international level. The richer countries in particular are very reluctant to be tied down by the rule of law. As result of the stalled Doha trade round, we have massive agricultural subsidies that continue to destroy agriculture in developing countries. Special treatment and arrangements needed for the world's poorest countries are still not happening. So looking at poverty, I see state failure as the first reason, corporate irresponsibility as the second, and multilateral failure as the third.

The fourth is a continuous and persistent violation of women's rights. Many of the problems we are talking about in relation to poverty and exclusion are even harder for women throughout the world. I've already talked about maternal mortality. Taking studies in African countries – but not just there – the lack of inheritance and property rights for women severely curbs their ability to get out of poverty, despite the fact that the majority of households in these countries are headed by women.

Finally, just to link it to the point of urbanization and slums – we've done a very detailed study in Brazil. If you're a slum dweller in a favela in Sao Paolo, you have a whole new set of issues related to crime and insecurity. In Brazil, the police in cities like Rio and Sao Paolo is militarized, and we feel that in the long run it's actually going to increase insecurity, particularly for women. The whole question of insecurity and crime is a big challenge that is specific to urban areas.

To close off on the point of slums: I was at the MDG summit a few weeks ago at the UN in New York. The slum issue shows our thinking. If you read the text of the outcome document, it says that we want to see a world without slums. This is fine. But what happens to the slum dwellers? We have a dichotomous situation, where we want to keep making our cities look more and more beautiful, so we make forced evictions the order of the day.

I want to close by saying that there are many things that we can talk about. The question is: where do we go from here? I want to suggest a few ways forward. We feel that a central part of the solution must lie in linking human rights with the development process – this particularly at the national and local level, not just at the global level. We must give the poorest, excluded men and women a very direct voice and active participation in the process of planning and implementation. If you talk to most development people, everybody agrees with this, but it's never practiced. I think if we start practicing this, it will make a very big difference.

Graça Machel, who is a colleague of President Obasanjo and Peter Eigen on the Africa Progress Panel, has always talked about this in the context of Africa. Africa is a place where everybody has

a plan for Africa, except Africans themselves. Of course President Obasanjo has tried some national planning processes, but even today the donors tell African countries what they have to do. And then they ask them: "Why have you not achieved your results?" Because they never give them the policy space that is required. Voice and participation is at the heart of the future.

Second is accountability and here we have some concrete examples of how accountability has increased through the right to information, through the right to food. These are positive examples from my country. Access to justice can also make a very big difference on the ground.

At the UN and in relation to the MDGs, we need much stronger accountability mechanisms. It is not a question of people giving speeches once a year and going back and doing whatever they want. The UN economic and social councils need to have a much greater role and greater ways of holding governments accountable.

Finally of course, we need societal action. If you take the issue of the Roma in the Czech Republic, or the lowest caste in India, we have massive prejudices against them. Unless we change the way in which we approach the Roma people and we remove all the strange prejudices – that they steal, that they do not work, that they are lazy, all these conceptions which we have – I don't think there's much hope. Thank you very much.

Jan Urban: Thank you very much. I'm sure we will get back to some of your remarks. If I remember correctly the document you mentioned, slum dwellers are more threatened with loss of any other rights exactly because of the higher threshold of insecurity and lawlessness. Beatrice Mtetwa, lawyer, human rights activist from Zimbabwe, can you give us your perspective?

Beatrice Mtetwa: Thank you, Chair. I will give an off-the-cuff perspective of the topic, because I did not realize I was on this panel until I came in here.

What is quite clear from what the other panelists have said is that one really cannot separate this topic from issues of democracy and governance. I'm going to approach this topic from the perspective of what can be done at a practical level to deal with poverty reduction, particularly looking at the developed and developing countries. It's not possible to separate poverty from governance and democracy. Looking at developed countries, the Nordic countries,

for example, use their resources to ensure that everybody gets the same benefit from whatever natural resources; we probably could be in the same place in the developing world, if we followed the same kind of model.

I think most of you will agree that the developed world has a lot of resources. Resources that are helping the developed world develop even more than the developing countries. If we found a model that we could use to ensure that those resources were exploited in a way that would ensure that the people in the developing countries benefit, perhaps we would do better than expecting the developed world to be returning what they took from Africa, through the back door, by way of aid. I say this because we have seen how the developed world has dealt, for instance, with the issues of combating terrorism. If we used the same model to combat poverty, we would probably be in a very different place than the one we are in now.

Why don't we have the same international standards for the exploitation of resources in the developed world? Why don't we have basic minimum standards that would stop China going to Zimbabwe to exploit its diamonds? The first standard being that the bulk of that exploitation must remain with the country whose resources are being exploited. Those exploited resources must be plowed back into those communities and not be stashed away in Swiss bank accounts by those in charge of natural resources.

I would advocate that instead of having MDGs which are a never-ending story, we should have a model that would say this is where we are currently with poverty in the developed world. If the developed world cannot meet the minimum standards, it cannot exploit. We will try and find ways of ensuring that that exploitation goes where it is most needed, instead of the developing world always going with a bowl in hand asking for donations.

We know that aid is being reduced because of the recession that is affecting the developed world. Instead of looking at the billionaires who were mentioned earlier, who are moving into poverty aid reduction, we should look at ways of ensuring the end of the dependency syndrome. We should also be looking at ways of how the millions and the billions that have been looted from Africa could go back to Africa to reduce poverty. It's always amazing how difficult it is to get those looted millions from the developed world once they have been stashed away there, when it was very, very easy for that money to leave. Why is it difficult to get some of that money back to Africa, without the restrictions that are currently there, to reduce poverty?

If a head of state who has stashed millions of dollars in a Swiss bank account cannot prove how he got that money, why can't the international community agree on how that money could go back and reduce poverty in Africa? Why are there all these sudden restrictions when that money has to go back? Why were there no restrictions in the first place when the money was taken out of the developing countries? We really do need to look at how it could be possible to remove those restrictions. Instead of the international community looking at the developing world as beggars, it should look at ensuring that the money flows back. According to World Bank statistics, money being held in Swiss bank accounts could effectively wipe out 50% of Africa's debt. Why can't we take that money back to Africa by agreement of the international community, when our rulers have failed to prove how they got the money there? Thank you.

Jan Urban: Thank you very much. The world "corruption" has not been heard here yet, but it was a very clear statement – corruption, even at the highest level of states and governments, reinforces dependence and aid addiction simply because it is good business. Could we take this one point as a reference for reactions from the other panelists?

Olusegun Obasanjo: I couldn't agree with you more, but we could talk about setting minimum standards from now until the end of this century, and we would not get much out of it. When you have to take action that involves corporate bodies, you need the backing of government to bring about a minimum standard. The influence of corporate bodies on their governments must not be underestimated. It can be very, very strong. If we want to get the corporate bodies, there are no means by which we can get them together on their own, to bring about an accepted standard among themselves that would be acceptable, measurable, and monitorable. So we are left with the international organizations. Which international organization will help this? Is it the UN? It is surely not the G20. The G8 is now receding into the background. Most of the corporate bodies we are talking about are owned by citizens of G8 countries. Except when they want to cover up their corruption. Then they move to Dubai and claim they are no longer citizens of their own country. Now, it's a good idea, but I don't really know how we can do it. We were told that corruption is the oil of international transactions, and we would be naïve to think we could fight grand corruption. We didn't accept

it. We worked hard. Amnesty International and Transparency International have become twins who have made their voices heard in the world. Something of that nature can also be done in this area.

Ján Kubiš: It's interesting, because I feel that at least a part of the international discourse is heading in that direction – definitely on the UN platform – and we will see more of this in the coming years. Again, we will speak more about sustainable development and global governance. But then it's national governance – all this is linked to governance issues. It is more and more on the international agenda, challenged by the G20 as you said, Mr. President, because it's bringing a new element into this discussion. We will increasingly see the deficiencies of this new emerging system based on G20-led governance. I believe we will see more deficiencies because of partial and particular interests. This is not world government. This is something different. When speaking about governance, I believe one of the most important elements is the rights-based approach. This is what is happening more and more, even when speaking about the issues of how to fulfill the MDGs. This is only a particular element, but it can definitely be extrapolated to cover the concerns: corruption, the return of the money that is in banks in the country that I currently work in, and in many other countries. There's definitely a call for plans, policies, and approaches to fulfill the objectives of good governance to be firmly based on a system of legal obligations and legal entitlements. This includes combating poverty, corruption etc.

I believe that there is a trend, a discussion, maybe it's not mainstream, but a recognition that the international community, with all its efforts, is still failing to deliver a rights-based approach. A new system of both entitlements and obligations can certainly be extrapolated to cover situations like the ones you mention. Although I'm not aware of any focused discussion on matters like this.

Salil Shetty: I feel that when rich countries make a commitment to the poorest people in the world, like they made at the G8, and they don't deliver, the betrayal of that commitment is also corruption. I don't know about the Czech system, but if you talk about Europe, what we are being told by the G8 countries in relation to aid promises is that the check is in the post. But somehow the check never gets there. I don't know why the postal system is so bad. I don't know how the Czech postal system is, but somehow the G8 postal system doesn't seem to work.

In terms of the corruption that Beatrice is referring to: of course we can have more international standards and regulations, but there are a lot of problems. Everybody has their hand in the till – the Swiss banks have their hand in the till, the leaders of developing countries – and people are implicated in the process. At the ground level, the solution to addressing corruption is fundamentally about improving accountability. Accountability is linked to the rule of law and standards at ground level. This takes us back into the human rights discussion. But in very practical terms, in my experience, if people know what their entitlements are, they will take a lot of things themselves, at the grassroots level. So there are very systematic ways in which governments or corporations will prevent people from knowing what their entitlements are. That is why the right to information and freedom of information is so important. In Tanzania, they've done some very innovative work using notice boards in villages saying: "This is what you're supposed to get in the village – this is the school, this is the well".

Of course there are more sophisticated ways in which information can be transmitted. I think the role of the media has been central. I believe that mobile phones and FM radios have done more in Africa to bring accountability than pretty much anything else. In Uganda, for example, you have phone-in programs on FM radios. People call the FM radio talk-show and ask about the budget saying, "How is it that if you have such a big budget, the money isn't reaching my village?" And the Finance Minister has to call in and actually speak on that radio show, because they know that half of Uganda is listening. There is real pressure simply through the expansion of technology and the media.

Jan Urban: I would add the combination of software developed in Africa, like Ushahidi, which has become an excellent crisis-management tool combined with FM radios. It's two years old and it's copied all around the world in crisis areas. Technological advancement is definitely helping accountability.

My dear panelists, could you state at least one good example of an aid program that would fulfill the high criteria that you heard about? I could name the Kuwait Fund, with its stringent means of oversight, which is government-to-government. Their work in Africa is definitely not losing money to corruption – at least many times less than anybody else's – because of the insistence on accountability. Could you think of examples of projects that work?

Olusegun Obasanjo: Global Trust Fund for HIV/AIDS has worked and is working in Africa. In my own country, the numbers of those who are on antiretroviral drugs have risen from 50,000 to 300,000, mainly thanks to the Global Trust Fund. As for children under treated mosquito nets, we have over 20,000,000. This is definitely one aid that is reaching out and doing what it is meant to do. I think we can learn from how has it been managed, how it has operated, and why is it so effective not only in Nigeria, but, I would say, throughout Africa.

Tain-Jy Chen: Taiwan also received aid back in the 1950s, I think starting from 1953 until 1965. So for about 12–13 years we received continuous aid from the United States.

It's our belief that most money went into economic development. The aid program to farmers was really successful. It was not a lot of money, but they spent most of it on technology, bringing in a new variety of agricultural products, and spreading knowledge and technology. It was a small amount of money, but very productive. Very good management is the key. The U.S. sent experts and they monitored the problem very closely, looking at every dollar that was spent. They also created a kind of agency, which was pretty much independent of government. I think that's one of the classic examples that is cited as a successful agricultural aid program. Thank you.

Ján Kubiš: I'm not sure that I can give a specific response. But I'll give an example which is more about the system. I come from Slovakia, an emerging donor country. With other countries from this region, we now have to establish a system that will work in this area. It's based on law with strict elements of accountability. So whatever we do will not be anonymous and disorganized, but will have strict elements of accountability and control.

Salil Shetty: My preference is to de-link this discussion from aid, because if you're really talking about how we address poverty and social exclusion, I'm not so sure you're going to find all the answers by discussing aid.

I would think the question really is "how do we get people's movements to work at the grassroots level?" If we look at the big changes which have happened in Africa, Latin America or Asia in relation to people who are excluded, change happened when those people got organized – whether it's indigenous people's movements, or the women's movement or the ecological movements. This is a bot-

tom-up process where people organize. Once you have people organized, with a voice, then the aid, or any external resource, will be used much better. If we approach it in a top-down way, I think it's a wrong incentive. Then you're chasing this corruption discussion. If it's owned by people, they will make sure that it's not misused.

Jan Urban: Thank you for bringing up this point. You yourself mentioned that education and new technologies can be of help. Can you think of other ways this can be achieved? How can you mobilize socially excluded members of society in any environment (because we see social exclusion and polarization in the West as well)?

Salil Shetty: I think of Amnesty International. I think it's not a bad example. We have 2.8 million members and supporters. These are ordinary people, not billionaires. There might be some relatively rich people, but by and large the people who contribute are very ordinary people. We have thousands of people in this country who are members and there is no reason why we can't have more in Africa. That's the conversation I've been having with President Obasanjo. That we need this happening in different parts of the world. We are just one example. It could equally be true for Transparency International. It could be for women's movements or whatever social movement. Under the greatest, most adverse circumstances in Zimbabwe, we still have human rights defenders, like Beatrice, who are raising their voice and resisting in difficult circumstances. In those voices, in those human rights defenders, lies the hope for the future.

Beatrice Mtetwa: It would be really difficult to use Zimbabwe as an example, because in the past 10 years Zimbabwe has not really moved in the direction that it ought to have moved. Even just the issue of mobilizing marginalized groups into social movements – those of you familiar with Zimbabwe will know that there's a plethora of legislation that would make a gathering of a group like this illegal without permission. In an atmosphere like that, where just meeting to talk about social issues is criminalized, you'll find that it is more and more difficult to try and actually get social movements that will have an impact across the board, because you also have very restrictive media laws where it is difficult to disseminate information. I think that those issues are probably peculiar to Zimbabwe because of its current status. But it is a restriction that means that,

even with the inclusive government in Zimbabwe, it is impossible to mobilize. Those instruments used to ensure that mobilization is not possible are still there.

I also want to go back to the issue of governance. I think we tend to speak about governance more from the perspective of the developing world, and I feel very strongly that when we talk of governance, this should apply to those companies from the developed world, that are going into Africa. If we have governance standards that we want to impose on the developing world, we must impose standards on companies from the developed world. They must go into the developing world with governance in their minds and corruption should be completely outlawed. We've seen that where laws deal with issues of corruption, companies do change the way they do things in Africa and other developing continents. Look at the case of Siemens, for instance. The minute Siemens was fined for being involved in corrupt practices; it completely changed the way it did business. It has very clearly defined methods of going into any country with any investment. I think governance should therefore be expanded to include business entities and to ensure that they play by the same rules that are expected of the developing world. Thank you.

Olusegun Obasanjo: My personal experience in Nigeria and in South Africa has shown that there are three groups of people that can be mobilized and can do it effectively: 1) students, 2) youth organizations, and 3) religious organizations. In South Africa, when, like my sister Beatrice has said, a gathering of three or four people without permission was an offence, they gathered in church. The church became the place, the focus. When I was a member of eminent groups of people in the Commonwealth going to South Africa, most of the meetings were held in church. They could say it was a church worship. Then someone started something about the devil to be fought. And you wondered who the devil was. It originated there and moved out, and action started. I believe that where people mobilize, they will not be stopped. In my own country there have been times when youth and students have stopped government from doing things. They just went out and protested until the government stopped. It can be done, and we should encourage it to be done.

Jan Urban: Thank you. I would just try to inject a little optimism here. In this country, until 1989, we used to be detained for attempting to meet in groups of three. Twenty-one years later, we are able to

organize conferences like this. With tricks like we've heard about, it can be achieved. Never give up.

My last question will be catastrophic. It is said among urban sociologists that maybe the large urban agglomerations are going through the same process as the big urban centers in Europe went through in the 19th century, resulting in higher levels of criminality and poverty followed by totalitarian ideologies and violent conflicts. Do you see this similarity, or are we, hopefully, living in a different world these days? Would somebody like to respond?

Salil Shetty: It's a great question, but I don't think there's an easy answer. I suppose, Mr. Chairman, since we have talked about active participation and voice, there might be some answers in the audience.

Jan Urban: OK, we have time for one or two questions. If I can ask, please make it focused.

Audience question: Thank you very much. My question is to his Excellency, President Olusegun Obasanjo. Thank you very much, Mr. President, for being a key player to form the African Union with the President of South Africa, President Mbeki.

Poverty is a problem, but worse than poverty is the killing of people because of their wealth, for example. In Zaire, or officially the Democratic Republic of Congo, according to United Nations reports 5.4 million people were killed by the combined forces of Rwandan and Ugandan armies and militias, which is a shame for the United Nations Security Council and the African Union. What is your contribution as a highly respected African statesman in using the African Union to stop such an ugly face of Africa? Thank you very much.

Jan Urban: Thank you, let's take the second question and we will have answers.

Audience question: I'm Danny Teel and I'm in intelligence, broadly speaking, from Taiwan. I'd like to ask a question and frame it within a context. The question is: What is poverty? And then, to frame it, I would say: Wouldn't it be more reasonable to view the task ahead of us as a kind of what I call eco-eco, which is an economic ecology. This is an ecology which is framed by free market incentives, and it is natural law, principally, and free of sentiment. I don't think that this kind of dream world that we're trying to establish will allow for the extinction of species or will benefit the ecology by introducing the Asian carp into the Great Lakes and destroy economies and ecosystems.

Olusegun Obasanjo: Thank you very much. You are right that at the turn of the century, African leaders got together and decided to substitute the African Union for OAU, the Organization of African Unity. The constitutive act of the African Union is markedly different from the Charter of OAU. Whereas in the OAU Charter, the internal affairs of a country were its own internal affair – sacrosanct – and you could not intervene, in the constitutive act of the African Union, your internal affairs are not entirely your internal affairs. The AU can intervene with force if a humanitarian intervention is necessary. Now the UN is discussing a final report with Rwanda. I believe that after it has been discussed and the UN has made it final, the AU will discuss it. As to what the AU will do, my guess is as good as yours. But I do hope that if Rwanda is found guilty, the AU will take measures to prevent the recurrence of what Uganda and Rwanda have done. That's what I would say.

Salil Shetty: I think you are referring to the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) Mapping Report. We in Amnesty International have been working quite closely on that report. We've contributed to some of the facts and the evidence collection in the report as well, and we are very pleased that the report has come out. We are also happy that reactions from other governments, like Rwanda, have been separately treated as additional comments and that the report, as far as we are aware from the Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights, has not been changed. We welcome that. But again, getting the report is the easy part. The question is what happens from now on? We think that mapping as a methodology is a very important new tool in the human rights mission and we hope that we can use it elsewhere, potentially in places like Somalia. We welcome it, but we're really pushing hard now for very concrete follow-up action and it's great that the African Union takes the lead along with the UN.

Very quickly on the second point, I'm not sure if I grasped the description you gave, the eco-eco. I like the way it sounds, but I'm not sure exactly what it meant. From Amnesty International's perspective, it's the combination of material deprivation, insecurity, and voicelessness. That's how we define poverty. The intersection of these factors leads to poverty and deprivation. So that's how we approach them. If you look at it from a balanced perspective, which

is what I think you were saying, the intersection and the balanced approach, we'd very much subscribe to that. You can't have a shortcut or a magic bullet approach to resolving this problem. You have to take a very comprehensive approach, which is based on our campaign called Demand Dignity, because we feel that it's fundamentally related to human dignity.

Ján Kubiš: You referred in your question, or rather your explanation of the concept, to free market incentives as the way out. Whatever is the role of governments, we cannot neglect it in any way, if we are going to try to approach this kind of issue. They are responsible, they are accountable, they are setting and establishing the norms, without them we will not be able to deliver, whatever the approach. And then, definitely, free market incentives must be a part of the approach, but they are only a part of the approach.

Jan Urban: Thank you very much. I would like to close this panel with a short remark. We have talked about 1.7 billion people who according to the UN live in extreme poverty on this planet. We are doing so in this wonderful environment, not being hungry and being warm.

It is said that the distance between civilization and barbarism is 48 hours without water and food. Who cares? Who takes responsibility? And do we take responsibility? These distinguished panelists have proven through their lives they do. I would invite you, our dear guests, to follow their example. Thank you very much for coming.


FORUM
2000

Aesthetics: The Search for Harmony and Beauty

12th October 2010, Žofín Palace, Forum Hall

Keynote Speech:
Juhani Pallasmaa, Architect, Principal, Juhani Pallasmaa Architects, Finland

Moderator:
Adam Gebrian, Architect, Czech Republic

Participants:
Willem Jan Neutelings, Architect, Principal, Neutelings Riedijk Architecten, The Netherlands
Gábor Demszky, Former Lord Mayor of Budapest, Hungary
Fumihiko Maki, Architect, Principal, Maki and Associates, Japan

Adam Gebrian: Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. In a situation like this with such distinguished panelists as we have here now, the only role of a moderator is to let them speak. So without further hesitation, Juhani Pallasmaa, the famous Finnish architect, critic, writer, graphic designer, educator and publicist, will deliver his keynote speech. Please welcome Juhani Pallasmaa.

Juhani Pallasmaa: Good afternoon. The profusion of architectural publications during the past two decades suggests that we have been experiencing an era of architectural ecstasy and euphoria. The unforeseen accumulations of wealth, the global fluidity of capital, and competition for commercial visibility, as well as new material technologies and novel computerized design methods have opened up unforeseen possibilities for architecture and made any conceivable formal invention technically possible. As a consequence of this architectural hubris, we have seen astonishing structures rising around the world. The horizon of unlimited possibilities and the tendency of architecture to become a vehicle for economic and political interests, devoid of deeper cultural responsibility are, however, awakening increasing concerns and doubts.

Architecture used to be the most important means of concretizing cultural and societal order as well as expressing and materializing the specificity of place and culture. However, today's globalized, instrumentalized, technologized and commodified construction forcefully eradicates the sense of place and identity. Instead of serving purposes of rooting, uniting and empowering, the constructions of today's consumer culture give rise to alienation and social discrimination. Is architecture forgetting its fundamental cultural and societal tasks? Should our constructions not strengthen our existential foothold and structure our understanding of the world and ourselves, instead of merely contributing to the vertigo of change and obsession with newness? Shouldn't architecture provide the warp of tradition and continuity for the weft of cultural change? Shouldn't architecture seek to strengthen equality, human dignity, and optimism instead of offering itself unconditionally to the purposes of consumerism and corporate or private interests? Instead of profound newness, the celebrated objects of today frequently appear as forced and shallow formal inventions, devoid of human meaning and empathy. The lack of authentic experiential ground makes the architectural images of today often appear strangely and paradoxically repetitious. It is indeed thought

provoking that the most idiosyncratic formal inventions frequently project an air of déjà vu.

Architecture seems to have become totally aestheticized and detached from its historicity and existential ground. As Guy Debord has remarked: "All that once was directly lived has become mere representation." We live in an obsessively material culture that turns everything into objects of consumption and aestheticization. Politics, behavior, personality, and even wars are aestheticized, and we are all becoming consumers of our own lives. Guy Debord calls our mode of culture the society of the spectacle, and he defines spectacle as, "capital accumulated to the point where it becomes an image." Hal Foster has recently noted that nowadays the reverse is also true: spectacle is "an image accumulated to the point where it becomes capital." As today's formalist building merely aspires to impress through aesthetic uniqueness, the sense of societal coherence, solidarity, and empathy is disappearing. True architectural values always project existential experiences and meanings, not mere aesthetics, and these meanings cannot be invented because they arise from human existence and cultural tradition.

Along with the new concepts of space and aesthetics, early modernism was decisively motivated by cultural and social issues. Architecture and art, as well as sciences and industrial technologies were seen as the means of creating an emancipated and egalitarian society. The ideals and objectives of modern architecture were beyond architecture itself as an artistic realm, as it aspired to new values in society. Even today, a full century later, early works of modernity exude a touching air of empathy, solidarity, and optimism. Even just a photograph of the Stockholm exhibition of 1930, which signaled the breakthrough of modernism in the Nordic countries, makes us place our confidence in the future and believe in the promise of democracy. Approaching Alvar Aalto's Paimio Sanatorium of the early 1930s quickens one's heartbeat and makes one feel the healing impact of benevolent architecture. The fine examples of Czech functionalism provide a nostalgic view into a new and humane world.

Have these early promises of a more humane world through architecture materialized in today's societies of unforeseen wealth? Modernist architecture has unquestionably produced singular masterpieces, and there are surely also local architectural cultures and periods inspired by the ideals of democratic architecture, rooted in local tradition, landscape and social reality, such as the post-war decades in the Nordic countries, or more recently, the contemporary architectures in

Spain and Portugal, and today in India, Chile and some African locations. But the prevailing ambience of today's forcefully publicized architecture is that of personality cult and the myth of the creative individual. These projects often exude an air of self-centeredness, arrogance, and indifference to the prevailing realities of the world.

Today's fashionable architecture seeks to seduce the eye, but it rarely contributes to the integrity and meaning of its setting. Yet, instead of disparaging and disgracing their neighbors of lesser value, profound buildings always improve their contexts and give even commonplace settings an enhanced significance. Most often, the overall quality and integrity of the environment has a higher value than individual foreground buildings, and that is why the primary responsibility of architecture is to contribute to the integration and harmonization of landscape, cities and villages. Even the most radical of profound architectural works eventually contributes to the continuity and understanding of tradition, and ends up completing a cultural and collective narrative instead of shattering it. True radicality is always embedded in a deep cultural understanding, sense of responsibility and compassion. We cannot, of course, speak of contemporary architecture, or its global character, as a singular phenomenon. There is, and indeed has always been an architectural resistance that continues to regard architecture as a cultural and collective phenomenon and a vehicle for a more humane and egalitarian society.

Regardless of the general tendency towards global uniformity, there are still regional and local architectural cultures in the world. Along with the aestheticized and retinal architecture of the spectacle that seeks visual effects and impressions of newness, scores of buildings keep emerging around the world that are rooted in the historicity and the reality of a specific culture as well as in lived human experience. But these responsible and usually humble projects do not see the limelight of architectural journalism, as they do not contribute to today's architectural spectacle.

We have entered the era of globalization, brought about and strengthened by material and immaterial mobility, and the increasing simultaneity of things. The rapidly advancing processes of globalization have both positive and negative consequences. Increased awareness of the cultural multiplicity and integration of the world can, at least potentially, evoke a worldwide consciousness and concern for the future of the earth and for the vast majority of humankind that lives in unacceptable conditions. Today's world of simultaneity should make it increasingly difficult to close one's eyes to global realities, but regrettably the reverse seems to be the case. Even during the current global economic crisis, no major political figure or economic expert has questioned the prevailing economic model of perpetual growth, expansion and acceleration.

It is indisputable that globalization has so far primarily served the purposes of multinational businesses and the battle for economic and political hegemony. In architecture, the universalized values and aesthetic fashions, combined with routinely traded and applied technologies and materials, have largely advanced the erosion of local cultures, skills and traditions. However, there are architectural practices around the world that aspire to preserve and revitalize local skills and crafts for the benefit of local cultures. Instead of strengthening cultural identity and individual rootedness, standard contemporary construction usually results in a superficial unification and leveling of cultural practices and weakening of the sense of place and identity. Edward Relph has introduced the alarming notion of "existential outsideness" in reference to the growing loss of the sense of belonging, insideness and domicile. "Existential outsideness involves a self-conscious and reflective uninvolvement, an alienation from people and places, a homelessness, a sense of the unreality of the world, and of not belonging". Yet, in accordance with Aldo van Eyck's familiar dictum: "Architecture need do no more, nor should it ever do less, than assist man's homecoming." Sadly, contemporary architecture often contributes to alienation rather than homecoming.

The enthusiastic supporters of globalized architecture argue that cultural identity and an identity of place are conservative ideas. Are not today's processes of globalization giving rise to a new man who will live in this Brave New World emancipated from such regressive notions as local culture, place and domicile? The life of the protagonist of Max Frisch's novel *"Homo Faber"*, a UNESCO expert, a totally modern and emancipated man, who constantly travels the world, ends in disastrous alienation and tragedy, as the consequence of his loss of roots, and consequently, the criteria of the real. The ideal of human independence from ties with place and culture is totally misguided in its serious disregard for human historicity and fundamental biological essence. Edward T. Hall, the recently deceased anthropologist, who made pioneering studies of the countless interdependences of environment and behavior argues bluntly: "The most pervasive and important assumption, a cornerstone in the edifice of Western thought, is that human processes, particularly behavior, are independent of

environmental controls and influence." Yet reliable studies show that some attributes of behavior vary less from person to person within settings than the behavior of a single person across settings. No wonder psychologists speak of "situational personality".

For a long time, artists, writers and philosophers have understood that the external world and the internal mental world create a dialogue and continuum, a singularity. It is clear that the unavoidable and urgent need for sustainability will change architectural thinking even more profoundly than the emergence of modernity did more than a century ago. The interest in sustainable architecture has been focused on technological and aesthetic approaches, instead of regarding sustainability as an ethical and mental issue, arising from values of life and a new solidarity. We cannot meaningfully speak of sustainable architecture without thinking of sustainable culture, lifestyle and values. It is evident that the basic assumptions and aspirations of the prevailing economic system are fundamentally unsustainable. Even as a technical issue, a sustainable building culture cannot possibly be based on architecture of a global or universal style.

Sustainability is bound to acknowledge local conditions, climate, microclimate, topography, vegetation, materials, industries and skills. Sustainable architecture is bound to grow from the specificity of place in the same manner that historical vernacular cultures have arisen from their ground as plants grow from their soil. Profound sustainable architecture has to rely on the specificity of context, and it needs to regenerate local identities. Yet I do not believe that sustainability of human culture can be achieved through regressing back to more primitive modes of construction. I believe that it can only be achieved through more refined, subtle, and responsive technologies which are seen as systems and processes in time, rather than aestheticized objects. Sustainable technology will be inspired by knowledge of the biological world. The biologist Edward O. Wilson, who has introduced the notion of *biophilia* argues, for instance, that the "superorganism" of a leafcutter ant colony is more complex in its performance than any human invention. As Joseph Brodsky, the poet, declares with the assurance of a poet: "The purpose of evolution, believe it or not, is beauty."

Cultural identity, a sense of rootedness and belonging, is an irreplaceable foundation of humanity. We grow to be members of countless contexts and cultural, social, linguistic, geographic, and aesthetic identities. Instead of being mere occasional background aspects, all these dimensions, and hundreds more, are constituents

of our very identities and personalities. Our identity is not a given or closed fact. It is an exchange; as I settle in a space, the space settles in me. As Maurice Merleau-Ponty argues: "The world is wholly inside, and I am wholly outside myself." Ultimately, the true ground for sustainable culture resides in our self-identity. As Josef Brodsky again argues: "In the end, like the Almighty Himself, we make everything in our image, for want of a more reliable model; our artefacts say more about ourselves than our confessions." I do not wish to support architectural nostalgia or conservatism. I speak for an architecture that arises from the acknowledgement of its historical, cultural, societal and mental soil.

A year ago I visited Louis Kahn's Assembly Building in Dhaka, Bangladesh. I was deeply impressed by the extraordinary architectural power of the Parliament Complex in creating a sense of center, exuding metaphysical and cultural meanings, and elevating the human spirit and dignity. This architecture is uncompromisingly of our time and of the future, yet it echoes and revitalizes deep layers of history and culture, and it succeeds in evoking societal pride and hope. It is simultaneously a healing promise of reconciliation and justice in the future. It is truly remarkable that citizens of a developing Islamic nation can sincerely praise a piece of uncompromised contemporary architecture created by a western architect born on an island in Estonia and Jewish by origin. This gives one confidence in the continued reconciliatory and empowering potential of true architecture. Louis Kahn's masterpiece made me recall Italo Calvino's confession. Calvino writes: "My confidence in the future of literature consists in the knowledge that there are things that only literature can give us, by means specific to it. Only if poets and writers set themselves tasks that no one else dares imagine will literature continue to have a function." My confidence in the future of architecture is based on the very same knowledge; existential meanings of the human inhabitation of space can be articulated by the art of architecture alone. Architecture continues to have an irreplaceable human task: to mediate between the world and ourselves, and to create a horizon by which to comprehend the world as well as ourselves. Thank you.

Adam Gebrian: Thank you, Juhani Pallasmaa, for your extraordinary speech. I would now like to introduce you to Mr. Fumihiko Maki, the famous architect, who basically needs no introduction. The only thing I want to say is that he received the Pritzker prize in 1993, here in Prague, and so we are very happy that you are here again.

Fumihiko Maki: I like to see current architectural scenes from different angles. Let's say somebody's going to build a building and asks architects to design it. The result is a negotiation between the two parties, and often an encounter between the architect and client is very accidental. Maybe somebody introduced the architect and the client. When you have a hundred new projects in Prague, I am sure there are a hundred different buildings as a result of these encounters. It is the same in Tokyo, London, and elsewhere. Certainly you might be able to say that even the competitions are results of these almost accidental encounters between judges and architects.

I quite often judge competitions. Let's say in Japan, everybody receives the same program, site, budget, and expressed desire of the client. But when you look at a hundred entries, they are all different, even though there are the same givens. You may recall the buzz of the Sydney Opera House, designed by Utzon. As you know, the competition took place in the 1950s and his scheme was in a band of rejected ones. Then a little later Eero Saarinen was asked to judge. He went through the files and found Utzon´s scheme. His opinion prevailed, and here you have Sydney Opera House. Had there not been such a judge, the Sydney Opera House, as we see it today, would not exist.

And so for me the question is how can you realize and control such an encounter? It is almost impossible. I said just now that a hundred architects will create a hundred different schemes. But again, we can go back to history. In 1922, there was a famous international competition to design the Chicago Tribune office building. There were 290 entries, most of them were designs of eclectic western classical styles, and Wiener was one of them to excel in certain aspects of this design. But, there were a few modernist entries as well: Walter Gropius, Dycott, Adolf Loos and Bruno Taut – all different from each other. Already, in the 1920s, it was predicted that the coming architecture would be different, not according to form or function.

Vitruvius, a famous Roman writer of the second century, said there are three important things in architecture: *utilitas, firmitas, venustas* (utility, stability, attractiveness). When I was a student at the architectural school, *venustas* was to be beauty. But in later years, some scholar came out saying that what Vitruvius meant by *venustas* was not beauty but delight. Now this opinion, as I understand it, was accepted. Delight seems to be a little bit easier for us to observe and understand, while beauty is always subject to age, region, and even cultures and individual histories.

I think delight is basic to human nature, and is even shared by animals. When I observe children playing with dogs, they both share a kind of delight. Delight, whether it is spiritual or physical, is deeply rooted in human emotions and is generated from the five senses. Often when we talk about beautiful cities or wonderful buildings, this comes from the spatial experiences of a human being. When I visit a place or a city I haven't been to before, I go to a market and to bookstores. Bookstores tell you what books are printed in one's own country, or what books are being imported, which gives you an idea of the intellectual courage of the country. Going to the market gives you a panoramic view of the lifestyle of ordinary people, and everything there is to enjoy or to smell. When you go to a concert hall the space should give a festive delight to the audience, to make them anticipate the performance. Then, once the performance starts, the same place must become one of stillness and sound.

This kind of quality gives basic value to a space. For architects, it is much easier to figure out even the virtual scenery of what they are doing and see what kind of delight could be made. In contrast, beauty can be judged by society only after many years. When we design a building we don't know whether it is a beautiful building. Only time can judge, much later. Whereas delight is something you can observe after you make it; then you have a certain reflection on the nature of the space. I believe that the spatial quality we are talking about seems to be very important for the future of our architectures. Thank you very much.

Adam Gebrian: Thank you, Mr. Fumihiko Maki. Let me introduce Mr. Gábor Demszky, who is a former Lord Mayor of Budapest. He was first elected in 1990 and was re-elected four times, which I think is an incredible feat in itself. He was Mayor for twenty years in an incredibly fast-changing society and economy. Please welcome Mr. Gábor Demszky.

Gábor Demszky: I am not an architect. I was a Mayor of Budapest for twenty years, as you have heard, and my approach will be, I hope, urbanistic. I will speak a little about the environment as well.

First of all, I would like to start with a statement. Our countries, which were dominated by the Soviet Union for 50 years, had cities, industrial cities, where the environment was totally neglected for half a century. Our water resources are endangered. Waste collection and waste disposal are not close to EU-wide levels. We have

to invest a lot in that. It must be a high priority. Perhaps it works in Budapest. You know that the city was built on the shores of the Danube thousands of years ago, and that our main asset is drinking water. Despite this, we were polluting this water in such a way that only 20% of wastewater was treated biologically in 1990. 20%! That means we used the Danube as a sewer.

It's dramatic, it was destroying our future. And what we have done in the past twenty years – and what I am most proud of working on for fifteen years – is that we have built three wastewater treatment plants. Now, we treat 98% of the wastewater in Budapest. It cost half a billion Euros, and it doesn't give the politicians any plus points. I will tell you why. If you focus on that, and build proper sewerage, you inconvenience people. You dig big holes everywhere, you cause traffic jams, and you can hardly explain that this is all because we want to live in a livable world, because we need a sustainable future. It is too remote. So there is no credit, but we did it all the same. At the end of my last week I was asked what I was most proud of. I said that I was most proud of this water treatment plant. Maybe no one knew of its existence. Newspapers do not write about it because there is no scandal, so it is like a non-existent project. It is something people simply do not know about. 400 thousand cubic meters of water is now treated biologically. It is an achievement, despite what people think about it.

On the western shores of the Danube is Buda, and on the east is Pest. It is a World Heritage site protected by UNESCO, so it cannot be changed. No high buildings, no skyscrapers. We were under enormous pressure from different investor groups to allow high buildings in the center. They found ways into the council, so they found parties which agreed with them. But I was very conservative. I did not allow anything above the height which was decided in the 19th century. Why? To keep the genius loci, to keep the spirit of the city.

What is endangering the city? I would like to talk about two problems that politics caused. One is decentralization. We have 23 districts, and they are like independent cities. They grant building permits, for example. They endorse the general urban plan and the detailed plans, so they are the lords of their own territory. Because of that, certain parts of the city, which were also under UNESCO protection – like the Jewish quarter – were demolished. They allowed new, terrible, ugly buildings instead of keeping the old houses. We could not do anything, because they operate as independent local

governments, and according to the law, the city cannot get involved. If there are too many local governments, too much state – too many levels – then the danger of corruption with these kinds of changes is very high.

The other problem is that we sold apartments to tenants. They bought them for very low prices. Because of that, certain buildings in Budapest are refurbished and renewed, while others, inhabited by poorer people, are not. They are in very bad condition, because for 50 years, no one took care of the houses. Many of the houses are up to a 150 years old – and have had no refurbishment. They are collapsing. Why is this happening? Because in the first election period, politicians wanted to take credit and wanted to give something to the people quickly, almost as a donation – a free apartment. It did not work, because the government was not re-elected. People are not so stupid. But they thought that that was enough; it is a cheap vote.

What can we do now to correct the mistake? We should support the reconstruction of these houses, which are protected. We can give money without interest rates, or as subsidies, but under one condition: that they refurbish the building in its original form. It works, but very, very slowly. Prague is much better in that respect, because they did not privatize here, as I know. Most of the apartments here were restituted, which I do not agree with either. But, that is another subject.

I think the future of Europe lies in the future of its cities. I think the Lisbon principle and Lisbon process failed. After 2013, within the next budgetary period, we should help the city much more, in order to reconstruct the central part and hard core of the city to help public transport. You must know that 85% of the citizens of the European Union live in cities. I think that a city has very a high value, because knowledge, history, and our past are concentrated there. Then, when we share the budget, cities throughout the region should get much more from the budget of the European Union. I was fighting for that, and in 2007, we achieved subsidies for public transport in our cities. If you are building new tramlines or a new metro-line, you can get money for it. In Budapest, we worked very hard on that project.

Now I want to talk about something different. Two projects. One is the CET: Central European Time. This is a public space; an open space, which is against alienation and exclusion. I hope it represents very high architectural quality. This is ready. Next week, my successor will open it in Budapest. It is on the shore, in the center. It is 23 thousand square meters in size. It has a huge event hall and will

be a huge cultural center in the heart of the city. It is a Public Private Project. The city has property rights; it owns the project. The investor was chosen in a public procurement process. The architect was chosen in an international tender. I do not know how enthusiastic Czech architects are about international tenders. I tell you in Hungary, they aren't. Oosterhuis Lénárd Studio won this project.

Now comes another project, the Heart of Budapest, which is a pedestrian zone. It was originally built in the 18th century, but was never finished. Ever since, there has been a problem as to what the city should do with this very, very precious territory. We realized that the only solution was to keep it as public property. We have issued a tender, and we are now waiting for investors. There was also an international tender, which was won by Erick van Egeraat, a Dutch architect. This project is just behind my office in the heart of the city. Led by the city's chief architect, our architectural team evaluated this.

What are the other problems? Why do we have very few buildings like this in Budapest? Because the Chief Architects Office only has a right to give an opinion; it is not compulsory. They evaluate all projects, but their evaluation is not compulsory. Because of this, we kept the space as public property, so we have the right to decide and work with an architect to realize these dreams. Thank you very much.

Adam Gebrian: Thank you, Gábor Demszky, for sharing your experience. Last, but not least, and also a man who needs no introduction, Willem Jan Neutelings.

Willem Jan Neutelings: Thank you very much. I would first like to make a few statements, I think they are close to the statements that have already been made earlier in this conference, and also to the views of Mr. Demszky. After that, I would like to comment a little bit on the keynote speaker and the idea of local identity.

I would like to start with an anecdote. Some 20 years ago, in around 1991, I came to Prague, just after the regime change, with a delegation of Dutch architects, politicians, developers and city planners for a week-long exchange of ideas and experiences with our Czech colleagues. During these workshops, one of the case studies we had was the problem of beautification of the city of Prague. At that time, after 40 years of neglect, Prague had a lot of buildings that needed restoration in order to regain their original beauty.

However, the problem was that these buildings that had once belonged to the state now belonged to 80 private owners; 1 building, 80 owners, some of whom were untraceable old widows living in Canada or New Zealand who were not willing to invest in the renovations; just as Mr. Demszky was just telling us. Our Czech colleagues asked us how would we handle such a case in Holland, in order to be able to renovate a building and make the city a better and more beautiful place to live in. We told our colleagues that in Holland we would expropriate the owners so we could renovate the block. After the renovation, those people interested in returning would be given the chance to buy their apartment back. At that point, our Czech colleagues looked at us as if we were extra-terrestrials and told us that this would be completely impossible in the new Czech Republic, because they had just that year abolished the law of expropriation. The lesson I learned at that moment in time was that the beauty of cities lies in the subtle balance between private and public interests, as well as the political will to define and control this balance.

You have to know that there is an important difference between buildings, on the one hand, and watches, underwear, or fast food on the other. If you do not like the watches, food or underwear offered to you on the market, you do not have to buy them, and they will not disturb you. But buildings are a different story. Every building is standing on the street, in the public realm. We cannot avoid buildings. They are a part of our daily lives, a part of our common public space. Everybody has to live with them, whether they like them or not. This means that the buildings, by nature, are not just private objects, but are always part of a collective public interest. Hence, a private individual that owns a piece of ground cannot just build anything he or she likes, as if he is cooking fast food or producing cheap underwear or expensive watches. The private owner has to limit himself to a number of restrictions and collective interests.

The beauty of the city is not determined by the architectural quality of singular buildings. It is determined by the relationship between the singular buildings and the quality of the open public space between the buildings. So, the mistake that was made in the past 20 years, I think, is that the development of cities has been left, to a great extent, to the market. But the paradox is that there is no market for cities. There are many companies that produce cars and companies that produce airplanes, but there are no companies that produce cities. Of course, you can say there are companies that pro-

duce singular buildings. But as I already mentioned, a single building does not make a city; it is the relationship between the buildings and the public space in between them that makes or breaks the quality of a city. Let me give you an example. Here, in Wenceslas Square, there are many beautiful and ugly buildings. Together, they form a well-proportioned, agreeable composition, which makes the public space of the "Wenceslas" so important. So the ugliness or beauty of a single building is not even relevant.

If we were to widen Wenceslas Square, or shorten it, or take away the statue, the quality of the urban space would collapse. Everything would become ugly, even with the most beautiful architectural buildings. So, cities can only be created through strict planning and control, exercised by public bodies that represent public interests. Traditionally, these have involved city urban planning offices. But everywhere we go, these offices have been weakened to make way for the free market. Before the war, and in the 50s and 60s, in many countries like the Netherlands, the best architects would go to work for the city planning offices. Nowadays, city planning offices are derelict. They are filled with the least talented of our colleagues who are unable to withstand the political and economical pressures exercised on them.

Just to give you an example from my own experience in Holland: a few years ago, we were commissioned to design a new building for the Institute of Shipping and Transport; a very important institute in the Dutch maritime arena. We approached the city authorities for information about the zoning laws and urban regulations applying to this specific site. When we got to the Department of Urban Planning, they told us that there was no zoning law in force, because the new idea was that the Department of Finance would commission the urban planning department to make zoning laws. So their policy was very simple. They would react to the market demand and adapt the zoning law as wished by the private client. They asked us, as architects, to do our own urban planning for the site, to give it to them. They would then freeze this in the zoning plan. We, of course, took advantage of the situation by suggesting the zoning of about 90 meters in building height, which subsequently gave us the option of designing a tower instead of a low-rise building.

The conclusion is that making beautiful cities requires strong steering by a body that represents the public interest; a body that is staffed with highly talented and responsible professionals with a long-term mandate, much longer than the mandate of a politician.

This is important because the time horizon of urban planning is not four years like a political mandate. It is at least twenty years. If this body is not in place, if it is not granted a proper mandate, if it is not independent but corrupt, if it is not supported by politicians, then the kind of scattered and undefined urban areas that Mr. Havel was talking about in his opening speech last Sunday will grow rapidly in the periphery as well as in the city centers. Neither politicians nor citizens should be surprised that these accidents happen, as if they were natural disasters. This ugliness is the simple result of the lack of political will to support the public interest in the city, to enforce strong urban planning and to control it, despite the pressures of the real estate market.

Finally, it is our own fault. The ugliness is the result of not electing those politicians who promise us to support the public interests and to create a beautiful city.

Next is a situation where I think politics and economics work strongly on architecture. There is a second question raised by Mr. Pallasmaa, which is the question of local identity. I do believe that it is very important that buildings should have a local identity, or at least should have a sense of place and character which people can relate to. The problem, of course, is that Modernism at the beginning of the 20th century started to think of buildings as machines and also took away the ornament, as Mr. Loos told us in his famous article *"Ornament und Verbrechen"* (Ornament and Crime). This actually meant that architecture – buildings – became easy objects for large-scale industrial building. This of course meant that the local building method – a driving force for local architecture – has been disappearing. It also meant we, as architects in this moment, have to think about how to give local expression and identity to a building, as well as what kind of identity it should be.

At the moment, we are working on seeking a solution with artists. We always work with local artists, and so we seek solutions in making new contemporary ornaments. I think the re-inventing of the ornament is extremely important, and we do it in a way that we use local architects to make the building specific. We even give them the full façade. Let's say we do not design the facades anymore. The facades are completely designed by poets, graphic artists, photographers, and so forth. To give you one example of how this could work, we have a hotel in Paris, which is a four hundred and two room hotel; a one-star hotel on the Boulevard Péripherique, the ring road of Paris. This is in a very bad neighborhood; a neighborhood where

there is a lot of prostitution, drug trafficking, and so forth. We asked a fairly well-known poet, Mr. Olivier Rolland, a well-known writer in France, to write a poem. We said, well, we have 402 windows, and each window could represent a letter. The letters would be three meters high, and if you drive on the Péripherique, on the ring road, you would see this poem. The building would be one big poem, and the poem would tell you something about the neighborhood. He made a beautiful poem – unfortunately I forgot to bring it and I cannot memorize it completely – but it has key words, like Paris, Péripherique, Paridiphric, Paripheric, Pariaphric, Parialcoholic, Parifuepublic, et cetera – for those people who speak and understand French. Let's say you catch words while you drive a 100 kilometers an hour along the ring road, you see the words and understand what is happening there. So on one hand it gives you an ornamentation of the building that is unique, linked to the identity of the neighborhood. At the same time, the people of the neighborhood can also understand it as part of their life and their building. This, I think, could be an answer to the problem that Mr. Pallasmaa raised of how to make a contemporary identity. Thank you very much.

Adam Gebrian: Thank you, Willem Jan, for sharing your experience. I think the problem of the current society and current world is that there are different disciplines, and each of them is saying that theirs is important. Because of that, even those who are important are not considered important because everybody says the same. I hope that this panel persuades you that architecture and urbanism are important and should be treated that way and not just because we're saying so. I think Juhani Pallasmaa quoted an incredible thing, saying, "Spaces occupied our minds." I think we should never forget it. It is something around us. It influences our lives. I would like to ask our guests if they want to add something or react to each other, or ask questions of each other.

Juhani Pallasmaa: I would like to continue with the question of identity. When speaking about cultural identity, there is a danger of being interpreted as conservative – as conserving something. As T.S. Eliot said in his fine essay, *"Tradition and the Individual Talent of 1920"*, "Tradition is something that you cannot own or possess; you have to create it. Every generation has to create and re-create the tradition, and that is the only, only livable live tradition." When I criticize current architecture for lacking identity or a sense of tradition, I am not

doing it from a conservative point of view. I am merely pointing out that maybe the architects have not understood or respected the task of rooting culture in architecture. My belief is that culture is such a complex thing that it is difficult to thematize or learn it. You have to live it, and you express it through your own being.

So that is why I think architecture primarily calls for a strong sense of compassion and empathy. Just to give an example of how radical architectural cultural attitude needs to be open ended: for instance, the story of exchanges between Western European and Japanese architecture. It is very interesting how quickly and often in the last century models, examples and ideas came from Japan to Europe and from Europe back to Japan. I think that exchange has vitalized both cultures. I myself was strongly influenced in the mid 1950s by traditional Japanese architecture. But at the same time, with California rationalists, and the utopian Case Study Houses programs, I want to make the point that cultural exchanges are very important, and they are also often very surprising. I mentioned the example of Louis Kahn, the son of a poor family, a Jewish family in Estonia, who builds models for modernity around the world. His latest project has been totally accepted by the Islamic world. So I want to support cultural exchange with an awareness of the importance of cultural empathy, understanding and solidarity, which I think is not often the case because so much of construction today is driven by rather selfish, self-centered economic aims.

Fumihiko Maki: Many participants brought up the question of local identity. To me, the identity of a place must be seen as a whole. I came here for the first time in 1972, and I marveled at the accumulation of architectures of different ages: Gothic, Renaissance, early modern and contemporary. I think the charm of Prague comes from the accumulation of the best or most interesting architecture of different periods.

Yesterday I had the chance to visit Adolf Loos' famous house in the suburb of this city. It is Cubist and quite alien from any local identity at the particular time. But when you go in, I think it is an assembly of the style and the manner he had in the particular circumstances. At the top of the house was a Japanese roof, with ukiyo-e printings and wallpapers, with his attempt to maybe be more Japanese. Frank Lloyd Wright did this in many of his houses. He also never admitted he was influenced by a Japanese person. Today, we accept this Cubist house by Adolf Loos, this Austrian, as part of the

total architectural courage of Prague. I think you have to see identity in a much longer time span. This is what I want to say.

Adam Gebrian: Willem Jan, do you want to react?

Willem Jan Neutelings: Yes. I think I am relatively sympathetic to what Mr. Pallasmaa is saying. But at the same time, I have a big problem, because as a practicing architect, I have to understand what the local cultural identity is if I want to make a building that can relate to it. The Dutch ambassador is here in the room, and he can confirm that two years ago, there was a big Dutch Government commission which went on a fact-finding mission for Dutch identity. This task was assigned by the government because the flux of immigrants had caused that the Dutch to start to question themselves: "Who are we?"

And the most embarrassing thing was that the president of the fact-finding mission was the Crown Princess. The Crown Princess came to the press conference, and she said: "We have not been able to find a Dutch identity; it is nonexistent" – which was even more embarrassing, because the Crown Princess herself is an Argentine immigrant.

If the Crown Princess and the government cannot find the local culture, how can I as an architect relate to such a thing, which even the best and wisest people in the land, in our country, cannot define for me? The problem is that then you come to the other position, the position Mr. Maki was talking about, that the identity of Vetruvius, the beauty of Vetruvius is only his own identity and his liking.

Then of course, one can give a very good example: the Eiffel Tower. The most iconic building and the most Parisian building is the Eiffel Tower. Before it was built, it was never part of French culture. It did not represent, in any way, the identity of French culture. Now the Eiffel Tower is Paris. For everybody the question is: do we have to relate to a local identity which is a construct, or can we add a new identity that then becomes the identity of this local culture? I think that is a question I would like to ask you, Mr. Pallasmaa.

Juhani Pallasmaa: In the case of the Eiffel Tower, another aspect of the story is that it was very strongly opposed by some highly respected French cultural figures, like Victor Hugo. What becomes symbolic of something cannot be predicted. I have not designed much outside of my own country, so I don't feel so strongly about this,

particularly because the structures I have designed abroad are related to Finland. They are rather like Finnish ambassadors in a context which is, of course, much easier, although at the opening of the Finnish Cultural Institute in Paris 20 years ago, which I designed, some famous colleagues like the Smithson couple (Peter and Alison Smithson) said to me, "But this looks like a Japanese building," and I answered them, "I am sorry, all I was thinking about was Pierre Chareau´s glass house around the corner." Even your personal intentions might lead you somewhere else, in the eyes of other people, not to speak of a cultural perspective.

Alvar Aalto used to say that the quality of a building can only be judged 50 years after its construction. I think that is a rather good perspective. What has confused us in the past decades is the speed of things. Investment perspective is so short and the political perspective even shorter, so the value return needs to be seen within 4 years, or a very short period. But buildings have a very slow and long life; the character or quality speaks to us every single day in a low voice; a convincing voice. When architecture begins to compete with instant, powerful media like rock music, and there is much architecture today that attempts to have the same impact as rock music, then the very essence of architecture is easily lost.

I would like to say that as architects, we cannot achieve much by ourselves. We need clients and figures in political and public life who support architecture. 25 years ago, a young lawyer was appointed mayor of Lyon. He realized early on that architecture and construction would be an area where he could really make an imprint. But as a lawyer, he had no understanding of architecture. So he called the office of Jacques Chirac to ask who could teach him about the basics of architecture. A good friend of mine, Professor Roland Schweitzer, was recommended to him, he was 75 years old at that time. Roland Schweitzer travelled every week, with a briefcase full of slides, to the private office of the young mayor of Lyon and gave him lessons in architecture. The result is that Lyon has become one of the most exciting cities in terms of its cityscape. We need mutual understanding between political figures and architects.

Adam Gebrian: Ladies and gentlemen, I don't think we could have any better ending, so thank you very much for your attention.


THE WORLD WE
WANT TO LIVE IN

What Are the Limits of Urbanization?

12th October 2010, Žofín Palace, Forum Hall

Keynote Speech:
Richard Burdett, Professor of Urban Studies, London School of Economics, United Kingdom

Moderator:
Jiří Musil, Member, Board of Directors, Forum 2000 Foundation, Czech Republic

Participants:
Willem Jan Neutelings, Architect, Principal, Neutelings Riedijk Architecten, The Netherlands
Lieven De Cauter, Philosopher and Art Historian, Belgium
Deyan Sudjic, Director, Design Museum, United Kingdom
Elia Zenghelis, Architect, Greece

Jiří Musil: Ladies and gentlemen, dear friends, dear colleagues, dear participants, welcome to the session on urbanization. We have five distinguished members of our session. All are Europeans, all are men, and most of them are architects, or people reflecting architecture. I myself am an urban sociologist who has spent half of his life in a family of architects, so I feel quite at home here. Nevertheless the dangers of bias undoubtedly exist here. I hope that all of us sitting here, with your help, will try to reflect the worldwide dimensions of urbanization processes. I know that due to our roots, most of us will speak about European issues. They are serious but they are, however, definitely not as pressing or as serious as in other parts of the world. One of the Czech writers who talks about them describes them as "silk worries," something like Velvet Revolution, or soft worries. But they are there, and I am afraid that the worries concerning European cities will grow in the next decades.

As a sociologist, I would very much like to stress one thing: urbanization is not only about houses, streets, physical things. Urbanization is one of the deepest metamorphoses in human history. It's a complete change in almost every part of our life. Urbanization brings a lot of joys and hopes, but also a lot of despairs and fears caused by these changes. We must stay sober, realistic, and I will use the term rationalistic, to look at the real face of the things that are going on. Not to end up in a Spenglerian perspective of the decline of the West. Spengler linked the decline of the West to the flourishing of urban civilization. According to him, all civilizations which reach the urban stage are doomed to collapse. This is a warning. I hope that this is not our fullest knowledge of urban civilization.

The last point I would like to say is: We are ending, in Europe, the traditional forms of urbanization. In Britain, of course, one hundred years ago, the limits were defined as a situation when roughly 80% of the population lived in settlements or towns inhabited by 5,000 or more inhabitants. This definition became meaningless. We are in the middle of a new stage of this process. It is the process of forming huge urban regions. Some people in this country call it metropolization. Society is already urban and it's moving ahead, it's changing, and the future changes are not quite well understood.

That's all I wanted to say, and now I would like to invite Richard Burdett to take the floor. He is from the London School of Economics, from the department of sociology. His roots are Italian. He spent many years in Rome, and now I start to understand his love for compact cities. His recent books are: *"City Thinking for City Building"*, and *"Cities and Social Equity"*. Richard Burdett cultivates the idea of compact cities. I hope that he feels at home in Prague.

Richard Burdett: Thank you very much for the introduction. It's an enormous pleasure to be back in Prague to see old friends and new friends, and to be in this extraordinary city. In the time available I want to deal with some of the big issues to do with the limits of urbanization, and come back to the question that you have asked in this conference: What is the world we want to live in? Mexico City is a city that has literally no limits. The world is becoming more and more urban. Professor Musil was saying that the definition of what cities are needs to be revised and changed. It's the right moment in time to actually do that, because only two or three years ago the UN confirmed that we are at the tipping point. Half of the world's population is now living in one form of city or another. Just think that a hundred years ago, at the beginning of the 20th century, it was only 10%. It's a massive change. And if things continue, we are likely to have 75% of the world living in urban conditions. And what interests me is what are the spatial, and social, and economic and cultural conditions of living in cities going to be? And who of us is going to be involved in developing them?

This has to be framed by a bigger and a global understanding, which is encouraged very much by the interdisciplinary nature of this conference. Cities are not just objects, as Professor Musil has said. In today's cities, 33% of people live without water, without sanitation, without basic normal infrastructure that we take completely for granted – not just in the West. We're talking about hundreds of millions, if not billions, in the next twenty years. What are we going to do about that? That is not the world we want to live in.

The other thing, which I think we don't think about, is that cities, because they contain buildings, consume energy, – lighting, air conditioning, and everything else – buildings themselves consume 50% of world energy. Cars, and other forms of traffic and transportation consume 25%. So 75% of the world's energy is used by cities, and therefore 75% of CO2 emissions in the world are produced by cities. So in terms of the challenges of this conference, in terms of the discussion with you, a small change in the organization of cities can make a massive change in terms of the health of the planet.

And this is not just a question for the comfort of the West, or the global North. All you need to think about is that every minute that I speak, roughly every minute and twenty seconds, one new person is moving into Dhaka, Lagos, and many of the Indian cities. That's one every minute. It's the rate of change that is what is new, not just the numbers. We need to know how we deal with that in terms of all the globalization issues.

We try and design buildings, we try and organize cities, and on the whole most people do it very badly. Most newly-planned things in the last 50 – 60 years are terrible. If you go to this planning environment, it's absolutely standard. Architects work for clients who have very limited interest in what happens in the public realm, and I think the public realm of the city is what we need to pay attention to.

Transport planners are the next ones shaping the future of cities. And they do what? They're taking people from A to B. I hear that in Prague, there's a great interest now in creating new motorways, new elevated motorways. In 30 or 40 other cities around the world we spent billions to get rid of elevated motorways. Yes, they do take you from A to B, but they don't take you from C to D, and they cause a severance among communities.

Most importantly is what happens outside planed urbanization. You have planners, you have architects, and you have what people do. In Sao Paulo in Brazil, you actually see what this change is. This is what Professor Musil has just talked about. It's not just architecture; it's not just stone and concrete. The favela of Paraísopolis has its own dynamic, but it has very little water and very little infrastructure. Very poor. But it works; it's where people live. Just next to it there's a new development, and the people living in it are so wealthy that they have swimming pools on each terrace. Now this is not a critique of capitalism, it's just an awareness that if you make cities like this, you will not be able to walk through them and have the sort of experience that we've been talking about today.

What Richard Sennett, who spoke yesterday, writes very eloquently about, the public realm of the city, is something that really needs to be paid attention to, and I stress that.

If comparing two views of Mexico City, taken about four or five years ago and today, you would notice the reduction of green space because the city is expanding. It just reminds us of the statistics that 75% of CO_2 emissions are contributed by cities, because as the cities expand – and this is critical – you need to get from one place to another basically by car. There's hardly any other way of doing that.

The amount of traffic generated by sprawling cities is enormous. In a place like Sao Paulo, for example, a thousand cars a day are now actually being bought, by people who can afford to. But think of the social costs. In Bangkok, let alone in Mexico City, and even in Sao Paulo, people spend something like four hours a day commuting. In Bangkok, they actually put children in the back of a car at 5 o'clock in the morning in their pajamas to take them to school so that they can sleep for two more hours and have breakfast on the way, and have dinner on the way back. What does that do to the relationships between human beings, between families? So there's a connection between design, the environment, and society. And I think that is a key issue.

Now it's pretty clear that as people get wealthier, they consume more energy, and that, as was said before by Pallasmaa and others, is the unsustainable model. From a certain point you need to use more than one world – two, three, four, five times the world – In terms of its resources. So the American model, or even the English model, or the French model, or the German model, is actually not sustainable enough. In terms of the issues of this conference, where we want to end up is with well-designed cities, sustainable cities, which use less energy, are more compact – and I'll come back to that – and better designed to deal with this issue of the future.

So what is actually happening in these cities and why? China's going to urbanize at a very rapid rate, and the issue is this one: there is overcrowding and poor conditions. People live there without running water and without the basic requirements. It's a country that as you well know, is improving enormously in terms of economic potential. More housing is being built where people can have a fridge, can have air conditioning, and can have all the modern comforts we need to sustain modern life. A city like Shanghai, which has gone from 120 buildings over eight stories high in 25 years to over 10,000 – what is the architectural response to this? But why is it that in the middle of Shanghai, a city of 14 million people with 9 million bicycles – it's part of the culture of the place – why is it that cycles are no longer allowed on certain streets? Why is it that cycles are not allowed in the center? Because they cause congestion. To whom do they cause congestion? To the cars. So there are all sorts of issues about the culture of how cities are run and managed. In Mumbai, when people are moved from areas in the middle of the city, from slums, they go and live in tower blocks funded by the World Bank and other very worthy institutions. The people who've moved in there don't actu-

ally have the money to pay for the electricity to use the lifts. They put their rubbish in it. Infested by rats, in three years these become a vertical slum rather than a horizontal one.

So the question becomes again: in terms of where we want to live, how do you deal not only with the planning, but also with the informal side of the city, which we actually don't control? A young guy moves into Mexico City to sell peanuts or cigarettes because he makes more money than he can in the fields. And that's exactly the same issue that drives the people coming into the center of London to work. That creates cities, endless cities, limitless urbanization.

In terms of what's happening, in terms of the dynamics of cities, I think cities in Africa today are probably the ones that cause, perhaps, the most concern to people like us who are studying them. Johannesburg has become, over the years, so violent that people no longer live in the city center; the city center has actually been abandoned. Everyone living behind walls is a typical view of what Johannesburg actually feels like today. What will happen when society sort of picks up? I think it will not become the sort of equitable environment that we actually think. And in fact in India, where there's very little violence, and in Istanbul, what you're getting is a proliferation of these gated communities for different elites, usually wealthy ones or usually very poor ones who live separately from each other. It's exactly what Richard Sennett was talking about here yesterday, when he was talking about borders and boundaries.

It's not just their problem; it's our problem. In Paris and Lyon and Marseilles, the fringes of the city, not unlike Prague, are where certain people of a certain class and a certain religious background, have been living. This is why a number of urban sociologists have been very clear that the riots there over the last six or seven years are related to physical planning and social procurement.

But let's look at the positive examples. Bogotá: a city of seven and a half million people, exactly the same size as London, had enormous problems, not only with poverty, but also with violence due to the drugs trade. Here, a series of mayors over the past few years came up with a very simple idea of how to basically democratize and sustain the way this city is able to grow. It's a city not unlike Mexico City or Sao Paulo, which has hundreds of thousands of people moving in illegally and informally over time. What happened here was that the mayors decided to build these cycle-ways, 85 kilometers of cycle-ways into the middle of absolutely nowhere when I saw them. Over time, the favelas have grown informally, but they've grown

around these cycle routes, public spaces, good schools, and libraries. The poorest people are next to the most important pieces of social provision. This is a challenge, I think, for the design community and for the politicians who deal with these issues.

In addition, for example, the highly polluting and corrupted system of buses, minibuses, minivans, so typical in the third world, was replaced by a metrobus system. It has a separate, dedicated way on the inner-city motorways. Now you might think this is a technical issue. It's not; it's a profoundly social one, and it makes the then-mayor of Bogotá, Enrique Peñelosa laugh with happiness. The rich people using their cars in Bogotá need more time than the poor people on the bus to get to work. Now, it's a challenge, it's a very important one, and I think he got somewhere with it, even though he hasn't been reelected since then.

Other wonderful examples in Medellín – Colombia again – one of the most violent places in the world, a series of parks have been built, and schools have been provided at the heart of the poorest areas. The crime rate has dropped by 70%.

In Caracas, where 17 and 18 year olds are murdered regularly every weekend because of drug wars. Well, I went there and saw kids playing basketball, and saw some things on the wall behind them and asked one of the kids, "What is that?" Well, those are bullet holes from where one of the brothers of one of these kids had been murdered the week before. This is the level of everyday violence that happens in these cities. Well, a group of young architects built in that area a small gym, which took a lot of young men away from the violence of the streets, from shooting drugs or shooting guns to actually shooting basketballs. Crime rates have dropped by 30%. This is not to say that architecture does everything, but it can do something.

Let me move on to the positive examples, to shed some light on where we might be able to go. Some of these initiatives are happening in the emerging world, and very positive ones. But also a city like Chicago, which for years has been completely divided between north and south, between black and white, has decided to turn its central space, which is a massive car park, into a really fantastic public park, Millennium Park, which works for many people. Even New York City has started taking away space from cars. That's why I wonder what you're doing in Prague at the moment, in terms of going the other way. This wonderful space called the Highline works using an old industrial part of the city as a sort of garden, a haven of peace in the middle of the city.

And let me end with an example of London before reaching my conclusion. London is a city, a dispersed city, a green city, not perhaps the sort of compact city that I've been talking about – but it's a city that is nonetheless actually growing by about 150,000 people, most of them born outside London. The question is: how do you manage that growth and how do you integrate it, and how do you run a city like that? We now have a mayor of the city who is responsible for the whole city. And he's been able to introduce congestion charging, which means that cars have to pay to come into the center. That means that 25% fewer cars are in the center, and pollution levels have dropped by 22%. This is a city we want to begin to live in more. I think that's really quite powerful. We've even borrowed from the French something that's very difficult for the English to do, an idea of actually having free bicycles.

I want to conclude with one example that brings the social program, the urban program, together with the architectural program in an example that I have worked on, the London Olympics that will take place in two years' time. A recent study shows that every time you take the underground from West London to East London, the Jubilee Line, you lose one year in life expectancy. If I'm born in West London, I can live to 78 on average; if I'm born in East London I live to 70. That's pretty dramatic, in terms of social difference. Right in the middle of that low average age area is where the Olympics are going to be held. And the project, and I say this as a metaphor for the bigger project that I think involves all of us in this room, is about how you can use urban projects to re-stitch together not just space but also the fabric of society. And in fact this is the Olympics today. I don't know what is actually going to happen, but it's being designed in such a way that certainly the links to the surrounding areas are there, so that the housing that is going to be built will not be the sort of exclusive ghettos that we were talking about before.

What I've been talking about is that we're living now, whether we like it or not, in an environment that is more and more urban; cities are becoming increasingly socially divided; they're becoming more and more irresponsible environmentally; and I think more undemocratically governed. The conclusions, certainly from my point of view, and the challenge to my colleagues at the panels, is that we can, following some of the examples we've been showing you, create cities that are more socially cohesive, more environmentally responsible, and certainly democratically governed. And I think that's how we get to cities that are better designed. Thank you very much.

Jiří Musil: Thank you, Richard Burdett, for a strong presentation of the idea of a compact city. I would like to add one thing: We need people who have ideas and intentions. In a way, we even have to start to think strongly about the relevancy of utopias. Different terms can be used here. We have time now for the reactions.

Let me start with Willem Jan Neutelings, one of the leading European architects, undoubtedly, author of many famous buildings. I was fascinated, personally, by his interest in 19th century architecture. He said, "When you want to understand the future, consult the past." In sociology we call it "past-dependency." I feel there a positive stress on continuity. The floor is yours.

Willem Jan Neutelings: Thank you very much. I was struck Sunday night by the opening lecture of Mr. Havel, when he described the journey from his house in the 1970s, when he would go from the center of Prague to his holiday house in Bohemia. In about 15 minutes, he would be out of the city. Now, when he goes to his holiday house, he told us that it takes at least half an hour to get out of the city, and then still he finds himself in a nondescript zone of scattered buildings, which are neither city nor countryside.

It made me think of a mathematical puzzle that my 16-year-old son used to ask me that goes like this: There is a beautiful pond, and on the pond aquatic plants are growing, and they double every day in size. So the question is, at what moment is the pond half-covered in plants? And that of course is a quite shocking answer, because the pond is half-covered with plants just one day before it's completely covered with plants!

As an answer to the question, "What are the limits of urbanization?" I would say that at the moment we find ourselves at the point where the pond is half-covered. Although it still looks relatively manageable, I think that we will soon reach the limits of urbanization. In the past, architects and planners have been able to create responsible, reasonable living conditions for maybe 2 to 3 billion people, but I think it will be extremely difficult to create the same reasonable living conditions for the 6 billion people that we have today, let alone the 8 to 10 billion that we expect in the next 20 years.

Over the past 20 years, more buildings have been constructed by mankind than in the previous 5,000 years, and one can expect that in the next 20 years, even more buildings will be built than in the 20 years before, just like the arithmetic of the pond. Just to give you an idea, China has planned 400 completely new cities of 1 mil-

lion inhabitants in the next 20 years, so as we speak, 400 Prague-sized cities are under construction simultaneously.

As young architects in the 1970s, we were asked to design average family apartments of 60-70 square meters. Today, if we get the same commission, we are asked to design average family apartments at the size of 100–120 square meters. Over the same period, the occupancy rate of one apartment in Holland dropped from five people to two-and-a-half persons in one apartment. You don't need more than the arithmetic of a 16 year old to understand that the multiplier effect of this rapid population growth on the one hand, and of the increased demand for individual space on the other hand, is enormous.

And of course as architects and engineers and urban planners, we are technically able to stretch the instruments of urban planning even further than we've done in 5,000 years. We invented, 5,000 years ago in Mesopotamia, the city. 3,000 years ago, the Greeks invented grid plans. 2,000 years ago the Romans invented flat apartments, when the population of Rome reached 1 million people and they started to stack people on top of each other rather than in houses. 150 years ago, Mr. Otis invented the lift, making it possible to make skyscrapers. And at the same time the English invented the subway system, doubling the streets underground.

But I think that we as architects, as engineers and urban planners, have reached a point where the stretching of our instruments can still increase the quantity of the built volume but at the same time decrease the quality of life. So, the question, I think, is not how can we manage to make more buildings. The question is, how can we manage to get fewer people? And at a moment when the instruments of urban planning are stretched to the limits, I think that the main focus should shift from the supply side to the demand side, from urban planning to population control.

However complicated this might be, and difficult in terms of historical demons of politics, ethics, individual freedom, religion, and so forth, I think that only here is the long-term solution. And I'm not talking about the very good short-term solutions that we have been shown, but the long-term solution for a world we want to live in. So to paraphrase Bill Clinton, it's the demography, stupid.

Jiří Musil: Now we have, next on the list, Lieven De Cauter, a Belgian philosopher who lives and works in Brussels, studied history of art and philosophy, author of many books. I must admit also that I was

fascinated by the title of one of the last of De Cauter's books, namely *"Capsular Civilization"*: *"On Cities in the Age of Fear"*. Cities now are becoming targets, and cities are divided. There are Jerusalem, Nicosia, Mitrovica, and I can go on with these names. Simply, cities started to be in a very specific situation. It started in the Civil War in Spain, with the bombarding of cities, and then continued in World War II. Something very deep happened. In the past, battles were fought outside in the fields: the famous battles of Königgrätz or Austerlitz. The state was in the field, so to say. Now there are Stalingrads, and other places like that. I think that you touched, in a way, this part of urban history. The floor is yours.

Lieven De Cauter: Thank you. Well, you confused me, because I thought for a minute to talk about urbicide, which is indeed one of my new obsessions, as I am very affected, and who could not be, when you visit the West Bank, or Beirut, or cities in war zones? But I will not do that today, not for the first round. Maybe I can come back to it, if we have time, because urbicide is indeed a very, very important topic; it's a new concept that we should all take very seriously, the killing of cities.

But let's first react to what is at hand. I agree with the very beautiful and very didactic lecture of Professor Burdett; I unfortunately do not share his optimism. I agree fully, more than I would ever dream, with Willem Jan, but my approach is even darker than that.

First, I can be very certain that we are entering an era of permanent catastrophe, due to the fact that humanity is inexorably hitting the limits of the ecosystem. Demography, the logic of growth, which has been discussed many times in this marvelous gathering, and the total "hypermobilization," of the total population: not only businessmen, not only tourists, but also students and migrants. The travel of migrants is a topic on its own.

Two: Due to delocalization, which has been marvelously discussed by Professor Pallasmaa, the loss of place that of course comes with this mobilization, this cyberspace, the "space of flows" as Castells puts it, means we get a simulation of places. The theme park is the tool, invented a few decades ago but in a sense a very age-old theme. The theme park is the solution. We can think of the waterfronts of our cities, which were reinvented as tourist and commercial theme parks. Entire cities can become theme parks. Bruges might be the first; I'm not proud of it, I was born close to Bruges, but it is the first theme park. "Bruges-la-morte"; Bruges was declared dead

more than a century ago. Prague is joining that sort of danger zone quickly.

Three: Globalization plus migration cause an epidemic of identity politics. Amin Maalouf has called it "murderous identities." And Arjun Appadurai has analyzed these urban clashes, these killings, in many of his books, with cases like Mumbai.

Four: The demonization of the city leads to an unseen fragmentation – which has been very eloquently and convincingly shown to us by Professor Burdett – which means that we are facing a new spatial order, or rather a new spatial disorder, of archipelagos of connected enclaves and disconnected ghettos. If Johannesburg is not sufficiently representative, think of the West Bank. You have connected enclaves and more and more disconnected ghettos – just go there. The West Bank, I think, is the blueprint of the spatial order of the future, unfortunately.

Five: We see an unseen and massive exclusion. Namely, we not only exclude people, but we exclude them from the human, from the law. We sort of reduce them to what the Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben has called "bare life," which is also barely life – a life that can be killed without committing murder, according to the Roman law, *"homo sacer"*. You could say that these are "bandits" in the literal sense of "those on whom the ban has been set," and they live in the *banlieue*, from French in "the place of the banned". Who are these bandits? Of course, the majority of the "bandits" are illegal migrants. You can do anything with them. And we do anything with them. Terrorists: you can do anything with them, put them in concentration camps like Guantánamo where they're outside the law, outside the Geneva Convention, without the status of prisoners of war. You can do anything with them. And pirates. I read an article in the International Herald Tribune that pleads for pirates to be treated as outlaws. Then again you can do anything with them.

These five points – and there are more, but I am trying to be short – make what I have called the capsular city, or even the capsular civilization. And this is definitely not the world we want to live in. Thank you.

Jiří Musil: If the core of urbanity is acceptance of the different, and the ability to live together with the differing, if we destroy this ability, we are in fact destroying the cities. I know that at the same time, it's quite natural that people who are of the same ethnic background, or have the same cultural background themselves, like to live together. They feel safer as well. It's not only segregation; it's quite intentional – it's an intention to be near those whom I understand. But there is another process.

We see in Europe – and that's one of the negative aspects of the most modern development – growing segregation. We are returning, compared with the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, in Europe, to a situation when there is a growing proportion of people who are in a very – now I would use a politically correct term – precarious situation. Mr. De Cauter used more concrete terms. I'm afraid that architects are not able to stop it. This is not a problem of architecture; it's a problem of social structure, of the political order of the whole system. I am sometimes, after studying cities for my whole life, afraid of the future for European cities.

I should like to ask the next speaker, Deyan Sudjic, who is Director of the Design Museum in London. He is concerned with design and architecture, worked as a critic with the journal *"The Observer"*, functioned as Dean of the Faculty of Art at Kingston University in Britain, and published many books, the last one on Norman Foster: *"A Life in Architecture"*, and something I should like to see a bit more: *"Future Systems"*. I was fascinated by his article, *"Is Modernism Dangerous?"* Maybe he will answer the question, in the second round. Now, a reaction to the keynote speech. Thank you.

Deyan Sudjic: Well-meaning intellectuals have been the victims of moral panic about cities since at least the time of William Morris and Ruskin. And I find, with respect to my colleagues, something very pessimist about such a bleak perspective of cities, which are in fact mankind's most precious creations. They are the only thing that offers some hope for the rural poor from the misery of their daily lives. I think that there is always a danger in looking at the world from the perspective of an aircraft at 30,000 feet, which is what the images that Richard Burdett so eloquently began with do. They do tell us some things, but they were what provoked Le Corbusier to look at the landscape covered in what he thought was a fungus spreading over the endless greenery.

Of course, from the pavement, life feels very different. And cities are those machines that can transform the rural poor into those who are on the first steps toward affluence. If one looks at Shanghai, those extraordinarily bleak apartments are also the first step to human dignity for the many millions of people whose square meterage

has doubled in the last 12 years. Still hardly anything, but it has doubled. Think of what that does to improve people's quality of life.

I'm not sure whether it's a left-wing or right-wing perspective that finds the idea of urbanization so difficult. One can find that both ends of the spectrum have always had a suspicion of the city. One thinks about the tension between the city and the nation state. Cities are of course far older than nations; they are perhaps a more organic form of social organization. The city, as I understand it, the successful city – the metaphor I always use is the one of the menu – the city is a place that allows people the chance to be what they want. Some cities do it far better than others; others do it well, some do it very badly. But it is the chance to escape from a form of social organization, the rural world, which doesn't offer choice, doesn't offer freedom, is not a good place to be different or "other." And the city, at its best, can do that.

The big question, I suppose, in the time I spent with Ricky looking at the "endless city," really has been this question of identity and of scale. It's always said, but it's always worth repeating, that we're looking at cities that are larger than mankind has ever understood, or has attempted to come to terms with before. We're looking at a time when cities are larger than most European nations. And the key issue there is: how do these organisms maintain that sense of identity and that sense of cohesion, so that they do not become Beirut, or Belfast, or Berlin in the old days?

Jiří Musil: Thank you very much. One short addendum to your observations: I remember my Soviet colleagues from Moscow who, in the 1970s and 1980s, used the concept of urbanity and urbanization as a weapon against the very stiff, rigid, Brezhnevian system. Part of the system´s philosophy was to control the cities. These colleagues changed this perspective and stressed the need to allow the cities to grow. They tried to show that when there would be more large cities in the Soviet Union they could function as a kind of lever that could open the doors to more liberality. That's proof of the traditional sympathy of liberals to cities.

Undoubtedly, cities divide people. Some are worried; some, as you said – and it's completely legitimate to stress it – some believe, as I mentioned the unbelievable example of the Soviet town planners, that cities can have value even in very difficult political situations. So they are full of options.

Now we have the last distinguished speaker, Elia Zenghelis, who is a practicing architect and teacher. He studied architecture in London, belongs to those who like to introduce radical, avant-garde ideas into his courses. He is the author of an unbelievably long list of products. His buildings and plans are in Greece, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, Germany, Japan, Albania, and maybe in many other countries. He is a man who must understand our European roots. Thank you, and the floor is yours.

Elia Zenghelis: Thank you very much for your very complimentary introduction. May I say that many of the projects that you mentioned are projects, and only a few are realized buildings. I have spent most of my life making projects and I believe that one can think about projects for architecture that may not be realizable in the present conditions.

It's a bit difficult to react after Ricky's very eloquent keynote speech, but I will try to take up on a very important statement that he made, that we need to restore the public realm. I will return to the question of the limits of urbanization. Where are the limits of urbanization? Well, personally I believe the limits have by far been exceeded. I believe that urbanization is the instrument for dismantling the city, and I think we're in the process of dismantling the city.

I understand the term "urbanization" as we have inherited it from Ildefons Cerdà. His plan for Barcelona utilized the term for the first time as an ideology that the city is extendable and limitless. This is, I think, the kiss of death for the city. What I refer to as urbanization is the present sprawl that we have surrounding the cities – the sprawl of private properties mostly, a process of abandoning the public realm into a world of privatization and escape from the common, leaving the city to helpless immigrants who are being persecuted by the police. This, obviously, does not apply to this magnificently operating and beautiful city of Prague, but it does apply to many of the larger cities around the world, and certainly works in many of the cities in which I have worked.

My argument is that we have to safeguard the city, and we have lost the dialectical relationship between the city and the countryside. We have neither one nor the other at the moment. The city needs to have boundaries. Architecture is a tool of making the city. The question is political: how to resuscitate the city instead of encouraging escape from it, how to resuscitate the city as a domain of the public realm? For a society of the collective.

A British architect, Martin Pawley, wrote a book in the 1960s called *"The Private Future"*, and he ended with a prophecy that we would end up being wired up, electronically self-sufficient and autonomous, in our private world. Well, the mission is accomplished. We live in the private present. From the point of view of architecture, I believe that we need to resuscitate the idea of the common, with a common architectural language. We are experiencing an increasing merger between working and living within a hybrid urban space, a phenomenon to be studied within the social and economic transformation of labor itself – the politics of labor in relation to the city form.

With the modern concept of government, the city identifies itself with mere urbanization. Urbanization is continuous, and potentially limitless. Architecture is finite, and through its own limits, it questions the existing conditions rather than simply managing them. Urbanization is a tool of economic management, and aims at producing a totalizing spatial condition. Architecture works with discontinuity and accepts conflict as a vital part of urban life.

A common architectural language can be born out of the generic ethics of urbanization, and by generic I mean this undifferentiated common quality, which precedes the individual. It can be born out of this condition, but it should reclaim it as common space, something that addresses the dignity of those who live in the city. Architecture represents the dialectical opposite of urbanization. It can be the alternative to the isotropic pattern of urbanization, but it should also avoid the risk of falling into the rhetoric of the extraordinary object. Ever since the modernist project of the city lost its aura, architecture has frantically tried to restore its role in making the city by advocating identity, originality, status, and position. These myths have proved mystifying screens that only contribute by leaving a thin veil of paint over urban conditions that have not improved.

We need to find clues for the formulation of a new project for the city. All empirical analysis and mappings that have been produced so far for the city have fallen victim to the postmodern illusion that in the contemporary city, anything goes, everything is different, and creativity, the mantra of the neoliberal ethos, is the new Eden of social possibilities. Such empirical approaches must be opposed. We need to formulate a theory of the city; we need to explore a fundamental and yet overlooked aspect of the contemporary city: the profound relationship between the nature of labor today, the generic in

architecture, and the appropriation of this generic aspect of the city as common space.

We need to discern the common as a tool with which to transform the latent generic condition of the city into a sphere of collectivity, an institution even, and take it beyond the simple distinction between public and private space. All schools and institutions must address this issue, if there is a hope for the future of the city and the end of urbanization. Thank you.

Jiří Musil: Thank you very much, Elia Zenghelis. I think your stress on commonality or common is quite legitimate. I think good cities were those where creativity was combined with a necessary amount of solidarity. This balance is the message from European history and the European city. Let me thank you all for the reactions, and let me thank Richard, and let me invite him to react to what he heard about his lecture and about the cities.

Richard Burdett: Just a few responses to some very provocative comments by my colleagues at the table: I find it worrying to hear that just because we've had it so good for the last 150 years in the global North and the West, it's time for others to stop having babies. I think the notion that we've got to deal with the problems of the world by reducing population has Malthusian implications that I find deeply worrying. And surely, what we should be saying at this table is that we have the means and the intelligence to deal with improving the resources of the world and improving the environment. So I must say that surprised me from Willem Jan Neutelings, and I'm sure you were provoking.

The problem is that one says these things, and then you find that the British government, the new British government that is made up of the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats, so soft center-right, is beginning to suggest that it's absolutely fine for middle-class people to have more children because they can pay for it, but absolutely not acceptable for poor people because they have to be subsidized by the state. I worry, in terms of where this story goes.

I want to pick up Deyan's incredibly powerful point about the fact that cities have had and will continue to have this extraordinary attraction, as long as we design them. And this is where I want to connect to what Deyan was saying about a possible positive outcome, because that young man who moves into a city will find an identity, will find a story, will find a narrative for his life, as long as

we get the physical and social infrastructure right. I think in that sense we should not abnegate that possibility and say, stop letting cities grow. In many senses, I think you can have very large cities, as long as they work. I live in a megacity, which went from 1 million to 10 million in the space of 100 years, from the 1800s to the 1900s, called London. And it deals with large numbers of people, particularly migrants, incredibly well. It doesn't do what Paris does, so there are different ways of dealing with these issues.

Deyan is also right to remind us that you cannot just look at cities from the top down, and that the narratives of individuals and their identities need to be understood. I think no one put this better than a colleague of ours called Suketu Mehta, who wrote a book called *"The Maximum City: Bombay Lost and Found"* about Mumbai. And he talks about some of the poorest inhabitants of the poorest areas, the slum of Dharavi, who keep on coming from everywhere. And they have a way of talking about the city – Mumbai, 14 million people, desperate poverty – they talk about Mumbai with this beautiful phrase: "the bird of gold." It's actually the promise, the promise that you come to the city and you fly. I think that is ultimately what we should be thinking about with cities. When Elia reminds us of the importance of the public realm, it's exactly that area where the richness and complexity needs to be reinvigorated.

I would end my comments by saying that perhaps where we could all agree is that what we don't want is to create more cities with that sort of mono-dimensional aspect, which lends itself to the sort of exclusiveness that Lieven De Cauter talked about. The city walls, the beautiful phrases you used of "connected enclaves and disconnected ghettos" – I think that puts it so powerfully.

What is missing there again is what Richard Sennett would have said if he were here now, or Jane Jacobs would have said if she were alive, which is that it is the complexity of a very simple urban system to absorb different levels of engagement, that actually sustains life. In that sense, I think, those of us who are involved in thinking about cities should not abnegate the responsibility of making better ones, or have less people there, but should actually be more resourceful in the way we make them more complex and more sustainable at many different levels.

Jiří Musil: Thank you, Richard. I feel that some people here would like to react.

Lieven De Cauter: Yes. I'll try to be short. First reaction to Elia Zenghelis: I want his text, but I want to say he is always irritatingly too modest. He was the co-founder of Office of Metropolitan Architecture, for those who don't know.

I once attacked you, Willem Jan Neutelings, and now I will defend you like hell. I think, if we have the right and the duty to discuss the limits of growth, we have the right and the duty to discuss demography. Demography is one of the biggest taboos of our time. Not only the Pope of Rome, Islam, Judaism, and all monotheistic religions, but also of the left, because deep in the left ideology, going back to Marx, is that it cannot be that there are too many people, but only that there is a wrong distribution of wealth. But this is wrong because Marx was – with all the respect I have for him – a child of his time, and he believed also that there was no limit to economic growth, like liberals did.

Now we have learned since 1972, though some of us are really hard learners, that there are limits to all growth. The five parameters of the report of the Club of Rome *"The Limits to Growth"* included population. I don't think you have to be a male white chauvinist pig to state that having a population of 10 billion is a problem.

Then to Mr. Sudjic I would like to reply with a tale, because otherwise I might become too personal. I must say I become impatient because, when you try to make a clear picture, you're always accused of being a prophet of doom. But okay, I will take on the role of the prophet of doom. Very early on in my childhood, I was struck by the story of the Bible. Yes, I was a Christian, even if I am now a liberal and an atheist. One lesson of the Bible was that the prophet Jonah was asked by God to tell Nineveh that it would be destroyed by Him if it did not amend its ways. But God, being God, had compassion, for once. He is one of the first to commit urbicide; we have to think of that when we think of urbicide, that He killed and destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, as you know, for reasons that I will not go into here. But He had compassion, and He did not destroy Nineveh. So there was Jonah, and he was very angry with God, because he said to God, "You made a fool of me!" I learned that lesson very well, so I will be very glad and even maybe – even if it will be very difficult as an atheist – I will thank God if I'm wrong. Thank you.

Jiří Musil: Thank you, Lieven. One note about growth: imagine total non-growth. You know, there are some sociologists who are trying to think it through and in a non-growth society; you necessarily

end up with stagnation of thought, almost. You have to find the balance between growth and stability. I am afraid of stopping growth. There are philosophies that try to substantiate, to legitimize this no-growth situation, stressing the stability of everything. Human history is, I think, at least in part, proof of the ability to change. And change is a quality linked to creativity. You always try to adapt in a new way to situations, and the cities are the most complex instruments for adjusting.

I should like to ask the gentlemen if they would like to add something, and I would be pleased and thankful to them if they feel like it.

Willem Jan Neutelings: Maybe just to answer Mr. Burdett's remarks in my direction. Of course, when I came here I thought, what should I talk about? Of course, it's possible to show all kinds of solutions which will ease the problem, like parks and public transport; that is clear. But indeed, it was a provocative statement, talking about demography. Of course, it's not at all my intention to go in the directions you were talking about, if you want to solve these things about education and women's emancipation and so forth. And even I, who have two children, was amazed that the government has paid me for 18 years for my children, which I think is completely ridiculous in our society.

But besides this political question, I think there is a matter of statistics. You (Richard Burdett) talked about the chart, with the curve, and the footprint. So the question is, do you think it's possible, statistically, but also technically, that we as professionals, find solutions to get this curve right, even with 8 billion people?

Richard Burdett: Yes, is the answer.

Lieven De Cauter: No. Clearly, no.

Willem Jan Neutelings: Then, of course, I would like to know how Mr. Burdett thinks we can manage to do this, because I am the first to help, as a professional.

Deyan Sudjic: The Urban Age project, which Ricky and I have worked on for a number of years, had as its starting point the idea that cities cannot be framed only by planners, only by architects, only by lawyers, only by politicians. There can only really be a non-pessimistic

outcome if those groups who usually hate each other try to understand that there are aspects other than their own to the way they usually understand cities. I might also add – and I do think that that's one of the things that project really has achieved, that there has been a chance for a group of people to see something slightly differently – that deep down, and also over the time we've been involved with it, we've realized that there are even sharper differences between theorists, practitioners, and strategists, who might be described as politicians, intellectuals, and architects. And if they could perhaps get into the same room, like this, we might also have a slightly less pessimistic outcome.

Jiří Musil: Thank you very much. Now we have five minutes for two or three questions. But before I open the floor, I would like very much to thank especially Richard Burdett for starting this discussion, which I feel was a very intensive one. And of course I thank all of for your participation. Now let us start with questions.

Audience question: You were talking about the limits of economic growth. Against the limit of economic growth, we have creativity, we have new technologies, we have science, we have innovation…

Lieven De Cauter: A statement of the Report of the Club of Rome says: one of the worst guides that we could have is scientific optimism. I think the report should be a bible.

Audience question: I have a question. Why was the concept of self-organization not mentioned and used? You talked about cities and organisms, you talked about complexity, and the conclusions of the Club of Rome actually were rejected and refuted by real developments. So we see that even in demography, the concept of self-organization is working. Thank you.

Jiří Musil: Thank you very much. I think we can even take one more.

George Monbiot from the audience: I think it's very striking that of all the environmental crises we are facing, the only one that is clearly peaking and is forecasted to go into decline soon, is human population. And the hot money suggests now that the peak is going to be 2040–2050. There's little doubt of that according to papers in *Nature*, the UN itself, Fred Pearce's book *"Peoplequake"*. Now, it's still

a problem, but it's a problem that I think has been mischaracterized. The classic way of looking at it is, of course, total impact equals population times affluence times technology. But really it should be population of consumers times affluence times technology, because actually there are very large numbers of people, mostly those whose populations are growing fastest, who aren't creating any impacts at all because they're simply not consuming – or not in a way we recognize consumption. They're not consuming any fossil fuels, consuming very little space; they have very little environmental impact. Those are the people whose numbers are rising fastest. But even so, the problem is gradually topping out.

I wonder if I could just address something Deyan said about the rural-urban divide; I think you made a very interesting point, but I think you're generalizing too far, and you may be slightly out of date in some respects as well. When you look at the connected countryside and the way in which, certainly in the western world, there have been some very sharp shifts with the countryside becoming much more linked to cities without people having to leave it, but also a place in which there's a great deal more cultural, political, and entrepreneurial activity taking place than there used to be. I don't think urbanization is a prerequisite for the sort of social shifts you were talking about. And while what you mentioned is undoubtedly true in many places, for instance in Kibera, Nairobi, I've followed people from the tribal parts of the countryside into Kibera, I've seen greater ethnic tension and poorer conditions of life there than in the places from which they came. And I think we have to be a little bit careful about characterizing that rural-urban divide.

Jiří Musil: Thanks. Now, I am afraid you have to react.

Lieven De Cauter: Yes. Well, I would love to respond, but I am afraid I would feel a bit egotistical, so I'll try to be short. I'm very happy with the question of informality. In fact, I had a little element on learning from Palestine, and I gave you one element from it, namely this archipelago of enclaves. But another thing that is more optimistic – and I have an optimistic side – is the "verticalization" that happens in the Palestinian camps is in fact something we can learn from. MVRDV, a Dutch firm, tries to rethink the skyscraper by sort of alternative growing informally in interaction with the inhabitants.

This skyscraper is not top-down built, but grows as a vertical village. And we can see examples of it the camps.

And then what I discovered in D'heisha camp in Bethlehem is that they built, with their own hands, a cultural center with ballet classes, theaters, even a closed garden, and it transformed the camp. I call it the power of heterotopia, the power of culture to save and redeem camp life.

Then to the question of population, about which of course we can go on for hours and hours; it's a theme in itself. Of course I hope that demographers are right, but I have a good friend who says, "Never trust a demographer," because in fact, all demographic forecasts recently have been wrong. Wrong in the sense that, for example, Britain has been growing much more than was officially admitted until recently. I'm not a demographer. I hope I'm wrong. But where I'm not wrong is that you seem to hope that Africa and China and India remain poor. They are not. The individual ecological footprint of China is growing gigantically. So is the individual ecological footprint of Indian people as they become affluent. As we are taking more planes and cars, the Chinese are changing from bicycles to cars. 1,000 cars per day are joining the number of cars in China.

As for our footprint, think about flights. Our flight behavior is a disaster. I call cheap flights a crime against humanity. Thank you.

Shigeko Sasamori, Yohei Sasakawa

Going Green? What's In It for Your Business and How Can It Be Done?

11th October 2010, Goethe Institut

Moderator:
Ján Kubiš, Executive Secretary, United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, Switzerland/Slovakia

Participants:
Martin Bursík, Former Minister of Environment, Czech Republic
Radek Špicar, Director, External Affairs, Škoda Auto, Czech Republic
Ladislav Miko, Director for Nature, Directorate General for Environment, European Commission, Belgium/Czech Republic
Andrzej Błach, Partner, CMS Cameron McKenna, Head, CEE Energy Sector Group, Poland
Tomáš Víšek, Chairman, Supervisory Board, McKinsey & Company, Czech Republic

Ján Kubiš: Good morning, ladies and gentlemen, esteemed members of the panel. First of all, I would like to thank you for coming to this panel. We will speak about the world we want to live in from the perspective of the actors who will shape and have a major stake in the future world. The composition of this panel reflects the different components responsible for shaping the future world from the perspective of going green. Going green is becoming mainstream thinking, not only in private business but also in places like the EU. We have the view of Brussels represented on this panel. I represent the United Nations, and I am the head of the UN Economic Commission for Europe. We are a small commission that deals with niche areas that are very relevant for what we will be discussing: transport, the environment etc. We also have representatives of business, politicians, and people who are coming up with strategies and policies that will influence the future. This representative panel will enable us to discuss the complex issue of going green – what's in it for businesses and how can it be done.

Before giving the floor to the first panelist, I would like to highlight some questions that might be relevant to our topic of discussion. The first is a very general one: what role does business have in shaping the world that we want to live in? I also have some more specific questions. What are the main drivers for business to go green? Does the answer to this question differ across sectors and activities? There are a lot of new opportunities for businesses in the green sector. Do businesses need the support of governments to force green markets to be created? If so, and I would say that they do, what kind of support is needed? What are the major stumbling blocks to going green? How can public investment be used to leverage private investment to drive investment into particular areas? What is the role of sustainable public procurement to support the development of markets in green goods and services? Is business likely to go green on a large enough scale to fundamentally transform our economies? How can this process be scaled up? In the transition of "greening" the economy, there will be winners and losers. What needs to be done to help the losers in the short to medium term? What does going green ultimately mean for job creation and skills?

I'm not touching upon the international discourse in this area. As you know, it's a major discussion that is raging in many capitals, international organizations and businesses around the world. The United Nations is one of the players here, and the G20 is another. I am not sure what place the ideas of green growth, green development, and green economy will find in the final document that is currently being prepared by the G20 summit in the Republic of Korea. These discussions and others like those in the EU will greatly affect the way in which we will approach issues like the green economy in the future. The international discourse is another question. With this introduction, I would like to start the discussion by giving the floor to Mr. Martin Bursík, Former Minister of Environment of the Czech Republic. Mr. Bursík is well known not only in green business but also in the area of the environment. He is a good partner of all those who are trying to move this issue forward.

Martin Bursík: Good morning and thank you very much for the introduction. One of the results of my more than three years as a minister is that I collected over one meter of environmental books which I bought in New York, Washington, London, or other destinations, but which I haven't had time to read. When I was preparing for this panel, I went through some of these books and it reminded me of a meeting about two years ago at Yale University where I was invited to participate at the gathering of the US governors who signed the voluntary agreement on climate change action before the Obama administration was elected. One of the professors, Daniel Esty, gave me the book that he had just published called *"Green to Gold"*. We had a discussion about the fact that if you buy these books in special bookstores, you only read about success stories. Ninety five percent of your reading consists of win-win strategies for companies. They adopt the environmental management system, they reduce costs, they increase efficiency, they build consumer trust, and they work with their employees. My question was: does it actually work like this? He said that he conducted research with hundreds of CEOs of different companies, asking them why they were going green. They said that they are doing it because it is the right thing to do. There is a very important moral aspect to this which we might have thought wouldn't work in business. Common thinking says that business is just about money and capital return and these sorts of things. That is not the case. The eco advantage is a moral aspect of doing business.

Additionally, many smart companies are doing more than they are obliged to do with the environment. They follow at least ten environmental issues, including clean air, water, toxic chemicals, climate change, energy, biodiversity, land use, and many others. There are many examples that show that companies who don't do this are at greater risk. Companies with smart environmental management

obtain better loans with lower interest rates because the bankers percieve a lower risk of providing them with loans. Let me briefly note the example of BP. It's a two-sided coin. Lord Brown in BP decided to look for carbon some years ago and BP invested $20 million in the initial change process. In five years time, their revenue from the project was $650 million and two years ago it was $1.5 billion.

The other side of the coin is the Deep Water Horizon catastrophe. This is an issue about reputation, and the question is whether or not BP will ever be able to repair its reputation. It might come only if BP is able to become a leader in an era of alternative fuels and renewable energy. Experience shows us that ninety five percent of companies that are going green are both making a profit and are participating in the sustainable future of the planet. Economic behavior is connected with nature; in fact, whatever we produce is either grown or mined from the planet. Because of this, you cannot disconnect economic activity from nature.

Ján Kubiš: Thank you very much. I'm glad that you mentioned that one of the most important enabling conditions for going green is financing. Indeed, companies that are showing a clear policy intention to go green very often attract better investment and financing than other companies in certain sectors. Let me now ask the second member of the panel, Mr. Radek Špicar, Director of External Affairs at Škoda Auto in the Czech Republic, to speak. As we know, cars are major polluters, and the transport industry's use of trucks and personal vehicles is a key factor working against the process of going green. Must we take this for granted, or are there certain policies and approaches that could change this situation? What about the way in which city planners are thinking about urban planning, taking into account not only the growth of urbanization but also the fact that many people are still trying to use personal vehicles in cities that are not designed for this? Then there are the norms and trends that determine the future of the car industry as the industry discusses different generations of electric vehicles and standards for these vehicles. The car industry is trying to not only develop the norms that will define the environment for car producers in the next 30 years, but also to define certain parameters of going green in this industry. Now I would like to ask Mr. Špicar to give his perspective on these issues.

Radek Špicar: Thank you chairman. First of all, I would like to thank the organizers of Forum 2000 for organizing this conference after

the Paris Motor Show, because it enables me to speak about the electric Octavia. I had a real problem over the last couple of months because I knew it was coming but I couldn't talk about it. Last year I attended about fifteen environmental conferences, and I was often attacked by the audience, who wanted to know why Škoda did not have an e-car, why it wasn't doing anything for the environment, etc. I knew the Octavia was coming, but I couldn't speak about it, or say a word to suggest that an electric car might be coming. It was a strategic secret that was very well kept by Škoda's management, so this is the first conference where I can openly admit that we are going into e-mobility as a company. We have a product that you could see in Paris, and I think it's a pretty good car. It has great parameters even for an e-car.

The main question, then, is why are we going green? For us whether or not to go green is no longer a question. There's no need to put a question mark at the end of the sentence. The only questions are when and how, and these are questions to which there is no easy answer. We know we have to go green because it is impossible to avoid it. Petrol will run out, and we have to be ready for this as carmakers. Škoda has been around for more than one hundred years, and we know that we have to go green if we want to be here for another hundred years.

Secondly, our consumers want us to go green and in business you do what your customers want you to do. The problem, and I will get to this in the second part of my presentation, is that not enough customers want us to go green. This is a big problem. We can discuss why this is and what to do about it, but unfortunately it is a fact at the moment. What's really interesting is that more and more customers in developing countries want us to go green and want us to produce and offer ecological cars. Before I joined Škoda, I thought that only wealthy customers in developed countries wanted to drive ecological cars and cared about the environment, but this is not the case. As I saw in China and India, it is becoming more and more trendy and popular in developing countries to move in this direction.

The third reason why we have to go green is regulation. We have a colleague here from the European Commission who can address this. Regulation is tough and it's not easy to come to terms with. We have fights, we discuss what regulation should look like, but regulation is a simple fact of life that we have to think about. As Martin said, and I agree, it's much better to do things voluntarily than to do them because of regulation. This is very important for all

managers to realize. Often businesses wait for regulation to come and then they do what's required of them. I think that's the wrong way. It's much better to do things voluntarily before regulation, because once it's in place it's usually stricter than if you'd done it on your own.

The fourth reason is that going green makes sense economically. That's why I'm very glad that Škoda and the group that we are a part of is doing so much. Not just because it is morally right, but because it makes sense economically. That's why going green is so interesting for businesses. Take the Dow Jones Sustainability Index; it's important to be there and it makes sense economically. When you look for new shareholders or if you want to get good loans with good interest rates, it really helps to be able to show that you are on the Sustainability Index. It's not cheap, but it makes sense in the long run. These are the reasons why we have to do it, why we want to do it and why we are doing it.

Why is it complicated? First of all, as I said, customers don't care about it as much as we wish they did. For the last couple of years, the car industry has been conducting some very sophisticated polls asking customers: would you be interested in buying an ecological car? Everybody said yes. To carmakers, this was a clear sign that we had to invest a lot of money in bio fuels, in hybrids, in e-cars, etc. But once we made these things available, people didn't buy them. What was wrong? We had all these opinion polls, it seemed as if everybody was ecstatic about ecological cars, but nobody was buying them. We were told that we had to come up with more sophisticated opinion polls. The survey then might also include a question like: "Are you willing to accept some discomfort when you drive an ecological car, because of, for example, missing infrastructure?" Or: "Would you be willing to pay a little bit more for an ecological car than for a standard one?" This totally changed the results. If in the first poll 90% of people responded that they would buy an ecological car, once these other two questions were added, this figure dropped to around 20%.

The second reason that it is complicated for us to go into ecology as a carmaker is missing infrastructure. This is a really big barrier to the development of the whole concept of an ecological car. When there is no infrastructure, it is difficult for drivers of e-cars, hybrid cars or CNG cars to have the comfort that they are used to and that they require. There's a lot of work to be done not just by carmakers but also by energy companies and by governments. The last point

that I would like to address is the standards of e-cars. Along with infrastructure, standards are the biggest obstacle to the further development of e-mobility. We don't have standards in Europe at the moment. This is a big problem because if we make an e-car in Škoda Auto, then we will have a certain system of infrastructure, a certain system of charging stations, and a certain system of grids, but you will not be able to go to France and use their system. If you are able to do it in France, then you go to Germany and they will also have different standards. If this problem isn't resolved, then there is no future for e-mobility in Europe. Go to China and see what they have there – one government policy, one system, one state. If we don't resolve this issue, Asia will go green faster than Europe, and that's a big danger that we should do something about. Thank you.

Ján Kubiš: Thank you very much for a very rich presentation. I'm very glad that you mentioned a number of enabling factors for going green as well as problems that will prevent us from going green unless they are resolved. We are living in a natural world, and nature provides the majority of our resources, so we are very glad that we have among our panelists someone who is dealing with nature. This panelist also brings a perspective from his work in the European Commission and as another politician who will hopefully lead the going green efforts in this country. Mr. Ladislav Miko is the Director for Nature and Director General of Environment at the European Commission. He works in Brussels but is from the Czech Republic, and cooperates a great deal with Mr. Bursík. It's not by accident that they are sitting next to each other; they are just reinforcing their message.

Ladislav Miko: Good morning everybody, and thank you for the invitation to this forum. I would like to shift the discussion a bit to the topic of nature and biodiversity, but before doing that I have a few remarks. The first one is that unlike Martin, I still don't have time to read all my books because I hardly manage to read what we produce in Brussels. The second is that Radek mentioned that Brussels regulates. In fact, it is the ministers of member states who vote for regulation, so it is a common view of the member states. I think there is a difference. There are no dictates there. The regulation is produced after very difficult negotiations between member states.

There is quite a lot happening in the process of "greening," which is today's theme. We have been talking mostly about energy

and climate change, but I would argue that biodiversity and nature is another side of the same coin. Basically, we cannot resolve the climate change problem without looking at the biodiversity side of things. Just look at the carbon cycle in nature. Without nature functioning normally, carbon is not able to get back to where it should be. The second problem is biodiversity, even more so than carbon, because we don't have yet an instrument to measure it. Biodiversity is not discussed in economics, so even if we all know that we are dependent on it, we still look at it as an externality. We don't have the tools to include it in economics. That is the reason why the G8 started to develop a study in 2007 called *"The Economics of Ecosystems and Biodiversity"*, or TEEB. The conclusion of this study was that it is impossible to monetize everything that nature gives us, so it is difficult for business to take this into account. Many people still argue that you have to demonstrate the value of biodiversity and include it in the economy.

A greening economy is one that tries to diminish its impact on ecosystems, mitigating the negative impact of businesses on the surrounding environment. There are many different strategies for accomplishing this. I have seen in many business reports strategies for eliminating environmental impact or even producing a net positive effect on the environment. The primary goal is the mitigation of negative impacts while not hurting production, but in many cases you still produce issues which are inherently a cause of the problem. This is one element of the greening process.

Another element of greening involves producing something that makes a positive contribution to the state of the environment. I am referring to the issue of ecosystem services. There are many services which are the product of healthy ecosystems on this planet. The carbon cycle is just one of them which we will not be able to resolve without technical solutions. You can benefit a lot of ecosystems, however, by doing nothing other than ensuring that they are working properly.

You also can use this tool pro-actively. If you look at agriculture today, we are able to produce relatively high quality and healthy goods. We are even able to mitigate negative impacts on the environment. Still, all of this is completely dependent on the very high amount of energy which has to be put into the process. Then the question becomes, how long will we be able to do these things with this energy budget? If we have to reduce the energy budget then it will be very difficult. We will have to cease some activities when

there is no money. What is cut first? Ecological measures. It's very easy to do this because we have to create jobs and look after people.

If we are actively working with ecosystem services, we can have some of these services delivered automatically by ecosystems without needing to spend energy on them. We are developing a concept called green infrastructure. With the issue of flooding, for instance, you can try technological solutions or you can use natural solutions. Water cleaning has been in use for many years; you can develop it further. There is the problem of water scarcity for farming. The issue of erosion control is crucial; we are losing soil that we grow our food on. Then there is the nutrients cycle – the nitrates, the carbon, the phosphorus, and others. All this is completely dependent on natural cycles. If they are disrupted, you have a big problem. You have to invest a lot of energy to get the same result. I would argue that one of the elements that we need to include in businesses is working with processes that already exist in nature. These can be used by businesses to produce something that would otherwise be very costly. People speak about the tourist industry as a very fast-growing sector that can do this, but I think it should come into big business as well.

Finally, I will ask Mr. Špicar a provocative question: do you address the issue of biodiversity in your annual report? Thank you.

Ján Kubiš: Thank you very much. Before you give your response, Mr. Špicar, I would like to go to the next panelist here. It's Mr. Andrzej Błach, partner at CMS Cameron McKenna and head of the Central and Eastern Europe Energy Sector Group in Poland. He will give us the perspective of someone who is helping private companies and governments in different countries to go green.

Andrzej Błach: Good morning, ladies and gentleman. As the only practicing lawyer among these experts here, I'm compelled to confine my comments to law and the law's impact on the process of going green. I would like to start by dispelling a common misconception. It is widely believed in the business community that without the direct intervention of the law, Brussels, and national governments, nothing would be happening in this area – we would have business as usual, polluting plants, and environmentally unhealthy products. I would like to cite another American example. I heard a very funny joke last year at the American Bar Association conference in Chicago. Do you know what the average coal-fired power plant now under development in the US consists of? It consists of a generator, a stack

of coal and a lawsuit. The reason why there is a lawsuit in every developing project is that there is a common interest between the community of stakeholders surrounding the project and the shareholders of the company developing the project to make sure the project is sustainable, can be characterized by longevity, and is compliant with the current regulations.

We are talking about future compliance; making sure that the chief executives of your companies are ensuring that the projects continue to be sustainable and will be able to comply with future requirements. These are the same people who buy dolphin-safe tuna in supermarkets and who buy green energy in Germany, where this is possible. These same people are actually forcing the management boards of companies to think green on a voluntary basis.

The real impact of law is not necessarily to enable the whole process of going green, it happens with the law and without the law. The real issue for lawyers and lawmakers is to create a predictable environment for businesses to develop. Lawyers must help create a playing field, a predictable future, a safe haven for business executives who are making decisions about how far and how fast to go green.

For example, the EU regulation on CO_2 emissions, future targets for CO_2 emissions, and carbon trading schemes enables people to design projects better and make sure that they make the right decisions. Hence, this actually enhances the whole market because it makes people more willing to go into green industries and projects.

One particularly important topic of our panel is that of financing finding the money to go green, particularly in the aftermath of the recent economic crisis. The predictability of the measures implemented by different governments is the key here. A simple example is the feed-in tariffs in the Czech Republic and a number of other countries with respect to solar and other renewable energy sources. The business community likes these tariffs, but the issue has become not how high the tariff is – it has to be high enough to actually attract investment – but how predictable and stable is it? There are certain warning signals, even in this country, with respect to these changes, and changes may well be warranted on the basis of the current overheating of the solar market. Nevertheless, if you lose the trust and confidence of investors and lenders, it may take years to repair. The same applies to recent movements in Spain and certain legislative proposals in Bulgaria.

You may still say that these are great schemes and that there's enough interest, but I would challenge you. Predictability is more important than the actual content of the measures. There is one small example from this country, where you have a scheme for supporting biomass burning but the scheme appears to no longer be applicable to every power-generating facility but to co-generation facilities only. This is a shift in policy which may be insignificant in the grand scheme of things, but which nevertheless undermines investor confidence.

Finally, one last comment regarding lenders: we are coming full circle, because predictability is critical for lenders. After the recent banking crisis, we would all like our banks to invest only where there is as little risk as possible. At the same time, lenders are at the forefront of voluntary compliance. We heard about equator principles, which have been around for quite a few years now. This is nothing more and nothing less than a voluntary scheme adopted by a number of large international financial institutions and commercial banks. This is even more important, since it essentially imposes certain voluntary guidelines as to what will and will not be financed in terms of new infrastructure and energy projects. I think that's enough of an introduction, and we will come to some of these topics later. Thank you very much.

Ján Kubiš: Indeed, I assume that we will come back to some of the topics. I, at least, would like to hear about what's happening in this country with regards to solar energy. Hopefully, we will have some responses. For the last introductory statement I welcome Mr. Tomáš Víšek, Chairman of the Supervisory Board of McKinsey & Company in the Czech Republic.

Tomáš Víšek: Thank you very much. Let me talk about whether companies and consumers will really go green and what evidence is available for this. Which businesses will really go green?

I will start with the management perspective. We recently surveyed fourteen hundred leading managers worldwide. We asked them about the trends that will shape the future in the next decade or two. We gave them a number of potential trends that will shape their own company. We told them not to talk about their personal beliefs, or what they see in other companies. We asked for the perspective of their company in the next decade. Which trends will really an have impact? We listed trends like re-

balancing the world's wealth creation, meaning moving production from developed countries to developing countries, the growing importance of China and India. We gave them trends like the growing importance of governments, the growing importance of global networks of people and companies – what people call globalization. We gave them fourteen trends like that. Going green scored in the top five. But it scored lowest out of the top five. Many trends were ahead, for example the rebalancing, the shift of value creation from the developed world to the developing world was almost twice as important as going green.

I hear many examples about how individual CEOs and individual boards push their own companies to go green because they believe it's right. However, if you ask managers whether they think they should do so for profit, they think it is only half as important for their profits as rebalancing towards China, India and other countries in the developing world. The managers' perspective on how much we're really going green is rather cautious.

The consumer's perspective: we surveyed four thousand consumers in the largest countries: the UK, US, Japan, Germany, France, India and China. We gave them sixteen societal issues and asked which one would have an impact on their consumption habits and which should be important for their politicians. Environmental issues, including climate change, have scored highest for several years. I think 41% of these four thousand consumers listed them in the top three issues that affect how they consume and that should be solved. However, there is a huge difference between what people say and how they really consume. The car industry was a great example. We find many similar ones. People believe environmental issues are important, but when you ask them to consume accordingly, only a few people are willing to pay a premium to consume in a green way. By the way, environmental issues have scored much higher than job losses or human rights. People consider environmental topics to be almost three times more important than human rights. This was a bit of a shock to me, but that's the opinion of these four thousand consumers. All together, there is hope from the consumer but it includes the challenge of reducing the extra costs.

Now, where do we truly go green? I would go into climate change. If we are to reduce emissions in the next twenty years, if we are to use the economically reasonable abatement measures that are available in the world (we are talking about 200 Euros per megaton of CO_2, which is ten times more than the current price of the CO_2

certificates in Europe), if you look at all of the available measures, they are typically very capital intensive. It won't be easy to finance them. In the next twenty years, 40% of the capital needs to go into electric power generation: nuclear or renewable, maybe some to carbon capture and storage and other investments. 24% would be in automotive. I'm not talking about electric vehicles because I don't see them as a measure for the next 20 years but I include efficiency improvements; making cars lighter and more aerodynamic… 15% would go into buildings: insulation, the way we use refrigerators, cook, light generation and all of that. In these three areas we can at least change the way CO_2 is produced.

One last note on how it can be done. You've heard me being cautious about both managers and consumers. I think all of these people are well-intentioned, they say they want to, but the challenge of going green, in a reasonable timeframe, reducing CO_2 limits by 80% by 2050 is so huge that without a broad societal agreement, the standards that were mentioned and proper regulation, we will not get where we all want to be.

Ján Kubiš: Thank you very much to all the panelists. You gave us a whole array of very important pieces of information covering many aspects of what we are doing.

We heard a question to Škoda about its annual reports. Is there any mention of biodiversity? The second is about what is happening in this and other countries when subsidies are introduced to motivate certain industries and societies to go green. With solar power generation in the Czech Republic we now have a hiccup. That hiccup is hitting the confidence of investors because predictability is diminishing.

The first two questions are clear. Mr. Špicar first and then I would like to ask both Mr. Bursík and Mr. Miko to give us their opinions on the second question. Thank you.

Radek Špicar: I hope I will provide the expected answer. The answer is yes. We call it a sustainability report. People in Brussels, in Eurospeak, probably call it a biodiversity report. We don't have that. We have a good sustainability report. We do it every second year. You can have a look at it on our website.

In between these sustainability reports, we organize quite a big ecological conference of Škoda Auto and Škoda Energo. The next one will take place next year in October so let me take this opportunity to

officially invite Mr. Miko to our ecological conference and tell us how to transform our sustainability report into a biodiversity report.

Ladislav Miko: I will react briefly. It was of course a provocative question. I have a graphic here from a PriceWaterhouseCoopers study about how often biodiversity is mentioned in the reports of one hundred and eighty leading companies in Europe. Only two percent of them mention biodiversity in their report as an important factor and then another four percent at least mention it. A sustainability report is much more common. Many companies have them.

Why do I mention this? I will make a link to carbon. We have a very difficult discussion about carbon in Europe. Many companies will be asked to spend billions to reach the target of a 20% or 30% reduction in the coming years. At the same time, huge amounts of carbon dioxide are released from soil and from forests. I am curious what the managers of big companies will tell the politicians after twenty years of spending a lot of money on carbon efficiency when the levels of carbon in the atmosphere will be exactly the same because it just gets out from the soil and the forests. This is twenty percent globally. It's not only about solutions in technology. We need to know what is happening elsewhere. Most companies have no idea about the impact of their activity on ecosystems because it is not obvious. They report many things, but these indirect impacts on ecosystems are not included. If they don't know what damage they are causing, they can hardly address it.

Ján Kubiš: May I follow with a question now to you, Mr. Miko? The biodiversity convention meeting is taking place in Nagoya in Japan. You ask what companies might be thinking in twenty years' time after heavy investment and CO_2 levels in the atmosphere will be basically the same. Nevertheless, you as a euro bureaucrat are reflecting the political will of politicians of member states of the European Union, one of the key driving forces with regards to climate change. What is the message you are bringing from this perspective to Nagoya? Is there any message? Is there any commitment? Or are you just coming for another battle with many other countries with a predictable result like we had in Copenhagen?

Ladislav Miko: Unfortunately, I think with the last sentence you are close to the answer. Why? Every system is as weak as its weakest element. Europe is working on the basis of agreement between twenty seven members. The Commission can push, even the most active member states can push forward with their proposals, but at the end you can only come up with what everyone is able to agree on. Unfortunately, we have a coincidence of big efforts to combat climate change (a bit disconnected from biodiversity) and a financial crisis, not to mention additional problems such as how the system will work after the Lisbon treaty. We have a political problem, a financial problem, a societal problem and of course an environmental problem. At such a time, it is nearly impossible to negotiate something within the Union that is strong enough and supported strongly enough to get it agreed by the whole world. Not to mention that there are totally different interests in Africa, China, India. In this atmosphere, I don't expect any groundbreaking decision in Nagoya about ecosystems and biodiversity.

Ján Kubiš: Not necessarily good news. Will we get good news regarding Mr. Błach´s question about predictability of conventions for investment in renewables? Based on the experiences of the Czech Republic, Mr. Bursík perhaps could give us some.

Martin Bursík: First of all, I should say that I'm working as a consultant again. I'm consulting to the Photovoltaic Association so let me announce a conflict of interest at the beginning. The Photovoltaic Association in fact shares my view. They understand the situation, they don't want to build a huge solar park anymore. They understand that there was a regulatory mistake here which led to a very short payback period. However, the reaction of the state, by cutting renewable support and stopping any investments in photovoltaic is just a competitive war of the monopoly Czech energy company which is using this to win this game. They in fact are the major investors in photovoltaic. They will have about one quarter, maybe more, of the installations at the beginning of next year, so they will firstly get huge returns from their investments. Secondly, they have destroyed the good name of renewables because there has been a very strong campaign against renewables.

If you look at the situation in Europe, it's very different. During the economic crisis, 90% of German industry was affected, with the exception of the energy efficiency business and the renewable energy business. Three hundred thousand employees in Germany work in the renewable energy business. The prediction of the European Union is that 41% of investments in the energy sector up to 2020 will

be in wind farms, mainly offshore winds. Only 4% will go into nuclear energy. 60% of last year's energy sector investments went into renewables. It's evident that it is the most dynamic segment of the energy sector in Europe. New markets are being created. China became number one in wind turbines, it is number one in photovoltaics and they understand these competitive games. There are more arguments as to why ČEZ launched this very brutal campaign against renewables in the Czech Republic. They will report to the Commission that they invested in renewables, which is a condition to benefit from the free emission allowances, the so-called gradual auctioning, which they lobbied for in the European Commission and the European Parliament. As a result, from 2013 some of the countries in Europe who are dependent on coal and who have a low GDP can profit from gradual auctioning and will be producing electricity with very high carbon intensity for low production costs.

We're talking about the electricity market, but in fact there's no market. We do have a spot market here in Prague, but the price of electricity is being created in Germany. It is the price of electricity generated by gas and coal power plants in Germany and the rest is a marginal profit for ČEZ. ČEZ is – you will not believe me – twice as profitable as its competitors in Europe. The report by Kendall and Partners reprimands ČEZ and notes the fact that a liberalized market does not work in the condition of a monopoly concentration of power which is the case in the Czech Republic.

The solution is in fact not to stop the feed-in tariffs. It's the most effective and most used support scheme for renewables in Europe. We've had a law which provided the safety of a fixed price for investors fifteen or twenty years ahead. When we started with this support, we had 2,5% of renewable electricity on a net electricity consumption. Now we have 7% and we should have 13% by 2020. Without any kind of support scheme, renewables cannot compete with dirty electricity.

One brief point to Radek Špicar: we started this debate about e-cars and the green direction of Škoda cars. Be very careful. What type of color do you get if you take 60% of brown (coal), 30% of yellow (nuclear) energy, 4% of blue (hydro) energy, and let's say 6% of green? What "color" will you get? I'm speaking about the primary sources of energy. By the time you connect Škoda cars in the Czech Republic to the socket you've got 60% brown electricity out of dirty brown coal power plants with a high content of solid particles causing cancer which decrease the average age in northwest Bohemia by

two years. The 30% of yellow electricity out of nuclear power plants puts a big question mark above eco-electricity and e-cars. Until we solve the problem of the origin of electricity there will be a big, big question mark above electric cars and car producers should take this into account. They have to cooperate with those traders who can provide green electricity, otherwise it will be a bigger failure than the investments into direct electric heating in early nineties.

Andrzej Błach: I would like to comment on the diversification of energy sources. I've heard quite a lot about global warming and CO2 emission limits. It is a dominant theme and it is why we are doing this in the first place. However we're overlooking other direct benefits which cannot be neglected.

I've just read and could confirm it with my colleagues from EnerCap that essentially while we were engaging in solar projects, the price of a panel dropped between 20% and 40%. Why? The answer is quite simple. Solar panels have been around for decades. Once we started using them on an industrial scale, the development started to pay off. Now we have new technologies developing overnight and the prices drop. We all understand and I think there's nobody in the room who would doubt it seriously, that we are in the process of exhausting fossil fuels. There are new fields being discovered all the time. Nevertheless, if you consider the growing demand for energy in the world in the coming years, even with new discoveries we are still talking about 50 years of oil left. Maybe two hundred years of coal if we're extremely lucky. Who knows how much in terms of uranium for nuclear energy? It could be two hundred years or so but it could be much shorter given the growing demand. Again, some of you may think there are new energy efficiency technologies being implemented, the global crisis hits certain industries which will never recover, so where is the demand? Current consumption per capita in the U.S. is, I believe, 7200 or so megawatt hours per year. At the same time in China, the level was 1800 year ago, in India 650. All these countries will catch up with us. We are talking about a multiplication of consumption of up to ten times. We have a difference even within the EU. I think Poland consumes half the average consumption of the EU or slightly more. With all this we are bound to exhaust fossil fuels.

I hate to say that, because I'm a firm believer that humans are causing global warming. If there's anybody in this room who doesn't

believe it, well, there are other reasons to develop other energy sources, global warming or no global warming.

Ján Kubiš: Very good. So now I will give the floor to Mr. Víšek and then I would like to give the audience an opportunity to ask one or two questions.

Tomáš Víšek: I would love to live in a world with carbon-free electricity production. And I don't know what is the right mixture of nuclear and renewable energy. We can have endless debates about CCS development. I completely agree that feed-in tariffs should be kept. Unfortunately, it's not only the Czech Republic. There are now more countries where renewable and feed-in tariffs are not very popular. It is very important for governments and the people who push for renewables to push for the right renewables in the right place. There are places where it is better to install solar and some where it is better for wind. I hope none of us would ever want to build solar panels somewhere close to the North Pole, or under the roof. For every Czech crown that you spend on solar you can get two times as much wind power. If we are to use solar panels, even small ones on roofs, let's please ask the Italians and the Spaniards to have them. Let us pay them for having them there and let's choose the proper renewable energy for the Czech Republic. The money we're willing to spend will be much better spent on biofuels or on wind, or maybe on nuclear for those who don't oppose nuclear. This can be our contribution. The Italians and the Spaniards can contribute with solar.

It will be extremely important for Brussels and the European Commission to learn from the last ten years when we were pushing CO_2 reductions and renewable energy and to take a more global or at least European view. Instead of pushing renewables in every single country, maybe look at where we should really push for solar, how we can transmit German and Danish wind power from north to south, what transmission investment does it take and maybe pay for that instead of the next solar power plants.

Ján Kubiš: Thank you very much. I have no doubt that Mr. Bursík and maybe others from the panel would be more than happy to respond to this with perhaps some critical notes, but to be fair to the audience, I would like now to open the floor to questions.

Audience question: Czech politicians are coming up with solutions to alleviate what Ján Kubiš described as the solar hiccup. Not a single Czech politician has come up with an idea that is gaining currency in Germany which is the idea of a nuclear levy. I would like to ask the panelists why they think the nuclear levy is not being discussed in this country at this time.

Martin Bursík: The government will probably decide this Wednesday (13.10. 2010) about the regulation of photovoltaic. There are several aspects which they don't take into account. Look at what is being recalculated in the consumers' prices. Investment in the distribution of electricity is four times more than the extra costs of photovoltaics. Companies are investing consumers' money in the old model of electricity distribution, which doesn't allow consumers to use more renewable energy because it's far from the smart grid.

Tomáš Víšek and McKinsey did some excellent work for the Ministry of the Environment by providing the cost curve which explains why, as he mentioned, photovoltaic is twice as expensive as wind. This works once we have a smart grid and if we can organize production within Europe so that there will be photovoltaic produced in Southern Europe or even in North Africa and offshore wind in Britain and Poland. It is one way to get Poland out of its dependence on coal, a 90% coal dependence. Specific emissions per capita in Poland are the highest in Europe. Offshore wind power plants could be a solution. But we can only have this if energy utilities start to invest in smart grids first. Then we could have 100% renewables.

I'm working on a project which deals with 100% renewable energy by 2050. It's realistic. We can have 100% of renewable electricity in forty years, but first we have to invest in smart grids.

As for nuclear energy, ČEZ has had an extraordinary influence on Czech politicians. Why is that? The official answer would be that it's 70% state-owned and the politicians are acting in the public interest. But there is also a consumer interest and another public interest like climate change, environmental protection. The connection between energy utilities and the politicians is very unhealthy. You can hardly find a single independent politician who is looking for a transparent solution to this situation. Otherwise it would be absolutely logical to think about nuclear, to think about the fact that the atomic special bank account is not adequately funded. There will not be enough money for future investments by the end of the tech-

nical life of today's power plants and for storage of nuclear waste. It would be absolutely logical to think about this in the same way the Germans did, but no single politician has raised this issue. In fact, all the parties now present in the Parliament have strong connections with ČEZ. The only question to ask is: why they don't report their investments for their election campaigns, and where the election money comes from.

Audience question: My name is Anastasia. I would like to ask Mr. Špicar and Mr. Miko about public awareness. Are there any programs, particularly by Škoda and at the European level, to fight low public interest and demand for environmentally sustainable products? Are there any CSR or PR programs to raise public awareness, agreement and acceptance of such issues? Thank you.

Radek Špicar: Thanks for this question. Of course there are. I could speak for a number of minutes about the budget that we have for CSR, about the sustainability report, about the conferences that we do, about the presentation of our ecological cars, but that would not be interesting and that would not probably be the key point I would like to stress.

The key point is that it's up to us to do it but we cannot do it alone. If only carmakers decided to promote ecological cars and if they decided to persuade the customers that they should buy them, it would be nice, but it wouldn't be enough. That's our experience from the last couple of years. The governments need to play their role. Following this debate it's quite interesting to listen to ex-politicians and to people from the European Union. It makes me wonder how easy it is for customers to be persuaded that ecological cars are the right ones to buy. "E-mobility, Mr. Špicar from Škoda Auto, be careful with e-cars, they are not as ecological as you might think!" What a message! Biofuels. We had to go into it. We did, it cost us a lot of money. Nowadays we're hearing from Brussels that it's not such a good idea. As you see, it's a big mess. Not just for producers, and we invest a lot of money in it. It's a big mess especially for consumers. I'm afraid that someone's not doing a good job in this respect.

I think that the best way to sell ecological cars is through cost-effectiveness. Society will gradually develop. People will buy ecological cars because it's right. At the moment, when it comes to carmakers, we have to make the point that if you buy an ecological car, the costs of driving that car, in the long run (and this period will get

shorter and shorter) will reduce. If you have an ecological car, if you run it on LPG or CNG, it will be cheaper for you in the long run. That's the most important argument at the moment.

Then there are the energy producers. They need to understand their rationale in the whole debate and start playing their role by investing in infrastructure. Creating smart grids is really important. But it's difficult to do for a number of reasons. Politics gets involved and all sorts of special interests.

All this is something we should really explore, and governments have to help us. Instead of saying "hooray to biofuels" and then, five years later, "sorry no, biofuels were a mistake", governments should have coherent policies and they should think twice before they proclaim something as a trend which everybody should go for. Unfortunately, at the moment governments and supranational governments are not doing a good job and they are confusing the debate instead of making it easier for business and customers to follow.

Ladislav Miko: There are a lot of things the Commission is doing to raise awareness, inform people and try to change people's behavior in Europe. Nevertheless, I think that there is a certain level you can't exceed even if you are more and more active. I'm not saying we should stop, but I have seen how tired people are of hearing the same messages again and again.

We are now trying to change the approach using new media, like Facebook. For the first time, there is a campaign on biodiversity and the response is extremely good. It's much better than any kind of earlier activity. There are new ways you can make people think about issues. I have been to many campaigns and conferences and the "turnover" of people is probably only 20%. These few people are changing, the rest stay the same, so you are preaching to the converted. Secondly, I agree with Mr. Špicar that there is a problem with messages coming from governments, including Brussels. After recognizing a problem, the only way today to resolve it is to work with economy and business. Once you make it a business opportunity you create a terrible driver. The biofuels issue is very specific. It was taken as a business opportunity before there had been enough discussion to understand exactly what it meant. Furthermore, I feel there was a drive for it because of Copenhagen. The skeptical messages, which came later, were not new. They had been there, but they were not taken into account. It

was a mistake. This shows the importance of a very broad discussion with all stakeholders before reaching a solution.

My final word is what I said in the beginning. We are always speaking about where to get energy. More and more and more of it. I really think that we should not spend energy where it is not necessarily needed. I say ecosystem services can do that for us. Why not use them? Extremely large amounts of energy are used for agriculture, for example. We could halve it or go even lower.

Martin Bursík: I completely understand what Radek Špicar has said. I was just trying to be provocative. I have to say that I appreciate what Škoda has been doing and it is a move towards modernization. I was proud when I was able to order GreenLine Škoda cars and I could invite the ministers of environment during the Czech presidency of the EU and provide them with these efficient cars. However, the devil is in the detail. If you can't get the answer to your questions at the political level, find the good consultants and fill the gap. The answers to your questions are not so difficult.

You can operate a garage under your house and it can be either good or bad. It is good if you offer it to your neighbors and the economics of it work. It is bad if you make it a rapid turnover garage where the cars change every two hours and you attract transportation into the center of Prague and destroy the environment. It's the very same with electric cars. You can either fuel them with green electricity, or you can use brown electricity from north Bohemia and create a problem in north Bohemia. You need to have a partner on the electric utility side or the trader side so that you can fuel the cars with green electricity. It's a clear answer.

Regarding biofuels, there was a tough debate here. There are two types of biofuels here, bioethanol and rapeseed oil. Both provide 42 or 43% CO_2 reduction so they meet the sustainability criteria of the European Commission and you cannot compare it with the problem which you get with the tropical rainforest. But you should have a good consultant and take into account that in another seven years there will be an obligatory 50% reduction and so the existing biofuels will not work anymore and you have to invest and build your future on second generation biofuels based on municipal waste, separation of biological waste and fuel will be produced out of this separated biowaste as a second generation bio-fuel. Additionally you will need many other alternatives.

We are maybe five years from the oil crunch – according to a report provided to the UK government. The price of oil will be higher and higher and higher; it's $83 now and it will be more. We have to be prepared for this.

A very short answer to the question: "What is all this about?" I met Steven Chew, the advisor to Obama. He told me: we built our economy on the belief that we would have cheap oil and energy forever. Our infrastructure, the transportation infrastructure, the energy infrastructure cannot operate like this in the future. We have to completely change it. If we speak only about alternative fuels, electromobility, it's about nothing. The industrial countries have to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 85 to 95% within 40 years. It's a total change in the way we produce and consume and it's the way towards a zero carbon economy.

Andrzej Błach: I think we should respect our consumers. If we are talking about educating them, they should be fed proper information. In many environmental programs, we are not informing them about the costs of externalities. The electric car is an excellent example. The same goes for solar panels and the rumored high cost of disposal and the side effects on the environment in production and so on. It's all true to a point.

If consumers are not being fed proven scientific information from a reliable and credible source, not necessarily from Škoda or from manufacturers of panels, but from the government, from the European Union, then they will be fed rumors and they won't buy electric cars because they are bad for the environment. So we need to respect our consumers first by giving them the right information.

Ján Kubiš: We are closing the panel but I would like to do it by giving each of the panelists an opportunity to say one message, one sentence or two sentences to conclude the panel.

Ladislav Miko: My message is very simple. Let's work with nature and not against it.

Martin Bursík: We are in a war between existing technologies and new green technologies. If we go the right way, we can build our world with 100% renewables and make it sustainable.

Ján Kubiš: It's good that we talk about standards and norms because this is the way to cover the division between the shift in growth generation, the fact that other parts of the world are going green much faster than us. We can do it through accelerating the development of common positions, norms and standards. UNDC is doing this in cooperation with governments, including China among others.

Radek Špicar: The only chance for every company, for every nation, to survive, to keep its own competitiveness, is to go into R&D, into innovation, into high technologies, green technologies. Everybody knows it, we know it in Europe, Asia knows it as well. Unlike Asia, we are talking about it, they are doing it and that is scary and we should change that.

Andrzej Błach: Clear and unequivocal regulation is very important. We should aim at harnessing enthusiasm and educated consumers as a driver towards going green and corporate social responsibility programs in responsible businesses.

Tomáš Víšek: I would say that the challenge of being green is huge and governments will need to become much more sophisticated in how they put us on an agreed path towards this.

Ján Kubiš: The messages were clear. I would like to thank the panelists and the audience. Thank you very much.

Shirin Ebadi, Václav Havel

Economy as a Tool, Not an Objective

12th October 2010, Žofín Palace, Forum Hall

Keynote Speech:
Tomáš Sedláček, Chief Macroeconomic Strategist, ČSOB Bank, Czech Republic

Moderator:
Hana Lešenarová, Member, Corporate Council, Forum 2000 Foundation, Czech Republic

Participants:
Peter Eigen, Founder, Transparency International, Germany
Mirek Topolánek, Former Prime Minister, Czech Republic
Peter Thum, Founder, Ethos Water, CEO, Fonderie47, USA

Hana Lešenarová: Good morning, ladies and gentlemen, and welcome to our morning panel. The name of our panel is "Economy as a Tool, Not an Objective," which may sound broad or generic to you, but the four speakers will hopefully enlighten us. We'll start with our keynote speaker, Tomáš Sedláček, whom you may know if you live in this country. He makes frequent appearances on TV and in economic debates and has long worked with Forum 2000. His first claim to fame was working as former president Václav Havel's economic adviser. Currently, he works as Chief Macroeconomic Strategist for ČSOB Bank.

Tomáš Sedláček: Good morning everybody. We start with a dismal science on such a beautiful day. Economics started out as a dismal science because the initial economists of the classical school were not asking the question that we ask today, which is: how to secure growth. This is the main topic of economics today, but in the beginning, when economics as a science was young, the key question economists answered was: where is this leading to and what is the stationary state? This was the endeavor of Adam Smith, Ricardo, Marx, and the last few economists to deal with the problem were Joseph Schumpeter and John Maynard Keynes. In 1936, John Keynes wrote in his famous article *"Economic Possibilities for Our Grandchildren"* that perhaps in 68 years when his grandchildren were mature, there would be an affluent society in which growth was no longer needed and economics would become a housekeeping science; we would no longer be, so to speak, priests of this dawn in this new era of growth. Then we used to answer the questions: what world do we want to live in, what will it look like when we stop growing, where is this world going to, and how will we live in an affluent society? Due to reasons that we have no time to go into today, these questions have disappeared from economics. If you ask an economist: what world do we want to live in, he will run away, blush and hide somewhere very deep underground. We are taught that this is the sort of question we cannot answer because it is what we call "normative". The economics we are taught is supposed to describe the world as it is, not as we want it to be. The normative in economics is nonsense because Milton Friedman, in his famous article, *"The Methodology of Positive Economics,"* wrote that economics should be a value-free, positive science, and it shouldn't be normative, it shouldn't address the way things should be but instead the way things are. The very idea that "economics should be a positive science" is, of course, a normative statement because it doesn't describe the way the economy is but the way we, or Milton Friedman, wanted it to be. What has

happened since then is that we've absolutely lost this focus on a stationary state and the only thing we've focused on is growth. And so one has to ask the question: is growth an outcome of market democracy as is commonly believed and understood, or is growth a conditio sine qua non of market democracy? This is a very hard question because yesterday we debated whether growth is possible outside the realms of the Western model. We've seen very significant growth in China and in other countries that are definitely not democratic or, if you want, a mixture of extreme Klondike capitalism with rigid government controls. What has happened in the past is that we've completely forgotten about something that almost sounds rude; I'm very careful when I say this, but if we want to stimulate the economy, which is something that we have done in the past, we also have to be ready to slow down growth. I'll repeat that again: economists during growth periods have to actively slow down growth!

There is an old story that the very first business cycle encountered, the first that we have a record of as mankind, is a story well known to all of you in *"Genesis, Chapter XVI,"* Pharaoh's Dream. He dreams about seven fat cows and seven thin cows and cannot make sense of it, and so he calls Joseph. Joseph says: "Well, congratulations! You just had a dream of a macroeconomic prediction fourteen years ahead of time." This is the best macroeconomic prediction that we've ever come up with. Joseph was right fourteen years ahead, we are usually wrong even two years in advance. The Pharaoh immediately asks: "Ok, what should I do? Seven good years, seven bad years, what should I do?" and Joseph says: "Well, during the good years (this is, of course, elementary, that's why this is a story that we can tell to seven year old children), do not eat everything that grows, but store twenty percent (20% is, by the way, the corporate taxation rate in the Czech Republic). In other words, slow down growth, slow down consumption. Then, in the bad years, you can enjoy yourself. Fast-forward four thousand years to the year 2001. One is tempted to use the same simile today because on September 11, 2001 we saw the attack on the Twin Towers, and then, in September 2008, we had the collapse of Lehman Brothers. To the month, there is a seven year period in between. Of course, I don't want to imply that we now have seven bad years ahead of us, but these years, marked by these two occasions, were extremely prosperous times; the world was growing at a rate we had never encountered before. Unlike Joseph, we – that is, the majority of Western civilization – had an expansionary fiscal policy. In other words, not

only did we fail to slow down growth, but we artificially fed growth with new debt.

Now fiscal policy works in a similar way to alcohol. Let me try and explain that: money can travel in time and the institute through which it does is called the interest rate. You can actually suck your own money from your future. You can take a loan, you can spend it now, and then you will have a lack of it in the future, or you can save, and in effect transport money from the past to the future. If you've noticed: your energy or mood can also travel in time: the energy of your weekend is constant, but you can, through the institute of alcohol, increase your Friday evening mood at the expense of your Saturday morning hangover. And so you can vacuum the energy from the future and laser-beam it to Friday evening, but the energy of the weekend remains constant. You didn't gain any energy, you just sucked it. I think this problem is part of the answer to "The World We Want to Live In." Now the world has a hangover. I don't know whether any of you have ever had such a thing, but it's very easy to regulate oneself on Saturday morning when one is hung-over; you don't feel like drinking and you have other troubles, and there is all this self-regulation – "I will never do this and that again," or "I'll never have that particular combination of drinks again."

This is exactly the situation today: everybody wants regulation, everybody demands regulation, and nobody really wants to partake of the cup again. So, my question is: what will happen with us when Friday evening comes around again? Maybe in three years, maybe in seven years, it's all looking pretty Thursday as of today, and Friday is not very far away. My fear is that come Friday, we will repeat exactly the same mistakes as we have done in the past.

There was a lot of talk yesterday about "Barbarians at the Gate," and our European or Western fear of other cultures. I absolutely agree that yes, barbarians are at the gate, but they're inside. There were two significant events around the year 2001: first was the terrorist attack on September 11. The Dow Jones Index dropped by 30%, but in three months, it was back to its original levels and continued to grow; it was an external shock which was very quick and didn't do much harm. Three months later, we had the Enron scandal with Arthur Andersen, and this I call the "Accountant Attack." This was led by people who look like you and me: they have ties, they speak English, they brush their teeth, they don't use swords, and every single dollar that they earned was thanks to the system that they themselves attacked. My point is: this attack of the accountants, or, if you will, the barbarians

within, harmed the American economy six times more than the terrorist attack. Economies, it seems from history, are very resilient to external attacks such as wars, floods, and terrorist attacks, but they're very sensitive to a flight of trust from within, when something happens that we ourselves perpetrate, when something is rotten within the kingdom.

There is a lot of talk of "Let's slow down, let's decrease the deficit and slow down the indebting of the country," to which I say, but, dear gentlemen and gentlewomen, this is barely enough, we should be talking about budget surpluses! If we want to stimulate the economy during the bad times, we have to have budget surpluses. In other words, today's fiscal policy is far to the left of Keynes. Keynes, in today's perspective, is an extreme right-winger because he would have ordained budget surpluses in the years 2001–2008. The irony is that there is no rule in Europe nor in America that actually forces governments to run budget surpluses during the good times, and there is no reason why any country should be allowed a three percent deficit when it grows by seven or ten percent. My feeling is that we've psychologically shifted the balanced budget to minus three, so if a country is running deficits that are less than three percent, they get applauded as if it was a budget surplus.

I agreed with Fareed Zakaria yesterday: if our system collapses, it will not be because of the external barbarians, but the barbarians within, so to speak, and that is something that we need to be very conscious of. Let me conclude by saying that of all the social sciences, economics is the only science that is often asked questions about the future. You don't go around asking sociologists when racism will end in the Czech Republic or when the rights of women in Venezuela will be equal to the rights of men. You don't ask lawyers about the future and you very rarely ask political scientists about the future – with the exception of elections. But mark this: if you ever talk to an economist, the first natural questions are: "What will inflation be like next year? What will GDP be next year?" There is an irony in economists becoming the prophets of our era. The reaction we had to a little decrease in growth was a religious disappointment that this God of Growth stumbled for one year after seven very good years – a religious disappointment that this growth that we all have a right to was not forthcoming. And the very fact that we are asking and wanting to throw down the whole system of capitalism because it didn't grow for one year speaks very poorly of our belief in democracy and capitalism. If communism

could make everyone ten percent richer or seven percent richer each year, that system would not be difficult to steer.

We have a single bullet answer for everything, and that's growth. We have a Greek problem; we'll grow out of it. We have a debt problem; we'll grow out of it. We have high unemployment; we'll grow out of it. It's as if we had one beer here and we were fighting over it, and somebody brings a second beer, so the problem is solved because we've grown and the distribution problem is much simpler when somebody actually keeps giving you growth. So, let's grow out of this!

Hana Lešenarová: Thank you very much, Tomáš, for a very insightful introduction into what we're going to talk about. I now want to pass the floor to Mr. Mirek Topolánek who was the Prime Minister of the Czech Republic between 2006 and 2009, and within that time experienced much of this big party on Friday and the subsequent hangover of the financial crisis afterwards. Also, being at home in politics, he probably experienced what it was like using the economy as his tool and as his army, since he had a whole group of economists on the advisory team which Tomáš also sat on. Mr. Topolánek, could you give us a brief overview of what it was like from your perspective and what your view is on the ideas that Tomáš has given us.

Mirek Topolánek: This panel is asking a fundamental question: whether the economy is a tool or an objective. And as a former politician, unlike Tomáš, I can take the liberty of answering that normative question. An economist would never do that. I don't have a problem answering the second part – whether the economy is an end: the economy is not and cannot be an objective in itself, that is for certain. But the answer to the first part – whether it is a tool – makes me all the more doubtful. I am afraid that in our developed democracies, the economy has long ceased to be an instrument to fulfill our wishes and preferences. That role has been usurped – and I know precisely what I am talking about – by political power. Political power is both a tool and an objective in itself; and in an effort to maintain that position it forces upon citizens a dangerous vision of unearned gains. Because why should we work hard to accomplish something when we can very easily achieve the same by a vote? Democratic parliaments – and again I speak from experience – can easily pass a majority vote on a Thursday claiming it is Friday. Why be active when passivity is not only tolerated but actually rewarded? The invisible hand of the market has been replaced by the greedy hand of officials and politicians;

we excuse the deformations of the market by blaming its alleged failure. It has become fashionable lately – was it not started by Keynes, the most right-wing of economists who today would actually find a solution to our situation – to publicly oppose exploitation and capitalism. In fact it is always state power that we should be afraid of in the first place. Even Roman emperors caused famine when they imposed a monopoly upon the import of corn; royal courts experienced many bankruptcies; the Great Depression in the 1930s and its roots; and then the subsidized mortgages which triggered the current global crisis as an accelerator. The history of our entire civilization is a chronicle of fatal political interventions in the economy. Whenever the powerful meddle with the economy it turns out badly. Without exceptions. It has always been true and it is true today.

Everything took a major turn for the worse in the aftermath of the two world wars and one New Deal – I would add. They brought about a cancerous expansion of the public sector, the state in general, at the expense of free activities. Governments acquired the power to influence the economy in a fundamental way. I agree that we should be afraid of human greed, but it is the state that is opening the door wide to this greed by distorting the market, by encouraging monopolies, nepotism and corruption with its growing bureaucracy and regulations. The modern welfare state has bet on growing consumerism at any cost, regardless of our resources and especially regardless of our descendants and the future. Besides the genuinely needy, unjust social and subsidy systems support the greedy and idle at the expense of the decent and the diligent. The state takes away a huge share of wealth from those who created it and uses it to bribe those who in turn supply it with a semblance of legitimacy.

This shows that political power has long become a means in itself. Many trust political power far more than the economy; they believe that political power will fulfill our wishes and our preferences, that it will secure for us welfare and happiness. At the same time the whole game serves a single end which is the preservation of that very political power. It is a vicious circle, and there is no room left for genuine capitalism – and I don't consider it a rude word. Entrepreneurs have two possibilities: either they conform and, instead of the free market, they opt for conducting business with the state – be it public contracts, subsidies, grants, various incentives – or they fight the government – which is a less common occurrence – sometimes resorting to the grey economy, when taxes and bureaucracy become intolerable.

For me, both options are equally immoral and illegitimate, but the first one is actually legal. Staunch criticism, even hatred, is being hurled at bankers today, bankers from Lehman Brothers and such, who in their pursuit of profit overstepped every limit of caution and due diligence. But we need to ask who it was who encouraged them in the first place. Who made them give mortgages to people who were clearly unlikely ever to be able to service them? Who, on the other hand, gave them faith that in the event of any trouble, the state would patch up the holes with taxpayers' money? Who forced them to finance more and more intolerable budget deficits in some false certainty that the government could not ever go bankrupt and therefore their profits were secure? Was it still true that the economy was supposed to be the means? Or did the bankers become the means of destruction in the hands of politicians, if I exaggerate a little? Unrestrained consumerism is unsustainable in the long term. And what is behind it? It is certainly not the free market. I would say this is the consequence of a decline of old capitalist virtues, such as responsibility, thriftiness, reluctance to live beyond one's means and reluctance to live on credit.

On the contrary, a rise in the negative values of the welfare state, such as irresponsibility, profligacy and populism. Modern society redistributes at least half of what it produces, and it regulates the bigger share of the rest in some way or another. Does anyone believe that in such a society, the economy in the sense of the original value, the original market, is really the most important instrument? I believe not. People like my former self are holding the scalpel; and they are cutting at the body of our own freedom, and they are cutting very deep, and inexpertly at that, even though – and I believe Tomáš has said it (he advised me as well as Václav Havel) – I knew I was holding the scalpel and I had to be careful. So yes, I am saying that the economy should be an instrument. But that is not the case today and we need to give this role back to the economy.

Unfortunately, it is a sad paradox that whenever bad political decisions caused deep and long suffering to the citizens, the reaction to every such crisis was a call for a further strengthening of bureaucracy and state power. Has our regulation failed? Let's regulate some more. Have we deprived you of freedom and are you now afraid to take care of yourselves? Then give us the rest of your freedom and you will fear no more. The power of the state feeds and thrives on the failures and fear it itself causes. This was true in the 1930s, it is true today. Wars and crises then generate various New Deals which take freedom and independence away from people. It reminds me somewhat of that notorious habit of all excessive drinkers to cure their hangovers with the hair of the dog that bit them the night before. A genuinely modern state makes free citizens more and more addicted to state assistance; it even encourages companies to get addicted, and some capitalists have nothing against clinging to the pipeline of state money – be it profuse subsidies or unnecessary public contracts. In this sense, and in this sense only, we should be afraid of the capitalists' greed – the greed which is an ally of the strong state in its curbing of our freedoms.

It is what Hayek spoke about, that capitalism should be defended from the capitalists themselves. If we give the free market back its function, its function as an instrument which allows everybody to reach the goal they set for themselves, let's then define what the goal is and why we are actually here at Forum 2000. It is freedom, of course. That applies not only to the economy but also to politics. The only duty of the state, of politics, is to provide safety and the rule of law to its citizens, to guarantee the observance of contracts and to protect those in need. That in itself is an enormous duty and the state is failing in it. Why should we give it any more duties? Especially, when it is not fulfilling its primary duty that well. In short, democratic power should set down the rules and enforce their observance. The role of the economy is to be an instrument of prosperity or welfare or living standard, if you will. When both these forms stick to what they are and do not interfere with each other's job, then the people will take care of their freedom themselves. Thank you for your attention.

Hana Lešenarová: Thank you, Mr. Topolánek. Next, I want to introduce Peter Eigen. Peter spent many years working in Africa and experienced a sort of introduction of capitalism and its values first-hand, with all the issues that Africa entails, including corruption, and from what I understand, your experiences led you to establish Transparency International, a non-governmental institution which is, perhaps, the most well-known institution that made us familiar with the consequences of corruption and the risks associated with it. Could you briefly give us your views on what we have been discussing, and whether you see economy as a tool or as an objective, given your past experience and your track record?

Peter Eigen: Well, thank you very much. It's really a great privilege to speak here and to speak after eloquent speakers like the two whom we have heard so far. I have to admit that I practically disagree with everything which Mr. Topolánek has said, but the reason is probably

that I have a slightly different approach to the question which has been posed to us: the world we want to live in and whether the economy is a tool, not an objective. My principal objective is to help re-establish the primacy of politics over the economy, to help establish the capacity of people to shape the economy rather than being more or less an appendix and passive attachment to the market. I believe strongly in the market economy as the most efficient way of regulating the economy. I spent enough time in the World Bank – 25 years – to witness various cycles of the World Bank from Keynes to Adam Smith, to Milton Friedman. Eventually, by the way, Mr. Sedláček, you will be interested to hear that in the World Bank, they felt that this dismal science of economics was overly represented on its staff, and Tim Bolton said, "Let's try to get rid of all these economists and let's try to get some social scientists, political scientists and so on who understand the people we would like to help with our economics." So the pendulum has swung back and forth in the World Bank, but I observed in particular how the Washington Consensus – that was what we falsely called the neoliberal reliance on an unfettered, uncontrolled market – has been partly abandoned under the brilliant intellectual leadership of Joe Stiglitz and some other people who have shown us the right way. My conviction is that we need governance. Maybe we don't need a strong state or maybe it's very hard to get a strong state, but we need governance. We need what we call in Germany, *"eine soziale Marktwirtschaft,"* (a social market economy). That is a market economy that is regulated mainly by market forces, but in which governance is available to protect the market whenever there is a misuse of market forces, for instance in the form of an oligopoly, price fixing and things of this nature. But we also need the authority of good governance to correct the outcome of the market if the market is not able to provide a world that we can accept. Yes, this is normative, but if you look at the world right now, beyond this country, or at Europe, if you look at the development of this world, you simply have to say that we have a system of failing governance. It is simply unacceptable that more than one billion people are living below the poverty line, more than one billion people don't have access to clean drinking water, more than two billion people in this world don't have access to sanitation, and therefore women and children die of the most banal diseases which could be easily dealt with if it were not for the poverty which I have described. In my opinion, this poverty is the result of bad governance.

Now why do we have bad governance? In my opinion, the paradigm of governing the world through sovereign states is outdated.

States have simply lost their capacity to sufficiently influence the economy, and particularly, to domesticate the global actors in the economy, such as multinational corporations. They don't have the geographical reach. If a company in Germany decides, for instance, that the minimum salaries for its employees are too high, then they move to Romania or they move to China or they move to India and so on. If they don't like the financial regulations, then they move away from London, or they move away from Zurich, or they move away from Frankfurt. In other words, the large international enterprises, which are the decisive actors in a globalized economy, are absolutely free to move in a transnational marketplace and a transnational arena while our traditional governments are, of course, limited with their own jurisdictions, with their own geographical reach, even if they form international organizations like the World Bank or the United Nations. These international organizations are captives of the interests of their nation state governments. When I started to fight corruption as part of the World Bank staff, I saw that everywhere in the world, good work, in many cases the work of the World Bank, was undermined by large-scale corruption. I was the director of the World Bank in Nairobi at the time, and when I tried to fight corruption, my bosses in Washington told me that I was not allowed to do this. Why? One reason was that this was interference in the domestic affairs of our partner countries, which is not allowed under the Charter of the World Bank. But the real reason was that most of the member countries of the World Bank thought that corruption was okay. Remember, until 1999, corruption was allowed in most of the OECD countries with the only exception being the United States, which has had the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act since Jimmy Carter's presidency. In most of these countries, foreign corruption was allowed. It was not only allowed, it was tax-deductible. It would be subsidized with export financing schemes and so on. Hypothetically, while I was trying to improve the energy, transport, and education sectors of Kenya with the resources of the World Bank, a company like Siemens could go to Kenya, pay a minister ten million dollars to promote a bad project (paid into a bank account in Liechtenstein or Switzerland or somewhere else) and the minister would then, in an unholy alliance with the suppliers from the North, do the wrong things in terms of economic policy. This meant, of course, that the corrupted countries would go down the drain. They would be poor, they would be miserable, they would be violent in their conflicts; and this is what happened. The World Bank

did not allow me to fight corruption. I had to leave the World Bank to set up Transparency International.

Even if nation states work through international organizations, if they come to a conclusion of some significance that is other than the most common denominator, it is very often a conclusion which is driven by the parochial interests of state governments, and this parochial interest goes very far. If the German or British banks, for instance, don't like a certain type of regulation right now, then they will do everything to prevent that regulation. I've heard that 600 million dollars have been spent by Wall Street in Washington to prevent the Financial Sector Regulation Bill. The parochial interests of the constituencies, of national governments in particular, of democratic national governments, are such that the governments are not able to have a long-term global view on how to govern the world.

This is not only true in the case of corruption where I experience it very closely, this is also true in the case of destroying the environment, in the case of violating human rights, in misusing women and children, and in undercutting basic labor conditions everywhere in the world. All of these things can happen in a global market because national governments simply don't have the reach, interest, or time horizon for dealing with such overarching issues of a globalized economy. This asymmetry of the reach and capacity of nation states to get involved in governing a better world in a sustainable way is absolutely clear. In fact, many of the speakers yesterday talked about this and made it quite clear that the time of the nation state as the main actor of governance has been lost. Therefore, some people say that the time has now come for the private sector to run the world. They have the global reach, global resources, and global strategies, so why not entrust them with creating a better world, a more just world, and more sustainable development? Putting the question like that makes it quite clear that this is a total illusion. Yes, corporate social responsibility is a very nice thing. We try to support this, and we try to build this in the boardrooms of the world, but we don't rely on the Chairman of General Motors or of Siemens or of General Electric, of Daimler Chrysler or of Škoda to save our world and make sure that we develop in a proper way. Even these large, powerful companies are not free to do the right thing. The dictatorship of the short-term shareholder is such that a company always has to opt for profit and growth if there is a possibility that it will otherwise go bankrupt. Therefore, we need an enabling environment for the private sector to do the right thing. This enabling environment cannot be created by nation states alone any

more. So who can help us to create this? This is an additional thing I would like to add to this conference because I haven't really heard it, other than from Professor Crouch yesterday.

The additional actor is an organized civil society. This is a phenomenon that has been very, very strong, frightening to many people, very chaotic, violent, and irrational. We faced it in Seattle, we faced it in Cancún, and in Genoa in these large demonstrations, but what we see more and more is the capacity of civil society to organize itself, to become a real partner of governments and the private sector. My recommendation is to empower civil society to play a role as a partner of governments and the private sector in a sort of magic triangle of joint diagnosis of the problems of the world, a joint attempt to design reforms, implement these reforms and then to monitor them.

Let me give you just a quick example: at Transparency International we were able to change the legal system worldwide concerning international corruption. We worked with the business community in Europe to convince them that it was in their interests to stop international bribery, and that they are so skilful in terms of the quality of their work, their prices, the reliability of their production and so on that they would be much more interested in a corruption-free global market. Additionally, we tried to convince them that they should be interested in the well-being and economic development of many countries that they were otherwise destroying through their deadly, systematic corruption. This became a reality. We convinced them and in a number of meetings we were so successful that twenty business leaders wrote a letter to Helmut Kohl and his Minister of Economy and said, "Please, participate in the discussion of the OECD Convention Against Foreign Bribery". So Germany joined, France joined, and everybody else joined, 35 countries signed the OECD Convention Against Foreign Bribery in 1997 and which entered into force in 1999. Since then, foreign corruption is no longer allowed.

Now, are they implementing these new rules? In Germany, we were very slow to begin to implement them, but we are shaping up. We now have 110 important cases of foreign bribery pending against Siemens, MRN, Daimler Chrysler and so on, in the German courts. France is doing very little, the UK has shamefully stopped certain prosecutions because they had to do with huge arms sales to Saudi Arabia, and therefore they felt the Serious Fraud Office should not undermine the good relationship with this foreign government for security reasons. But at the end of the day, the Blair government changed the law and they are now beginning to implement them. Why? Be-

cause civil society in London is breathing down the neck of the government and sued the government for interfering with the prosecution of British Aerospace after a huge corruption scandal. My experience at Transparency International is that we can be excellent partners to government (we don't want to replace the governments), to the parliaments in various countries, to their institutions, in particular anti-corruption agencies, and to companies who are willing to clean up their acts to create a better world. And I have quite a number of other examples like that, so my recommendation is: open up to a partnership with organized civil society, which still has to grow into that important role, but which is a promise for a much better world. And this is the world I want to live in....

Hana Lešenarová: Thank you very much. Having listened to your speech, I don't think that you disagree with Mr. Topolánek in quite everything; I think you both share the same pessimism when it comes to government and the ability of politicians to actually make the world a better place to live.

Peter Eigen: It sounds much more fun when you say "you disagree with everything", even if it's not true.

Hana Lešenarová: I very much appreciated your point about the role of other institutions and societies such as the private sector. I was very impressed to hear the story of Peter Thum who founded Ethos Water, a company which decided to distribute bottled water and use the proceeds – if I'm describing it correctly – to benefit countries with water problems in general, throughout Africa and in other parts of the world. As I was reading your story, I understand that in the beginning when you started your company, you approached various different investors, Wall Street bankers, with your idea for your company and, of course, for those profit-hungry institutions, the idea of doing such a thing was not something that was attractive as an investment opportunity, and it was a struggle in the beginning to try to make the idea of your company fit with capitalist values the way the bankers perceive them. I'm going to pass it on to you to give us this story.

Peter Thum: It's very helpful to follow Peter and his description of his story at the World Bank. I think that people who want to change institutions and change markets often begin in a place where they're talking to people who don't understand the future that they are describ-

ing to them. Peter found himself working for an institution whose rules were built around the idea that you didn't disturb the people who are committing corruption, you let them be. He had to leave that institution and leverage his experience to go out and make a difference in the way that he felt was necessary. In my case as a business person, my experience was also through just coming across problems. I was working for McKinsey and Company as a consultant, I went to South Africa on a project, and I ultimately ended up spending a lot of my time around very poor people there and got to see women and girls every day going to collect water from the townships where they could not get access to clean water to live their lives. One day, I was driving down the road near Durban in the eastern part of the country, and there was a woman walking very slowly down the road with a large vessel of water on her head and I thought to myself: if someone doesn't intercede, her life will never change. And so I left South Africa asking myself: what is it possible for me to do? I've a good job but I'm not a billionaire, and so how can I intercede in this?

The next project I worked on was for a company that produced soda and bottled water. I was looking at the market and I saw that people were willing to pay significantly greater prices for brands like Evian and Fiji, which, essentially, took water from one place, told the story about it and sold it to people in another place who wanted to feel that that story made them special somehow. I thought: isn't the story of helping someone on the other side of the world get water by drinking water a better story than the one about buying water from the French Alps? I started this company and it ended up being called Ethos Water.

Over a period of about three years, we grew to become a national brand in the United States, the business was acquired by Starbucks coffee company; and today it has funded the water provision and sanitation services for about half a million people around the world – in Latin America, Asia and Africa. I think what's important about this is that this is a business, but it operates at a level within the economy. I mean this discussion is really about the economy, but to me, the economy is a pyramid built out of small business pyramids. And the intentions of people like Peter and the intentions of individual business people ultimately do change the way that markets function. We talk a lot about large corporations like Siemens and General Motors, but very few of those corporations actually come up with the innovations that change the market, whether they are about brand or fulfillment of people's needs in an emotional way or about product inno-

vation. I just got a business card from someone at Google. Google is a very young company in relative terms. Google started out with two guys in a garage near Stanford (with an idea). It's an amazing company, and it's become amazing very quickly, but it started with one idea about how you can change things. To me, business is a tool that you can use if you've set out to achieve something. I think the question for politicians and the question for business people and the question for economists is: what is our intention? Will we service our immediate needs with debt? Will we build products and services that are short-term in their thinking or will we build things that we want to use to make the world we want to live in?

Hana Lešenarová: Thank you very much, Peter. Before I open the floor to the audience I wanted to ask our panelists as to what they see as a solution. We've heard different points of view as to how different institutions view the economy as a tool or an objective, but if we had the option of coming up with a solution for making the economy the ideal thing it should be and then make the world a better place, what would it be and which institutions would we use for that? Tomáš?

Tomáš Sedláček: Thank you. I'll be very brief: dethrone growth as the principal raison d'être of politics. It is too strong a ring of power, so to speak, for any politician to hold. Starting with regulations to fiscal policy, to monetary policy. Remember when governments had the right to print money, when politicians could actually make monetary policy, it was too strong a ring of power. I don't think I could bear the burden. I don't think any of you could if you actually had the right to print money. Then this right was given to independent national banks – that was the first step – and the third step was to get rid of monetary policy completely and have a single European currency. Why not do a similar thing with fiscal policy?

The second thing: let's stop cheating. I am an economist, people who don't understand complex things become economists. So, I'm an economist, I try but I still only understand a few things. We economists made suggestions that were actually accepted by the government of Mirek Topolánek and also by the current government. We suggested that the first responsibility of a politician is to deal with trust and money, taxpayers' money. It is not the responsibility of politicians to secure growth. Even in Germany, which is a huge economy, they now realize that the only thing we can do is wait for global growth with our flags ready, but we can't produce it; even Germany

cannot produce growth. This is the biggest folly that we fell for, and the irony of voting is that nobody cares about the budget and how politicians actually deal with the money they're given. As in any business, you have a budget and if you overshoot it, you get some financial punishment.

Hana Lešenarová: So who would run the budget then? The bankers? Do we trust the bankers?

Tomáš Sedláček: Of course not. The first solution is autopilot: let's have a rule which says (this is the rule that the National Economic Council suggested): GDP growth plus deficit must be less or equal to four! During the years that we have seven per cent growth, let's have a three per cent budget surplus so that the sum of that is four; in the year that the economy declines by three per cent, let's have a four per cent deficit.

By the way, this is a question that nobody asked: in 2009, if America had not cushioned the crisis with cut-throat debt, the American economy would have fallen by 23% of GDP. The number isn't important – what's important is that nobody even asked the question: how much growth would we have had if it hadn't been artificially stimulated by debt?

My last sentence: it is as if you took out a loan of ten thousand Euros. Only a fool would say that you are ten thousand Euros richer. Obviously, it's just a loan, you have to pay it back. You're not richer; in fact, you're a little poorer because of all the interest. But budgets and GDP behave in this stupid way. If we take out a loan, it looks as if we've grown by a certain percentage of GDP. This must disappear! Budgetary autopilot rules are one solution.

The second solution is, of course, to have some kind of Fiscal Council like we have with monetary policy. Governments are not very good when it comes to dealing with money.

Hana Lešenarová: Thank you, Tomáš. Any of the panel want to take this on?

Mirek Topolánek: I agree completely. I have two approaches but I will tell a story instead. We all remember 1994. Back then the Hutus in Rwanda murdered a million Tutsis, a million Tutsis in several months. Business worked perfectly there because European states supplied the machetes. What failed? Economy or politics when the blue helmets watched one group of people murdering another group of people?

How come the atrocities in the Balkans happened, how come the world allowed the terror in Cambodia and elsewhere to happen? What is failing – the economy or politics? Of course it is politics. If we do not start dealing with politics and political instruments, we still can – and it is very commendable – we can help, we can supply them with fish rather than fishing rods but it won't solve the depth of the problem.

My favorite liberal economist, the Italian Antonio Martino, a member of the Mont Pelerin Society, has come up with several formulas which are a little amusing but they are deeply true: the contemporary electoral systems and elections do not choose the best of the best, and therefore it would be better to put together a parliament by drawing lots – the result couldn't be worse. His second piece of advice: forbid parliaments from deciding on the budget; and his third piece of advice: for every vote, an MP should be fined a certain amount so that they realize how much every vote costs and how much their decision-making costs. I believe that is a good starting point. Therefore, if we talk about whether the economy should or should not work – without a working economy we won't be able to help anyone. And we will achieve a functioning economy only when politics change – there is no other way.

Hana Lešenarová: These are very brave recommendations – I would actually love to see these things happening in reality one of these days, but I don't know if I'm the optimist here. I'll ask my two Peters on the panel to get a view from the private sector. We've heard a lot about how we don't trust politicians to run budgets and that they should not be the ones to decide on how much we spend and how much we borrow. My question is: do we actually trust business? Is business itself capable of making the right choices and the right decisions for us? Again, I don't want to play devil's advocate, but the financial crisis has shown us that we cannot always trust business. Peter Eigen here from Transparency International talked about the problem of corruption for years. For many years, many global companies operated throughout the developing world using corruption to win business. This is something that we should follow up on. Is business the answer? Is business going to show us the way or not?

Peter Eigen: Well, I think businesses can be trusted if they are working in an enabling environment in which they are accountable not only to their shareholders, but also to other stakeholders. An environment which makes it possible for business to do the right thing. If you have

a company which is dealing with waste and you are responsible, you don't throw poisonous waste into the rivers. Although the law in the society that you work in allows this. Competitors who do not behave responsibly will always be able to outcompete you. They will be able to offer their services much more cheaply.

On a global level, we see this happening. Huge European companies dump poisonous waste in Abidjan etc., killing people right and left. If the environment in which business has to compete does not enable responsibility, they cannot do the right thing. You cannot trust them to do the right thing. It really means that a business has to go out of business if the enabling environment is not such that they can compete with fair and sustainable means. Therefore, my recommendation is to organize cooperation (my wife Gesine Schwan would call it "antagonistic cooperation"). The three main actors I mentioned: if government, civil society and business come together to form a solution, this would be trusted more than if it had been developed by one actor alone. May I give you an example? The Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative is a multi-stakeholder organization. I am the chairman of that organization, which we founded about seven years ago. On my board of twenty people I've representatives of business (Exxon, Chevron, Total, Reva, Petrobras, Rio Tinto Zinc, etc. – represented through five people). Governments are on my board, from Azerbaijan to Peru, to the Congo, to Indonesia, plus some of the rich governments, plus hundreds of civil society organizations represented by five people on my board.

Now the companies go into a country and establish an oil and gas venture, for instance, and pay the government. In the case of Nigeria, for instance, we found that Nigeria had 54 billion dollars of revenues from Shell and from the other oil companies working there in one year! 54 billion! That is nearly the whole lending program of the World Bank. That is nearly the total sum of existing development aid. This one government gets it and yet the 150 million people in Nigeria are so poor, living in slums and without access to water or health or anything. It's one of the most miserable countries in terms of economic and democratic development.

So, what did we do: we created a multi-stakeholder group in which business, civil society and governments together collect data to publish what is paid to governments. This produces the correct numbers. These numbers become the starting point for other NGOs, for the media, for the parliamentarians in the 31 participating countries to hold the governments accountable for the huge amounts of money

that they get. Now, I like your idea of having a very strong rule in limiting the fiscal authority of politicians. We tried to do this at the World Bank through Structural Adjustment Lending. I was part of that sin. In the World Bank, through Structural Adjustment Laws we did exactly that. We prescribed the top level of government indebtedness, we prescribed other macroeconomic parameters such as exchange rates, subsidies and such like things, and the countries simply don't stick to them. As much as Greece didn't stick to them in Europe.

I think a very rigorous, a very rigid rule does not work, and to take it away altogether from the politicians, in my opinion, is really dismantling the democratic mandate of the leaders of society to intervene in important things. If you have a lot of poverty, unemployment, a big epidemic or something like that, then you need the authority as an elected government to borrow sometimes a little bit more than would be prudent. Yes, economists, you have this rather quantifiable vision of the world. I think it is much more complex and you need good governance, and then we can trust the government, we can trust the companies, and we need civil society in order to create that magic triangle.

Hana Lešenarová: We should also give the other Peter a chance to share his ideas of where he sees the solution: whether government, or politicians, or civil society or where?

Peter Thum: I think that when government and business become too friendly with each other, that's a problem. In a healthy society, you have a triangle of government, the NGOs and business operating and watching each other and criticizing each other and keeping each other in check. In a healthy government, you have a triangle: you have the judiciary, you have the legislature and you have the executive. If they become too friendly, you start to have problems. I think that people look to business for solutions because they have relatively simple problems to solve in comparison with politicians. If business people were saddled with the responsibility of water and roads and waste disposal and keeping people from murdering each other, I think it would be a much bigger job than most CEOs are up to. So government has a reason for existing. I think it's very separate from business, and I believe that it is the responsibility of government to set the rules for the field of play for business. In circumstances where business has the potential to do significant damage, those rules have to be very restrictive. One of the problems in democracy is that at the same time as the

population has a vote, it also has the ability to move politics to the lowest common denominator and kick people out of office when they want to do courageous things that are important for the future. When people elect their officials, they need to keep in mind that when they give them three years to change the world, that's a very short window.

Mirek Topolánek: I must say that in my introductory speech I did not speak of anything else but rules. I have never said that there should be no rules. I spoke about simple, strictly observed rules, not about today's situation when the over-regulation of the environment and the failures of the politicians and the public sector are causing problems in the market and problems which subsequently translate into the distortions of the market; they are causing such crises as the current one.

Tomáš Sedláček: Now that you mentioned regulation, it often seems that regulation and freedom go against each other, but mark the loose usage of language. That is a field where there are many, many regulations, and I'm not freer if I don't adhere to the rules – I'm not freer by babbling. If I don't respect the rules of language, I don't feel much freer when I blah-blah. Poetry seems to be – it seems to me – the highest, purest representation of freedom of human creative spirit. In poetry, we have additional rules, completely useless rules. Why does it have to rhyme, why does it have to have rhythm? We create new rules so that we can express our freedom better. On the practical level, the only reason why we dare to go to such a dangerous place as a highway is because we believe everybody sticks very precisely to the rules on the highway. You don't have a freedom to drive zigzag. So, freedom and regulation do not always go against each other.

Hana Lešenarová: Thank you, Tomáš. I would like to open the floor to questions.

Audience question: Thank you. We heard from several of the panelists about how we should return to the supremacy of politics over economics and keep economics as a tool. But it seems to me that the failures of politics dramatically outweigh the failures of economics in recent history. Mr. Eigen spoke of social movements as an area to turn to, but I'm from the United States and I would point to the current Tea Party movement in the United States and the absurd, anti-intellectual, populist candidates that we're getting because of that social movement. It

seems to me that the suggestion we should turn away from economics toward politics or social movements or that sort of thing is really just a short-sighted look at the current problem. We are shifting to things that crumbled in the past but now look a little rosier because they are in the distance. My question is: how is this suggestion a solution and not just a shift to another area because this one has a problem right now? Thank you.

Peter Eigen: Well, this question gives me a chance to show that I, in many areas, agree, with what Mr. Topolánek has said. There are certain interventions in the economy by politicians which are absolutely harmful. I have seen this, for instance, in my work in Africa and in Latin America. In the absence of a strong private sector, we had to create state-owned enterprises to deal with hospitals, to deal with bakeries, with shoe-making, with everything. We basically, artificially, after many of these countries had gained their independence, created a monster of state intervention and bureaucracy. Therefore, the first wave of privatization and liberalization was extremely important and was very, very helpful. What I'm talking about is regulation. And I remember Mr. Topolánek today in a breakfast talk said: "bad regulation is worse than good regulation, and no regulation is better than bad regulation." And I would say: good regulation is, of course, very selective, and leaves a lot of freedom to the market. But in the final analysis, when I talk about the primacy of politics, I'm saying that the market, first of all, has to be protected. We see this in a monopolistic, oligopolistic market structure where the private sector has much more power than is allowed in a good capitalist system and, therefore, they don't really compete with each other anymore in many areas. Secondly, we see outcomes which cannot be tolerated by civil society. Hence the *"soziale Marktwirtschaft"* (the social market economy) comes in, and then politics has to be above the private sector and has to regulate it. It has to take that responsibility. That's what I mean by primacy having been lost because of the globalization of the economy, but also because of some other reasons, but it does not mean that you involve politics in the economy. For instance, the mistakes which were made in connection with mortgage lending in the United States. These mistakes were made by not enforcing certain banking rules which existed in order to stimulate the economy in the United States. The Security and Exchange Commission did not discover and prosecute some very important and very obvious mistakes which were made at that time and it is very clear that this was a mistake of politics. I'm not saying

that the state is without fault. I'm saying the state has a democratic mandate to deal with the people, the future of its people, and they have to have the power to do that. That power has been very largely lost. I'm very happy that many speakers yesterday, for instance, said exactly the same thing.

Hana Lešenarová: Thank you, Peter. Mr. Topolánek wanted to add something here.

Mirek Topolánek: I will get back to the opening question of this panel. We were not discussing whether the economy or politics were the more important but were asked whether the economy should be a tool or an objective. For myself, who can take the liberty to pass this normative judgment, the answer here is clear: I repeat, the economy should be a tool. Nevertheless, no one can take away the decisive word from the politicians in the decision-making process – in a democratic society, politics simply has the power to ultimately make decisions and define the rules in the playground that Peter Thum spoke about. And there is a broad discussion about what legitimacy, what kind of mandate politicians have to be able to make decisions, whether they do it well and whether they can do it better or not.

Democracy, by the nature of things, is failing here, of course, but there is no better model. It means it is a permanent struggle to bring the politicians under such control as would make the decision-making process at least a little more transparent, so that they would not make big mistakes, so that they would not lead society astray. But the economy is, of course, affected by rules that are approved by politicians and they have the mandate to do it, they won an election, they are obliged to make decisions. That means a discussion about what is more important makes no sense.

Hana Lešenarová: Thank you. Tomáš also wanted to have a word.

Tomáš Sedláček: The word "minister" and "ministry" comes from the Latin *"ministrare"* which means "to serve". A minister, he or she has to be serving or administering pain, so to speak. In that beautiful song by U2, there is the line: "every sweet tooth needs a little hit". We've indulged our sweet tooth for a long time. In this sense, we should be quite grateful to the crisis. Of course a politician must administer pain, and this is something that we're not willing to do, and this is not solely the fault of politicians. It is, of course, our unwillingness to take

any hit. Look at what is happening in Greece. Nobody is dying of hunger or of cold there. Look at what is happening in the Czech Republic, in your respective countries: we have become a civilization that is unable to administer pain. Politicians don't want to do it for obvious reasons, and the nation doesn't want to be subject to it. This is, I think the role of politics – you can't just eat honey all the time!

Hana Lešenarová: Thank you all. Now, the next question.

Audience question: I have a question to Mr. Tomáš Sedláček. You did mention in your speech the so-called inner barbarians of the global economy. I may be wrong, you mentioned Arthur Andersen. Well, my question is: please, can you tell us who will be the inner barbarians of the global economy in 2010? Thank you in advance for your answer.

Tomáš Sedláček: First of all, we don't know. Even today we're not clear what caused the big crisis in the thirties, we're not sure what ended it – whether it was the New Deal or whether that prolonged it. Economics is very much a mysterious science, you know. When people ask me whether I'm optimistic or pessimistic about the future, I always say: I'm not opti-, I'm not pessi-, I remain -mystic. It's very difficult, almost impossible to remove the rotten apple. You know, right now it's us. We are using electricity to light up this room. Not necessary. We could just open the curtains. In a way, we are being barbaric. Doing small, little things against nature. This is something that the social encyclical *"Rerum Novarum"* labels as structural sin. It is a structure in which nobody really wants to do harm, nobody really wants these poor Africans to be poor, nobody wants our environment to be destroyed … but it happens. I had this provocative idea when I was thinking in this morning in the shower. "The World That We Want to Live In" is the world that we live in because if it wasn't, we would do something about it, which we don't. So, you know, it is our world and it is exactly the way we want it.

Hana Lešenarová: Thanks, Tomáš. One last question.

George Monbiot from the Audience: Yes, I'm just intrigued and fascinated by Mr. Topolánek's explanation of what has gone wrong, which is very similar actually to that of David Cameron in the United Kingdom. It seems obvious surely to everybody that we've been suffering a major crisis of deregulation – there has been too little regulation,

which is why we've seen a major financial crisis and why we're also seeing a major environmental crisis. It's also surely obvious to everybody that we're suffering a major crisis of inequality in that we have the highest levels of inequality worldwide than we've had since the 1930s, in some countries, the highest levels in recorded history. And yet somehow you deduce from this that the answer is less regulation and less distribution. You then go on to cite the Mont Pelerin Society which was really the society which formulated the neo-liberal doctrines which got us into the mess that we're in today. What is it with you politicians, what's wrong with you neo-liberals, that as soon as you see a problem, you turn the telescope around and look through it the wrong way?

Mirek Topolánek: This question deserves an answer – for there to be any debate on this panel, any discussion at all, there cannot just be identical opinions, of course. My opinion is slightly different, I really believe that humankind will fall victim to excess regulation and political correctness – that is my personal view and I am glad I was able to present it here and I extend my thanks to the organizers for inviting me.

Hana Lešenarová: Thank you very much, Mr. Topolánek. Thank you to all the speakers. I'm sorry we didn't have time for more questions – trying to tame four men sitting on one panel, is a difficult job for one girl. I'm sure you can find the panelists swarming around the corridors and you can continue this very interesting discussion. Have a good day.

Hana Lešenarová

Hard Choices: The Cost of Saying No

12th October 2010, Goethe Institut

Moderator:
Jan Macháček, Journalist, Czech Republic

Participants:
Peter Eigen, Founder, Transparency International, Germany
William Echikson, Senior Manager for Communication, Google, Belgium/ USA
Misha Glenny, Journalist, United Kingdom
Miroslav Zámečník, Partner, Boston Venture, Czech Republic

Jan Macháček: Ladies and gentlemen, welcome to this panel. My name is Jan Macháček and I'm a journalist writing mainly for the weekly *"Respekt"*.

When is a company willing to make less profit or an individual willing to risk a bonus or even a job just for the sake of doing the right thing? Business ethics is a hot topic currently discussed at every level of the corporate world, but what exactly do ethics mean? Who is responsible for ensuring that codes of ethics are met?

The panel will explore a range of ethical decisions which companies and individuals had to make and the price they had to pay to do so. What factors affect companies' decisions to do the right thing even if they know the outcome will lower their profits? Are publicly-traded companies willing to say to shareholders that they are giving up markets and territory? What's the difference between a private company and a publicly traded company in this respect? What is the motivation of CEOs, government officials and individuals to make a tough ethical decision? Who should be held accountable for adhering to ethical codes within large corporations and organizations? What factors influence individual core values and where are they learned?

We also have a little side topic. We have speakers here with a background in journalism or who are active in the media. Therefore, what is the role of the media in pursuing ethical issues in the corporate world and especially in fighting corruption?

I will start by introducing Mr. Peter Eigen as the first speaker. He is what Zygmund Bauman referred to yesterday when talking about the butterfly effect. Mr. Eigen demonstrates how this butterfly operates. Transparency International, his child, is a freelance example of a very effective, global organization. Mr. Eigen invented the whole thing and fought for a long time to get it off the ground. He's an example of what the strong will of one individual can achieve.

William Echikson is a senior manager for communication for the Google Corporation in Europe and also has a background in journalism. He wrote a book about the fall of Communism in Eastern Europe.

Misha Glenny is focusing on the Balkans and writes a lot about corruption and the Mafia there.

Mr. Zámečník also has a journalism background even though he's a respected economist and advisor to the government these days. He started as an economic journalist and still contributes regularly to the media. Mr. Zámečník, I believe, is among few economists in

this country whose eyes are really wide open to the world, following what is happening in Asia, in Latin America, in Europe and who are actually reading a lot and not just repeating the same ideological clichés. He is not only an economist. He is a big fan of nature. He observes wild elephants in Laos and turtles in Turkey. He recently participated in a tender to become the director of Prague Zoo. Now I would like to ask Mr. Eigen to start with his remarks.

Peter Eigen: Being in the Goethe Institut, I feel authorized to refer to Faust. With respect to your question: what is the cost of saying no, I would turn it around and ask: What was the cost of saying yes? It was pretty disastrous. I would also like to ask Siemens what the cost was of saying yes?

When we started Transparency International, I had a discussion in Germany with Pater Rupert Lay, a famous professor of ethics and a Jesuit priest. He said that if you are a businessman in the international marketplace and somebody demands a bribe, you have to consider that hundreds of jobs in your company with families attached depend on you getting this contract. You have to weigh the pros and cons of violating what after all is only "a Judaeo-Christian specialty of Europe" – that we don't like corruption. And one has to consider that not getting a contract could even mean going bankrupt, since others are bribing an important government for the job. This was a wonderful statement for me. In fact he made it publicly in the *"Sonntagsblatt"*. This helped me to use him as my windmill. I, as Don Quixote, writing against it made a lot of points. I argued that every job which is won by a corrupt company is a loss to an honest company. How can somebody like Pater Rupert Lay, who has written many letters and books about business ethics, possibly consider this to be an advantage? I also pointed out that in many countries where corruption is customary, and seems to belong to the culture, economic decision making is perverted by corruption. The wrong decisions are made because of corruption. For the right decisions in which the best offer wins you don't have to pay any bribes.

The wrong decisions are being promoted and I can testify to this. As Director of the World Bank office in Nairobi for East Africa, I saw wrong decisions promoted by this unholy alliance of the North, which systematically paid bribes, and decision makers in the south of Africa. I saw how the worst projects were implemented while good projects waited for the donor community to make up its mind. I can give many examples of that and I'm very happy that Mr.

Zámečník knows something about white elephants because this is of course the term which we use for projects which are not only useless but even harmful, and the main reason for misery, poverty, conflicts and violence in developing countries.

I've been in Indonesia for two weeks. In Indonesia corruption is not only accepted as a necessary evil; it is preordained as something which promotes business, the oil which greases the machine of economic growth and development.

Fortunately, over the past 15 years we have managed to convince big companies in Europe that they want a corruption-free international market. Not only because they are better at competing in the market in which they can present their products, competence, quality, good prices, reliable delivery and so on, but also because corruption destroys the world. When you have a billion people living in absolute poverty worldwide, you cannot sell them refrigerators or computers. With corruption, you destroy markets, the world in which you want to operate and this is something which they recognized after Transparency International's campaigns.

The cost of saying no is *de minimis*, if there's any cost at all. In particular, after the change of law in Germany, the cost of saying no is even further reduced by the fact that you avoid being prosecuted as a criminal. Since 1999, foreign bribery is a crime in Germany and about 110 big businesses in Germany are being prosecuted, although not in all countries which signed the OECD convention. Anyway, Germany is making a lot of progress, the cost of saying no is *de minimis* and the cost of saying yes is a disaster for everybody concerned. Thank you.

Jan Macháček: Thank you very much. We heard about the cost of saying no to corruption. Mr. Echikson: I would like to focus a little bit more on a different kind of abuse, which is human rights abuse. All of us are interested in Google's position in China and Google's history in China. How does a publicly-traded corporation explain itself to its shareholders when it is considering giving up a portion of the market in order to follow its principles?

William Echikson: Thank you. I think we at Google face a different problem. It's not really about whether we're going to bribe a foreign government to get in or bribe for a contract. It is about governments putting pressure on Google to turn over information and about freedom of expression. You asked me about China. When I joined

Google, I had to write about whether it was a good or bad decision for Google to have gone into China. I thought a lot about what had happened here in Central Europe under communism, when western governments were engaged in the Helsinki conference to open the cracks and bring more free information behind the Iron Curtain. I think Google took the same approach with China in 2006. There was a long debate inside the company, weighing the pros and cons. If we went in, would we offer more information? If we stayed out, would we offer less information to the Chinese? In the end we thought that we would be able to do more good by going into China, offering search in Chinese in a local domain and subjecting ourselves to Chinese censorship. In other words, we agreed to censorship because we thought that when we had a search result, let's say for Tiananmen Square, we would actually say on that search result that the results had been censored, that sites were blocked to Chinese users and we thought that was an advance. It did lead, from 2006 to 2008, up to the Olympics, to a period of growing freedom of expression in China. We felt that the bargain was worth it. What happened was that after the Olympics, there was a real crackdown and the bargain started to get a little more rotten. There was more and more censorship and finally, almost a year ago now, there was a concerted attack on Chinese human rights dissidents using Gmail – a Google product. It came from China. We don't know if it was the government but we know it came from China. It was the last straw. The balance tipped the other way. We felt we were no longer playing a positive role by submitting ourselves to censorship and so in January of last year we decided to stop censoring our searches in China.

Google was willing to give up profits. It was a value-based decision. China is the biggest internet market in the world. Our business was doing well in China. It was around 400 million dollars in sales to a 27 billion dollar company. So although it wasn't essential to our earnings, it was a tough decision. At the same time, it comes in a context, and this is what we should talk about. Google needs a free and open internet to prosper. If the internet is censored, shutdown, swaddled, the company won't prosper. What we are seeing around the world is growing pressure from governments to crackdown on the internet. We did a study: in 2002, we received only two requests for information from governments. Last year forty governments were demanding information from Google. We always fight those requests, or try to limit them as much as possible because we want to keep the trust of our users and we don't want governments

to overreach. If there's a valid court order, we'll obey it but it's not something we do gladly or easily.

We see the threat to the free internet growing around the world. YouTube, for example, a Google property, is banned in Turkey. Our services go up and down in a variety of countries depending on government whims and this problem is a growing issue and a threat to Google's bottom-line and to Google's values. We really believe that letting people write blogs is something that is giving a voice to those who once were silenced. To conclude, this isn't just an issue in China, or Iran, or Turkey. It's an issue for the European Union as well. In the European Union there's a debate going on now about the responsibility of an internet platform like Google or YouTube. If you put up a video that is slanderous or incites violence, is it YouTube, is it Google, the company, that's responsible or is it the person who actually made and uploaded that video? In Italy earlier this year, three of our executives were convicted. There was a video about the harassment of a handicapped boy. We felt very strongly that once we are notified by the police of a video that is breaking the law, our responsibility is to take it down. We did that. But our executives were convicted anyway because they were told that we should actually preview and prevent the video from getting up on YouTube. I think this is an issue the European Union has to grapple with. If Google or all the other hosting platforms are required to preview every bit of information that goes up, they turn us into the censor and the internet won't bring freedom. This is not a far-off issue related only to China but to all of us here.

Jan Macháček: Thank you very much. Now, Misha Glenny.

Misha Glenny: Thank you. Because of the work that I've been doing over the past 10–15 years, it's my conclusion that Transparency International is probably the single most important non-governmental organization in the world in terms of what its aims are. It hits at the very heart of so much that is wrong in the world that if we were to see the changes in practice that Transparency International advocates, it would have a quite astonishing transformative effect on the way that the world is governed in general.

Let me now tell a story that happened ten years ago. A popular uprising, some people say that it was slightly more organized than that, brought down Slobodan Milosevic in Serbia. One of the key figures who assisted in bringing down Slobodan Milosevic was Zoran Djindjic, who became prime minister. Three years later, Zoran

was assassinated. The primary reason, as far as I've been able to understand it, why Zoran was assassinated was that four months prior to his assassination, he introduced the first ever witness protection act to exist in the Balkans. He also had somebody ready to testify in court about the connections between organized crime and business in Serbia. This person was being kept under protection in Vienna.

The reason why I highlight this is that this is about business, and it is about politics and you can't separate the two. That is because Zoran was not just a politician; he was a businessman as well. That was because in the Balkans of the 1990s and in all the countries going through transition, if you wanted to be a successful politician it didn't matter how charismatic or ideologically smart you were. Your primary consideration was to find a revenue stream to fund your political activities. In Serbia during the 1990s, there was an economy which was both a war economy and an economy under United Nations sanctions. That meant that any activity you were involved in, particularly an activity which involved goods moving across the border, was by definition illegal. When Zoran became prime minister in 2000, he was the head of a very significant company which was engaged in a lot of illegal activity. We have to be perfectly frank about this. The reason why Zoran was killed and why he was such a revolutionary figure and why his death had such a negative impact not just on Serbia, but the entire region, is because he understood that it was historically his role to put an end to the sort of practices that his own companies were involved in. He was killed because he threatened the monopoly positions of other people involved in industrial and commercial activity in Serbia and it was those monopoly positions that were being threatened. It wasn't just the trade and the trafficking of women, narcotics and so on. It was the very nature of the economy in Serbia and in other parts of south-eastern Europe.

As for the cost of saying no: Zoran Djindjic demonstrated the costs by his death. I don't think people in the European Union quite understood this when they were advocating tough policies against organized crime and corruption in south-eastern Europe and moaning about the fact that not enough was being done. Zoran's fate demonstrates what happens, and how severe the cost is for doing something about this. It is quite literally risking your life. He's not the only person in south-eastern Europe trying to do something about corruption who has lost his life.

What is to be done about that? What you do is what the European Union is actually quite good at doing, although it could do more.

It is to offer incentives to a large enough number of people; not just ordinary people, ordinary electors, but the elite and particularly the commercial and industrial elite. It is offering them incentives saying: if you behave in a different way you will gain the following benefits. Slowly but surely, that is what has been happening in the Balkans and why the Balkans' transformation just 15 years after the end of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 10 years after the war in Kosovo, is an unparalleled success. There is very little chance of armed conflict returning to south-eastern Europe, unless the mood in the European Union changes and we decide to exclude some of the countries of the Western Balkans from the European Union. Then the danger of an armed conflict could return.

There is still the danger of organized crime and corrupt practices in the region. In contrast to other conflict zones in the world, the elites have started to cooperate remarkably and put aside what happened 10–15 years ago.

Peter Eigen mentioned that since 1999, it's illegal to bribe abroad. The United States has the best legislation, the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, and they actually follow up on what they say. Germany is not bad, it's not brilliant. Britain is absolutely useless in terms of what it actually goes after even though the legislation is there. One very important example from Britain: The Serious Fraud Office was very close to uncovering a major corruption scandal organized by BAE Systems. Amazingly, the SFO had succeeded in getting the Swiss banks to open their vaults and show what had been going on. At this stage, we were told by Number 10 Downing Street and the personal attorney of Blair that the SFO was going to drop its investigations into BAE Systems because it was against the national interest to pursue them. Champagne corks were popping in Lagos, in Beijing, all over the world, but above all else popping in the Middle East whereas the democracy movement in the Middle East was absolutely gutted. They were delivered a real blow by this decision. Fortunately, the bribery took place using dollars and the Department of Justice in the United States will not let go of this. When you use dollars, the US considers that its exterritorial jurisdiction and it will go after it. They are still investigating, even though the British government is trying to block access to the documents involved.

If we are going to go around the world as governments lecturing about crime and corruption, we have to be utterly consequent about anything that we engage in, such as investigations of BAE Systems and the bribery allegedly perpetrated by members of the

Saudi ruling family. The cost of saying no, as Peter Eigen put it, can be very high indeed, but we can also pressure our own governments to make sure that these standards are applied across the board and not just selectively.

Jan Macháček: Thank you very much. Now, Mr. Zámečník?

Miroslav Zámečník: I will focus on the micro and give you some examples of what can be done and what should be done. I think we have all watched TV reports on the terrible landslides in Southern Mexico. I just happened to be there in June on two environmental projects. This is a tale of two approaches to development and of what can be done.

One project was in Puebla state, in the mountains which are still populated by indigenous people. It's about 90% Nahua and Totonac people. There is a cooperative of mostly Amerindians growing coffee on shaded plantations in a hilly region. Shaded coffee is one of the best farming practices in order to protect the watershed and prevent landslides. People there just thin the forest and plant coffee under the indigenous tropical trees. The cooperative there has a very funny Nahua name: Totonac Titadaniske. It's a little bit like a very smart kibbutz run by Amerindians and some Mestizo people. They grow coffee in a sustainable environment and they pay a lot of attention to environmental practices. The cooperative has a very democratic decision making process. When we offered them a project that was focused on trekking in the region, they didn't agree because that would overload the system. They decided not to develop trekking any further as they had enough tourism already because it's a pretty area.

Now the bad example: about 300 kilometers to the southeast, in the Veracruz state, is a biosphere reserve which is called Los Tuxtlas. It's the northernmost tropical rainforest in the Americas. The biodiversity there used to be great. The movie *"Apocalypto"* was shot there. But they used very careful angles with the camera so that it looked intact. The northern tropical rainforest is gone for the most part. All the big species have gone. Now comes the difference. There is no cooperative there to pursue good practices. The population is not native but mestizo who arrived in the 1950s. At that time even the mountaintops were forested, 1700 meters above sea level to the Mexican Gulf. People came from the overpopulated states of Guerrero, Oaxaca, even from northern Mexico and were given land on very hilly slopes. The government was involved there in the beginning. The result is that now all

the forests are gone. They didn't grow shaded coffee, or cocoa which is a native plant from Southern Mexico. These were people who were used to raising cattle, so they built cattle farms. With a cattle farm in a tropical humid rainforest, with an average rainfall of five meters, you get a very nasty situation.

There is extreme mistrust. It is one of the peculiar things of Mexico. People do not trust the state. These Amerindians said they didn't want the Mexican state authorities to be here. They have their own cooperatives, better schools than the state could provide, some essential healthcare and they hope the state will have as little involvementas possible. I haven't seen that kind of rejection of the state in other parts of the world that have a sophisticated community. Here the reason was the state´s protection of the watershed. The central government in Mexico City instituted a biosphere reserve and tried to evict the people from the land that it had given them thirty years ago. The government failed because there was a lot of unrest. Now it's a very gradual, very slow process of voluntary land purchases. It is something which is extremely time-consuming and the ecosystem is already damaged. The recommendation would be not to enact stupid policies in the first place when there is a choice and then try to correct them.

This is one positive and one extremely negative example. The interesting thing is that the area of the first example with the shaded grown coffee is not protected by the federal government but it looks substantially better because somebody did a smart thing and did it from the beginning and over the past thirty years with local communities.

Corporations can contribute. In Mexico, the largest bakery group, Bimbo, is a powerful organization and it is funding an NGO to take care of reforestation. The NGO is called Reforestamos. This is one of the things Mexico desperately needs. It's a very hilly country and if they don't do something to tackle erosion, landslides will occur repeatedly after every hurricane. Much of Mexico is already badly deforested. Corporations can be helpful in preventing this.

Much damage has already been done and it's extremely difficult to undo it: northern Kenya, southern Ethiopia, the damming of the Omo River, if this happens, the whole ecosystem goes down the drain. This is just going to happen.

Jan Macháček: Thank you. I forgot to disclose that Mr. Zámečník is also active in a microcredit system in Mexico. I would also add that some Czech right-wing politicians and ideological commentators would call Mr. Zámečník a leftist and a Marxist, because he defends cooperatives.

I would now like to ask the panelists to react to what has been said here but I would also ask them one specific question. Is the situation improving? Mr. Eigen, you mentioned that there is an OECD policy which is now respected by 110 countries in the world. Foreign bribes are forbidden in many countries. The number of countries forbidding these practices is increasing. Is corruption globally decreasing?

Peter Eigen: One reads a lot about corruption nowadays, more then 10 or 15 years ago so many people believe that corruption is getting worse. I would argue that journalists, the media in general, and people on the streets have become much more impatient with corruption and are much more interested in tackling it. In the last couple of months, judicial authorities in many countries, including the UK, are beginning to prosecute corruption much more seriously. I would not say corruption has increased. Corruption is finally being understood as a great threat to sustainable development and we are seeing more prosecutions.

In 2001 in the Czech Republic, we had a very big anti-corruption conference. Václav Havel addressed the participants; it was a great moment in my life. However, I have to say that corruption has not markedly reduced in this country. In our Corruption Perception Index, which of course is an index of perceptions, the Czech Republic is somewhere in the first third of about 180 countries. It ranks 53 and it has always hovered at that range. This is not good enough for this country. This is not Africa, this is not Latin America, this is Europe, with thousands of years of culture and civilization and strong values. People in the Czech Republic deserve a better ranking.

I'm an optimist. Even the UK is starting to prosecute, with British Aerospace. Unfortunately, the United States just gave them a huge defense contract. I thought that if a company was found to have bribed somebody, then it would end up on a blacklist. In the US they even have a white list for companies which are allowed to supply the Pentagon. BAe just went into a coalition with some American arms suppliers and was awarded this huge contract. The penalties for corrupt practices are not as severe as we would like them to be.

Jan Macháček: Thank you. A side question: some people are very fatalistic in this respect. They see corruption almost as being in our

genes. If you look at Europe, corruption is getting worse in the south and in the east. Do you agree with that? Are there any countries which buck this geographic trend?

Peter Eigen: I'm afraid there are still people who believe that if you want to do business in the international marketplace you have to bribe. We had famous people in Germany saying Siemens should be rewarded for having paid bribes everywhere in this difficult marketplace in order to get contracts. They are the heroes of the globalized economy. When people talk like this I feel sick. We have a really interesting case in Germany right now. A businessman, a mid-level industrialist, spoke out to the press and said that all this talk about fighting corruption internationally is just hypocrisy. In reality everybody knows that if you want to do business in these countries you have to bribe. He explained exactly how he is doing it. The next day the police were in his office and he may end up in jail for that. It is a shame because he's apparently a wonderful friend of Angela Merkel. He can be seen in photographs with her at various business fairs.

I don't know if this exactly answers your question. We still have to fight. In Africa we see countries which have been on the right track for a couple of years like Kenya under Kibaki. We have countries like Zimbabwe who are under totally corrupt rule. Particularly in countries rich in natural resources like Congo, Equatorial Guinea or Nigeria, people have tried to fight corruption, but haven't succeeded and face a morass of corruption that is very hard to deal with.

It reminds me of a statement by the former mayor of Moscow, Mr. Luzhkov. At an anti-corruption conference in Moscow he said: "Well Peter, you remind me of a frog who is croaking in a big swamp and is trying to dry up the swamp. I wish you luck." I'm happy that he's now out of business.

Jan Macháček: Thank you. I would like to ask Mr. Echikson if the situation of freedom and the future of the internet is improving. The internet was initially welcomed as a space of freedom. Now more and more people are afraid that it will end up fragmented and under governmental control. Are you optimistic in this respect?

William Echikson: Unfortunately I can't be as optimistic as Mr. Eigen. We're at the point when we are starting to see the lake form and the frogs are just getting into it. The figures are pretty stark. Last

year, we launched the *"Government Transparency Report"*. You can see it if you go to Google. In 2002, 2 governments asked Google for information, last year it was 40. More and more governments are trying to build firewalls, more are cracking down on dissent and they're trying to prevent free expression online.

Fundamentally the internet breaks down the walls that existed. When I came here under communism it was very hard for me to file a story back to my editors and I actually had an official newspaper to file to. Last weekend, my 9-year old son decided he was going to create a blog and he did it by himself. Anyone can publish, pretty much anywhere and governments are responding more and more with fear and it's getting worse.

Jan Macháček: Mr. Zámečník wanted to make a brief remark.

Miroslav Zámečník: I think there is nothing evolutionary or ethnic predetermining corruption. We have perfect examples of countries that are essentially populated by ethnic Chinese. Some of them have very bad corruption records; some of them are among the best in the world. Think of Singapore. You can create a structure which is clean. You have similar cases in sub-Saharan Africa. Botswana has a reputation for being, by African standards, a clean country, while neighboring Zimbabwe is rotten to the core. The explanation is very simple. When you play with the exchange rate and give the state a role it shouldn't play, you breed corruption to a point that is beyond your imagination. Botswana was run very conservatively, while Zimbabwe played with the exchange rate and allocated currency with terrible results. Corruption has to do with the system.

You can look at Rwanda under Paul Kagame. There are people who do not want to accept everything he has done in Rwanda, but improvements have been confirmed to me by the IMF and the Bretton Woods institutions are rather careful about identifying indications of corruption. Compared to the early nineties when I was with the World Bank, Rwanda has changed dramatically. Peter Eigen made a vital contribution to that.

We don't have to be fatalistic. We are fatalistic in this country because we have seen so many instances of corruption that have gone unprosecuted. There is a good explanation: we have a country with a civil service that has no independence or accountability and where corruption becomes endemic.

It's not about people. It's not about ethnicity. It's about the system. If you change the system, people will adapt. If they are paid for being clean, they will be clean. We always get what we pay for.

Jan Macháček: Thank you. Misha Glenny, regarding the connection of business, politics and corruption in the Balkans, did you see some signs of improvement?

I think that globally the level and quality of journalism is getting worse. Are the media generally, and not only in the Balkans, doing a better job these days in fighting corruption or are the media becoming more and more tabloid and doing a worse job than they used to?

Misha Glenny: Let me first carry on from something that Peter was saying about the increased demand to do something about corruption. I'm afraid at the moment a lot of people are extremely cynical about government policies in the United States and in Europe. That is because the taxpayers have been acting as the banks of last resort. We in the United Kingdom have bailed out our banks with amounts of money which are so astronomical I can't even pronounce them. Not to mention Ireland. We now have to enter a period of austerity which we have never seen in the United Kingdom or Ireland. This is happening all over the place. We are paying for a system of what I consider to be institutionalized corruption: the coming together of investment and retail banks as single organizations. Unfortunately, the people responsible are not being brought to task for this. The person who ran the Royal Bank of Scotland into the ground, for which I'm still paying every day, got the most fantastically generous remuneration when leaving his job in absolute disgrace. It was approved by the government itself. When it comes to what governments are doing, yes there is more interest in seeing corruption rooted out but there is also a great deal of cynicism as to whether governments which indulged in those sorts of practices for twenty years are likely to change.

Companies involved in the manufacturing industry get cynical as well. Why are they given such a hard time? They at least produce value for the world contrary to the hedge funders and the bankers who are just making gazillions for their super rich lifestyle? The question of how governments interact with their populations is not resolved.

With regards to the Balkans, there has been real improvement. Everyone is very happy to talk about the Balkans when they're slitting each other's throats. As soon as they stop doing that, it becomes boring for the media and the world around. The Balkans is, for the past few years, the most fantastic story. Bad for some people involved, particularly the Croatian newspaper editor Ivo Pukanic who was murdered by a bomb two years ago. However, we have seen very close cooperation between the police in Serbia, Croatia and Bulgaria to uncover the perpetrators of this crime and to arrest one of the biggest figures of organized crime, not just in the Balkans but in Europe. He has already served a sentence in Holland. It has been an unprecedented level of cooperation between two countries, Serbia and Croatia, which were at war until very recently.

Ten days ago in Sarajevo, the intelligence agencies of all Balkan countries, with the exception of Kosovo, signed a memorandum of understanding to share sensitive information with each other on political subversion, essentially terrorism and organized crime. This progress is absolutely extraordinary. These initiatives, although predicated by the European Union's insistence on improvement in the criminal justice system throughout the region, comes entirely from the region itself and they are doing fantastic stuff.

Yes, there is real progress in the Balkans. It is not captured by the media, but here we have to name some of the companies involved. WAZ is a German company which went around cherry picking all the tabloid newspapers throughout large parts of south-eastern Europe while the war was still going on. This was a strategic asset grab by this German company. They have turned most of the tabloids into the kind of garbage that we're used to in the United Kingdom and elsewhere in Europe.

That's not necessarily the problem of local newspapers. Those papers, magazines and television stations which are good tend to be locally owned. I'm not saying this is an exclusive thing. There are publications owned by local oligarchs which are also garbage.

On the whole, as we saw with the murder of Ivo Pukanic, journalists in the Balkans who investigate the things we're talking about are at much greater risk then it appears in Europe or the United States. Again I stress that this is a risk to their lives.

I want to back up what Mr. Zámečník said about ethnicity. Have a look at the Albanian community outside of Kosovo or Albania. They are important engines of growth in Boston, in Massachusetts and in Austin, Texas. They carry out entirely legitimate business there because they're in an environment where they're able to do that. The environment and the institutions are absolutely critical.

Not that somebody happens to be born Chinese, Albanian, British or whatever.

Jan Macháček: I would like to ask Mr. Zámečník: do you think that the behavior of corporations in the developing world is improving?

Miroslav Zámečník: You can have endless examples of bad behavior, but you can also have increasingly numerous examples of good behavior. The balance is important and here I am really pessimistic. We are losing time. Some regions are clearly beyond repair in terms of capacity and funds. It's very simple to cause damage. It's extremely expensive to repair it. It takes too many limitations on economic development that for some regions it's probably impossible.

On a more positive note, there are local companies that are essentially doing the right thing. There are several palm oil companies in Malaysia going for sustainable palm oil. There is even one in Sarawak, in the Danum valley. That's one of the last regions of the Sumatran rhinoceros, there are about eight of them. One of the principal owners of this palm oil company said when he was approached by the local NGOs and by WWF that he wanted to be around for a long time and he doesn't want to be accused of destroying everything. They established bio-corridors, protecting the remnants of forest and there is a protected reserve. They behave rationally, but they are a minority compared to what's going on in Sumatra, in Borneo 97% is deteriorating and 3% is stabilizing. What can you do about this? That's a matter of fact.

Consumer power can do a lot of things to help change. But some types of resources are extremely difficult to protect. One prime example is tuna. In the Mediterranean, it has gone. The best remaining fishery was administered by Said Gadhafi, the son of Muammar Gadhafi, in southern Mediterranean. It is within Libyan waters but this fishery is also exhausted. The case is almost closed and I don't know whether it can be repaired. In the case of the eastern seaboard and the cod fishing areas, they can be repaired after several decades of very good administered protection. I don't think we have a good recipe for administering marine resources. This seems to be at terrible odds with how to survive and these are the things that are particularly damaging to developing countries. They get a very limited amount of money that gets into a very limited number of hands. There is a lot of corruption going on and some of the EU countries are playing a very negative role.

It's case by case. There are some industries that are doing a good job. Others are doing a miserable job and the balance is deteriorating.

Jan Macháček: Thank you very much. Peter Eigen wanted to add something.

Peter Eigen: Just a little footnote to what you said. This morning I looked at the internet and I saw a little notice that UNEP has published a report yesterday quantifying the damage done by the private sector to the environment. The report says it's more than 30 trillion dollars.

Remember the calculations of Nicholas Stern about the costs if we don't get more effective at protecting the environment and taking anti-climate change measures. As part of this numbers game, UNEP has produced this very important report talking about 30 trillion dollars in damages done in 2009 to the environment of the world.

Jan Macháček: Now I would like to open the floor to discussion.

Audience question: My name is Ann, I'm from Ireland. Europe appears to be supporting the political system in Ireland rather than the people. There is great skepticism about the role of Europe and where else we can go. How can we escape such a history of corrupt political systems, when it does seem to be also tied in with the European Parliament?

Peter Eigen: I'm hesitant to call everything which is bad in the world corruption. We have to focus on a particular objective. We recognize that there were certain corrupt incentives in the banking system and we sympathized with people who called this institutional corruption, but our own program in trying to improve systems and so on is not addressing the issue of financial sector regulation in Europe. What I can say is that the present paradigm of governance is not really capable of dealing globally with the misbehavior of certain banking systems. The capacity of national governments, which are still the main responsible agents for global governance, is simply too limited. Their time horizon is too limited. Their constituencies they have to serve if they are democratic governments – they want to be re-elected, so their time is too limited. We end up with a patchwork of different national efforts to get regulation in place where it is necessary.

We in Europe have succeeded in bringing together certain national ideas into a more coherent process. Not in the banking area, as we can tell from for instance the resistance of the British against stricter regulation. They are afraid that London will lose its attraction as a global banking headquarters. We are handicapped by this. If you look at the banking centers in other parts of the world and particularly in the United States, then you see that it's very hard to create an overall framework within which banks have to behave properly. This is difficult for the banks themselves even if they want to behave properly. In Germany many banks were pronouncing profit targets because without very high profits they would be open to takeover.

Everybody seems to be driven by this failing governance. It is particularly obvious in the financial sector, but in my opinion it is also obvious in other areas where the present paradigm of dealing with the long-term problems of the world is simply not suitable anymore. This is why I am so pleased about the idea of an empowering civil society like Transparency International, Amnesty International and Oxfam being able to become partners of governments, of the public sector and together developing concepts to deal with global issues.

I don't think it is helpful to simply say this is all corrupt. Corruption in my opinion is the abuse of a trusted power for personal gain. I would not be able to apply this to the bankers in Ireland or in Germany in a general sense. I would fail to really address the essence of what is wrong in the financial sector.

Misha Glenny: I agree with that. I was raising the issue not to say that we should see this as corruption, but as a popular perception of the way governments deal with these issues and how it leads to cynicism over anti-corruption struggles.

Jan Macháček: Mr. Zámečník also wanted to add something to this...

Miroslav Zámečník: No wonder people are disgusted. Look at how AIG was rescued. A lot of things there were utterly unusual. There was a negotiation between the FED and the US Treasury and the chairman of Goldman Sachs: AIG's largest counterpart. No wonder people get cynical.

I lived in the United States for five years. I thought this was impossible but it occurred with regularity. Then the government spread the pain across a vast strata of society to people who are desperate because there are no jobs, who owe serious money, and who file for personal bankruptcies. This has really happened. I thought it was impossible. For twenty years I thought this sort of thing could happen here because we are rotten, but it couldn't happen in the US. The extent of the moral hazard and the regulatory capture that has happened in the financial sector worldwide is very significant and we can´t repair it given the limited mandate of politicians. I looked at Ireland. They didn't do much wrong. They should have burst the asset bubble much earlier. The result would have been that they would have been very heavily criticized. It was not corruption. It was the attempt to avoid being called a party-pooper and destroyer of growth. There were mighty business interests that were in cahoots with general public opinion. People like getting mortgages. Don't forget that.

Audience question: My name is Anette Reisfelder. I want to come back to something that Peter Eigen and Miroslav Zámečník just mentioned and that's the human dimension of all this. We all know about rainforests but we prefer our furniture to be cheaper than whatever alternative because it would mean we can't take our holiday in Croatia.

Is it not equally if not more important to look at the personal, little examples of managing our own inconsistencies and doing the right thing? Normally the price is not death, it's just giving up a little reward here and there with the positive reward being that maybe you can feel a little better about yourself and not quite so cynical. What is your balance in this? How much time do you spend on the big, the structural and how much time do you spend on the grassroots aspect of ethics?

Jan Macháček: Thank you. One more question.

Audience question: My name is Luisa, I come from South Africa. There have been some comments made on countries in Africa with the exception of South Africa. We are a newly-independent country and the rate at which we are diving into corruption is serious and concerning. I would like to get some comments from Peter Eigen.

My second question is what can be done about developed countries. They have a hand in corrupting Africa. Africa´s resources are all controlled by developed countries and these tend to cause conflicts. If you look at Congo or at Sierra Leone, those diamonds are controlled somewhere in Belgium.

Jan Macháček: Thank you.

Peter Eigen: I can very briefly respond to the very first personal question. I have to admit that if I see a real leader of society who is able to change the world for the better, institutionally and through systemic change, but who is personally quite a pig, is mistreating his wife, is mistreating his children, is lying, is corrupt, I think his contribution to the world is more important. Which does not mean that I was a pig when I created Transparency International. I just feel it's much more important for me to have created a movement like that than being a model of an ethical human being although I try to strive for that. I can see a lot of people who are focused very much on their product and forget their private lives, forget their own personal conduct. I think if we are thinking about improving governance for a world that is in real trouble, we should all really appreciate the achievements of these people in changing the world. That would be my quick answer.

Now your statement about South Africa is absolutely right. I'm frightened by what is happening in South Africa. I was delighted how South Africa was developing under Mandela. I was delighted when President Mbeki fired Mr. Zuma for corruption. This was very courageous, because Zuma was one of his strongest allies and had tremendous support from the labor unions. Zuma then returned to power with the street mobilized against the rule of law and trying to overcome court accusations of rape and of large-scale corruption which, by the way, was driven from the north, including Germany.

I'm very concerned that the good path of South Africa, which we all admired in recent years, is really threatened right now and I believe one should do everything to re-empower civil society. The problem in South Africa is that after apartheid ended, civil society took over the government. The same people who had fought against apartheid and managed to bring it down are now the ministers – the power elite. If you look at black empowerment, this whole system is in my opinion, tremendously vulnerable to corruption. South Africa, probably the most important African country, perhaps after Nigeria, is at extreme risk right now and I hope that something can be done. I don't know how we can help. We don't have a very strong chapter of Transparency International in South Africa. South Africa has not joined the Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative.

You asked what we can do in countries like the Congo, Sierra Leone and so on where natural resources have created hell for people. The resource curse is, apart from Botswana, still eating up the people in Africa. If you look at the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo, the Kivus, about five million people have been killed there in the last four years for coltan, cassiterite and gold. Our companies are using these products saying they have nothing to do with the killing and that they are buying the coltan from Malaysia. Everybody knows that the coltan is produced under absolutely inhumane conditions of virtual slave labor, driven by a military running amok in eastern Congo.

What we have done to make a small contribution is to create an organization which is called the Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative which forces participating companies to publish what they pay to their host governments. In Nigeria, Shell and BP and the companies operating in the oil and gas sector publish what they pay in terms of royalties, taxes and dividends to the government. President Obasanjo introduced a system where the government publishes what it receives and, of course, it has to be the same. In Nigeria, about 230 million dollars was missing at one point. This is a stream of huge amounts of money, more than 50 million dollars a year in Nigeria.

This initiative can hopefully contribute to holding governments accountable. Sierra Leone is now beginning to join us. Liberia has already joined us. There are sixteen African countries that have joined us, plus many countries on other continents. This is my answer to your second question as to what can be done in order to bring accountability to the countries you mentioned.

Jan Macháček: Thank you very much. So I would like to close this panel and to thank all the panelists and all of you for coming and participating in the discussion. Thank you.

Miroslav Zámečník, Misha Glenny

Between Religious Xenophobia, Tolerance and Dialogue

11th October 2010, Academy of Sciences

Opening Remarks:
Michael Melchior, Politician, Former Chief Rabbi of Norway, Israel

Moderator:
Surendra Munshi, Sociologist, India

Participants:
José Casanova, Sociologist of Religion, Georgetown University, USA
Joseph Maïla, Head, Religions Team, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France
Hasan Abu Nimah, Director, Regional Human Security Center, Jordan
Grace Davie, Sociologist of Religion, University of Exeter, United Kingdom

Surendra Munshi: Ladies and gentlemen, welcome to the panel: Between religious xenophobia, tolerance and dialogue. I think I can say on my behalf and on behalf of the panelists here that we're grateful to Forum 2000 for inviting us to this 14th conference and for promoting global unity, for assuming responsibility for our collective future, for holding out hope.

I think the theme of the conference can also be stated in generational terms: doing justice to the heritage which we have inherited from the preceding generations and assuming responsibility for the generations which we are going to leave behind. This theme includes concern in terms of what we don't want. The title itself suggests what we don't want and I think we could address these issues: what we want, what we don't want, how to promote what we want, how to hinder what we don't want.

We live in an interconnected world but, unfortunately, in a world that is divided by different considerations. How do we live together in an interconnected world? And the questions that we can pose to the panelists are: What are the roots of contemporary religious intolerance? Are they genuinely religious or do they reflect other concerns and interests? In what way does secularization promote or prevent religious intolerance? How can we promote dialogue and what kind of dialogue?

I would remind you of Swami Vivekananda, an Indian monk who spoke at the Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893 and he already saw then that the only hope for humanity was the recognition that all religions lead to a single goal. There are different paths, but the goal is the same. He emphasized that we are all children of God and there is one God for all religions. In this context, we don't necessarily need to have a religious mooring in order to reach a humanistic conclusion which looks upon us as members of the same family. I have something more to say on this, but I will resist the temptation of doing so and not stand between you and the distinguished panelists who are sitting here. It's my privilege to invite Rabbi Michael Melchior to make the opening remarks. Rabbi Melchior became one of Israel's leading legislators initiating and completing major legislative reforms in the areas of education, children's rights, environment and social justice. Rabbi Melchior, we greatly look forward to listening to you.

Michael Melchior: Thank you very much. I thought a lot about what I was to say this morning and then I heard President Havel´s speech

at the opening and I changed my speech. I decided to relate, instead, to what he said. He said: "We know that we are behaving in a suicidal manner and yet we go on doing it. How is that possible?" He also said: "We are living in the first atheistic civilization. In other words, a civilization that has lost its connection with the infinite and eternity. For that reason, it prefers short-term profit to long-term profit." We should apparently have the solution. If President Havel is talking about short-term atheistic civilization, then of course the solution to all the problems of the world and how we can stop acting in a suicidal manner is religion. And then we look around the world and we see that this is not exactly so. I would not dare to disagree with President Havel, but I think that when he talks about the atheistic civilization, he is talking about a very limited part of the world. Maybe this is true somewhere in Western or Central Europe but the rest of the world is not at all an atheistic civilization. Any aspirations to the end of civilization and history and so on have been proven wrong. In 2000, I said here that I believe that the 21st century is the century of religion. You may like it or not, but anybody who looks at the world must admit that there is something to this.

Does that mean that the world looks any better or has any better prospects? Not really. Even the contrary, I would say. If you look at the conflicts of the world of today, every single conflict has religion either as one of its main dimensions or as the main dimension. That seems to indicate that even when you connect to the eternal and the infinite, you don't necessarily solve the problems of humanity.

During Mr. Havel´s speech, I was thinking of a story we read in the synagogues this week. It's quite a universal story so I'll dare to share it with you. Every year we start by reading the five books of Moses. We are at the beginning of the year now, so this week we read the story of Noah and the Ark. I have always been bewildered by his story. Noah spent many years building the Ark. According to the biblical story, it took him up to 120 years to build it. And nothing happened throughout this time when everybody was told that a disaster would happen. There is something technical; the Bible says that he was a righteous man, but I would say that his was a very relative righteousness. He did nothing to change fate. He built his own Ark, yes, but that was to save him and his family and some of his animals. But that was it! The story in a rabbinical tradition says that after he emerged from the Ark, everything was finished. He emerged and he saw all the destruction in the world which had once been. And he was devastated. He went to God and according to rabbini-

cal tradition he said to Him: "God, you who are merciful and you who are gracious, how could you turn your hand to all this destruction?" And according to tradition, God answered him: "Noah, now you ask? Now you plea? Where were you all the time when you could have acted or at least prayed?" Nothing, nothing came from him. I've been trying to understand why. Why didn't he do anything? I mean he was, even if relatively, a righteous man. I think he was afraid that if he were to work and plea for the more wicked people of his generation, then something of his righteousness might be affected. I think that this is also, in many ways, the fate of faith today.

Applying this to some of the problems as I see them in our faith today: first of all, the mistrust and the fear and the distorted perceptions exist in our world today no less than in the past. It is very easy, using the religious card, to turn that distrust and fear into hatred. Hatred is the cancer of all human relations. Hatred disguised as religious superiority jeopardizes any noble aspiration in whatever religion. I think that we can say that religion becomes heresy. Wiping out the image of God in the other eliminates the humanity of the other and invites humiliation, persecution, violence and death. The surprise is that this kind of religion attracts countless people. Although apparently a lot of these people lack the talent even for hatred, it turns out that it doesn't require much. A lot of morally weak, intellectually lazy people are incapable of thinking for themselves so they become easy to work with. Life becomes meaningful when there is some kind of religious leader to take responsibility. You have no responsibility and all the guilt is on the other side. It is us against them. What has happened in recent years is that God himself, has in a way, been hijacked into a totalitarian, utopian messianism. We say that God is on my totalitarian side; at least he would be if he knew all the facts. Now what has happened as a result of this is that the beautiful messianistic dream, the utopian dream of a world peace, of the wolf grazing with the lamb, this great vision, has become a major threat to pragmatic but moral long-term and short-term settlements and agreements. What has happened today is that the very delicate balance between the particular and the universal has broken down. That balance is very problematic. The moment you break it down and you become all particular, then religion becomes an act of ego, of self-centered ego, and can lead to the worst catastrophes of human kind.

I do, however, believe that what we need to do is bring back the balance. Particularism has a place. It has a place because if you know how to care about your own tribe, about your own memory

and your own narrative, if you know how to build the future based on tradition and the past, but not become a hostage of the past, then, sometimes, you can contribute more than some universal humanitarians who really do not care even about their closest surroundings. What we can do and what we need to do is to find the vehicles with which we should disarm the haters, and restore this balance between particularism and universalism.

We're a global world that doesn't really have the advantages, or hardly any advantages, of globalism at all. We take all the worst things from the global community with us. We know less about each other than we did before. We know nothing about the holiness of the other; we know nothing of the prophet of the other. Even when we talk about our prophets, we take the narrowest of messages, missing the universal message of justice and mercy with which the prophets spoke truth to power and to kings. They were not very popular in their time, and we're still reading their texts without learning from them. That however should be central to the kind of religion we should empower today.

I believe it's possible. That's the good news. Just to give you an example: some months ago, I was at Windsor Castle. It was just before the Copenhagen conference on the environment. The Director-General of the UN brought the main speakers of all the religions together in the beautiful surroundings of Windsor Castle outside London. What happened there was very interesting. Every religion was supposed to present not a global vision, but a vision of responsibility and an undertaking of what their religion will do to ensure the future of the environment. Something really dynamic happened at this conference. I was sitting with the grand Mufti of Cairo (who I hadn't met before) and we discovered that in the seam between our religions we can build something unbelievable, exciting, and I would even dare to use the word romantic. We can build something new but not give up who we are and where we are and what our borders are, but build in that seam something which is unbelievable. I talked later to the Director-General of the UN and said to him: "Something interesting happened at this conference. At the Copenhagen conference all the heads of states came together in the shadow of great universal threats in order to say what everybody else has to do for the environment. But what happened at this religious conference was that everybody came together to say: "What I will do; what we will do; what my community will do." Suddenly, we saw that we can do a lot of things together and that a lot of things are developing

from that idea. Just as we can create a religious agenda in the issue of the environment, we can do so in the issue of social justice and the issue of education and we can also do so in the realm of politics and peace. Peace in the Middle East, peace in Jerusalem and peace in the world. I believe it's possible and I believe that there are courageous religious thinkers and leaders and teachers out there. Their voices are not heard very distinctly today, they're being blurred by the totalitarian haters, but they are there. If we can really have that voice and that responsibility as the main voice, then we can answer the challenge of President Havel last night and we can really transform and achieve a paradigm shift which will make this world a world we will want to live in. Thank you very much.

Surendra Munshi: Rabbi Melchior, I must say your words have been like music to my ears. I also think that if we can create a balance between particularism and universalism, that's the way to go. If there are such religious voices, which we don't hear very often, in different religions, then there is still hope for all of us. Thank you indeed for a very inspiring and insightful presentation. And I am sure we will follow it up with discussion. Now it is my privilege to invite Professor Casanova to speak.

José Casanova: Thank you very much. Professor Roger Scruton talked at the panel: "The World We Live in" about Europe and how great our European civilization is and how great are the achievements of European civilization. When we – Europeans – talk about the rest of the world, the things we brought to the rest of the world, it seems that we don't need to learn much about the rest of the world. It is remarkable how we Europeans are convinced that indeed religion is, if not the main source, one of the main sources of intolerance and xenophobia.

We know from the results of the European public opinion polls from 1996 that the majority of the population in practically every European country believes that religion is intolerant and that religion creates conflict. Not one particular religion or particular religious group or particular religious ideas, but religion itself. That religion is the source of intolerance and conflict. Now this is surprising. Nobody likes to recognize their own intolerance. If we Europeans think that religion is the source of intolerance, it means we know nothing about what is in and out of ourselves. When we are still religious, we think of the religion we have fortunately left behind. We are so tolerant now because we don't have religion any more. Or we think of the religion of the other within our midst. Islam, we heard, is a big problem for European civilization. Muslims bring these notions of Sharia and these foreign things to our shores.

Even more surprising is the notion that religion creates conflict. The 20th century in Europe, this war century from 1914 to 1989, was the bloodiest, the most genocidal, the most catastrophic century in the history of humanity. Millions of European youths slaughtered in World War I, in the Bolshevik Revolution and the great famine in Ukraine and the Gulag and the Armenian genocide and then of course the Nazi Holocaust and you could go on and on and end with Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Now, none of these conflicts had anything to do with religion. They were all related to other ideas, other hubris. Yet today, when we Europeans see conflicts around the world, we see the hand of religion everywhere. Rather than remembering our recent conflicts, we have a memory filled with our old religious wars of three or four hundred years ago. That explains why we created our secularist structures and because of that we don't have the problems that the rest of the world has. We forget how much the conflicts that we see around the world are related to state formation, nationalism, problems that are also the causes of conflict in Europe, not necessarily religion. I don't want to say that some forms of religion, religious ideas, this "totalitarian hijacking of God" for our purposes, that this may not be the cause. But somehow, when we Europeans look around the world, we think that we – because we are so secular and we have freed ourselves from religion – have the solution to the problems of the world.

There is an event in Salzburg, where Europeans bring together people from the Middle East – Christians, Jews and Muslims – and tell them the story of the foundational myth of secular Europe: Once upon a time, we merged religion and politics, we hadn't learned to separate them. Then we had these terrible wars and thanks to these terrible wars we learned to separate religion and politics. And now, look at us. We can be the model for the rest of you.

No, this is not what the Westphalian system created. What it created was the system *"cuius regio, eius religio"*: The homogenous state will control and will get rid of religious minorities. We in Europe created very nicely structured homogenous national states and we got rid of the others. It began not with the Peace of Westphalia, it began in 1492 in Spain. First, we got rid of Jews and Muslims to create a Catholic state and then every European state was either

Lutheran, or Calvinist or Anglican. We got rid of the religious minorities. Only now in Europe are we learning to live with religious pluralism again. We have no idea how to structure societies that are religiously and culturally pluralistic. The world – and I am thinking of India for example – has a lot to teach us. They lived for centuries with great diversity.

My message is: the world we want to live in is one in which we indeed accept this tremendous diversity and we learn how to live together. Whichever solution we are going to find will have to be a solution to which all of us bring our traditions, our myths, our gods and are able to live together. The notion that somehow a cosmopolitan universalism is the solution to the globe is part of our problem. We will need to learn that there are many competing universalisms out there. That each of them is particularistic. And the task is how all particularistic universalisms can contribute to solutions for our world. Thank you.

Surendra Munshi: I'd like to highlight how important it is to live in diversity and recognize diversity as a legitimate human condition even when we talk about globalization and uniformity. This is one issue.

The second is hubris. Here I would, as an Indian, like to present one point of view. Hubris comes to us in different forms. It's not only western hubris. It's also eastern hubris that we should be wary of and together, in terms of what Rabbi Melchior has told us, we should hear voices from different cultures which are not heard. There are loud voices which are heard and which are not necessarily in our best interests. With these few comments I invite Professor Maïla to speak to us. Professor Maïla is a specialist in Islamic studies and international mediation.

Joseph Maïla: Thank you very much. How can we avoid what we have to avoid; and how can we promote what we have to promote? First of all, there is an increasing trend towards interfaith dialogue. We have never spoken so much about civilization dialogue, religious encounters. All these issues are very high on the agenda. On the other hand we are witnessing minorities being persecuted in the world. We are speaking about defamations of religion, about cartoons, about caricatures and everything happens as if we have the two faces of Janus. On one hand, religion is a very good thing; it's about tolerance, about peace, about dialogue. On the other hand, it's a tool and the means to wage war against others.

Look at what's happening on the earth today: we are witnessing many conflicts in which religion is involved. The first question would be: What is it we don't want to see today when it comes to religions being instrumentalized and used as a tool for war? First, we want to avoid religion taking the place of ideologies. In fact, ideologies are no longer the main driving beliefs, feelings or convictions that determine the behavior of human beings today. Rather, religion has come to play a more important role in providing a vision of the world and being a source of values. We have to preserve religion and not allow religion to be a tool or a means of solving political problems. We have to avoid the politicization of religion.

The second thing we have to oppose is the idea that religion could be the response and answer to our frustrations today. The resurgence of religion in the world is obviously one (but not the only) response that we have been given to the process of secularization that began in the 18th century. Now, we feel like we lack something transcendent and we immediately turn to religion, which is a very good thing. Except that we expect all the people all over the world to follow the same pattern. But in the third world, it's not the same. And it has been said that in Europe we may be the only part that has a very atheistic trend at the moment, while other countries and other people are following another trend which is to focus and to build on religious values.

The third thing that we have to avoid is – especially in conflicts – making religion a kind of definer of communal loyalties. We are witnessing a lot of conflicts in the world in which religions play an important role. But we know that these wars are not waged for religious purposes. These are wars in which religion has become a substitute for an absent identity. When we witness what's happening or what happened in Lebanon, in Yugoslavia, we know that religion has come to replace the lack of citizenship. There they don't ask themselves: "Are you Yugoslavian?" They say: "Are you Christian? Are you Bosnian? Are you a Christian Maronite? Are you a Greek patriot? Are you a Turkish patriot?" Religion is a particular identity. It is the identity of the self when it comes to what he believes. It is not a political identity considered with regard to pluralism and to living among other people that don't believe in the same religion.

Having said what we don't want to see, we can go very quickly to what we would like to promote through interfaith dialogue. We have three basic needs to address: the need to understand each other. Interfaith dialogue is about understanding the values, the identity,

the rituals, the religion of the others in order to avoid negative stereotyping, misperceptions of the religion and of the other – making us able to enter into discussion in order to know about the identity of the others. We also have to go through interfaith dialogue in order to cooperate on the very material and worldly issues. On social issues, competing poverty, sustainable development, human rights... We have to go through interfaith dialogue in order to build up a shared vision and values that we can have for the world of tomorrow.

Surendra Munshi: Thank you indeed. What we have heard from Joseph Maïla are two points that need to be kept in mind: politicization of religion and the manner in which religion can be a positive force. The manner in which religion can be a positive force is something that we have heard from all the speakers so far. Let's keep this in mind. Now it's my pleasure to invite Doctor Hasan Abu Nimah to speak.

Hasan Abu Nimah: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Listening to the distinguished speakers, I was hoping to find some answers to the many questions I have. I was involved with interfaith dialogues for five years; I attended hundreds of meetings and conferences. These were attended by Muslim, Jewish, Christian leaders who were always very understanding, who conducted themselves very well in the conversations and expressed the best sentiments imaginable in such meetings. But what did they achieve? And the answer is: very little. I cannot come to you with a convincing report that this amount of interfaith dialogue in which I was involved, the many conferences and symposia, have succeeded in improving the situation in our region.

Is religion the problem or the solution? Do we understand our religions? I'm not talking about us as simple individuals. Even when you attend a discussion between highly qualified scholars and clergymen you can see a great deal of difference regardless of whether it is amongst Muslims or amongst other religions. Among Muslims themselves you would see a lot of discord, a lot of disagreement on the meaning of religion and the mission and the message of religion. Are we sincere in our conversations? We meet and we show the best of intentions and emotions. We agree that the values of our religions are similar, that it's always a message of peace and understanding. We come up with great prescriptions for our future relationships, for controlling and resolving our political difficulties and differences through the means of being loyal to our faiths and beliefs. But

still, when we face the reality we find a totally different reality. Is emphasizing principles enough? Now, the answer is no. It's not been enough, so far. Do we strictly abide by the recommendations and the proposals we come up with when we meet for a day or two or three days and we reach complete understanding on many issues? The answer again is no.

I will tell you something about my own experience in this field. I was raised in a small village near Jerusalem. During my childhood I learned as much about Judaism and Christianity as I did about Islam. In our tradition in that part of the world we used to attend all celebrations of other religions. I was dragged around by my mother for Moses Day or for Christmas. The day before yesterday we were walking around Prague and the young lady who was showing me around explained Easter eggs to me. I told her we have Easter eggs in our house. She was a bit confused that as a Muslim I do that. We share the traditions of other religions. We share the traditions of the Jews and the Christians as we did in former days in Palestine. Religion at that point was truly a unifying factor.

Now, why did religion become divisive? Why did religion become a tool of violence? The simple answer is politics. Many people don't agree with me. Was it politics that spoiled religion or was it religion that spoiled politics? I would say it goes both ways and I would say in the absence of resolving our serious political problems it is very difficult for any amount of sincere and meaningful dialogue to overcome the serious problems created by politics. At the moment, Jordan has a very full-fledged peace treaty with Israel which was signed in 1994. It created normal relations between the two countries, but would I be honest if I said to you that it is really normal? No.

Now, we were hoping at one point that a blend of political treatment and religious treatment would work fine but the balance has not always been right. Sometimes politics takes over religion. Thank you.

Surendra Munshi: Thank you indeed. I would like to highlight the politicization of religion. It relates to the point which was made earlier as well. I think we need to have a focused discussion in the second round on this. With this, may I quickly come to Professor Grace Davie, the last speaker on the panel, but certainly not the least important. Professor Davie, we are privileged to have you here.

Grace Davie: What I want to be is very pragmatic, very grassroots, and very British, but in doing so I'm probably speaking of the situ-

ation in West Europe. What I want to point out in West Europe is that two rather contradictory things are happening at the same time. On the one hand, we see a marked and continuing secularization. Saying that a rather shorthand God is back does not capture the situation at all. We are becoming increasingly secular and this has a marked effect on religious knowledge and it's this question of religious literacy that worries me most. Juxtaposed with that is that religion is now back in public debate, all over the world, but in Europe for particular reasons. The main reason is immigration. This immigration was not caused by religion nor did it come about for religious reasons. There are a few exceptions to that statement but largely it is an economic shift. European societies were looking for new sources of labor from their former colonies and we now have substantial religious minorities, notably Islamic, which challenge European norms. The problem is that we meet this challenge on the basis of ignorance. There's one thing that depresses me markedly in my own situation which is the quality of public debate about religion, even if you look at responsible arguments in good newspapers. We are now exposed in almost all our journalism to the phenomenon of blogs and responses to articles. If you look at the responses, say, to a good piece in *"The Guardian"*, it is deeply, deeply depressing. It is nothing but mutual contempt and a slanging match. There is very, very little informed comment at the grassroots level in Britain or, I believe in Europe either.

What can be done? What is the role of the state in this process? What is the role of religious institutions? A very clear role of the state is to improve the quality of religious education and by this I don't mean any form of indoctrination or confessional teaching. I mean simply that an educated person is able to speak in an informed and articulate way about religion. If that were so, we would better counteract religious stereotypes and the distortions that we hear about every single world faith. We would also be able to counteract the distortions of what I call fundamentalist secularists, which are equally unhelpful. What we need is an informed, good-tempered debate about religion. I think in a modest way we can achieve quite a lot. It is not helpful when there is a culture, particularly amongst academics in Europe, that to be religiously ignorant is somehow valued rather than challenged.

All sorts of questions of course follow from this. We have to remember that out of this European situation came the origins of social science and the philosophies that underpin this. These are deeply secular and are now very much exposed as they have to come to terms with a very changed religious situation both in Europe and in the rest of the world. My own discipline is found wanting. As a teacher I find this deeply challenging. I teach bright, intelligent students who are very well-intentioned and want to be better citizens. However, I am dismayed when I have to come to terms with their religious ignorance. They want to take a course in Sociology of Religion but we have to mutually work extremely hard to get them to be able to play a part in public debate. That is my challenge as a teacher and I believe it belongs to all of us. Thank you.

Surendra Munshi: Professor Davie, thank you for bringing in the challenge for teaching from the perspective of a teacher when you are handling bright students.

I would suggest that we take up the issue of politicization of religion as a key issue and I would request each panelist to comment in the light of what he or she has heard from the other panelists.

Michael Melchior: I would like to agree, but for the sake of debate I think I will disagree with what Professor Maïla said. You cannot say that we need a total separation of religion and state. Ideally it may be a good thing. But religion has to be involved with human rights and social justice and so on and what is politics exactly? Is it not human rights and social justice and environment and peace? Is that not politics? What we need to realize today is that in the real world there is no differentiation. We need to deal together in the seam between religions to create those ideals and values which we can strengthen and reinforce in order that religion becomes that positive and redeeming force that we're talking about.

One more word on the interfaith dialogue which everybody here's talked very nicely about: it's a bluff. It doesn't exist. It exists in a few rooms around the world where the same people come together. I stopped going to those ten years ago when I saw that they have no influence whatsoever on any of our communities and on any of our societies. There is no point whatsoever unless the dialogue becomes a dialogue of communities on education, identity and so on, which it doesn't. It's a bunch of either ignorant leaders – because leaders or elected leaders don't necessarily have any knowledge – or of people who play the game like actors coming together saying good things and then going back to hating and killing each other.

What they're saying is that we all serve the same God, you in your way and I in mine. That is more or less what I learned from these conferences. I think we need to take away this bluff. It's a bluff; it doesn't influence the real world.

José Casanova: I have to admit I don't know what is pure politics without religion and what is pure religion without politics. The question is not a problem of politicization of religion but of which kind of politics, which kind of religion? We cannot avoid the politicization of religion. The question is: what kind of politics are we going to have and what kind of religions are we going to have? It is not talking about politics as this thing and religion the other.

I mentioned the religious wars because if we were to call them the wars of state formation, or of nation building – because that's what they were – then perhaps we would not attribute the problems to religion. Western Europeans exported the model to the rest of the world and whenever national states were established, we had this ethno-religious cleansing. It happened when the Ottoman Empire dissolved; it happened when the British Empire dissolved. Now, was religion the problem? Before the nation state emerged those religions were able to live together. It was the emergence of the modern nation state everywhere, – in Israel as well – that has produced all of these problems that are attributed to the politicization of religion.

It's a very complex structure, very complex processes, and to attribute it to religion as a thing separate from others is problematic. I'm not saying that religion is not the problem, is not the solution. It's one of the things which is mixed up with every other thing in the world.

Joseph Maïla: So I have to defend myself and maybe put forward the point that I come from France and defend the secular point of view. First of all, I would like to agree with Michael Melchior when he says that we have to separate the state and religion. You can envisage that in a very constitutional way. You cannot separate religion and politics when it comes down to it because in day-to-day life things are intertwined. I agree with you on that.

Politicizing religion is when you approach a worldly fact, a political issue, by putting it in terms of religious issues and religious stakes. Then you make it impossible to find solutions and compromises to these problems. Religion is not about compromise. You cannot compromise on your beliefs, on your ideas, on your conviction.

When you give a religious answer to a political issue; yes, you are politicizing religion.

The second point was about interfaith dialogue. Of course interfaith dialogue is very limited. It has to do with religious leaders. When I spoke about interfaith dialogue I was speaking about religious leaders taking responsibility, discussing and trying to diffuse violence in the world and seeing and stating that religion cannot be used as a means and a tool of violence. Mr. Melchior, this is their responsibility. Speaking on behalf of the French state of course I don't want, as a secular person, as a responsible politician or as a civil servant enter into a religious dialogue. It is not my problem. It is the problem of the world's religious leaders. They have to share the burden of diffusing the violence by saying that they're not part of this violence that is claimed to be in the name of God. Thank you.

Surendra Munshi: Do I understand you right that you're making a distinction between religion and society on one hand and of scoring political points with the help of religion?

Joseph Maïla: Yes.

Surendra Munshi: Doctor Nimah, what do you have to say on this?

Hasan Abu Nimah: I agree that it may be possible to separate the state from religion but practically, in a democracy, it depends on how people feel. If we are talking about religious communities, it's hard to separate religion from politics within the same individual, who is part of a community. If I'm a religious person and I also have political sentiments, you cannot tell me to be either religious or political. I have to be both and it is my privilege in a democracy to mix my religious sentiment with my political affiliations. This is what's happening now in many countries in the world. In our region there is a very strong rising tide of religiousness and religious parties are becoming very strong. Their political influence is proportionally strong as well. We have the Turkish model where a moderate religious party in a secular state is shaping up the politics of the country quite positively, quite wisely, but still within a well-calculated blend of religion and politics.

It's not a question of whether we like it or not. The inevitability of the democratic practice dictates a situation which we probably cannot control. One day we will have states which are overwhelmingly re-

ligious or overwhelmingly secular. It depends on the situation, on the factors which create this kind of composition. Thank you.

Surendra Munshi: Thank you. I think we have now reached in my eyes a very exciting point of discussion, namely the need to mix political sentiment with religious faith in a democratic context and the necessity of it on the one hand. On the other hand, the point has been made: can religion be turned into a political instrument? I think this is a point which needs to be discussed. Religion as a political instrument is one thing. Having as a devout religious person a civic political role on the one hand and religious faith on the other hand can be another thing. Does democracy dictate it? Democracy must also entertain the demands of a plural society. Professor Davie, what do you have to say on this?

Grace Davie: We face this issue in a specific or particular historical context. We each have to deal with these problems in the place where we live. We cannot unpick our history and wish it were different. Across the Channel – I've worked in France quite a bit – the normal way of thinking and working in France is recourse to the principle of *laicité* which I admire and respect but it is French. In Britain, we do it differently. We look for a solution to a problem. Principles are usually not part of our debate. I will be honest: I used to think that the British way was better than the French. I now think that that there are good and bad versions of both. Some principles can be excluding and exclusive and rigid. Some can be very positive if properly applied. In Britain, if you are simply finding a solution to a problem on a pragmatic basis, you can have a situation where, simply, the strongest win and the loudest shout louder.

Because of the influence of Europe, we are now in Britain moving towards a human rights debate. One of the things that dismays me in this debate in my country is a crude and rather simplistic debate about competing human rights. I stand very firmly for the rights of gay and bisexual people and for gender. But they should not necessarily compete with the rights of those who take their religion seriously. To balance those two very strongly held principles, ideas and ways of life is not easy. To pretend it is easy is to start on the wrong track.

Surendra Munshi: Thank you indeed. I would make a suggestion here: that we focus on the point of making religion an instrument of

politics on one hand, and religion as a democratic right on the other. These two points have been most forcefully represented by two people sitting at opposite ends of the spectrum, Professor Maïla on the one hand and Doctor Nimah on the other. I would be very happy to hear the views of other panelists on this.

My second comment is that we need not necessarily confine ourselves to Britain versus France. We need not confine ourselves to Europe; the world exists beyond Britain and France and the world exists beyond Europe. With these few comments I would now invite Mr. Melchior.

Michael Melchior: First of all, hatred in religion is not only a question of politicizing. In our tradition, Cain killed his brother Abel because, although there were only these two people around, they couldn't agree on where the temple should be. I use it as a code.

I wanted to say to Doctor Nimah that I agree that Europe has to start learning that there are models outside Europe. Although we in Israel have a little problem with Turkey these days, the Turkish model is very interesting and very important. It shows that you can have a secular state, a secular constitution, a very strong religious party and religious influence in many areas and how that functions. I think it's something that many need to learn about.

The last point I want to make is to Professor Maïla again. I disagree totally, and now I'm talking as somebody religious, with what you said that religion cannot be about compromise. It's true that there is a totalitarian element and we don't compromise on God, but when conflicting values come up against each other, compromise is the essence. When pluralism is the essence of religion then we can build something together which creates totally new and necessary ideas. Therefore, please don't take as your assumption that religion cannot be about compromise because then we are really playing into the hands of the totalitarian utopian maniacs. Thank you.

José Casanova: Three brief points: freedom of religion, religious compromise and non-religious xenophobia. First, freedom of religion is the key principle of democracy. Of the two principles of secularism; no establishment and free exercise of religion, it is free exercise which is really the necessary condition. You can't have secular states without freedom of religion; they would not be democratic states. You can have established states in Europe. Every branch of Christianity is established in European democracies: Lutheranism in all

the Scandinavian countries, the Church of England in England, the Church of Scotland, the Orthodox Church in Greece. We still have establishments all over the place but only as long as we have freedom of religion. This is the real issue. However, freedom of religion means very different things around the world. If Americans were to try to push for their individualist freedom of religion, it would not work in India; it would not work in many other places. We have to understand that even the principle of freedom of religion means very different things in different places.

Religious compromise. France and Germany and Spain… eight years at war which had nothing to do with religion. It was Christian Democrats on both sides, French and German, who were the leaders of a reconciliation that made the European Union possible and got rid of the nationalist wars that had been fought in Europe for centuries and had nothing to do with religion.

On xenophobia. I see a lot of xenophobia in Europe, whether it is against Roma people, whether it is xenophobic parties in Denmark, in Holland and so on. These barely have anything to do with religion. My point is that religion is neither the problem nor the solution. Let's look at the problems, find out exactly why those problems are there and have a solution depending on this.

Joseph Maïla: First, yes, pluralism is fundamental, it is essential. Yes, human rights are very important and all of us share a belief in human rights. When it comes to religion, human rights are the right to believe and not to believe. We agree on that.

Doctor Davie, I totally agree with the point that you made on education. The French philosopher Régis Debray has published a study on young French people who are unable to understand paintings in the Louvre because they don't have the keys, the clues, the register and all that information about the Virgin Mary or Jesus and the Saints.

Mr. Melchior, when it comes to interfaith dialogue, maybe I've not made myself very clear about that. You cannot compromise on theological issues. When it comes to interfaith it is not about theology. Interfaith is never about theology. It's not discussing theology; it is discussing social and ethical issues from a religious point of view. That's the experience I've gone through. Maybe if I were a cleric and discussed with Anglicans or with Protestants, or all of us being Catholics we might bridge the gap. But are you going to compromise on Moses? Am I going to compromise on Jesus? Is someone else going to compromise on the prophecy of Mohamed being

a prophet? I mean these are inner, deeper feelings that we have to keep for ourselves! I hate to speak about myself, but although I was a former president of the Catholic University of Paris, I still believe in what I believe and I must stick to laicité.

The third point and very quickly: I don't agree with the idea that the English system is better. I think the French system is better. I'll tell you why, Dr. Davie. We in France hate to see any signal that we are shifting towards a communitarian model. You put it the right way. This is the heritage of the French revolution. We are sticking to that because it's history, because it's a principle stemming from the specific history of France.

Hasan Abu Nimah: My first comment is about compromise. Yes, compromise should certainly be possible. Otherwise what's the point of getting together? To try to find the common ground on which we agree to deal with our differences and problems. From my short experience in this field, it is easier to conduct interfaith dialogue amongst scholars of religious affiliations than amongst the clergy. The clergy has a duty to protect their texts and their religion, not to compromise on them. This is an observation.

The next point is: Do we understand our religions? When we talk about religion, are we talking about a defined entity? The answer is definitely: No! If you had two or three Muslims sitting on this panel they would not agree on what it means to be a Muslim or what the message of Islam is. I don't know if this applies to other religions. It probably does.

The third point, very quickly, is democracy and religion. If we are talking about the abstract form of democracy, then each individual should be given the right to think the way he wants and to adopt whatever belief he wants. If we come to a point where the majority of any society in any country is religious then they should have the right to run the country accordingly. In many countries around the world, religious parties are banned. Is that democratic or not? I don't know. I mean I'm not a religious person, with all due respect, but I don't think we should undermine or underestimate the feelings of people who are religious, regardless of how much we agree or disagree with them.

Grace Davie: My last comment will be a quick contrast between Europe and the United States. Europe constructs the Enlightenment as a freedom from belief which is a generalization, but which is,

broadly speaking, true whereas in the United States, the Enlightenment is seen much more as a freedom to believe. That gives an entirely different spin.

What I would like to say about the part of the world in which I live is that we should have freedom to take religion seriously and those who are serious about their religion should be given a space in our democratic societies. If not, they are not democracies. We know from the opinion polls that José Casanova mentioned that if you look at evidence of tolerance and intolerance, church-going active Christians are more tolerant of immigrants and people of other faiths and other cultures than nominal believers. And it is the latter nominal believers who tend to merge their religious sentiment with national identity and see the incomer as a threat, whereas the believing Christian and the active Christian see Muslims as fellow believers. Thank you.

Surendra Munshi: As the moderator I had the option to make a proposal, namely, rather than politicization of religion, I had the option of proposing that we take up the issue of particularism and universalism. Then I thought quickly and I decided to raise the issue of politicization of religion for the following reason. You will agree with me that the deliberation of a practical problem called politicization of religion has thrown up a deeper philosophical or deeply religious issue, if you like, namely particularism and universalism. Now, if I had asked them to talk about particularism and universalism you would perhaps not feel as convinced as you maybe feel now that unless we address the problem of particularism and universalism, we cannot handle the issue of religion and there is a good deal that needs to be done in that respect.

This was something which I said sincerely when I told Rabbi Melchior that his words were music to my ears when he reported on the Windsor Conference. My own belief is that unless we sit down together and discover that we can create together, unless we do that, we will only be repeating our conservative or fundamentalist or whatever statements and there cannot be a dialogue between deaf people. We need to open our ears, listen to each other and thereby create something together.

A point that came up again and again: do we understand our own religion? I think the second question is: do we understand other people's religion? And if we neither understand our religion nor other people's religion, could it be possible for other people to hold

a mirror to us, help us to see them and ourselves? Could it be? And perhaps if we did believe in that possibility, perhaps there is still some hope for us. With these comments, ladies and gentleman, join me please in a thank you to our panelists for the intellectual feast that they have provided us.

Juhani Pallasmaa

Territory and Religion

12th October, Žofín Palace, Conference Hall

Keynote Speech:
David Rosen, Chief Rabbi, International Director of Interreligious Affairs, American Jewish Committee, Israel

Moderator:
Vartan Gregorian, President, Carnegie Corporation of New York, USA

Participants:
Satish Kumar, Editor, Resurgence Magazine, United Kingdom/India
Fyodor Lukyanov, Editor-in-Chief, Russia in Global Affairs, Russia
Hasan Abu Nimah, Director, Regional Human Security Center, Jordan

Vartan Gregorian: This session is dedicated to territory and religion. We are fortunate to have assembled a distinguished and diverse panel to discuss this important and timely issue.

The keynote speaker is Rabbi David Rosen, who, as I learned yesterday, fought against apartheid in South Africa and was expelled from that country. Thank God for Ireland, where he went on to serve as Chief Rabbi from 1979 to 1985. The public intellectual, active in interfaith dialogue, currently serves as Chief Rabbi and International Director of Interreligious Affairs at the American Jewish Committee in Israel. His contributions have earned him two singular honors from two different, opposing forces in the past: the Pope and the Queen of England.

Shirin Ebadi told me last night that she is unable to come, which is most unfortunate since I have a few nice things to say about her. I might as well say them now because I will not have an opportunity to say them later. Shirin Ebadi, in my opinion, is one of the most courageous, indefatigable lawyers, known for her intellectual integrity and dedication to the cause of justice and democracy in Iran. She is a champion of women, children, men and the elderly, but also of Muslims and non-Muslims alike, and all those who have no voice in a democracy or any other sovereignty. She is the conscience of contemporary Iran. For her heroic efforts and hard work she was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. She is the first Iranian and Muslim to receive such an award. Born in Iran myself, I respect and admire her very much indeed.

Satish Kumar is, to use a much-abused adjective, a unique individual. He is the author of five books, a Jain monk, and a wonderful educator dedicated to the causes of ecology, spiritual values, international peace and nuclear disarmament. For the past thirty years, he has been editing "Resurgence" magazine in the United Kingdom and India.

Fyodor Lukyanov is one of the most respected, learned and cultured journalists in Russia. He is a graduate of Moscow's State University, with a degree in German philology; Mr. Lukyanov has been involved, since the 1990s, in the broadcasting and newspaper industries. Today he is the Editor-in-Chief of *"Russia in Global Affairs"*, an influential and highly respected journal.

Last, but not least, Hasan Abu Nimah, Director of the Regional Human Security Center in Jordan, is a noted diplomat and public servant. For five years, he served as the Jordanian Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the United Nations and subsequently

served another five years as Director of the Royal Institute of Jordan in Interfaith Studies. He was a member of the Jordanian delegation to the peace talks between Jordan and Israel in 1993 and 1994.

Yesterday, the philosopher Roger Scruton gave a wonderful and provocative talk during which he discussed the development and emergence of the modern nation state in Europe and its historical importance. I would like to remind all of us that the vexing issues of territory and religion, political sovereignty and its relationship with religion were issues that divided Europe during the sixteenth century reformation movement, the Counter Reformation, and resulted in protracted wars which ended with the signing of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. It marked the end of the Thirty Years War between Protestants and Catholics. The treaty also marked the formal end of the Holy Roman Empire, which was neither holy, nor Roman, nor an empire as a political entity, and gave rise to the modern European secular states.

The treaty reinforced and reconfirmed the basic tendency of the 1555 Peace of Augsburg, *cuius regio, eius religio*, by which the ruler of the region could freely decide the religion of the people within that region. This was something practiced by the British in India at Partition: maharajas were able to decide where to go and where not to go. So it is not a defunct practice but a modern one.

The Treaty of Westphalia also guaranteed the freedom of other Protestant groups, including Calvinists, but not all of them: Anabaptists were still persecuted. The Catholic Church condemned the treaty. Notwithstanding that condemnation, the Treaty remained the cornerstone of European political relations until, of course, the French Revolution, Napoleonic Wars, and the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Subsequently, a major development was the Crimean War. Other developments occurred, such as the unification of German states under Bismarck and the emergence of a united Italy in the 1870s.

Last but not least was the Congress of Berlin in 1878, which rearranged the entire map of Europe. Then came World War One and the Treaty of Versailles which again changed the entire map of Europe by creating new states while not always looking for ethnic consistency or territorial integrity.

Events that were unleashed by Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points of self-determination are still with us. Years ago, I went to visit the Kurdish National Office in Paris. There were two portraits there: one of Woodrow Wilson, the other of Joseph Stalin. Woodrow Wilson drew up under the Treaty of Sèvres the great map of future Kurdistan

and Joseph Stalin created the autonomous Republic of Mahabad in Iran for at least one year. They were heroes of the Kurds, the two who created actual Kurdistan.

Last, but not least, I wanted to mention nationalism, socialism, communism, fascism, political and advocated territorial adjustments sometimes use religion as a weapon, sometimes as part of nationalism. Today, religion is still very important in some states. The first state to be created on the basis of religion since the Treaty of Augsburg was Pakistan. Only one other Muslim country in 1948 voted against the admission of Pakistan to the United Nations: Afghanistan. Afghans thought Britain had betrayed them by creating Pakistan around religion rather than ethnicity. If they had used ethnicity, all Pashtuns would be together. Even today, Afghans pursue the idea of Pashtunistan: to carve up Pakistan and form a greater Afghanistan. Then the Soviet invasion trumped Afghan ethnic nationalism with religion and undermined the appeal of ethnicity by putting religion first. Hence we have the Taliban, 99% of whom are Pashtuns.

I wanted just to set the context of this complicated and exciting issue. We have until 10:45, and I would like to introduce our distinguished speaker, Rabbi David Rosen.

David Rosen: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, it is a great honor for me to be part of this very distinguished panel and in particular to be together with my friend and colleague, Ambassador Abu Nimah with whom I have worked in Religions for Peace and the World Conference of Religions for Peace, of which I am privileged to be a co-president.

As I am already referring immodestly to my curriculum vitae, allow me to clarify something of a confusion that was born out of necessity to try to encapsulate too many titles for my own good. Chief Rabbi comes from my Irish background that the Chairman has already kindly referred to. My employer is the American Jewish Committee, and I am charged with all its interfaith work around the world. My base is in Jerusalem, where I also serve as the advisor to the Chief Rabbinate of Israel purely on interfaith matters. I hope that clarifies something of the confusion in my title.

Why have I been given the honor of giving the keynote presentation? As the Chairman expressed in his kind introduction, I have served in contexts where there has been an intricate and sometimes inextricable and problematic connection between religion and territory. I first served in South Africa, and then in Ireland, and now in Jerusalem. Generally speaking, places have improved when I have left, and there is now a concerted attempt to get me out of Jerusalem.

I have some random thoughts that I would like to share with you. Some of them will not be on territory because today we use the word territory in a very flexible manner. It has become part of a jargon that goes way beyond its literal geographic meaning. Territory is often used in terms of *Lebensraum*, and even in terms of spaces that may be a simple question of visibility. Perhaps the most dramatic example in recent times where such concepts of territory and religion intermingle has been the Swiss controversy over the building of minarets. There you see a question of where territory, in terms of space of religion, becomes problematic within the context of an increasingly diverse society.

It raises broader questions. Questions of the multicultural challenge for western societies as western societies essentially, for economic and democratic reasons, attract populations from different civilizations, from different cultural and political experiences. It also raises the whole question of the tension between individual rights and collective identities, or religious cultures, which I will come to say a little bit more about. And the question: to what degree must "old" societies accommodate "new" cultures? Also, to what degree must the former be respected as having some prior claim? This is not only within western society. A classic example would be the entry of Christianity into India as a society. Many issues are raised today and in recent times we have seen significant violence born precisely out of the perception of religious incursion into territory. To what extent must that territorial claim be forfeited within our global village?

It seems to me that the question of what we want our world to be, for those of us who live totally or partially within modern western European, or a satellite of, European society, inevitably requires some kind of social contract that can facilitate the interaction between those claiming territorial space within the broader social and cultural context, and this may need to be continually renegotiated. It seems to me that this implies that Europe has to forfeit its arguably predominant Rousseau model for the American Madisonian paradigm where we seek to guarantee checks and balances so that nobody can assume too much power to crack the whip over any other group at any given time.

This of course relates to a deeper question, the question of the notion of territories, cultural identity, or, if you like, psychological territory. If I may take you back some forty years to the popular works

based upon social scientific writings from people like Alvin Toffler, who in *"Future Shock"* spoke about the whole question of the deracination of modern societies. You may also recall the thesis of Robert Ardrey and his popular writings, in particular *"The Territorial Imperative"*, which suggests that there are three essential needs: the need for security, stimulation, and identity. He points out that where there is an absence of security, you often have an automatic stimulation that leads to identity. In other words, societies that are struggling for their own self-determination are not made up of people who question their identity. The very challenge itself serves as stimulation for the promotion of identity. This way he and, similarly, Toffler with regards to deracination, explained the phenomenon of drug culture, increasing violent and sexual abuse and the proliferation of cults within seemingly advanced societies as a reflection of the need of the secure and bored to look for some form of stimulation that would provide them with a sense of identity. This raises the question of whether those who live in secure territories, and that speaks to the psyche of Europe at large and perhaps to western society generally, have the capacity to effectively negotiate a social contract because those who enter in and make new demands on the territorial space often have a much stronger sense of their identity.

This suggests that there is a need for greater religious engagement in these territories. Despite the fact that Christianity is on the retreat, I would argue that Christianity has a very critical role to play within European society. Although I do not share his world view on all matters, I agree with Pope Benedict that Christianity has a critical role to play as a central factor in the negotiation of that social contract with those seeking to find space for their respective identities within the European context. If it is purely negotiated from a secular foundation, it is at a disadvantage. Therefore there needs to be an effective dialogue in terms of the role of territorial space for different cultural communities, especially as new communities come in with strong religious identities. There needs to be "effective negotiation" between the religious communities and that which represents the traditional identities within those societies.

This then leads on to the major issue which both the Chairman has touched on and the formulators of this panel were referring to, and that is whereas until now I have been speaking of the "territorialization" of religion, the most challenging question is the "religionization" of territory. The idea of territory having a particular religious identity is nothing new. Religious identities in the pagan world connected to particular geographical confines. The biblical model sees territory as a context. In fact, the biblical vision is of living up to divine ideals within the secure context that provides for a collective paradigm: the concept of Covenant as it appears within the Bible. This concept takes place within a universal vision of one divine source behind the cosmos: Father of the universe, and of all humanity being created in the divine image, and therefore as one extensive family. This concept does not see any contradiction between this universalism and particularity. On the contrary, it actually sees the universal vision as emerging out of the particularities of identity.

Now I finally come to the real question: is religion the problem or the solution in this context? Does "religionization" of territory tend to be the source of conflicts and violence in the world? A more serious examination of "religious" conflicts in the world reveals that they are, in the vast majority of cases, territorial. Territory is relevant, whether we are talking about Kashmir between Hindus and Muslims, or Sri Lanka between Buddhists and Muslims, or Nigeria between Muslims and Christians, or Northern Ireland between Protestants and Catholics, or in the Middle East. All these conflicts, which have all too often been portrayed as religious in essence, are fundamentally territorial.

Allow me to point out that in 1967, when the war took place between Israel and its neighbors, the key protagonists, President Gamal Abdel Nasser in Egypt or Moshe Dayan and Levi Eshkol, the Minister of Defense and Prime Minister of Israel, were all professed atheists. They were not going to war over theology; this was essentially a territorial conflict.

In all these contexts where there is a territorial conflict, religion is not irrelevant. It is often highly problematic because we have people in tension over territorial issues who also have different identities. It is the question between territory and identity that is at the very core of this issue. These identities are rooted in religious cultures, and religion seeks to give meaning to who we are, and therefore is inextricably bound-up with those identities, and therefore religion all too easily becomes part of that context for better or for worse. It is typical of people to nurture identities under threat by recourse to their spiritual foundations. Therefore religion will be used both for self-justification and for demonization of the other. In such contexts, religion becomes part of the problem rather than part of the solution.

In the eleventh century, the great Spanish Jewish poet and philosopher by the name of Jehuda Ha-Levi in a sense personified the best and the worst of relations in Andalusia. He personally experi-

enced the ups and downs of Muslim-Christian-Jewish relations. Perhaps inspired by more difficult times, he wrote a book. It is a fascinating book based on the conversion of the people of the Khazars to Judaism. This eleventh-century book is subtitled *"An Apology for a Despised People"*. That will tell you where he was coming from. It is essentially a discussion with the King of the Khazars, who is looking for the best religion for him and his people to follow. Jehuda Ha-Levi rather unfairly disposes of Christianity and Islam within the first two pages. The rest of the book is a dialogue between the King and the rabbi. There is one occasion where the rabbi is stumped, and that is when the rabbi says: "You know, we Jews, we are not like the Christians and the Muslims. Christians preach love, but look how they hate one another, and they persecute one another. Muslims preach justice, but look how they oppress one another and subjugate one another. We Jews, we do not do that sort of thing." "No," says the king, "of course you do not do that sort of thing. You do not have the power to do that sort of thing. They have the power."

This is a very important comment in Jehuda Ha-Levi's book because it is a very fundamental critique of the relationship between religion and power. It is fair to say that where religion represents power structures, it tends to be part of the problem rather than the solution.

John Paul the Second said that violence in the name of religion is not religion. Many of us would agree with that. Nevertheless, there are still others in the world who do not. There are plenty of others who think violence is a legitimate tool for the promotion of religious interests. As I say, part of the problem emerges from the components of identity.

If you will excuse me dumbing down the level of discourse, John Lennon in his song *"Imagine"* suggests eliminating identities. You will remember: "Imagine there's no countries. It isn't hard to do. Nothing to kill or die for, and no religion too."

While the sentiment of looking for a world of universal commonality is of course extremely laudable, it is facile and disingenuous, because the components of identity are the building blocks of our psycho-spiritual wellbeing. Ignoring them is counterproductive. As ethologists have pointed out, where people lack that kind of security, and where they lack roots, they search for other forms to compensate for that vacuum. Only a universalism that comes out of our particularities is really sustainable and durable. Therefore the real challenge for religion in relation to territorial identities is how to advance that sense of universal solidarity that comes out of our own particularities.

This tends to be easier where religion is not the power structure. From my experience in South Africa and Ireland, in both cases religion was part of the problem. In South Africa it was used to justify the most iniquitous of systems, and in Ireland to keep people separate from one another. Once the power structure changed, then the role of religion was very critical in terms of being a force of healing, of facilitating communities coming together, building a sense of commonality and universalism beyond that territorial divide.

I would like to conclude by saying that, whereas in the Middle East generally, religion has the problematic character of being linked to political power structures, this does not mean that it is irrelevant to any attempts to bring about a resolution to the conflict.

On the contrary, because it represents the identities of the people involved and is often abused, it is all the more important to engage it. There has been a tendency for politicians to assume that because religion is abused, the best thing to do is to ignore it. That is a boomerang. Like nature abhorring a vacuum, if you clear the table, all you are doing is inviting the more negative elements to occupy it. If we do not want extremists essentially to hijack the social fabric, then it is necessary to engage those moderate voices.

To summarize the question: "Is religion the problem or the solution?" The answer is: "Yes." Or to be a little more precise: "Yes, it is both." To be even more precise: "Yes, it is part of both." If we do not want religion to be part of the problem, the essential challenge for us and a challenge for the politicians if they can live up to it, is to ensure that it is part and parcel of the solution. Thank you.

Vartan Gregorian: Mr. Abu Nimah, please.

Hasan Abu Nimah: Thank you very much. I assume the discussion should focus on our (Middle East) territory because it is a territory of the highest and intensifying tension which is spreading to other parts of the world. Is religion the solution or the problem? The answer is both. Religion as an abstract entity is not the issue. The issue is how we react, how we manipulate our religions. We either make it a problem or a solution. So far, it is unfortunately more of a problem than a solution.

Talking about how our territory was religionized, I would simply say that following the second war in Iraq in 2003, Iraq is divided along religious and sectarian lines. That is difficult with the rising trend of religiousness throughout the region. When I say religious-

ness, I say it with some reservation because it is increasing religiousness, but it is not religion. It is a blend of identity under the mantel of religion because there is a very direct split with practice – people practice their religious duties, but they do not cling to the practice with the ethical values or patterns of behavior that should be required.

We see in Iraq two large political groups competing for power. The last elections, almost six months ago, could not settle the struggle for power, which is mainly between the Sunnis and the Shiites. The Shiites are the majority, but the Sunnis are also significant as a political entity within the country. The dispute over who is going to form the new government in Iraq following the latest elections is still going on with no solution in sight. That situation has brought Iraq closer to Iran.

Talking about religionization, if you look at the political spectrum in the region, we see the influence of religion clearly determining the political and religious dynamics. Iran is gaining great influence in Iraq and will probably determine the final winner in that political war. Iran is also aligning itself with Syria. Syria is a predominantly Sunni country but is politically closer to Iran. The line moves into Lebanon, with Hezbollah, a wholly Shiite organization, but with a political and military agenda. So we see those who are often referred to as the extremists, extending from Iran, Iraq, Syria, Hezbollah in Lebanon and Hamas in Gaza. This group is primarily of religious identity but religion combined with politics and militarism.

We also see those referred to as the moderates, mainly Sunnis, and this covers the entire area of the Gulf States, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan, and other Arab states in North Africa.

This division is definitely of a religious nature. Dragging religion into this region´s political mess is a phenomenon which is recently on the rise. It is very difficult to talk about the separation of religion and state because the complexity of the situation makes it difficult to identify and separate state and religion.

We are talking about religion, but not about one defined entity of religion or any specific religion. What applies to Islam, where we as Muslims disagree on the definition or the message of religion, might as well apply to other religions.

I have been engaged in interfaith debates for over seven years now. I have attended, hundreds of meetings dealing with this, and if you ask me how much progress we have made this way, I would say it is very difficult to point to anything meaningful. The situation in

our region is not improving. It is deteriorating. The level of violence luckily is not increasing at the moment, but the potential for violence is still there. The situation is not under control.

Dragging religion into the political mess is another phenomenon which is on the rise. We do not see that well-intentioned debate stating that our religions share the same values and messages of peace, tolerance, and understanding is of much help. We can come to this conclusion here, but it does not really sink into the minds of those who see their interests in promoting violence. When wise Muslim leaders talk about Islam as a religion of peace, and that Islam does not in any way condone violence or condone the violation of the sanctity of life of other people, I do not think terrorists would accept that. They probably think that this is the language of the worst dictated to them by Muslims who want to stay within the parameters of western ideologies and thinking.

The situation is not very promising. That does not mean that we should surrender to the dynamics of deteriorating situations. We should continue our discussion. I am sure that one day we will be able to point to an achievement of the work of good people, such as those assembling at Forum 2000. Thank you very much.

Vartan Gregorian: Mr. Lukyanov.

Fyodor Lukyanov: Thank you very much for the invitation to speak on this panel.

We are witnessing a renaissance of religion and topics related to religion in contemporary world politics. There are two major reasons for that. The first is the vacuum that emerged after the collapse of the bipolar system at the end of the Cold War, and the second is the decline of major ideologies as structural elements of international politics. The twentieth century was different to previous centuries. Way back, after the Treaty of Westphalia, when nation states were created, the relationship between them was mainly defined by political interaction, national values, great power, and so on. In the twentieth century however, big ideologies, first totalitarian ones like communism and Nazism, and then the liberal ideology which seemed to have won with the end of the Cold War, played crucial roles in structuring the international system. By the end of the twentieth century, ideologies, (probably not only because of the end of the Cold War but also as a result of globalization) started to disappear from day-to-day political interaction.

In a way, globalization, which is challenging nation states, takes us back to the pre-nation state world politics with older forms of consciousness such as religion and national feelings, but different to the way in which they were instituted in the nation state era. We see a revival of religious feelings not only in the Muslim world, where it is most obvious, but also among the major powers. In the United States it was especially evident during George Bush's presidency. In Russia, the role of the Orthodox Church is growing. It is quite a visible process and interestingly has two quite ambivalent effects. On one hand, for the first time in centuries, the boundaries of space of the Russian Orthodox Church are broader than the Russian state. Some traditional territories of the Russian Orthodox Church are now independent countries.

The effect is again ambivalent. On the one hand, it fuels some imperial aspirations, to restore states in the borders of faith but it can also play a positive role because it connects people beyond borders. Nationalism, which is flourishing in most post-Soviet countries, can be tackled a bit through common belief. I get the feeling that when the head of the Russian Orthodox Church visits neighboring countries, he is much more skilful than our official diplomats because he understands the sensitivity of the issues. He is not trying to challenge the sovereignty of those states, but to underline their common heritage.

The second reason for a renaissance of religion is everybody's quest for identity in this era of globalization, which is most evident in Europe. On the eve of this decade, when the convention on the European Constitution was formulating the document, we heard very intense debates about whether to include Christian heritage and the Christian legacy as part of the European Constitution, and the final decision was not to do so. It seemed to be the final victory of the secularization of Europe. Since then, the situation has changed tremendously in just a few years because now we see that the rise of the Muslim presence in Europe is provoking unexpected feelings in European nations. Muslims in Europe, which is a further aspect of globalization, shows that no one state can easily incorporate an inflow of people of other cultures or of other religions.

That is a normal process in this situation of globalization. However, populations do not seem ready to accept it. Theoretically yes, but not in practice. This is producing some strange results in European political life. Looking at the results of different elections, the public atmosphere is changing, with two consequences. One is the emergence

of a new form of xenophobia. Not the traditional one, which used to be extremely conservative and which was embodied by people like Jean-Marie Le Pen or Jörg Haider. Now we are seeing the emergence of liberal xenophobia, with new parties seeking to limit Muslim immigration. Their roots are in liberal values and they claim that Europe needs to defend its tolerance and its liberal approach against those from the Muslim world with their Middle-Age ideas and traditions. This is quite a new phenomenon, which can profoundly change the whole political landscape in Europe.

Another consequence is the restoration of religious feelings. I was struck by one particular reaction during the well-known cartoon scandal a couple of years ago. The main position of the Danish government at that time was that this was about the freedom of the press and the government could not intervene. Two bishops from Denmark expressed their discontent saying that it was not good to depict the prophet in cartoons but that when Muslims in other countries burned Danish flags, this was also blasphemy because there is a cross on the Danish flag. I think it was the first time in decades, if not centuries, that a very liberal and very secular Denmark remembered that its flag contained Christian symbols.

Rabbi Rosen was absolutely right to say that Christianity, in this particular situation, should be an important part of the solution. Trying to address this new challenge by traditional liberal means, by saying that it is the right of everybody to say and to depict anything, is problematic and does not produce the outcome we desire. The real interreligious dialogue in Europe is now much more important than it seemed to be quite recently.

My last point is probably the most controversial one. We can discuss it in the debate afterwards. I think there is no more misleading notion in recent political history than the notion of international terrorism. This has distorted the whole picture. When people in the United States and in other countries started to talk about terrorists as international entities, this distracted us from the real roots and causes of a lot of terrorist activities. Not all, but most terrorist organizations still refer not to religion as such, but to particular territories. People fighting as religious fanatics are most frequently trying to achieve the same goals as nationalists and separatists had previously tried to achieve.

Fifty years ago, Arab nationalism was formed as socialist ideas. It was in fact Arab nationalism, but it was convenient to use the Soviet Union as an ally, so the Arabs claimed to be building a socialist society. Now the new form is religion. Trying to address terrorism as

an international problem is very profitable and comfortable for many governments, including the Russian government which is trying to say that Chechnya is not a Russian problem, but rather a problem of international terrorism. This is really misleading in terms of the connection between religion and territory. Thank you.

Vartan Gregorian: And last but not least, a man of peace.

Satish Kumar: Thank you. Religion has two aspects: religious experience and organized institutionalized religions. Religious experience is common to all religions. It is related to love, compassion, service, justice, relationship, respect, and reverence for life. There is no problem there. But when it comes to institutionalized religion, where people claim to have a monopoly on truth, then I am a secularist.

Organized and institutionalized religions should be kept out of territorial claims. The question was raised as to whether religion is part of the problem or part of the solution. My two colleagues on this panel fudged the issue by saying it is both – part of the solution and also part of the problem.

I would say that this is fudging the issue. The institutionalized organized religion associated with power and territory and government is definitely, and has always been, and will always be, part of the problem. Therefore, we must not allow religions to become powerful governments, to claim territories. The meek shall inherit the earth. That was the Christian tradition and teaching. Governments are not meek. Israel is not meek, Iran is not meek, they are not meek countries. They are powerful countries with armed forces and police. Where is the religion there? Organized religion, be it Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist, Christian, Jewish, no religion should be involved in any territorial or governmental claims.

I am very happy that India is a secular country. Just imagine if India claimed to be a Hindu nation. We have one of the biggest Muslim populations in the world. We have a big Christian population. We have Sikhs. A Sikh is the prime minister of India. An Italian Christian woman is the head of the governing party. If they all started to claim religious territories in India, it would be a disaster. So once again: organized, institutionalized religions are part of the problem!

I promote the Jain tradition and I will tell you how I came to this conclusion. When I was twenty five, inspired by Bertrand Russell, who had been jailed for world peace, I said: "Here is a man of ninety going to jail for world peace. What am I doing? A young man sitting

here, drinking coffee, in a café in Bangalore." I decided with a friend of mine to go to Moscow, Paris, London, Washington – to the four nuclear capitals of the world.

I started at the grave of Mahatma Gandhi, walked through India, and when I came to the border of India and Pakistan, I came face to face with territory and religion. I was standing on the border and a very good friend of mine came to say goodbye. He said: "Satish, you want to walk for peace in Pakistan. You have no money, no food, Pakistan is our enemy. We've had three wars between India and Pakistan over Kashmir. Please, at least take some food with you. I brought some packets of food." I looked at these packets of food, and, after a moment's thought, I said to my friend,: "These are not packets of food. They are packets of mistrust. What am I going to say to Pakistani friends and hosts? I don't trust you to feed me, so I have brought my own food all the way from India. Is that the way to make peace?" My friend burst into tears. "Why are you crying?" He said: "Satish, I do not know if you will ever come back. You are without money, without food, walking through Muslim countries, Christian countries, capitalist countries, communist countries. All these territories and all these religions…" "Do not cry." I said: "If I die walking for peace, I am happy to die. If I do not come back, do not worry." And I crossed the border into Pakistan, a new territory, a new religion.

I am not a Muslim. I am a Hindu, a Jain, an Indian, which is my identity. The miracle happened. Within two minutes, I heard somebody calling out my name and my friend's name. "Are you Satish and Menon who are coming to Pakistan for peace?" I was amazed. I said: "We do not know anybody in Pakistan, and you know our names." He said: "I heard there were two Indians coming to Pakistan for peace. So I have come to welcome you."

Five minutes ago my friend was telling me that I was going to an enemy country and now, I was face to face with this enemy. What is my identity? I asked myself that question. If I come here as a Hindu, I meet a Muslim. If I come here as an Indian, I meet a Pakistani. But if I come here as a human being, I meet a human being.

What is my identity? Am I an Indian? Am I a Hindu? Am I a brown man? All these identities are small. They have their place. Keep them in their place. Do not allow them to dominate your politics, your religion or your relationship with the world. Lots of my friends who claim to be Jews and Muslims, and Christians, and Buddhists, and Hindus are fighting for these narrow religious identities. Label yourself a Hindu, a Buddhist, a Jain – you are wrong and I am right.

That is what we see in Israel, in Palestine, in Northern and Southern Ireland, in Sri Lanka, in Kashmir, all over the world.

I urge you to rise, to transcend your narrow identities. I was born in Rajasthan. I was born a Jain, but I was also born a human being. I am a member of the community of the Earth; even the birds in the sky are my family. I denounce and renounce any superiority of religion, or of human beings. Narrow identity will not lead us anywhere.

We have seen centuries and centuries of religious wars. Are we going to continue by thinking that we can be part of a solution? Wishful thinking, my dear friends. We have to rise above institutionalized and organized religious labels, and say: "First of all, we are living beings, we are members of the Earth community."

We are arrogant if we think that we can dominate nature and everything is here to serve us, building factory farms, cutting down rainforests and polluting oceans. That's also part of our identity problem. We are firstly members of the Earth community, then members of the human community, and then I am a member of the Indian community, of a Jain community and of my family community and then I am myself. Our religious leaders and campaigners and all these wonderful people, from Pope to priest all have the same problem. Einstein said that you cannot solve a problem with the same mindset which created the problem. All these religious institutionalized organized narrow identities have created the problems. We cannot solve territorial problems and political problems by sticking to our narrow identities. Rise above them, transcend them, and then we will see peace in the world. Otherwise, there is no hope for humanity and no hope for the earth. Thank you very much.

Vartan Gregorian: Thank you very much. So who has questions?

David Rosen: I have a little comment. Mr. Kumar is very eloquent and very charismatic and very enjoyable to listen to. I pray that his hearing will be as blessed as all his other faculties in due course because there seems to be a certain deficiency there because basically, while he accused me and perhaps others of fudging, he said exactly what I am saying. If he had listened to me carefully, he would have heard me say exactly his point, which is that only universalism can really heal society. A universalism that has come from particularities, which is exactly what he was saying, because he defined these particularities from the smallest to the largest, and therefore, he was totally endorsing and confirming everything I said. So I thank him very much.

Fyodor Lukyanov: I have one short practical question to Mr. Kumar. I imagine that you could enter Pakistan, but could you tell us how you managed to enter the Soviet Union? Without a visa, I suppose?

Satish Kumar: I went to the Soviet Embassy in Teheran and asked for a visa. They refused. I went there the next day they refused. The third day. They refused. For seven days they refused. Then I said to the Chief Secretary: "I am going to walk into the Soviet Union. Please, order your police force to arrest me and put me in jail. I want to be in a Soviet jail because I am inspired by Bertrand Russell." He said: "I have never met anybody like you." He phoned the Indian Ambassador and asked: "Who are these two Indians walking without money? We need money in their pockets." The Indian Ambassador said: "They are Ghandians, they are monks, they do not have money. I cannot do anything." So the Russian Ambassador phoned our Indian Ambassador in Moscow, Mr. T. N. Cole, who knew me and he said: "Please let them come. If there is any problem, we will look after them." So the Russian Embassy, after seven days of refusing, gave me a visa for four months to walk through Russia without money.

Vartan Gregorian: Are there any more questions for the panelists?

Hasan Abu Nimah: Just a short comment. I do agree with everything you said. Of course, if we saw each other as human beings, a lot of the phenomena which separate us would probably disappear. That is true. But the problem is that we do not see each other as human beings.. There is a lot of institutionalization of religion. State and non-state actors have been successfully playing with the minds and spiritual sentiments of people to transform it into power using religion as a tool of violence. Unfortunately.

When I mention the rising tide of religiousness, it is not religion, it is identity. Muslims going to the mosque or Christians or Jews going to churches and to synagogues are in fact emphasizing their identity. The discourse now developing between Muslim communities and the host countries in Europe is another example of this. It is not religion, otherwise people would merge into their new environments and societies in which they live without feeling in contradiction with them. It is about identity. We now see the big debate about the burka. People display Muslim devotion by growing a beard or by wearing Muslim robes. It is a question of identification rather than spiritual religiousness.

I am not an expert on religion. I am not a philosopher. I classify myself as an honest thinker. I think each of us, as groups, as individuals, create our own religion and our own gods. We believe in what we create. Sometimes two Muslims will disagree drastically on what it means to be a Muslim. This applies to other religions. So far, no amount of effort has been able to confront such contradictions with feasible solutions to reach agreement. We talk about crossing the lines between religions, but we also need to cross the lines within the same religions.

Satish Kumar: I believe in freedom of religion and religious practice. Wherever you are, practice your religion. I honor people who feel their identity is related to a particular tradition. I have no problem with that. What I would like religious leaders to say to their governments is: "We have nothing to do with territory. We have nothing to do with government. We have nothing to do with power. We are interested in spiritual qualities. We are interested in relationships, we are interested in reverence for life. We are not interested in making religion a state religion."

Judaism should not be the state religion of Israel. Israel should be a country of people, whoever lives in that territory. In the same way, Iran should not have a Shia state religion. State and religion are two separate things. The state belongs to the powerful, to the military, to the police, to the courts, to the welfare state. Religion belongs to the soul. Religion and state should be separate.

Vartan Gregorian: Let me just make a couple of comments. Firdausi, the great poet of the tenth or eleventh century wrote a history of Iran in 66 000 couplets. A very moving poem. It was the first time a Muslim had written about Iran and Touran, about the struggles between two Muslim nations. He also bemoaned the fact that Arabs had vanquished the Iranians. Here is a Muslim, who instead of celebrating the coming of Islam to Iran, is bemoaning the fact that Iran was vanquished by Arabs.

In 1509, Shah Ismail declared Shia the official religion of Iran, thus splitting the entire Islamic world. By using the phrase "Islamic world" I have also used the wrong expression. We have fallen into the trap. Bin Laden thinks there are 1.2 billion Muslims as a category. But we don't say "Christian world" of 2.5 billion Christians. We don't say "Jewish world", we don't say "Buddhist world". But we do say "Islamic world", and that creates the image that a 1.2 billion-strong army is walking through Europe.

I always challenge the fact that there are 1.2 billion Muslims in 57 states, which happen to have Muslim populations. That will be challenged. When in the entire history of Islam have Muslims cooperated with one other? Three of the successors of the Prophet Mohammed were assassinated. Medina gave in to Damascus, Damascus to Baghdad, Baghdad to Cairo, to Cordoba. God did not make Muslims immune to realpolitik, to rationalists, to nationalists, to prejudice.

Muslims have never shared their wealth. Otherwise Saudi Arabian wealth would be a national bank for Muslims. Since 1945, the Arab League is in many ways a symbol of Arab divisions rather than cooperation. Show me one instance where Muslims have successfully cooperated. The United Arab Republic – split, Sudan – Egypt condominium – split, North African Alliances – split. Pakistan is the only nation created around the theme of religion and Bangladesh split from it through civil war. Emirates Airline is the first successful Muslim enterprise. With the exception of voting against Israel in the United Nations, show me one instance of Muslim unity. Yes, the 1967 war united three armies. In 1948 there were five. But now, about 60 years later, are they sharing their wealth? Do they share anything? By constructing a monolith, rather then a mosaic, we have also built a thing giving credence to the Bin Ladens of the world that they represent.

It was a big mistake to put a 25 million dollar bounty on the head of Bin Laden because Bin Laden is not a warrior, but a terrorist. Terrorists are always on the run. Warriors, unless they're vanquished, can claim victory. I suggested a 25,000 dollar bounty on the head of Bin Laden. Because 25,000 dollars collected from the victims and children of 9/11 victims' families would be real blood money. The Prophet Mohammed was himself an orphan. To create an orphan is a sin. To kill an orphan is a sin. That is the kind of creative way to think. What I am saying is: in many ways we fall prey to the agenda of others, rather than create our own responses.

The last point: nationalism and religion. Nationalists have always used religion. Mosaddeq, when he nationalized Iranian oil, relied on the Iranian Shia leader Kashani to do so. What happened afterwards? They tried to do the same thing to overthrow the Shah. But this time they could not demobilize the religious establishment so the religious establishment took over. Beware! We mobilize forces we then cannot demobilize. Whether it is nationalism or religion. My great surprise, and that is why I am raising all these issues, is the following: Dur-

ing the Renaissance and Reformation, secular power used religion to advance secular goals. The German princes loved Luther because he said: "Princes are the lieutenants of God on Earth. Whoever revolts against the prince revolts against God". He said that the earthly church was not as important as the heavenly church so the prince could tax the church and call on bishops and others. Now, all over the world, religious establishments are using secular power to advance religious goals. The reason is very simple. "We do not discuss. You tried nationalism to decolonize us. You tried socialism to organize us. It has not worked. Why not try religion now?"

Professor Scruton mentioned the Hegelian concept of self, family and state. The concept of the state is absent in many countries. It is the concept of government. In America, the concept of state in the form of Hegel's concept of *"Der Stadt"* is missing. So as a result, we understand changing governments, changing policies but not the state. I blame Bismarck for the tenure system at universities in the United States because he is the one who said: "Professors are part of the civil service, and therefore, they deserve tenure." Now I would like to take two questions.

Audience comment: My name is Cyril Svoboda. Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, when he addresses the General Assembly, starts with: "Thanks to Almighty God for being here."

We start with a: "Thank you, Ladies and Gentlemen, for being here." He is saying: "I have a special mission!" He concluded his speech to the United Nations Assembly saying: "The United States is right to be muslimized." This is important, and we are not saying strongly enough that he is wrong. That's the problem of our civilization. We are afraid. There is a personal obligation on everyone to be honest, but also to be brave enough to say to people of power that they must speak up against those who use religion as a tool against us. Thank you.

Audience comment: Hello everyone, thank you. I cannot really be at the conference without saying something controversial. I was born in South Africa, and grew up in Belfast. One of the things that happens with issues of religion and territory is that it puts us into a bipolar situation. But we do not live in a bipolar world anymore. We are in an era, where "either – or" is not really relevant. We are in a strange position in that we have one foot in the future and in modernism, and yet we are still connected to the most ancient and primitive point of

departure which is where all our religions stem from: a celebration of the joy of being.

An interesting phenomenon happened in Belfast, which was not covered by the media, but which really changed things on the street. I am not advocating anything by this, but it is an interesting point. What really changed everything in Belfast was the widespread use of MDMA – the ecstasy culture amongst young people. We were brought up segregated, with institutional segregation. Ecstasy brought everybody together, it was very primitive and very tribal, and it was about celebration, about dancing. Issues of organized religion and politics were just completely put aside.

People of my generation have moved beyond that now but I think that was definitely one of the contributing factors and it fits within this idea of people, the idea of transcendence.

Audience comment: Tomáš Halík, Prague. I have a critical remark to Mr. Kumar. Mr. Kumar, I deeply admire your miraculous activity. It reminds me of Saint Francis of Assisi walking through Muslim Palestine to the Sultan. If I believed in reincarnation, I would say you are his reincarnation. I agree with you that there are two sides of religion: the religious experience and the institutions.

But I doubt if it is possible to simply say "yes" to religious experience and "no" to institutions because this religious experience is given to us in a certain cultural context and this context is incarnated in institutions. I think we must take this institutional part seriously, and I do not believe it is simple enough just to create this universalism. I believe more in perspectivism: This is my perspective. That is your perspective. Through dialogue, we can create some atmosphere of peace and understanding. I think this universalism is a little utopian.

Vartan Gregorian: Thank you very much. Before you leave, let me make a plea. I have now attended fourteen years of interfaith discussions. Here's a joke: a Protestant bishop says to a Catholic cardinal: "Brother, we both serve the Lord. You in your way, and I in his." My only plea is to contradict the joke. Let us have understanding, rather than tolerance. Thank you very much.

Jacques Rupnik, Fareed Zakaria

Religion, Globalization and Secularization

12th October 2010, Žofín Palace, Conference Hall

Keynote Speech:
José Casanova, Sociologist of Religion, Georgetown University, USA

Moderator:
Doris Donnelly, Director, The Cardinal Suenens Center, John Carroll University, USA

Participants:
Gilles Kepel, Sociologist, Sciences Po, France
Tomáš Halík, Sociologist, President, Czech Christian Academy, Czech Republic
Grace Davie, Sociologist of Religion, University of Exeter, United Kingdom

Doris Donnelly: Good morning everyone, and welcome to our session on Religion, Globalization, and Secularization. I actually count twenty-four sessions in the Forum 2000 program this year, and five of those sessions have been specifically on religion. Roughly one-fifth of the entire program has been specifically on religion, not to mention the many intersections of the other sessions that have touched upon religion. Religion has a lot to do with the world we want to live in. This very crucial session has as its topic Religion, Globalization and Secularization.

But the topic is only as good as the people who have been selected to speak on the topic. We have, this is the truth, we simply have the best. Our keynote speaker is José Casanova. He comes to us from Spain, and I suspect that the reason he is here is because Spain – language, culture, country – has had a banner year this year. As you know, Spain won the World Cup. And as if that was not enough, Rafael Nadal took the New York Open. And not only in sports, but last week we heard that Mario Vargas Llosa, who is of Spanish heritage, won the Nobel Prize for Literature. So behind the invitation of José Casanova to this panel and to this conference, the organizers said, in their inimitable style: We have to have the very very best, the pre-eminent sociologist. So we have José Casanova with us.

Professor Casanova got his degree in Philosophy in Zaragoza, Spain. He has a Master's degree in Theology from the University at Innsbruck in Austria and a doctorate in Theology from the New School for Social Research in New York, where he taught for a while before assuming his position at Georgetown University. There he is a Professor of Sociology and a Senior Fellow at the Berkeley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs.

You can read Professor Casanova's CV in the folder for the conference. But I need to tell you a conversion story. Professor Casanova bought the party line with regard to sociology and modernism, which meant a correlation that the more modern a society, the less important was religion. And then, when he came to the United States, the conversion happened, and he saw there a very modern society where religion, in fact, was also very important. And that was the basis for the beginning of his work in a direction where – and I ask you to pay attention to this because he will probably use these words (these words all begin with the prefix "RE") – he really has redefined, repositioned, reorganized the vocabulary for sociology and sociologists. For example, he has talked about multiple modernities, new paradigms of secularization, in other words secularization-light and hardcore secularism.

Professor Casanova's book, *"Public Religions in the Modern World"*, published in 1994, is still regarded as of seminal importance in sociology. It has been translated into Japanese, Spanish, Italian, Polish, Arabic, Indonesian, Farsi and Chinese. He has crisscrossed the globe and we are very happy he is here.

José Casanova: Thank you very much, Doris for a very kind introduction. I am rarely a Spanish nationalist. Only when it comes to sport am I still one. I am glad that you mentioned these achievements. These are the only achievements of nationalism I take seriously.

My presentation is going to be a kind of bird's eye view of global processes, which means the view from nowhere. But hopefully it will at least illuminate some of the processes that we may be able to discuss in the conversation. I am of course very grateful to the organizers for giving me this opportunity, and greatly honored to have been asked to prepare some remarks about how these three categories: religion, globalization and secularization may in some way be related to one another.

Until recently, we modern secular Europeans, and we social scientists, thought that we already knew the answer. The answer was: religion is a thing of the past – a characteristic of relatively primitive or traditional or pre-modern societies – that is going to either disappear or weaken, or at most become just a private affair in modern secular societies. And this is what we understood as the process of secularization. This was clearly a process, which was obvious throughout modern European developments, and we thought that the rest of the world was going to follow these modern processes.

And by globalization, we meant precisely the global expansion of these European processes of modernization. The global expansion of the world capitalist system, the global expansion of the system of modernist states, the global expansion of the process of secularization. We now know that at least with the last aspect, processes of secularization, global history is going in very different directions.

We thought that societies, as they became more modern would become more secular, that is less religious. We already know that the United States is a society which, while becoming more modern, has also become more religious. And we now see that the rest of the world, as it becomes more modern is not becoming less religious like Europe, but more religious, more like the United States. I am not trying to say

that the United States are now more of a model for other states than Europe because this is also a false proposition. There are many parts of the world which are also undergoing a serious process of secularization.

I would say the entire world is becoming simultaneously more secular and more religious. What we have to stop thinking of is secularization as a process that brings the end of religion, or religious revival as a process that puts an end to secularization. Both processes, secularization and religious transformation, are happening simultaneously. Religious transformation is not simply the revival of a past traditional religious form; it is the construction of a very modern phenomenon. Religion in America is not a traditional residue from the past. It is a product of American modernity.

Now, some time ago, I proposed that when we discuss secularization, we distinguish between three different meanings of the term. Secularization one is secularization as the differentiation of the secularist fields – economy, state, science – from religion. Secularization two is the decline of religious beliefs and practices. Secularization three is the privatization of religion. In Europe all three processes happen to go together.

We thought that these three processes, these three types of secularization, were intrinsically interrelated and connected with the process of modernization. Today, we know that this is not the case. These processes may go in very different directions throughout the world. And the interesting task, of course, is to know how they are interrelated, when they go together, and when they go in different directions.

Let me explain what I mean by the global process of secularization that is happening everywhere. The global process of secularization can be best characterized as the global expansion of what Charles Taylor, the Canadian philosopher, characterized in his new book *"Secular Age"* as the secular immanent frame. The secular immanent frame is constituted by the structural interlapping of the modern secular cosmic order of science and technology, the modern social order of states, of administrative states, capitalist markets and mediatic public affairs, and the modern moral order of individuals claiming rights to liberty, equality and the pursuit of happiness.

Now all these three orders are often understood as purely immanent secular orders devoid of transcendence, and thus functioning *etsi Deus non daretur*, as if God would not exist. It is this phenomenological experience that according to Taylor constitutes our global age, paradigmatically, as a secular one, irrespective of the extent to which

people living in this age may have religious or theistic beliefs. But as the contrast between Europe and the United States demonstrates, this process of secularization within the very same immanent frame may entail very different religious dynamics.

Despite its many variations, the general European pattern is one of secularization, namely secular differentiation and religious decline, or at least a decline of church and religiosity. The American pattern is one of secularization combined with religious growth and recurrent religious revivals. It is an open empirical question which kind of religious dynamic will accompany secularization, that is the expansion of the secular immanent frame and of secular differentiation in our Western cultures.

I could not talk as Peter Berger, a very close friend and colleague, talks of desecularization of the world because of China, for example. China is a very secular country, but there are of course religious revivals. They will probably become much more relevant as the communist state power relaxes its control. Nonetheless, do not expect a radical religious transformation of Chinese societies, of any society. What we see throughout the world is that the religious and the secular are being constituted mutually, but in many different ways.

Now let us look at global religious transformations. When it comes to religion, there is no global rule. All world religions are being transformed radically today, as they had been transformed throughout the era of European colonial expansion. But they are being transformed in diverse and manifold ways. All world religions are forced to respond to the global expansion of secular modernity as well as to their mutual challenges. Today, to understand the transformations of all religions, it is important to look at the way they influence each other, then to look at the way in which they are based on their own traditions.

Sociologists of religion should be less obsessed with measuring either the decline or the growth of religion in the abstract, and be more attuned to the new forms which religion is assuming in all world religions at three different levels of analysis – at the individual level, at the group level, and at the societal level.

At the individual level, there is a process of increasing religious individuation, which was first initiated by Protestantism, but is now affecting and transforming all religious traditions – Catholicism as much as Islam, Hinduism as well as Buddhism.

What is really new in our global age is the simultaneous presence and availability of all world religions from the most primitive to the

most modern, often detached from their temporal and spatial context, ready for flexible or fundamentalist individual appropriation. This is certainly the case in all global cities today – from New York to Johannesburg, to Kuala Lumpur, to Singapore, to Shanghai, to London, etc. Anybody can be initiated into any ancestral cult, be born again or reincarnated into any religious self, remain a permanent seeker attuned to partial and consecutive revelations or illuminations. This is a very important process, and is going on in all religious traditions.

Now, at the level of religious communities, much of sociology has lamented the loss of *Gemeinschaft*, of community, as one of the negative consequences of modernity. Both individualism and societalization were supposed to expand at the expense of community. Theories of modernization were predicated on simple dichotomies of tradition and modernity, of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* (community and society). Theories of secularization were based on the same dichotomies and on the premise that the process of modern rationalization made community non-viable.

But as de Tocqueville saw clearly, modernity offers new and expanded possibilities for the construction of communities of all kinds, and particularly, for the construction of new religious communities as voluntary congregations. Most of the so-called cults, the new religions, or the new religious movements, assume a form of voluntary congregation. So do most of the dynamic forms of Christianity, like the Christian-based communities in Latin America, or the Pentecostal Churches around the world, or the most dynamic forms of Islam, such as Tablighi Jamaat, and most Sufi brotherhoods. Even within world religions like Hinduism or Buddhism that have a less developed tradition of congregationalism, the latter is emerging as a new prominent institutional form, particularly in the immigrant diasporas.

Now, at the societal level, and this is the level at which most of us are obsessed with religion, at this level of what could be called imagined religious communities, secular nationalism and national civil religions will continue to be prominent carriers of collective identities. Processes of globalization are likely to enhance the re-emergence of the great world religions as globalized transnational imagined religious communities. While new cosmopolitan and transnational imagined communities may emerge, the most relevant ones are likely to be once again the old civilizations and world religions, but radically transformed.

Therein lies the merit of Huntington's thesis of the "*Clash of Civilizations*". But of course he thought of them as geopolitical territorial

units. This is not what is happening to these world religions. There is a fundamental tension in the modern world between two well-recognized principles:

On the one hand, the principle of inalienable right of an individual person to freedom of conscience, and therefore to freedom of religion and to freedom of conversion. This principle is assumed in all modern democratic societies in the form of an unquestioned, universal human right.

On the other hand, there is also the increasing recognition of the collective rights of peoples to protect and preserve their traditions and their cultures from colonial imperialist and predatory practices. That recognition is primarily enshrined in United Nations documents under rights of indigenous peoples. It could easily be turned into a general principle of the reciprocal rights and duties of all peoples of the world to respect each other's traditions and cultures, constituted on the basis of what could be called an emerging global denominationalism. It is the proliferation of deterritorialized transnational global emerging communities or global image encompassing the so-called all-world religions, as well as many new forms of hybrid globalized religions, such as the Bahá'ís, the Munis, the Hare Krishnas, Afro-American religions, Falun Gongs etc. That I call the emerging global denominationalism. Of course they compete with many other forms of secular and imagined communities, as well as with mother nationalism.

The emerging denominationalism in this respect includes both religious as well as secular denominations. By denominationalism I mean a system of mutual recognition of groups within society. It is the name we give to ourselves, and the name by which others recognize us. In the distinctive of the American system of religious denominationalism it means the fact that it is not regulated by the state, that it is voluntary, and that it is a system of mutual recognition of group identities.

Parallel to the general process of secularization, which started as a historical process of internal secularization within western Christendom, but was later globalized during European colonial expansion, there is a process of constitution of a global system of religions. Indeed, we talk of the world religions as if they have been here forever. We know, of course, that Hinduism as an -ism is a product of the 19th century. Buddhism is a product of the 19th century. They did not exist as -isms before; no Buddhist called himself a Buddhist before the 19th century, no Hindu called himself a Hindu before the 19th century, yet

all Hindus call themselves Hindus today. In this respect, religions, rather than being something of the past, are products of our modern global world. This global system of religions comes as a process of global religious denominationalism, where all the so-called world religions are redefined and transformed in contraposition to the secular through interrelated reciprocal processes of particularistic differentiation, universalistic claims and mutual recognition.

Like the denominationalism of the United States, global denominationalism is emerging as a self-regulated system of religious pluralism and mutual recognition of religious groups in global civil society. Each world religion is being constituted on the global level through similar interrelated processes. Again, I repeat, of particularistic differentiation, universalistic claims and mutual recognition.

As Roland Robertson has emphasized, universal particularism and particular universalism, are intrinsically interrelated and inherent to the processes of globalization. Each world religion claims its universal right to be unique and different, thus its particularism, while at the same time presenting itself globally as a universal path for all humanity. Global denominationalism emerges through a process of mutual recognition of the particular and the universal claims, and in this respect, there is a growing global trend of mutual recognition of all cultures. But it is not happening smoothly nor without conflict.

What is at stake, ultimately, is recognition of the irremediable plurality of all universalisms and the multiplicity of modernities. Namely that every universalism and every modernity is particularistic. One could say that we are moving from a condition of competing particularist universalisms to a new condition of global denominational contextualism. Thank you very much.

Doris Donnelly: We thank you very much, Professor Casanova. We have a lot to think about, a lot to discuss, so let´s move on to our next speaker, Gilles Kepel. Gilles Kepel is a pre-eminent French scholar, and arguably the foremost expert on political Islam. He has been recognized as being one of the most insightful and shrewdest interpreters of the Muslim world.

He is presently a Professor at L'Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris, affectionately known as Sciences Po. He holds doctorates in Political Science and Sociology and speaks Arabic, French, English and Italian. I have read only two of his books, "*The War for Muslim Minds: Islam and the West"* and *"Beyond Terror and Martyrdom: The Future of the Middle East"*.

One of the things that Professor Kepel does that is of interest to me as a theologian is that he understands the power of a symbol, the power of a symbol to disclose something more than meets the eye. He discusses the symbolism of the attack on the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center, close to Wall Street, as a symbol of the vulnerability of the United States' political and economic system. But also the symbols of Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo, as symbols of the moral decrepitude of the United States, especially under the regime of Bush, Cheney and Rumsfeld. Monsieur Kepel, je vous en prie.

Gilles Kepel: Děkuji. Thank you very much. Thank you so much for your very kind introduction and I fear that you raised the expectations maybe a little too much. You were kind enough when you introduced me not to mention football, because football and France this year did not do so well.

The reason I mention that is because football and religion are now perceived in France as having a sort of bizarre relationship. As you know, the shameful defeats and shameful behavior of the French soccer team in South Africa was heavily discussed by the French press and amongst the chattering classes in France. By some, it was linked to the fact that actually most of the players on the French team were Muslims. And that they came out of what is now the only recognized French word – in the old days, it was *"parfum"* or *"Champagne"* – now it is *"banlieue"*, which means the outskirts of the big cities, which are peopled usually by immigrants from the Third World or people who are now French, but who are of immigrant descent. What was questioned was whether or not there still was a sort of moral and national fiber that could support a national football team. As opposed to 1998, when the French won the World Cup, and where the hero of France was a guy called Zinedine Zidane, which is "quintessentially" a French name. Although I am being a little ironic, this is what we are. France was a colonial power in North Africa, and now North Africa is very much present in France. Zinedine Zidane, being the son of a Berber from Algeria, born and raised in Marseilles, is quintessentially French, just as Gilles Kepel, the son of a Czech immigrant, is quintessentially French.

At the time it looked as if the French system of integration had managed to have a national dimension that brought together people of different faiths and that led them to win the soccer world cup. Well, they had to have some other qualities, of course. I am a staunch integrationist. I would be unable to play football, and I am an atheist with

no interest in football, so that is probably why I am on this panel. And being Czech-French, what else can I be?

The issue with the team was to what extent had some sort of communalist fragmentation, that was based on diverging identities, led to the fact that the team was structurally disunited, if you wish. One commentator, the conservative philosopher Alain Finkielkraut, who is very keen on football, actually said: *"La France des cités l'a emporté sur la France de la cité"*, where *les cités* means the projects and *la cité* means the city in the Greek sense. This feeling that you belong to a city, to a *polis* – speaking in Greek – has vanished and the peculiarity and particularity of people has come to the forefront.

What is happening here? At the moment I am conducting research on the outskirts of Paris in the very areas where the riots started five years ago (it will be the fifth anniversary at the end of this month). What is very striking is that, as opposed to previous findings, we are now seeing there the birth of a sort of enclave community or enclave culture with a very strong emphasis on religion as protection against a society whose values are not really deemed to be valid anymore.

To go back to José's variation on particularist universalism or universal particularism: it is complicated, as are all strong concepts. Mr. Casanova´s experience was based on what he saw in America, to a large extent. I would like to put some questions here about what is happening in Europe.

I think we can use some of the lessons we learn from what happens among Muslim groups in Europe, and use them to question what is happening among Jews in Europe. French Jewry was arch-secularized. Now the influence of the Hasids and the Lubavitchers is extremely striking, for instance, in the third generation of Jewish immigrants from North Africa. They would not pale in comparison with Tablighi Jamaat that was just mentioned, which is an Islamic pietist group which considers that seclusion from society, cultural seclusion, is quintessential for identity.

France was, and still is, I believe – although it has had to come to terms with a different situation – a country of integration. It used to be said in the Greece of the fifth century B.C. under Pericles, that what made a Greek Greek was not that he was born Greek, but that he went to the *Palestra*. That was the gymnasium, the *lycée*, the secondary school, or junior high, as we would say in the States. Language, culture, the reception and internalization of cultural values were more important than the color of the skin, or religion, or what you owned.

The problem is that this feeling is being undermined and, if I may say so, is also being "overmined" – it is being questioned from the bottom and from the top. From the bottom not only by ideologies, but by organizational forms that have to do with class stratification of society, like unions, or left-wing political parties. They have been unable to come to terms with the post-industrial world. Therefore there is a feeling that those identities that provided people who were not pleased with their place in society with political and social mobilization, are no longer efficient.

Then there is a need for new identities to defend you against what is perceived as evil, that will give you an ideal, and a feeling of dignity; something that young people, both in the States and on our side of the Atlantic call respect. This on the other hand, if I may say so, is undermined from the top. It is questioned by the European Union process, which is depriving nation states of their capacity to define an identity.

I am very struck, when I conduct interviews with respondents from the outskirts of Paris, by the fact that they spend their time comparing their fate in the projects with what they see on TV and on satellite television. Some look at French TV, others watch Al Jazeera even if they do not understand it. What they rebuild out of this, for instance, from identification with Palestinians, is that the French police is besieging Clichy-sous-Bois just like the Israelis besiege Gaza.

This is something which is made possible because of a vacuum at the top. The EU is largely unable not only to provide political leadership, but to provide a strong positive identity. We are going to face a major crisis because of this. You may say that the U.S. also has difficulty with that but it nevertheless has a strong state with whom people may identify or may reject. But they have something to grab. The EU is very difficult to grab and it is perceived as a bureaucracy, as an impediment, as a non-elected body. Within that, we have this search for religious identities. I do not know whether we should call them religious – this might be my main difference with José Casanova here. They're making use of a language which is full of a religious vocabulary. Whether or not we should satisfy ourselves with the religious label will be my philosophical question to José. Thank you.

Doris Donnelly: You may recall, those of you who were present at the Opening Ceremony on Sunday night, that President Havel made a plea for wonder and awe and transcendence that he felt was in decline in the world.

There is an exception to that and the exception falls with Professor Tomáš Halík, who is a Professor of Sociology at Charles University and also a Catholic priest in charge of the university chapel which is packed to the rafters every Sunday. They come not only to hear Father Halík, they come to hear a message that has been rejuvenated by him. And I want to say that, having been there, it seems that the message is not exactly relevant, it is not appealing, but it is an appreciation of the Christian gospel that Father Halík is able to translate for his audience. It is rather impressive, I must say.

In addition, Father Halík is a spokesperson at the Vatican and in Prague in interreligious and intercultural dialogue. His sweep is rather broad, and it is a pleasure to have him address us now.

Tomáš Halík: Thank you, Doris. It is a great privilege for me to sit at the same table with the greatest stars of sociology of religion of our age. I see religion from the perspective of sociology, from the outside, and at the same time from inside, as a priest and theologian and active participant of interreligious dialogue. I will try to use this advantage. Interfaith Dialogue is an integral part of the Forum 2000 Conferences every year, and I have been involved in it from the very beginning.

This time, I would like to add some remarks to a different important sort of dialogue: the dialogue of religion – mainly Christianity in our part of the world, and Christianity and Judaism with secularism. It strikes me that Christianity, the religion of incarnation, was actually always syncretic, multi-path. It was incorporated into various cultures, none of which were non-religious. Whether it was the original Judeo-Christianity or Hellenistic Christianity, or later Christianity of the ancient Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, Celts, Slavs, Germans, etc.

What is remarkable, however, is that traditional Christianity has led a symbiotic existence for about two centuries with the only culture in the history of humanity which seems to be secular. It is European modernity, a culture that needs to comprise religiosity because it grew out of the roots of the Christian religion. The Christianity we experience in Europe today is not pure. Nor was it ever pure. And it probably cannot be pure in view of the nature of its incarnateness, but it is profoundly intermixed with the secular culture of the West. Paradoxically, it is only Christianity that prevents that secular culture from completely turning into a religion or pseudo-religion. Always, when traditional religion stops its traditional role, some other phenomenon starts to play the religious role to integrate and interpret society.

I have written something about the pseudo-religious role of the media. They are now integrating society, they are now interpreting our world, they are now giving us the symbols, the great stories. The secular culture of the West is secular and non-religious insofar as it is Christian. If the Christian components were to disappear from European culture, that culture would not became atheistic, but religious or pseudo-religious, religious in a non-Christian and often anti-Christian sense. Even its atheism then becomes religion (indeed the state religion, as was the case of Marxism for instance).

It is in the interests of Christianity and Christians to uphold the secular component of European culture, but to criticize the tendency of secularization becoming a religion. In this way, Christianity defends the true nature of European culture, whose identity for centuries lies in the compatibility of secularism and Christianity. Clearly, the Christian and secular components of European culture can never fully coalesce. There will always be a certain tension between them. It depends on a large number of circumstances whether the tension will be fruitful or take the form of trench warfare detrimental to both sides.

Obviously, modernity will never be entirely Christianized. And there should be no attempt to achieve this utopian goal, not even under the appealing slogan of the new evangelization of Europe. Charles Taylor has shown why Christianity cannot tackle the mission to present-day modernity in the way that Father Rich in the seventeenth century went about incorporating Christianity into Asian cultures. This is because modernity is a culture that is already deeply imbued with Christianity although it cannot be called unreservedly Christian. What is non-Christian about modernity? According to Taylor it is, in fact, often not neutral, not potentially open vis-a-vis Christianity, as were the remoter pagan cultures, but is systematically anti-Christian.

I fear that if Christianity and secularism were to go their separate ways, or if one of the components were to gain a total victory and displace the other, Europe would jettison its obligation to its own past, as well as its future. In any event, whichever of the components emerged victorious, and whichever of them gained independence from the other, both would be the losers.

I think a similar conclusion was reached in the celebrated dialogue between Cardinal Ratzinger and Jürgen Habermas at the Catholic Academy in Munich. Secular humanism and Christianity have a mutual need for each other as a corrective to one-sidedness. And a similar position is adopted in John Paul II's encyclical *"Fides et Ra-*

cio": belief without reason is dangerous. Rationality without the ethical and spiritual values that stem from belief is also one-sided, and therefore dangerous.

What Christianity would look like if it really wanted to free itself from the legacy of the Enlightenment, and from today's secularism, can be seen in contemporary Christian fundamentalism and traditionalism. What laicism and secularism would look like if they wanted to turn their back totally on Christianity, we can only surmise from the language of such intolerant and would-be totalitarian ideologies as the attempts to impose the new speech of political correctness, or to spiritually castrate or lobotomize specific cultures under the slogan of multiculturalism.

At the present time, these two distinguished trends, Christian fundamentalism and militant secularism, indulge in mutual provocation, and thereby grow stronger. The one legitimizes the other's existence. And so not only do they keep each other alive, but they become radicalized through never-ending conflicts. Although each of them proclaims the need to eradicate the other, they mutually need each other. Extremists cannot exist without an enemy. Both of them are right to call the other a threat. But a greater threat comes from the mutual demonization.

I am worried about all types of fundamentalism and fanaticism, both religious and secular. A fundamentalist is a human being whose faith is too weak to sustain doubts and critical questions. People often eliminate these doubts using the projection method. In other words, they project their own doubts onto others, and then see in the others, particularly in the more open-minded members of their own community, dangerous enemies. When tension in our world is too great, and when frustrations and fear reach a high level among people, and entire groups of people, ordinary everyday language and the language of secular politics is not powerful enough to express those emotions.

A little remark to Gilles Kepel and to what he said about sports. I remember my experience from Prague after the victory of our team in hockey at the World Cup. There were many people crying in Prague. The goalie Hašek was the star, and he was not merely a man, he was called a god. I was discussing this in my seminar with the students, this special popular theology of our people. If emotions are so strong, secular language is not able to express them, and so people spontaneously reach for religious symbols and language. Yes. People spontaneously reach for the language of religion.

Political leaders use the power of religious rhetoric and religious symbols. Religion becomes a weapon in political conflicts. Wherever people start using religious rhetoric in political arguments and other differences of opinion, when they start to regard their opponents as demons, the great Satan, the evil empire etc., they frequently project onto them their own demons, their dark sides, and their own negative characteristics. Then the clashes of opinion are in danger of escalating into actual destructive conflicts. This kind of devilment leads to the strategy of destruction. The world these days is full of monsters chiefly because religion gets dragged into political, social, and ethnic conflicts.

The philosopher Richard Kearney recalls the advice of psychoanalysis: when people are pursued in their dreams by monsters, they should dare to look the monsters in the face while they are still dreaming. They will be surprised to discover that the monsters are not very unlike themselves. I think we must try to look our opponents in the face and perhaps we will be surprised that they are not very unlike us. I think the culture of dialogue is very important for the world today.

Doris Donnelly: Since several people have picked up on the football metaphor, we shall continue with it. We shall continue with Professor Grace Davie, who is the last person to speak because, as in all games, you need somebody very strong to wrap up. Professor Davie is totally competent and confident. We have confidence in her that she is able to do that.

She is widely known in the field of sociology in Britain, Europe and in the United States. Currently, she holds a Chair in Sociology at the University of Exeter, where she also directs the Center for European Studies. She has written prolifically: articles, books, co-edited some books, and she has written in particular about a couple of subjects that I would like to call to your attention in the event that she does not mention them.

One of the things she talks about is vicarious religion, which is religion performed by an active minority on behalf of a much larger number who understand and approve what the minority is doing – vicarious religion. She also writes tellingly about obligation or consumption of religion – that the obligation towards religious practice has dwindled, and, at the same time, the desire to consume certain elements of religious practice has grown. She has also written tellingly of the inability of the established churches or perhaps the inability of

established religions to discipline the beliefs and behaviors of a great majority of the population.

Grace Davie: Thank you for your welcome. I am delighted to be here. If you really want to swim to the bottom regarding football, I will tell you I lived for twenty years and raised three sons in Liverpool. A city with a premier European club, now third from the bottom of the English Premier League and close to receivership. However I am still proud to be a Liverpudlian.

I want to speak initially about the difference between reality and perception. It is commonplace now to say that "God is back". That is the title of a recent book by two distinguished journalists from *"The Economist"* – a book of which we should take careful note. But is God back? Because that implies that He, or perhaps She, went away. I am not sure that God is back in that I think what has really changed is our perceptions of religion rather than the reality.

Think for a moment of the discussion of Islam in Europe. Totally correct, I entirely agree with many of the things that Gilles Kepel said. But Muslims have been in Europe since the 1960s and 1970s, the height of the secularization debate, but they were not called Muslims. They were Algerians, they were Pakistanis, they were Bangladeshis, they were Turks. Suddenly, we reconstruct a population. Maybe they reconstruct themselves – I do not deny that. But is it reality or our perception that is changing?

I think we need to work hard not so much on the discussion of religion now, but why political, economic and social science got it wrong for so long. And this, I think, is a very serious issue because I am not quite sure that they have got it right now. Let's just think of some examples: three world events and a recent election. The recent election is President Obama, relatively recent.

I sat on a very distinguished panel of political scientists in my own university in Exeter, who were discussing this issue, and somebody from the audience, rather late in the afternoon, said: "What is the significance of religion in Obama's election?" And to a man and a woman they said: "None." Now that simply is untrue. They had constructed Obama to the European liking, in which sense he was a man of color but not a Christian. He most certainly is a Christian, not only in personal conviction, but also in his extensive experience in community work in Chicago.

Of course he has been many other things as well. Let us think too of the global events about which Gilles Kepel has written so elo-

quently: the Iranian revolution in 1979, the collapse of communism in 1989, and 9/11. I cannot quite get over the fact that my own disciplines – economic, political, social science – failed to predict any one of these. We call ourselves, and sometimes are arrogant enough to consider ourselves, predictive scientists.

We are trying to make up for lost ground. That is true. But I think there is a very serious indictment of our thinking which requires considerable reflection and humility. For example, in the questions we are invited to discuss, I am more perplexed by why Harvey Cox wrote *"The Secular City"*, than why he now writes *"Fire from Heaven"*, though I admire any senior academic who is prepared to change his or her mind. I think that requires courage, and I respect it.

What is to be done? This is how I would grasp the nature of modernity. I would ask first: Is it one thing or many? I like Eisenstadt, Shmuel Eisenstadt, who died very recently. I like and respect his notion of multiple modernities. I think it is helpful. I also like the notion that modernities are not given, but are continually constructed and reconstructed in different ways, in different places by real living men and women and communities. They are not givens, they are made, and this is a process in which the religious factor is central.

What does it mean to be modern? This is an empirical rather than a theoretical question. Modern societies, if they are, as I would like to see them, the future, the world I would like to live in, must allow space for the prophetic voice. The prophetic voice, in my view, is a voice that disturbs. That voice might be religious, or it might be secular. I want to maintain that it is as modern to draw from the resources of the religious to critique the secular as it is to draw from the resources of the secular to critique the religious. It is the quality of the argument that counts. This is a real challenge for Europeans – even more for European social science – who do not deal well with the prophetic, the emotional, the unusual and the challenging.

In this respect, I would follow Jürgen Habermas: All of us, in every discipline, whatever it is, must look again to the core of our thinking in order to take seriously, and where appropriate, to accommodate the religious factor. This, if taken seriously, will be a real, radical revolution in social scientific thinking. Increasingly urgent debates have to happen both in academia and beyond. But I ask: Is sociology and all sociologists, all our disciplines up to the challenge? I sincerely hope so. Thank you.

Doris Donnelly: We have a little bit of time. Professor Casanova, Monsieur Kepel, Father Halík, Professor Davie, question to anyone?

José Casanova: Gilles made a very important point about the label of religions. What do we mean by it? Religion today is a category that means so many different things that in the end it really means nothing. There are very prominent scholars of religion, namely those who are actually in the science of religion and religious studies, not social scientists like ourselves, but those who really try to study what religion is, who have come to the conclusion that we should get rid of the category precisely because this does not mean anything when it means everything.

Of course, the problem is that they are asking, "get rid of the category," at the very same moment when the category has become, *de facto*, a global social fact and we cannot do without it. Every society in the world, every constitution, and everywhere you go today, everybody uses the category of religion. This is of course a completely new phenomenon. It has nothing to do with the past.

We have of course three ways of dealing with this issue. One is that in the way in which we have done with social science thinking we can develop a general theory of religion, and we can are not ourselves religious. We now know that this is impossible – we have failed – we cannot have a general theory of religion. A second is, of course, a theological question to distinguish false from true religion, authentic from inauthentic, orthodoxy from heterodoxy. This is for the theologians to do. I would not dare to tell somebody: You are wrong when you call yourself religious.

The task is to simply reconstruct historically the way in which we are constructing religion and the category of religion everywhere in the world today. How this phenomenon is happening and how we are reconstructing it are very interesting questions. We have to abandon the notion that religion is a thing of the past that is somehow coming back. No, it is something very new that is emerging together with globalization. We can of course go back to traditions and we can reconstruct those traditions. But it is the very complexity of the global process which is the really interesting thing.

Gilles Kepel: Very briefly to follow up on what José said, and to echo what Grace said: that Obama's image in Exeter was constructed for a European audience, and that it had nothing to do with religion. You contrasted it with the fact that in America, he was perceived as

a Christian. Well, José said, whispered, and I had it in my mind too, that he was simultaneously constructed as a Muslim by a significant amount, the majority of the Tea Party people.

Now this goes back to what you said: what does it mean to construct Obama as a Muslim, politically? And where is the border of religion and non-religion? Is it the fact that his middle name is Hussein? I will tell you a story. Barack is a Swahili word that comes from Mubarak in Arabic, which means Benedict – blessed, right? Hussein is the name of the grandson of the Prophet and the big figure in Shia Islam. So his name translates as Blessed Hussein. Obama in Farsi means: He is with us. So the Blessed Hussein is with us. No wonder he tried to reach out to the Iranian leadership, but failed miserably because they sensed the danger.

Why is it that you choose something that has to do with religion in order to identify someone and to demote him as a leader? Saying this guy is a Muslim means he is unfit to be President of America? Add the Ground Zero polemics regarding the mosque and his poor handling of the matter, from my own point of view at least, that brings us to something that may not have much to do with your traditional understanding of religion, but has to do, in depth, with American politics.

Tomáš Halík: Just to stress that both the Americans and Catholics have a Benedict at the top. Additionally Obama is also Emanuel, which is the name of Christ. A few remarks: Professor Casanova it is really a problem, the definition of religion. I think that the concept of religion as a general concept, which has some species – Judaism, Christianity – is quite modern. It comes from the Cambridge theologians of the seventeenth century. They started to work with this concept. On what you said earlier – that a Hindu would never call himself a Hindu – I remember a nice story of Umberto Eco. He said that he visited, some years ago, an African village, and asked a little boy: "Are you a Muslim?" And he said: "No, I am an animist." So, Umberto Eco said: "No animist will say about himself 'I am an animist' without having a degree from the École Normale Supérieure in Paris." He said that a hundred years ago, a French anthropologist came to Africa and the people told him a lot of nonsense. Then he came back and created a system called animism. He taught this way in Paris, and they taught it to the Africans. The effect is that the little boy in an African village says: "I am an animist." It is similar with the other problems in this context.

Gilles Kepel: We call that "la mission civilisatrice de la France" in France – the civilizing mission of France.

José Casanova: This is precisely what I call denominationalism. There goes the question why there were no Muslims in Germany forty years ago, when I used to work in the factories with immigrants. There were only Turks. There were no Muslims. Now there are no Turks, but only Muslims. There is a process of mutual recognition which, if you look at it in the Hegelian sense, can be very violent. When people recognize each other or cannot recognize each other. We need to reconstruct how this or that category has emerged as modern categories.

Gilles Kepel: What you mean, José, is that twenty years ago, it was *"Türken raus!"*, and now it is *"Muslime raus"* (out)!

José Casanova: Certain denominations are different. It was much more difficult to be a German Turk because the German nationality was defined by *Jus sanguinis* (right of blood) so you cannot be at the same time Turk and German. But you can be a German Muslim. In a certain sense, there are greater possibilities for the integration of Muslims into Germany than of Turks into Germany – because of their transformation in this respect to German nationality.

I see some positive aspects in this process. I think that indeed France was the only European country, like the United States, that was a country of integration which was able to incorporate immigrants and turn them into Frenchmen. We know, of course, that it was the school and army that turned Persians into Frenchmen, and now those institutions simply cannot do it anymore.

Grace Davie: I want to make a footnote to this. But then, if I may, I want to tackle it from a different direction. My footnote is that some of the resistance to these changes or reconstructions of identity comes from scholars who study them. The people in my country, who are so disconcerted about the discussion in terms of religion, rather than ethnicity, feel their subject is slipping away from them.

Social policy experts have difficulty dealing with these issues. But if you go to development studies, you find a much bigger welcome for the notion of religion. Those who work in the developing world are only too aware that often, particularly where there is a failed state, the only extended network and effective way of working is through religion and through religious networks.

From this, I want to raise a bigger point. I have been thinking considerably about the relationship of religion and territory, religion and power, global denomination, and all these words that we are using. This is something I've considered over many years. We tend to be critical of power, the powerful and institutional power, but we feel that to be powerless is a disadvantage and not helpful. We regard the word to empower as to be something constructed from the positive. We are not being consistent, and I think that the power of religion can be badly distorted, and hijacked, and wrongly used. I do also believe that religion is deeply empowering to individuals and groups in an entirely positive, creative, constructive way. It is to be welcome in the modern world. Thank you.

Doris Donnelly: Can we have a final word from anybody?

José Casanova: One thing to what Tomáš Halík talked about. I am a little concerned. We Europeans like very much to talk about our uniqueness. We heard about the uniqueness of Europeans, the uniqueness of Christianity. We celebrate Christianity. To put it in the famous sentence of Marcel Gauchet: the religion to exit religion, a notion that somehow Christianity is the only religion that somehow can produce its secularity.

I am not sure about that. I think that Chinese religion also had that. Confucianism has a very similar relationship. I think we Europeans have to be a little bit more humble when using our universalism as the true particularistic universalism. Not any other universalism, since ours is so particularistic. The more we know about the rest of the world, the less we talk about only Europe and only Christianity.

Doris Donnelly: Exactly. Thank you for those concluding comments. I did notice that some hands were up in the audience, but I am going to ask that any of you who do have questions, just come and talk to the panelists at the conclusion of this gathering. I thank you all for being here.

José Casanova, Gilles Kepel

Closing of the Conference

12th October 2010, Žofín Palace, Forum Hall

Closing Remarks:
Václav Havel, Former President, Czech Republic

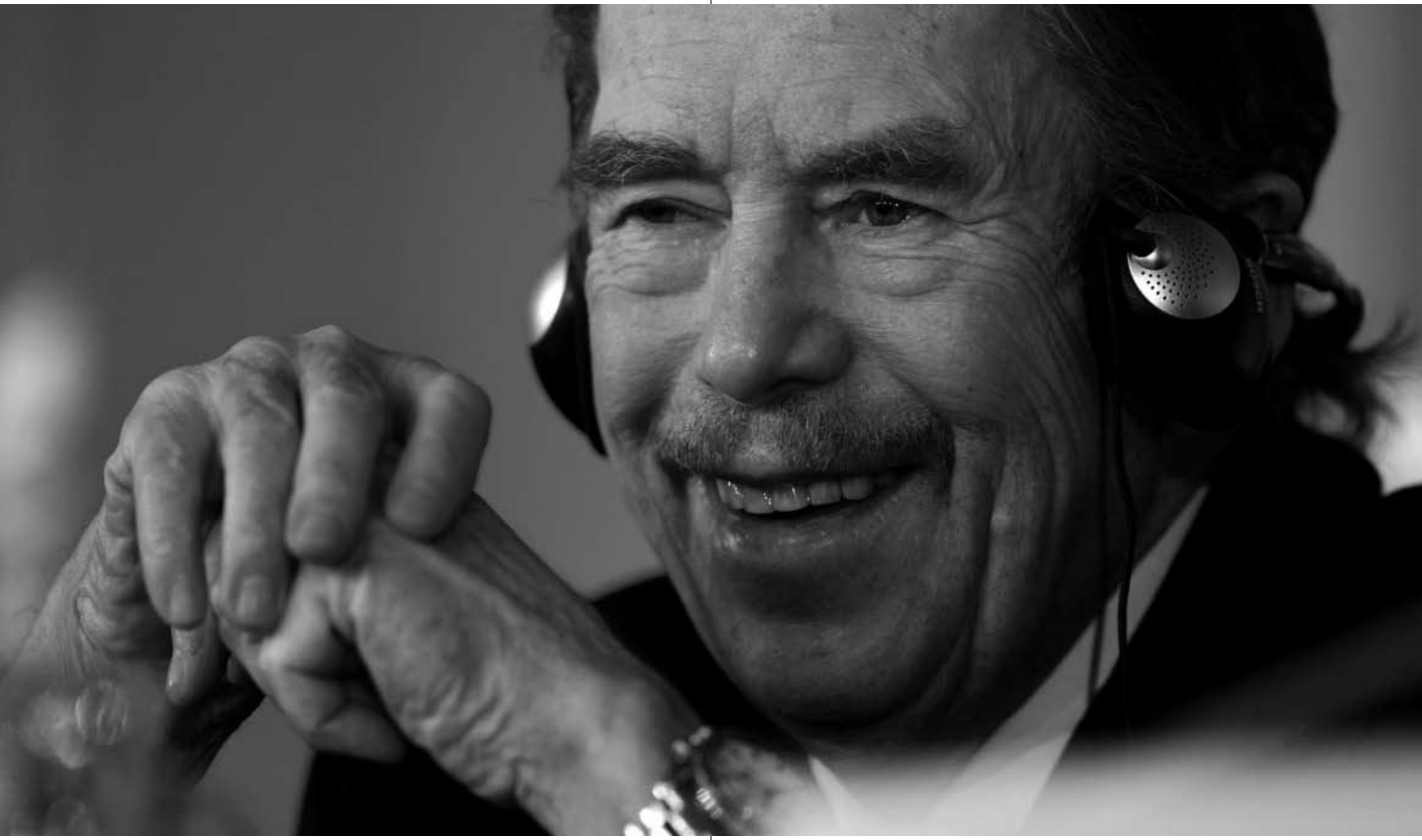
Václav Havel: In one of my older plays there is a character of "initiator" and a character of "concluder." I am myself such an initiator and concluder of Forum 2000 Conferences.

Today we met at this plenary session for the last time, but that does not mean this year's conference actually ends. It continues until late in the evening. To sum everything up, almost three thousand people participated in the conference at about twenty locations in Prague. Therefore, I assume it is no elitist club, and it displayed its substantially democratic character. We may say that whoever was passing by and was interested in an event could come and take part in it. What seems very satisfactory is that a lot of young people attended the conference.

It is impossible to summarize the great variety of our debates in a couple of statements and proclamations. To put it generally, we may say that we are all aware of the urgent need to reflect on the kinds of human settlements, the development of cities, urbanism, contemporary architecture – simply the ways of how man abides and lives on this planet. The need to consider these phenomena, to reflect on them, to study and discover the questionable or dangerous elements and dimensions of the present development was also pointed at, from different angles. And if you haven't had time to attend all sessions, there is no need to worry, because a report containing the conference contributions will again be published.

Even this year we both directly and indirectly, apart from the discussions on the given topics and reflections on various contexts, touched upon the question of human rights. It is a question impossible to avoid, if we speak about living on this earth, and about the social structures in which other structures directly originate. This year's Forum, as far as I had a chance to observe, greatly welcomed the fact that a Chinese dissident, Mr. Liu Xiaobo, whom some of us had suggested for the Nobel Peace Prize, was awarded this prize. I strongly believe that he will soon be released from prison, and naturally, we will invite him to the next Forum 2000 Conference. As with every year, so this year the guests from Cuba could not be here, because the Cuban political regime did not allow them to travel abroad. This concerns for example Oswaldo Payá, a friend of our Forum and one of the leading personalities of Cuban political opposition. A Nobel Prize Laureate, Mrs. Ebadi from Iran also called attention to the case of Mrs. Nasrin Sotoodeh, Iranian lawyer and human rights fighter. Mrs. Sotoodeh is imprisoned, faces very harsh conditions, and went on hunger strike. I suppose there is nobody among us who would deny this brave lady support, and who would be against an appeal to the Iranian regime on her behalf.

Similarly to the said "concluder", I now have nothing else to do, but to thank all of you who came from places both far and near, and I would certainly like to invite you to next year's conference. Thank you for your attention.



Václav Havel

Hiroshima – Nagasaki 1945–2010 Exhibition Opening

11th October 2010, New Town Hall

Exhibition organized in cooperation with The Nippon Foundation, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, the New Town Hall and The Moravian Museum

Remarks:
Yohei Sasakawa, Chairman, The Nippon Foundation, Japan
Charles D. Ferguson, President, Federation of American Scientists, USA
Shigeko Sasamori, Hiroshima Survivor, Japan

Moderator:
Oldřich Černý, Executive Director, Forum 2000 Foundation, Czech Republic

Oldřich Černý: Good evening ladies and gentleman. I'd like to welcome you here on behalf of the Forum 2000 Foundation and its partners for tonight: the Nippon Foundation, the Hiroshima Memorial Peace Museum and the Municipality of Prague 2 and the New Town Hall, who are our hosts for today.

Now, why Hiroshima, Nagasaki? Why Forum 2000? Why Prague? Mr. Sasakawa briefly mentioned yesterday that Forum 2000 originated in Hiroshima. In 1996, Václav Havel was attending a conference called "The Future of Hope" and during one of the coffee breaks he went for a walk with Elie Wiesel. They were joined by Mr. Sasakawa, and this is how our Forum 2000 came into being. Last year during the conference, when Mr. Sasakawa offered to put us in touch with the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum about this exhibit, we naturally agreed and are glad that we could help in bringing this exhibition to Prague.

Now, why Prague? Prague has lately become a symbol of efforts for nuclear disarmament. I mean President Obama's famous speech in April 2009 and then the signing of the Strategic Arms Reduction treaty by President Obama and President Medvedev just a few months ago. The third reason is that Forum 2000 is located in Prague. Now, I would like to invite to the floor Mr. Sasakawa.

Yohei Sasakawa: President Havel, Doctor Ferguson, Ms. Sasamori, ladies and gentlemen, it is a great honor to have the opportunity to say a few words here tonight at the opening of this exhibition. This is the first time that an exhibition of this kind has been held here in the Czech Republic. But the connection between Hiroshima, this country, and the city of Prague runs deep. It was a Czech architect, Jan Letzel, who designed the dome that later became immortalized as the Hiroshima Peace Memorial. It was a visit to Hiroshima by President Havel that inspired the launch of the Forum 2000 Conferences, a forum that brings together like-minded individuals each year here in Prague. And it was here in the city of Prague that the momentum to work toward a world free of nuclear weapons was recently reignited. Interest in nuclear issues is clearly on the rise. Meetings and symposiums on nuclear weapons are being held all over the world. Just today, in one of the afternoon sessions, there was a lively and informative debate on this very issue. When we think of nuclear weapons, we tend to think of the external threat that they pose, but I believe that the real threat is rooted within us. Like all technology, nuclear technology was developed by humans in the name of progress and

development. There is no question that it has benefited the lives of many people, yet the same technology has also brought fear and suffering. Technology is a double-edged sword we must live with, and thus all the more reason to take a chance to examine our conscience, our ethics, and our philosophy. In discussing terrorism, conflict, environmental destruction, and economic disparity, Forum 2000 has sought a broad range of views, not just those of policy makers, but also those of civil society, religious authorities, philosophers and artists, while making policy recommendations and drawing up important legal frameworks. This forum seeks to go further by adopting a more cultural and moral approach. We look within ourselves for answers. Through our repeated interactions we find significance in the search for common worries, ethics, and the moral minimum. It is my hope that this exhibition will prove to be an inspiration in the search for a moral minimum. Thank you.

Oldřich Černý: Thank you, Mr. Sasakawa. Now I would like to invite our very precious guest for tonight, Ms. Sasamori, who survived the A-bomb explosion on August 6th, 1945. Ms. Sasamori, we really appreciate that you are here with us tonight.

Shigeko Sasamori: Thank you. Good evening everybody. Thank you so much for coming to hear my story. You may know that an atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima 65 years ago. I was thirteen years old, in my first year of high school. Ordinarily we would go to school to study, but that particular day the government had mobilized the students to go into the city and clean up the streets and broken houses. I was just starting work when I heard an airplane and looked up at the sky. That day Hiroshima was beautiful, under a blue cloudless sky. The airplane was silver, with a white tail, and it looked so pretty in the blue sky. I told my classmate to look up at the sky and almost at the same time I pointed upwards, I saw that the airplane dropped something. It looked white. Then a very strong force knocked me back.

I don't know how long I was unconscious. When I regained consciousness, I sat up and looked around. Pitch black. I couldn't see anything. I couldn't hear anything. I didn't feel anything. Then the blackness went away like a fog goes away and I saw the people who had been working on the street, though they weren't the same. Most people were naked, their skin hanging off. I thought that a firebomb had dropped nearby. Back then, nobody knew about atomic bombs. I followed those people to the nearby river. The city of Hi-

roshima had seven rivers. By the time I got to the river there were already many people in the water and everybody was hurt. At that moment I stood there, terrified. I couldn't hear anything but I knew I was severely burned. Then, all of a sudden, a baby's screaming opened my ears. I was more conscious and I could hear people talking and then everybody tried to get into the river. I didn't want to get into the water; so many people were already in the water and flowing down to the ocean. I followed people across the bridge to the other side of the river. Later, I heard that the bridge had burned after I had crossed it and everybody on it fell into the water. I was, at the time of the explosion, 1.5 kilometers away from the city center. From there, I walked another kilometer away from the center and went to my school. In the schoolyard I sat down under a tree, and again lost consciousness. After that, I couldn't open my eyes. I stayed at school in a dormitory for four nights with no water, no medication, no food, and nobody paying attention. Again and again, I asked for water and told them my name and my address. Finally, a man heard me and went to my parents' house to tell them. That was five days after the bomb had dropped and in the meantime, my parents had, of course, been looking for me. Fortunately my parents and grandmother weren't hurt much because they were under our house. My two sisters and one brother weren't hurt because they were out of the city that day. As for myself, one quarter of the front of my body, including my whole face and both arms, was burned.

My parents took me home for a few days but there was no medication and no doctors. I didn't know what was going on in the city at that time but while I was lying in bed I heard people who'd come to see me. They would ask my mother: "Is she ok? Is she…?" My mother would listen to my breathing and say: "yes, she is still breathing."

I could hear about what was happening in the city. Many people felt guilty because they couldn't help people who were burning alive. One of my mother's good friends told her that her oldest daughter had been buried under the house and couldn't be pulled out. The fire was coming and the daughter said: "mother you have to go, you have to go". She didn't want to go because her daughter wasn't dead but she had two other children with her. The daughter said: "if you stay the children will die for no reason, everybody will die here, so go". So the woman was tortured but had to say goodbye to her daughter even though she wasn't dead, just half-buried. Others were saying that they also saw people under houses, burning on the floor and street, and asking for help, but they couldn't help

them. Lots of people talked while I was lying there about how they felt very guilty. There were not just one or two stories, but many like that. And then people said that those outside Hiroshima saw a different view, a big cloud like a mushroom. My sister told me that she heard a big noise and went out and saw a big red ball coming down on Hiroshima. She thought the sun was coming down on the city or something. Some people got the black rain, the radiation poisoning. They weren't burned or hurt, but once exposed to the rain they died a week later from the atomic bomb illness. We didn't know how to save them.

Many, many people died and suffered. I asked my mother years later how she found me. When she heard I was at the school, my parents and other people went to get me. She was calling my name and I answered in a very little voice. She had a candle and found me but when she saw me she didn't recognize me because I was all burned. My face was so big and burned, swollen like a black football, and half my body was naked, burned and black. They took me home and the first thing my father did was cut my hair. It hadn't burned because I was not firebomb burned, I was radiation burned. My black hair blocked the radiation from my ears and the sides of my face. Only half of my forehead, my neck, hands, arms, shoulders, and chest burned because I was looking up at the sky. After he cut my hair, he cut the skin off my face because it was black and hard. He peeled off the blackness and underneath was very thick yellow puss, an infection. They didn't have any medication and there were no doctors so they had to use cooking oil to clean up the infection. When my mother undressed me, she found that I was wearing two pairs of pants. Most people who were burned like me were completely naked but I still had my complete underpants. This is another miracle because that day, August 6th, my mother gave me new pants for my morning assignment. I didn't change before going to bed and the next morning I didn't want to get the new pants dirty at work so I put the old pants on top. I was lazy but that laziness saved my life because I was wearing two pairs of pants and didn't burn that part of my body.

I experienced many miracles but when I hear what happened to Hiroshima, it was hell. People came to the city after the bomb dropped looking for their relatives. People couldn't walk straight because of the fried, dead bodies and the wounded people on the street. The many dead, burned bodies on the street smelt very bad. The city of Hiroshima was hell. I didn't see these things myself but

I heard the stories. I was only thirteen years old. It was such a horrible war. We weren't soldiers but we were bombed. Many people are still suffering today. Hiroshima has a hospital called the Atomic Bomb Hospital where people are still suffering. The radiation caused cancer and leukemia. I got intense cancer twice and I had a small cancer in my thyroid. Some people got cancer right away. My father, my mother and my sister all died of cancer. Fortunately, I've lived longer. I got cancer about seven years ago. We still don't know how long the radiation will affect us for. Maybe generations. Something could happen to my children and grandchildren. Who knows?

War is the most horrible thing. I know many people are working very hard for disarmament and to prevent war. It is everyone's responsibility to work for peace and the future. We have to stop this nonsense. I am very lucky; it is a miracle that I have survived. Many people say to me, Shigeko, you must have had a hard life, but I feel that my parents suffered much more than me seeing their thirteen-year-old child growing up with a destroyed face and hands. When I became a mother myself, I felt even more that my parents must have suffered seeing me like this.

Sadako Sasaki was two years old when the atomic bomb dropped near her home and she was diagnosed with leukemia ten years later. In Japan, if you make a thousand cranes, your wish will come true. So Sadako made a thousand cranes and wished that she would get well soon. She prayed very hard to get well and to go home but she died of leukemia when she was just twelve years old.

The "hibakusha", the atomic bomb survivors, are not just in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. All over the world people get radiation poisoning from the testing of bombs. I really wish that as soon as possible, there will be no nuclear weapons. I don't mean just a small amount; I mean not even one atomic bomb. To me, one hundred thousand bombs or just one is the same. We have to help. Once we believe in something righteous, we must act, have courage, and love. With these three things together, I believe nuclear weapons will be gone, dismissed. That I believe in. Thank you so much.

Oldřich Černý: I'd like once again to thank Ms. Sasamori for coming halfway across the world to share with us this absolutely unforgettable but unfortunately not unique experience. And now that you have told us, we will never forget. Our third and last speaker tonight is Professor Ferguson from the Federation of American Scientists.

Charles D. Ferguson: Thank you Mr. Sasakawa and Ms. Sasamori for your witness, for your leadership, for your vision. First I want to talk briefly about why I'm here. You may be wondering what this very young person is doing here. I was born twenty years after the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. I obviously wasn't around for the event. But my organization was founded because of the atomic bombings. Almost exactly 65 years ago, my organization, originally called the Federation of Atomic Scientists, was founded by some of the original scientists who built the atomic bombs. They felt they had an ethical obligation to do what they could, what was in their power, morally and intellectually, to serve as a witness, to conduct scientific analysis, and to use the analysis to try to convince the world that nuclear war should never happen again.

We have another anniversary coming up soon in February. In February of 1946 we were re-branded as the Federation of American Scientists. So that's the origin of our current name. We broadened our mission. At the core, our mission is to prevent nuclear war and further nuclear weapons use. In addition, we work on stopping the use of biological weapons, we monitor and try to stop the trafficking of certain types of conventional arms, we work on energy security and many other issues.

The other reason why I'm here tonight is that I'm very fortunate to educate some of the next generation of leaders in the United States. I'm a professor at Georgetown University in the School of Foreign Service. Every year I teach there I show images of the bomb damage from Hiroshima. I get choked up when I talk about the effects of nuclear weapons. I say to my students that it's a very, very difficult subject to deal with, as you've heard so eloquently from Ms. Sasamori, but I tell them: "You need to know this, you need to grapple with this not just intellectually, but emotionally, because you are the next generation of leaders." I have students not just from the United States, but from all around the world. Just a few years ago I had a young woman from Hiroshima actually in my class and she was able to get books from the Peace Museum and give them out to the class. I said to them, you need to understand this in order to understand how to make better policy. So if I had one wish tonight it would be that this room would be filled with world leaders, especially those leaders in nuclear states and those leaders in states that have the capability to make nuclear arms. They need to understand these effects and they need to understand that, as the Federation of American Scientists said many decades ago, nuclear war is national suicide.

Let me conclude by talking about leadership and vision. It's so fitting that this event is here in Prague in the Czech Republic. Václav Havel was one of my heroes. I don't have to tell you his life story; I think you all know it. He has served not just as a witness, but as a visionary and a leader. Another reason why this is so personal to me is that when I was in the navy at the end of the cold war, I was on a nuclear-powered submarine and I was learning about the nuclear targeting for the ship I was on. Those of you who are old enough to remember what was happening in November 1989 know that early that month was the fall of the Berlin Wall. Just a few weeks later I learned that our submarine was targeting countries in Eastern Europe with nuclear weapons. No-one around me was talking about the political transformation going on in this part of the world, but I was aware of it. That led to a life-transforming decision for me: I decided to leave the navy and that's why I'm doing the work I'm doing today and heading the organization I'm heading today, trying to do my part, trying to do my organization's part to prevent nuclear war.

Japan has been a tremendous leader in nuclear disarmament, nuclear non-proliferation, preventing the further spread of nuclear weapons to other states, and also in the responsible use of nuclear energy. It's remarkable that the only country in the world that experienced atomic bombings is one of the world's leaders in using peaceful nuclear energy in a safe and secure way. In fact, Japan right now is heading the International Atomic Energy Agency. Many of you probably know that Ambassador Yukiya Amano is the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency. I had the pleasure to meet him just a few years ago in Sapporo when I was speaking at the UN Conference on Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament. I can attest that the world is in good hands with Professor Amano at the helm of the IAEA. I urge Japan to continue to be the world leader in promoting nuclear disarmament, nuclear non-proliferation, and the safe use of nuclear energy. It goes to show that the bitterest of enemies can become the closest of friends and allies. We can work together and I urge all of you to work together as an international community to prevent the further use of nuclear weapons. Thank you very much.


We pledge never to permit
a recurrence of these tragedies
and to build a peaceful world.
Which is your future?
těmto strašným tragédiím a vytvořit mír na zemi.
these tragedies and to build a peaceful world.

Other Conference Events Overview

Breakfast: Russia and European Energy Security

11th October 2010, Žofín Palace, Conference Hall

Introduction:
Ivana Štefková, Member, Board of Directors, Forum 2000 Foundation, Czech Republic
Oldřich Černý, Executive Director, Forum 2000 Foundation, Czech Republic

Remarks:
Edward Lucas, Journalist, The Economist, United Kingdom

Climate Change and Water Resources in the Middle East: Socioeconomic Impact

11th October 2010, Academy of Sciences

Organized in cooperation with Coca-Cola

Moderator:
Eva van de Rakt, Director, Heinrich Böll Stiftung, Czech Republic

Participants:
Václav Cílek, Writer, Geologist, Czech Republic
Peter Thum, Founder, Ethos Water, CEO, Fonderie47, USA
Hamed Assaf, Water Resources and Environmental Engineering, American University of Beirut, Lebanon

Nuclear Arms in Today's World

11th October 2010, Žofín Palace, Conference Hall

Moderator:
Josef Jařab, Former Chairman, Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defense and Security, Czech Republic

Participants:
Dana Drábová, Chair, State Office for Nuclear Safety, Czech Republic
Masashi Nishihara, President, Research Institute for Peace and Security, Japan
Charles D. Ferguson, President, Federation of American Scientists, USA
Dewi Fortuna Anwar, Deputy Chair, Indonesian Institute of Sciences, Indonesia
Paul Wolfowitz, Former President, World Bank, USA

Transcript of this panel available at:
http://www.forum2000.cz/en/projects/forum-2000-conferences/2010/transcripts/

Religion and Foreign Policy

11th October 2010, Institut Francais

Organized in cooperation with the Embassy of France

Moderator:
Pierre Lévy, Ambassador to the Czech Republic, France

Participants:
Jiří Schneider, First Deputy Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Czech Republic
Joseph Maïla, Head, Religions Team, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France
Michael Melchior, Politician, Former Chief Rabbi of Norway, Israel
William Cook, Professor of History and Religion, State University of New York, USA

Healthcare: Whose Responsibility Is It Anyway?

11th October 2010, Goethe Institut

Keynote Speech:
James A. Rice, Executive Vice President, Integrated Healthcare Strategies, USA

Moderator:
Pavel Hroboň, Former Deputy Minister of Health, Czech Republic

Participants:
Rudolf Zajac, Former Minister of Health, Slovakia
Jana M. Petrenko, Director, Coalition for Health, Czech Republic
Octavian Purcarea, Director, Industry Market Development Europe World Wide Health Team, Microsoft, France
Marek Vácha, Catholic Priest, Biologist and Ethicist, Czech Republic

Transcript of this panel available at:
http://www.forum2000.cz/en/projects/forum-2000-conferences/2010/transcripts/

Breakfast

12th October 2010, Žofín Palace, Restaurant

Introduction:
Tomáš Vrba, Chairman, Board of Directors, Forum 2000 Foundation, Czech Republic

Remarks:
Mirek Topolánek, Former Prime Minister, Czech Republic

The "Normalization" in Chechnya

12th October 2010, Žofín Palace, Knight´s Hall

Organized in cooperation with Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty and People in Need

Moderator:
Josef Pazderka, Former Moscow Correspondent, Czech Television, Czech Republic

Participants:
Alexander Cherkasov, Board Member, Memorial, Russia
Aslan Doukaev, Director, North Caucasus Service for RFE/RL, Czech Republic/Russia
Khassan Baiev, Chairman, International Committee for the Children of Chechnya, USA/Russia
Gregory Feifer, Senior Correspondent, RFE/RL, Czech Republic/USA

The Potential for Environmental Peace Building: Water as a Bridge or Obstacle to Peace in the Middle East?

12th October 2010, Žofín Palace, Knight´s Hall

Organized in cooperation with Coca-Cola

Moderator:
Irena Kalhousová, Chief Analyst, Prague Security Studies Institute, Czech Republic

Participants:
Hasan Abu Nimah, Director, Regional Human Security Center, Jordan
Natasha Carmi-Hanna, Policy Advisor, Negotiations Support Unit, Negotiation Affairs Department, Palestine
Oded Fixler, Deputy Director General, Israeli Water and Sewage Authority, Israel

OTHER CONFERENCE EVENTS OVERVIEW

EU – Russia Relations: Is a Strategic Partnership Possible?

12th October 2010, Žofín Palace, Conference Hall

Keynote Speech:
Grigory Yavlinsky, Economist and Politician, Russia

Moderator:
Misha Glenny, Journalist, United Kingdom

Participants:
Mirek Topolánek, Former Prime Minister, Czech Republic
Fyodor Lukyanov, Editor-in-Chief, Russia in Global Affairs, Russia
Gesine Schwan, Politician, President, Humboldt-Viadrina School of Governance, Germany
Gregory Feifer, Senior Correspondent, RFE/RL, Czech Republic/USA

Transcript of this panel available at:
http://www.forum2000.cz/en/projects/forum-2000-conferences/2010/transcripts/

Religion: An Element of Democratic Change?

12th October 2010, Academy of Sciences

Moderator:
Anna Teresa Arco, Chief Feature Writer, Catholic Herald, United Kingdom/ Austria

Participants:
Gilles Kepel, Sociologist, Sciences Po, France
José Luis García Paneque, Surgeon, Independent Journalist, Cuba
Shirin Ebadi, Lawyer, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, Iran
Tomáš Halík, Sociologist, President, Czech Christian Academy, Czech Republic

The Business World We Want to Live In

12th October 2010, Academy of Sciences

Moderator:
Pepper de Callier, Member, Corporate Council, Forum 2000 Foundation, Czech Republic/USA

Participants:
Zdeněk Bakala, Investor and Philanthropist, Czech Republic
James A. Cusumano, Chairman and Owner, Chateau Mcely–Castle Hotel, Czech Republic/USA
Vladimíra Josefiová, Chief Business Officer, Intesa Sanpaolo Group, Slovenia/Czech Republic
Petra Klouchová, Student, Czech Republic
Jakub Mikolášek, Student, Czech Republic
Lei Ba, Student, China
Sergio Schuler, Student, Brazil


FREEDOM AND
RESPONSIBILITY

ASSOCIATED EVENTS OVERVIEW

Associated Events Overview

Inventory of Urbanism

8–10th October 2010, Faculty of Architecture, Czech Technical University in Prague

Conference organized in cooperation with Czech Technical University in Prague, Faculty of Architecture

More information at: *http://www.inventuraurbanismu.cz*

Juhani Pallasmaa: Twelve Themes in My Work, Thought and Form

8th October 2010, Bethlehem Chapel

Lecture and discussion organized in cooperation with Czech Technical University in Prague, Faculty of Architecture

Moderator:
Zdeněk Zavřel, Dean, Faculty of Architecture, Czech Technical University in Prague, Czech Republic

Participant:
Juhani Pallasmaa, Architect, Principal, Juhani Pallasmaa Architects, Finland

12 Hours of the Future: A Marathon of Ideas, Conjectures, Propositions

9th October 2010, DOX, Center for Contemporary Art

Marathon of Ideas organized in cooperation with DOX, Center for Contemporary Art

More information at: *http://www.doxprague.org/en/actions?action/113*

Green Jobs: Opportunity for Energy Security and Economic Prosperity

11th October 2010, Academy of Sciences

Panel organized in cooperation with the Hnutí DUHA – Friends of the Earth, Czech Republic and the United Nations Information Center Prague

Moderator:
Petr Lebeda, Director, Glopolis, Czech Republic

Participants:
Martin Bursík, Former Minister of Environment, Czech Republic
Sanjeev Kumar, Senior Associate, E3G, United Kingdom
Martin Mikeska, Hnutí DUHA – Friends of the Earth, Czech Republic

Religious Life in Contemporary Europe

11th October 2010, Hussite Theological Faculty

Lecture and discussion organized in cooperation with the Hussite Theological Faculty of the Charles University

Moderator:
Zdeněk Vojtíšek, Head of the Department of Religious Studies of the Hussite Theological Faculty, Charles University, Czech Republic

Participant:
Grace Davie, Sociologist of Religion, University of Exeter, United Kingdom

The Poorest Countries – Do We Care? Visegrad 4 Countries as Re-emerging Donors

11th October 2010, Žofín Palace, Knight's Hall

Conference organized in cooperation with People in Need

Panel 1: The Development Cooperation of V4 Countries

Opening Remarks:
Šimon Pánek, Director, People in Need, Czech Republic

Moderator:
Dušan Ondrušek, Partners for Democratic Change Slovakia, Slovakia

Participants:
Daniel Hanšpach, UNDP Bratislava, Slovakia
Beata Bublewicz, Member of Parliament, Poland
Zuzana Hlavičková, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Czech Republic
Júlia László, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Hungary
Iza Wilczynska, Polish Humanitarian Action, Poland

Panel 2: What Is the Added Value of the V4 Countries as Donors?

Participants:
Šimon Pánek, Director, People in Need, Czech Republic
Briggite Luggin, Delegation of the European Commission, Czech Republic
Dániel Izsák, Central European University Budapest, Hungary
Mary Alice Onyura, ESVAK, Kenya
Dušan Ondrušek, Partners for Democratic Change Slovakia, Slovakia

12 Hours of the Future: Epilogue

11th October 2010, DOX, Center for Contemporary Art

Discussion organized in cooperation with DOX, Center for Contemporary Art

Participants:
Zygmunt Bauman, Sociologist, United Kingdom/Poland
Jacques Rupnik, Political Scientist, France
Marek Skovajsa, Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic
Michal Vašečka, Faculty of Social Studies, Masaryk University, Czech Republic/Slovakia
Michal Mejstřík, Head of Institute of Economic Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University, Czech Republic
Jaroslav Anděl, Artistic Director, DOX, Czech Republic

More information at: *http://www.doxprague.org/en/actions?action/113*

The Way Out of Cuban Prison

11th October 2010, Academy of Sciences

Panel discussion organized in cooperation with People in Need

Moderator:
Malvína Krausz Hladká, Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic

Participants:
José Luis García Paneque, Surgeon, Independent Journalist, Cuba
Pavla Holcová, Head of Cuban Section, People in Need, Czech Republic

Will the Elections in Burma Bring Change?

11th October 2010, Academy of Sciences

Panel discussion organized in cooperation with People in Need

Moderator:
Kristina Prunerová, Head of Burma Projects, People in Need, Czech Republic

Participants:
Jiří Šitler, Director, Department of Asia and the Pacific, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Czech Republic
Marek Benda, Member of Parliament, Member of the Czech Parliamentary Caucus for Burma, Czech Republic
Cheery Zahau, Human Rights Education Institute of Burma, Thailand/ Burma
Sabe Soe, Director, Burma Center Prague, Czech Republic

The Open Society Fellowship: Ideas to Move the World

11th October 2010, Academy of Sciences

Presentation organized in cooperation with the Open Society Institute

Presentation:
Lisena DeSantis, Program Coordinator, Open Society Fellowship, USA

Women Creating a Secure World

11th October 2010, Academy of Sciences

Panel discussion organized in cooperation with the ProEquality Center of Open Society, p.b.c., the UN Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic and the UN Information Center Prague

Moderator:
Míla O'Sullivan, Policy Analyst, ProEquality Center / Open Society, Czech Republic

Participants:
Shirin Ebadi, Lawyer, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, Iran
Beatrice Mtetwa, Lawyer, Human Rights Advocate, Zimbabwe
Janina Hřebíčková, Head, Embassy in Pristina, Czech Republic
Michal Broža, Director, UN Information Center Prague, Czech Republic
Pavel Gruber, Caritas / Czech Forum for Development Co-operation, Czech Republic

Lecture by Stefan Behnisch: New Aspects and Innovation in Architecture

11th October 2010, Bethlehem Chapel

Lecture and discussion organized in cooperation with Czech Technical University in Prague, Faculty of Architecture

Moderator:
Zdeněk Zavřel, Dean of the Faculty of Architecture, Czech Technical University in Prague, Czech Republic

Participant:
Stefan Behnisch, Architect, Partner, Behnisch Architekten, USA/Germany

Discussion with Richard Sennett at Prague Business Club

11th October 2010, Prague Business Club

Discussion organized in cooperation with Prague Business Club

Moderator:
Luboš Drobík, President, Prague Business Club, Czech Republic

Participant:
Richard Sennett, Sociologist, London School of Economics, New York University, United Kingdom/USA

The Development of ASEAN after the ASEAN Charter: Political and Security Issues

12th October 2010, Academy of Sciences

Roundtable discussion organized in cooperation with Association for International Affairs

Moderator:
Daniel Novotný, Deputy Director, Research Center, Association for International Affairs, Czech Republic

Participant:
Dewi Fortuna Anwar, Deputy Chair, Indonesian Institute of Sciences, Indonesia

Saving Biodiversity – Saving Future of the Mankind

12th October 2010, Academy of Sciences

Workshop and panel discussion organized in cooperation with Academy of Sciences

Introduction:
Jiří Drahoš, President, Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic

Participants:
Bedřich Moldan, Member, Senate of the Parliament, Czech Republic
František Krahulec, Institute of Botany, Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic
František Sehnal, Biology Center, Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic
George Monbiot, Author and Columnist, The Guardian, United Kingdom
Jan Květ, Institute of Botany, Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic
Jan Zima, Institute of Vertebrate Biology, Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic
Jitka Klimešová, Institute of Botany, Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic
Karel Šimek, Institute of Hydrobiology, Biology Center, Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic
Ladislav Miko, Director for Nature, Directorate General for Environment, European Commission, Belgium/Czech Republic
Michal V. Marek, Institute of Systems Biology and Ecology, Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic
Petr Ráb, Institute of Animal Physiology and Genetics, Czech Republic
Václav Cílek, Writer, Geologist, Czech Republic
Viera Straškrábová, Institute of Hydrobiology, Biology Center, Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic

Closing Remarks:
Vladimír Mareček, Vice President, Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic

Urban Sprawl Proliferation in the Landscape: Seeking Solutions

12th October 2010, Academy of Sciences

Panel discussion organized in cooperation with Society for Sustainable Living

Moderator:
Jiří Dlouhý, Chairman, Society for Sustainable Living, Czech Republic

Participants:
Alena Salašová, Vice-Chancellor, Mendel University in Brno, Czech Republic
Martin Stránský, Chairman, Board of Directors, Center of the European Network for Implementation of the European Landscape Convention, Czech Republic

Lesson Taken? The Role of Political Prisoners in our Past, Present and Future

12th October 2010, Goethe Institut

Panel discussion organized in cooperation with Politicalprisoners.eu

Moderator:
Tomáš Bouška, Politicalprisoners.eu, Czech Republic

Participants:
José Luis García Paneque, Surgeon, Independent Journalist, Cuba
Trudie Bryks, Journalist, USA

Lecture by Fumihiko Maki: Modernity and the Construction of Scenery

12th October 2010, Nostic Palace Stables

Lecture and discussion organized in cooperation with Czech Technical University in Prague, Faculty of Architecture

Moderator:
Ladislav Lábus, Czech Technical University in Prague, Faculty of Architecture, Czech Republic

Participant:
Fumihiko Maki, Architect, Principal, Maki and Associates, Japan

Hiroshima – Nagasaki 1945–2010: Discussion with Students

13th October 2010, Classic Gymnasium Modřany

Participant:
Shigeko Sasamori, Hiroshima Survivor, Japan

Exhibitions and Screenings

One World in Schools

11th and 12th October 2010, Evald Cinema

Movie screenings organized in cooperation with One World in Schools / People in Need

The Man Who Planted Trees, Frederick Beck, France 1987
Poison Fire, Lars Johansson, Tanzania, Nigeria 2008
Green, Patrick Rouxel, France 2009

Copenhagen 2009: Seal the Deal

11th and 12th October 2010, Žofín Palace, Ground Floor

Exhibition organized in cooperation with the British Council

Smile for Belarus

11th and 12th October 2010, Žofín Palace, Park

Cartoons exhibition organized in cooperation with Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty

Silenced Voices: Murdered Human Rights Defenders in Russia

11th October 2010, New Stage, National Theater

Exhibition opening and exhibition organized in cooperation with People in Need and Heinrich Böll Stiftung Prague

Participants:
Edward Lucas, Journalist, The Economist, United Kingdom
Alexander Cherkasov, Board Member, Memorial, Russia

The exhibition took place from October 11 to October 21, 2010.

City Gallery

11th and 12th October 2010, Žofín Palace, Park

Exhibition organized in cooperation with the Center for Central European Architecture

Faculty of Architecture Students' Works Exhibition

11th and 12th October 2010, Academy of Sciences

Exhibition organized in cooperation with Czech Technical University in Prague, Faculty of Architecture

Hiroshima – Nagasaki 1945–2010

Exhibition organized in cooperation with The Nippon Foundation, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, the New Town Hall and The Moravian Museum

From October 12th to November 14th 2010, New Town Hall, Prague

From October 14th to November 13th 2010, The Moravian Museum, Brno

Surendra Munshi, Keizo Takemi

Forum 2000 Delegates 1997–2010

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

TAHIR ABBAS, Director of Birmingham University's Center for the Study of Ethnicity and Culture, United Kingdom
SHARIF M. ABDULLAH, Director of the Commonway Institute, USA
IZZELDINE ABUELAISH, Doctor and Peace Activist, Palestine
HASAN ABU NIMAH, Director, Regional Human Security Center, Jordan
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
MOHAMMAD 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
MOHAMMED MOHAMMED ALI, Islamic Researcher and Politician, Human Rights Activist, Iraq
JITZSCHAK ALSTER, Partner at Shimoni, Alster & Rasiel, Israel
OSWALDO ALVAREZ PAZ, Founder, Popular Alliance, Venezuela
CHRISTIANE AMANPOUR, Chief International Correspondent, CNN, USA
ROBERT R. AMSTERDAM, Attorney, Canada

EDUARDO ANINAT, Economist, Scholar and Former Minister of Finance, Chile
MURIEL ANTON, CEO, Vodafone Czech Republic, Czech Republic/Canada
DEWI FORTUNA ANWAR, Deputy Chair, Indonesian Institute of Sciences, Indonesia
MOHAMMAD BASHAR ARAFAT, President of Civilizations Exchange and Cooperation Foundation, Syria/USA
ANNA TERESA ARCO, Chief Feature Writer, Catholic Herald, United Kingdom/Austria
MAEN RASHID AREIKAT, Coordinator General, Negotiation Affairs Department of the PLO, Palestine
JOSE MARIA ARGUETA, Former National 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
HAMED ASSAF, Water Resources and Environmental Engineering, American University of Beirut, Lebanon
SHLOMO AVINERI, Professor Emeritus of Political Science, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel
EDITH AWINO, Students' Forum 2000 Delegate, Kenya
MEHMET AYDIN, Dean, 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, Middle East Technical University, Turkey
KHASSAN BAIEV, Chairman, International Committee for the Children of Chechnya, USA/Russia
ZDENĚK BAKALA, Entrepreneur and Investor, Czech Republic
MIRIAM BALABAN, Secretary General of the European Desalination Society, USA
LESZEK BALCEROWICZ, Former Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, Poland
EHUD BARAK, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defense, Israel
CATHERINE BARBER, Economic Policy Adviser, 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
ZYGMUNT BAUMAN, Sociologist, United Kingdom/Poland
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FORUM 2000 DELEGATES 1997–2010

Conference Venues

Main Conference Venues

Žofín Palace

The Žofín Palace is situated in the very heart of Prague on Slovanský Island. Constructed in honor of Archduchess Sophie – the Princess of Bavaria and the mother of Emperor Franz Josef I of Austria – the original classical building was redesigned by Jindřich Fialka and rebuilt in the neo-Renaissance style between 1885 and 1887. In the 1930s, a garden, restaurant and a music pavilion were added to the palace. The island's shores offer beautiful views of Prague and Prague Castle.

Academy of Sciences

Located at Národní třída opposite the Laterna Magika and the National Theater, the main building of the Czech Academy of Sciences represents the neo-Renaissance architectonic style of the second half of the 19th century. It was built by Ignác Vojtěch Ullmann between the years 1857 and 1863 as the seat of Spořitelna česká (Czech Savings-Bank). In 1954 the building was transferred to the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. In 1992 the Academy was renamed Czech Academy of Sciences and kept the building as its main center of administration for the academy´s 54 public research institutions.

Prague Crossroads

Located in Prague´s Old Town, the former Gothic Church of St. Anne was built as a Dominican Convent between 1319 and 1330 on the site of an old rotunda and a church. Closed during the reign of Joseph II, the church was deconsecrated in 1782, and its complex of buildings was turned into flats and a printing house that were in use until 1795. Established under the initiative of Václav Havel, the church today serves as a unique international spiritual and cultural center, the result of a joint venture of prominent architects and designers Adriena Šimotová, Bořek Šípek, Kurt Gebauer and Eva Jiřičná.

Goethe Institut

Located in Prague's New Town, the institute is situated in the beautiful Art Nouveau building of the former First Czech General Insurance Bank. Inspired by the architectural design of Jiří Stibral, the building was built in 1905 and decorated with bronze sculptures by Ladislav Šaloun. Used by the Embassy of the German Democratic Republic until 1989, the building today hosts the Czech office of the Goethe Institut (since 1990).

Other Conference Venues

Institut Francais
Štěpánská 35
Prague 1

New Town Hall
Vodičkova 1/3
Prague 1

Venues of Events Organized in Cooperation with Our Partners

Bethlehem Chapel
Betlémské náměstí
Prague 1

Classic Gymnasium Modřany
Rakovského 3136/II
Prague 4

DOX, Center for Contemporary Art
Poupětova 1
Prague 7

Evald Cinema
Národní 60/28
Prague 1

Faculty of Architecture
Czech Technical University in Prague
Thákurova 7
Prague 6

Hussite Theological Faculty
Charles University in Prague
Pacovská 350/4
Prague 4

New Stage, National Theater
Národní 4
Prague 1

Nostic Palace Stables
Maltézské náměstí 1
Prague 1

The Moravian Museum
Institute of Ethnography
Kobližná 1
Brno

Prague Business Club
Juarézova 2
Prague 6

About Forum 2000 Foundation

Mission

The Forum 2000 Foundation was established in 1996 as a joint initiative of Czech President Václav Havel, Japanese philanthropist Yohei Sasakawa, and Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Elie Wiesel.

The aims of the Forum 2000 Foundation are:

- to identify the key issues facing civilization and to explore ways in which to prevent the escalation of conflicts which are primarily driven by religious, cultural or ethnic tensions;
- 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. Over fourteen 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, H.H. the Dalai Lama, Wole Soyinka, H.R.H. El Hassan bin Talal, Madeleine Albright, Nicholas 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: H.R.H. El Hassan bin Talal, H.H. the Dalai Lama, Frederik Willem de Klerk, André Glucksmann, Vartan Gregorian, Václav Havel, Hans Küng, Michael Novak, Shimon Peres, Yohei Sasakawa, Karel Schwarzenberg, Desmond Tutu, Richard von Weizsäcker and Grigory Yavlinsky.

NGO Market
The main goal of this project is to strengthen civic society by providing a communication platform for non-governmental organizations (NGOs). This unique one-day event gives NGOs an opportunity to present their activities to the broad public, to establish new partnerships and to address potential sponsors and volunteers. Nearly 150 NGOs presented their activities at the 11th NGO Market in 2010, with more than 20 NGOs coming from Germany, United Kingdom, Russia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Ukraine, Poland, Belarus, Romania, Spain, Denmark and other countries. The scope of work of the exhibiting NGOs covered areas such as human rights, social services, education, environmental protection, hobbies, civil participation, diversity and many others.

Interfaith Dialogue
Interfaith dialogue and multi-religious assemblies have been an integral and permanent part of the Forum 2000 project and culminate every year in the framework of the Forum 2000 Conference.

Through frank dialogue, participants work for better collective understanding of global issues, explore the role of religion today and search for ways to increase mutual cooperation and understanding.

Exploring Water Patterns in the Middle East
This year marks the fifth 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 H.R.H. El Hassan bin Talal from Jordan. The aim of EWaP is to comprehensively address the issue through 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.

Other Events and Activities

Forum 2000 is open to cooperation with other organizations on a wide variety of projects such as the "Holocaust Era Assets Conference" (June 26–30, 2009) organized in cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Czech Government Office and other non-governmental and educational institutions. We also organize ad hoc events, such as the conference on "Peace, Democracy and Human Rights in Asia" (September 10–11, 2009) and various educational activities. This year Forum 2000 organized the conference on "Forgotten Victims", "Training on Conflict Management" and issued a protest against the arrest of Oswaldo Álvarez Paz.

Conference on Forgotten Victims
The Forum 2000 Foundation in cooperation with the Foundation "Remembrance, Responsibility and Future", In IUSTITIA and Kulturbüro Sachsen e.V. organized a two-day international conference on "Forgotten Victims". The conference, which took place in Prague, April 22–23, 2010, was devoted to the issue of hate crimes / hate violence, which is one of the most severe, and yet most common forms of human rights abuses in Europe today. The goals of the conference, which was held under the auspices of the Prime Minister of the Czech Republic, Jan Fischer, were to contribute to a useful exchange of experiences on how to effectively and consistently address the issue of hate violence, as well as how to raise the awareness of the interested public, relevant NGOs, policymakers and serious media of the situation of people threatened by and exposed to hate violence.

Training on Conflict Management
The training course "Youth in Conflicts – Training on Conflict Management and Active Participation", held on April 11–19, 2010, constituted part of the educational activities of the Forum 2000 Foundation. The course, held at the Brejlov Mill, was attended by 24 representatives from 21 countries, including individuals from conflict areas. The training provided youth NGO workers with tools to empower young people to take an active role in settling conflicts and tensions between each other at both the local and the international levels.

Protest Against the Arrest of Oswaldo Álvarez Paz
Dr. Álvarez Paz, former Governor of Zulia state in Venezuela, President of the Chamber of Deputies and presidential candidate, participated in the Forum 2000 Conference in 2008. He was arrested on March 22, 2010 after appearing on a television show where he called for the investigation of the alleged relationship between the Venezuelan government, the Colombian guerilla group FARC and the Spanish terrorist group ETA. The Forum 2000 Foundation demanded the release of Oswaldo Álvarez Paz in an open letter addressed to the Venezuelan government on March 31, 2010. The letter was signed by more than 30 delegates of Forum 2000 Conferences, including Václav Havel, Zygmunt Bauman, Humberto Celli, Garry Kasparov, Mikhail Kasyanov and Don McKinnon. In May, Álvarez Paz was released from custody and the charge of conspiracy was dropped.

More information about our activities is available on our website www.forum2000.cz.

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Organizing the 14th Annual Forum 2000 Conference would not have been possible without the enthusiasm and effort of our volunteers, who undertook many of the administrative tasks prior to the event, accompanied the conference delegates as personal assistants, worked as reporters, photographers, and performed a myriad of other crucial tasks. Their contribution should not go unnoticed and it is also thanks to them that Forum 2000 Conferences have been successful.

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"Can anything be absolutely self-evident? Wonder at the non-self-evidence of everything that creates our world is, after all, the first impulse to the question: what purpose does it all have? Why does it all exist? Why does anything exist at all? We don't know and we will never find out. It is quite possible that everything is here in order for us to have something to wonder at. And that we are here simply so that there is someone to wonder. But what is the point of having someone wonder at something? And what alternative is there to being? After all if there were nothing, there would also be no one to observe it. And if there were no one to observe it, then the big question is whether non-being would be at all possible.

Perhaps someone, just a few hundred light years away from our planet, is looking at us through a perfect telescope. What do they see? They see the Thirty Years War. For that reason alone it holds true that everything is here all the time, that nothing that has happened can unhappen, and that with our every word or movement we are making the cosmos different – forever – from what it was before."

Václav Havel, Former President of the Czech Republic

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