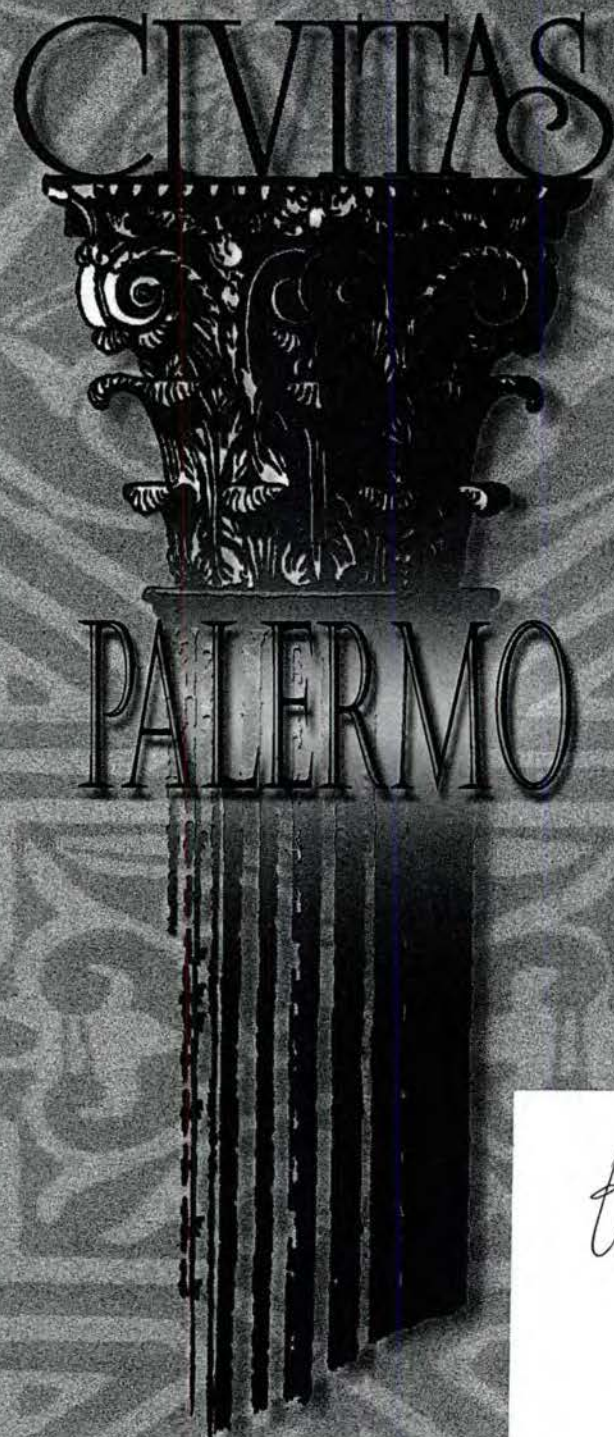


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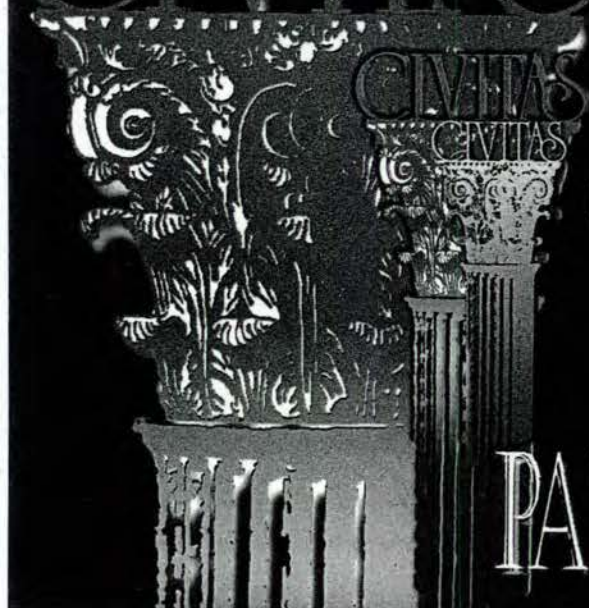
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Civitas/Network
Worldwide Update 1998-1999

24

CIVITAS/NETWORK

WORLDWIDE UPDATE 1998-1999



Mrs. Clinton Hails Anticrime Work

June 18, 1999, by Jeff Israely

PALERMO, Sicily (AP) -- In this city which once symbolized the Mafia, Hillary Rodham Clinton said the example parents set "as they tuck their children in to bed" can be as important in fighting crime as the work of police and prosecutors.

"Law enforcement cannot work in isolation," the first lady said at an international conference of educators. "It must work hand in hand with efforts to change the culture of violence and instill the rule of law."

Fighting crime, she said, begins with parents' teaching their children the right "habits of the heart."

She praised Palermo as a model for citizens taking action against crime, referring to the "committee of sheets." It was a movement of women who hung banners fashioned from bedsheets out windows decorated with slogans like "Basta" (enough) to protest the Mafia shootings and bombings that bloodied the city through the early 1990s.

Palermo Mayor Leoluca Orlando agreed. "Palermo is no longer the symbol of the Mafia, no longer the capital of lawlessness," he said.

Mrs. Clinton toured Santa Maria dello Spasimo, a 16th century church noted for its missing roof. Located in a poor neighborhood, the church had been abandoned for decades until Palermo, with the help of schoolchildren and former prison inmates, cleaned it up.

Outside the opera house where she gave her speech, a score of leftist demonstrators shouted slogans including, "Mrs. War," in protest over the now-concluded American-led NATO air attacks against Yugoslavia.

In Morocco earlier Friday, Mrs. Clinton spoke at graduation ceremonies at the Al Akhawahn University, praising that country as a leader in Muslim society in extending freedoms and tolerance. She applauded noted literacy campaigns aimed at young Moroccan girls living in the countryside.

The first lady was awarded an honorary degree and a new course was named after her. The Hillary Rodham Clinton Women's Empowerment Program will focus on training women for business and political careers.

She was to rejoin President Clinton Saturday afternoon in Cologne, Germany, for the summit meeting of leading industrial nations.

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21:16 18 Jun RTRS-Hillary Clinton praises Palermo as civic model

By Francesco Bongarra

PALERMO, Italy, June 18 (Reuters) - U.S. First Lady Hillary Clinton on Friday invoked the spirit of the late President John Kennedy in her praise of Palermo, the Mafia's birthplace, as a model for citizens to overcome criminality and corruption.

Clinton, who is considering a bid for New York's Senate seat, referred to Kennedy's 1963 "I am a Berliner" speech at a conference for educators and civic groups to discuss how to make democracy and the rule of law work in their countries.

"Today we are beyond the cold war but we still have challenges...violence, crime and corruption, terrorism and international trafficking of drugs and weapons," she said.

"If we see the lesson Palermo has taught us and stand with the people of Palermo, and if we do, then I think we could say, as President Kennedy said in another context, I am a Palermitana."

Delegates from 60 countries gathered at the conference sponsored by Civitas, a global network to promote civic education which chose Palermo to show that the struggle against crime did not have to take generations or involve a police state.

Italian officials say the Mafia has by no means disappeared in Sicily or elsewhere in Italy and still controls illegal businesses, but it no longer dominates its institutions.

Clinton said laws and elections alone were not enough.

"We have to strengthen a civil society and teach our children the culture of legality," she said.

"Democracy is substantial only when laws are rooted in the hearts and minds of citizens. Here in Palermo the lesson of citizenship could not have had a better effect."

Palermo Mayor Leoluca Orlando recalled the civic protests launched by Sicilians after anti-Mafia magistrates Giovanni Falcone and Paolo Borsellino were assassinated in 1992.

"Palermo is no longer the symbol of the Mafia," Orlando said. "Thanks to the efforts of its citizens it has become the capital of the fight against illegality."

Clinton, accompanied by her daughter Chelsea, said it was often women who rose up first, as they did in Sicily after the assassinations by hanging bed sheets outside windows in a sign of protest against the mafia.

About 50 demonstrators protested in front of the building where Clinton spoke with banners reading "American assassins" and "Killing Serb babies is a crime." Clinton entered through another entrance.

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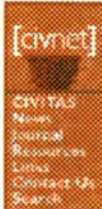
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FIRST LADY'S CIVITAS SPEECH, PALERMO, JUNE 18, 1999 (as Delivered)

Thank you very much, Mr. Mayor, for that generous introduction and for your leadership that has been so critical to the progress that we mark as we meet here in Palermo. To the Minister of Education, to the President-to-be of the European Commission and my friend Romano Prodi, to David Dorn, the Chair of CIVITAS International, to the United Nations Undersecretary, and to all of you who are civic educators and leaders from around the world.

As we gather here this evening, in this beautiful opera house, we can celebrate together its re-opening and we could even hear, if we listened hard, the shouts of joy from children who listened to their first concert two years ago after they helped re-open the doors of this historic building, the third largest opera house in Europe. I have heard stories of about how hard they worked, week after week, and month after month, as they helped bring this building, closed for twenty-five years, back to life.

The children held art exhibits to raise money. They urged their parents and their neighbors to be part of this historic effort. Their enthusiasm was infectious and soon everyone was involved, with electricians and craftsmen working so hard to restore the building to the cheers of community residents. These young people now serve as guides. They not only introduce visitors to this beautifully restored cultural center, they help introduce visitors and their fellow citizens to an object lesson in citizen action and democracy building. They have, it is to be sure, reclaimed their precious cultural heritage.

But, as importantly, they have become part of a remarkable citizens' movement to combat crime and violence that continues to transform life in this city. Today we have come from more than 80 countries to learn the lessons of Palermo and to underscore the vital role that citizens and citizens' movements play in strengthening the forces of democracy around the world.

I want to recognize the contributions of CIVITAS International. It has provided invaluable help and promoted important work to make the idea of civic education come alive, and by doing so it has helped to nurture democratic values around the globe. Thank you for sponsoring this important international conference.

I have seen the results of the work of CIVITAS in many different settings. Just a few years ago I had the privilege at the White House of meeting with some of the teachers who had been trained by CIVITAS who had been working with young people in Bosnia, helping to prepare future citizens following the end of that terrible conflict. I was impressed then with the work they were doing as they went into classrooms and communities, helping people not only to rebuild the physical aspects of their lives but to reclaim their rights as human beings and as citizens, to help build a new democracy. All of you know so well that a democracy proclaimed on paper

alone does not guarantee that people understand their democratic and civic responsibilities.

But today the work of CIVITAS, and the work of the people and leaders of Palermo and the work of so many of you here, is helping to make clearer than ever that, if communities wish to enjoy the benefits and fruits of democracy, then they must produce citizens who understand what hard work it is to keep democracy alive.

We come together at a time of great possibilities and we can see the forces of democracy sweeping across the world. Even today we celebrate the first free elections in Indonesia in more than forty years, the reaffirmation of democracy by all races in South Africa, renewed hopes for peace in the Middle East and finally the end of Serbia's brutal and systematic effort to drive ethnic Albanians from their homes. Finally, finally, the Kosovars can begin to return to gather their families together and rebuild their lives.

And I wish to thank the government and the people of Italy for your stalwart support of our efforts in Kosovo. So there is much to celebrate. I could list many examples that would keep us here all night, but as Kosovo unfortunately reminds us, even as the forces of freedom, peace and democracy move forward, age-old ethnic, religious and tribal hatreds continue to be unleashed and strong undercurrents of crime, violence and corruption threaten to dismantle many of our hard-fought gains.

I have been privileged in the last several years both with my husband and on my own to travel around the world on behalf of the United States and I have seen firsthand newly emerging democracies take hold, find their footing, stumble, regain their footing and try to go forward. I have seen advanced democracies struggle with corruption and crime and violence. But I have seen how resilient the forces of democracy can be.

But in order to strengthen and maintain these forces for justice, peace and tolerance, we have to do more to nurture and build a strong civil society and to teach not only our children but ourselves the lessons of citizenship.

Now, building and maintaining a democracy is very hard work. It is, in fact, a never-ending process. My own country became a democracy, a newly independent state if you will, in 1776, and for over 220 years, we have been working hard to perfect that democracy. It took us more than 10 years to draft a constitution, almost 90 years to rid our nation of slavery, almost 150 years to give women the right to vote and even longer to ensure that all of our citizens were equal under the law.

It is still difficult for people to understand, even those in well-established democracies, that elections by themselves are not enough, that laws by themselves are not enough, that even peace agreements, whether it is between nations or between governments and organized crime, are not enough. What we have learned over the years is that our most cherished ideals can only be made real through the every day efforts of ordinary citizens.

Our laws and institutions are absolutely critical, of course, but democracy is nurtured and sustained only when democratic values are rooted in the hearts, the minds and the actions of ordinary men and women; when citizens truly believe that every individual is entitled to respect and dignity; when citizens practice the responsibilities of citizenship in their daily lives; and when parents pass on these habits of the heart to their children by their

example, by the stories they tell them as they tuck them into bed at night.

It makes a very great difference whether a parent passes on the biases, the bigotries, the prejudices, the fears, the insecurities that stalked the past, or helps the child look to the future with hope. What better place to renew and strengthen our commitment to teaching these habits of the heart than here in Palermo? The lessons of citizenship could not have a better form.

I have been told that when the Mayor talks about how to go about creating the society in which we should all want to live, he talks about a cart with two wheels. That to move forward in a democracy and create a climate of lawfulness, you need law enforcement and civil society to work together. If one wheel moves too fast, the cart spins around instead of moving forward. Again and again, in my country, here, around the world, we have seen that law enforcement cannot work in isolation or lose its accountability to the people it serves. It must work hand-in-hand with citizens to change the culture of violence and to strengthen the rule of law.

I, too, have a simple metaphor, like the Mayor, that I use to describe the challenges we face in building and maintaining democracy. I talk about a three-legged stool: one leg is the government, which of course includes, as its primary obligation to people, law enforcement; the second leg is the economy that provides opportunities for people to fulfill their own aspirations; and the third leg is what we call civil society.

Now, we cannot sit on that stool if there are only two legs, or even just one. We cannot sit on that stool if one leg is stronger than the other two, or longer or shorter. Creating the balance that we must have in society requires that these principal institutions work together, that the government be efficient and effective, honest and transparent, that it help do for individuals what individuals cannot do for themselves and what market economies cannot do or produce. We need governments that protect our freedoms and defend our lives.

But the government, no matter how well functioning, how honest, how transparent, cannot by itself create citizens. We know we also need a free market economy which creates jobs and wealth and gives consumers choices that unleash potential for families to pursue their economic goals.

But the market economy, no matter how much wealth it produces, cannot create citizens. Only civil society, which exists in that space between the government and the economy, can do that work. It is in that space where we live our lives; where much of what makes life worth living occurs; where our families are born and raised; where our faith gives us support and meaning; where arts and culture such as those from this magnificent stage lift our spirits and expand our minds. So, what we must do as we meet about educating for democracy is to understand how essential it is to build up civil society.

So, Mr. Mayor, whether the image is your two-wheeled cart or the three-legged stool, we are speaking the same language. We understand that a vibrant civil society is as essential to human progress as the institutions of government and the economy. We need them to balance and reinforce each other and remain strong enough to support us all in the years to come. That is truly at the heart of our work together.

Today, whether we look at the ongoing violence in some of our cities, or the age-old hatreds and conflicts that still tear communities and nations apart,

or the struggles that new democracies face to keep moving forward, we understand the task we have. You have accomplished a great deal here in Palermo, and we have much to learn from you as we stand in solidarity with you. Palermo teaches us about the emerging role that women are playing around the world in ending violence in our societies. You saw in the video -- that was at the beginning of the program--the white sheets hanging from balconies: "*basta*," the words, the feelings, the shouts of women. I have seen the role that women are playing all over the world, standing up against hatred and violence, standing for peace and security.

I have just come from a meeting at the Mayor's office with women from around the world who represent an initiative in our government called "Vital Voices," where we have brought together women who are on the front lines of the struggle for democracy. Every time I meet with such women leaders, I am awed by their courage and commitment.

And it is the same here in Palermo. It was the women of Palermo who helped spark the rebirth of citizenship. They knew full well that years of violence and bombings had left hundreds dead and people without hope, afflicted by despair. The voices of the people of Palermo were silenced and the symbols of this great city's history and culture were hidden or abandoned. But the brutal slayings of two beloved, honest and courageous magistrates sparked a level of outrage and people understood that they had reached the end of their tolerance. And when those women first said it with those sheets, I'm sure many thought that it wouldn't amount to very much. But those anti-Mafia slogans touched a deep place in the hearts of women, men and children.

The Committee of the Sheets was one of the first visible signs that the people of Palermo were going to stand against the violence and corruption that had held this city captive. Those voices were not just women's; they belonged to everyone. "Enough is enough" became the slogan of shopkeepers, religious leaders, business leaders, political leaders and even elementary school students who began in their own way to lay their stake in the future right in the heart of Palermo. They began to adopt monuments and demand that they be restored and open to the public.

Educators played such an important role in all that we have seen happen here in Palermo. They created a lawfulness group and began to promote activities that promoted civic consciousness among their students. To the teachers, the parents and the students who rallied to demand the money pocketed by dishonest officials be used instead to construct new schools and repair old classrooms, we owe a great debt of gratitude.

Now, when I do travel around the world, I often go to places that are off the beaten track of visiting officials. I go to schools and villages or decaying urban centers. I go to hospitals that care only for the poor. I walk the streets of neighborhoods that are riddled with corruption and violence. And because I am coming, the local officials will repair the streets; they will paint the walls; they will fix the school room facilities. I remember being in a school and being told it was the first time they had ever had electricity, and the only reason they had it was because I was paying a visit.

I remember speaking to the teacher in that school and saying to her, "now that I have come and I will leave, I hope you will be able to keep your electricity." And she said something very interesting. She said, "You gave us the excuse for the electricity, but now we know we have power."

Well, it is that form of power that every citizen must obtain. People are standing up on behalf of democracy and against violence and corruption all over the world. Again, women often lead the way because they are tired of seeing their husbands, their fathers, their sons, their loved ones murdered, jailed, lost. So, they are often the ones who do say enough is enough, whether it is in Northern Ireland, where Catholic and Protestant women have come together to work to try to make the peace real; whether it is in the Balkans where women are working to repair that tragic area; or whether it is in one of the great horror spots of the last part of the twentieth century, Rwanda, where women are attempting to stand up against the forces of evil.

Think if you will for a moment of a place like Kigali, Rwanda, where 800,000 men and women and children were slaughtered in the space of just a few months. I have been there. I have met with women and men, with leaders and citizens, as they attempt to make sense out of a future that seems so bloodstained.

I recently met with women from Rwanda who asked me for one thing. They didn't ask me for a lot of help or resources from our government. Instead, they asked for my assistance in building a playground in the middle of Kigali. Because, just as the citizens of Palermo understood that it is those small steps, those daily acts of courage of bringing people together, of building a possible future, so too did these women from Rwanda: a playground where children would play again and where adults would once again believe in the future.

I think of the courageous women I have met in El Salvador and Guatemala who fought on opposite sides of those armed conflicts. They lost fathers, sons and loved ones but now they understand that they must work together to ensure that they have a peaceful future. They became the architects of many of the elements of the peace agreements that brought the sides together and they are continuing to work to bridge the differences that have kept them apart.

Democracy is also taking root in China. I have met with women there who had all the laws they needed on paper. I have met with the human rights activists who again had all the laws they needed but, of course, they were not being enforced or respected. They didn't understand how they could keep moving forward with democracy unless they could stand and be heard and let their voices join the chorus of those who understand fully that China's future must include the voices of all of its people.

So Palermo has taught us to listen to the voices, listen to the weak, the marginalized, listen to those who appear powerless but, once they decide to be citizens, are part of the most powerful movement on earth. Palermo teaches us another equally important lesson: if we are to ensure that we continue to move the forces of democracy forward so that they prevail, then we have to create the citizens of the future. That means education for citizenship in classrooms, but it also means education for citizenship in families and communities.

I have just come from one of the monuments that the children have restored. I saw the excitement and the pride in their eyes and on their faces. I have seen how this church that was closed for decades and decades and which is now reopened has helped to revitalize an entire neighborhood. The children were taught those lessons. They were taken there by their teachers. They helped to create a CD ROM about what they have done and

what they have learned. They are on the frontiers as pioneers in democracy building.

One of those young citizens, a girl named Anna, wrote:

"Let's not be quiet. The death of the judges makes us understand that we have to talk and not be as silent as fish. If we see young people drugging themselves, we have to speak up and not be afraid."

I love that image. Do not be as silent as fish.

Think about what that young girl is telling all of us. Think about what she is asking of us adults. This simple statement that she goes on to conclude by saying: "If we see someone who doesn't respect our city, we have to scold them. All Sicilians must learn that Sicily is wonderful."

If every child had that same sense of citizenship, we would not have to worry about the future of our democracies. Whether it is building a playground in Kigali or in Belfast, Northern Ireland, or as I have also seen young children in Lucerne, Switzerland, being given responsibility and a little bit of money to plan what they would like in their cities, we have to do more to involve our children. We are up against great competition. Yes, crime and corruption and violence: they are the worst enemies of democracy. But the consumer culture, the materialism, the hours spent in front of the television set also disassociate children from community activities, from participation, from being part of a collective effort, and democracy requires that kind of responsibility.

So we must go into our schools, our communities, and we must as nations do more to encourage democracy-building among children. One of my husband's most important initiatives as President has been the AmeriCorps program, designed to encourage young people to serve their nation by tutoring children, helping the environment, providing health care, doing the work that citizens have to do. To a program called "Learn and Serve America" we are integrating community service into the basic school curriculum. That is, I believe, the important kind of initiative that we should be looking at. Because all of the studies show that if young people -- like those I just saw at the church or those I have seen in my own country -- feel that they are part of democracy, they will become the citizens we need.

I visited many places around my own country because, as I have said, this old democracy that I represent does not have all of the answers. We are constantly learning as well. But as I have gone in and out of communities time and time again, I have been struck by the energy and the honesty of the children: whether it is a young African-American girl in the poorest neighborhood in one of the toughest cities in America who is successfully tutoring a young child to learn, or whether it is a group of students who are coming together to solve an environmental problem, or here to save a monument, it is that kind of educational effort we have to pay more attention to. We cannot take for granted that the lessons of democracy will be passed down. Very little in the consumer culture helps people understand what it means to be citizens. So we have an extra responsibility that each of us must work to meet.

Many of you have heard the story of how in the early 1980s, after yet another Mafia murder, some unknown hand scribbled a message on a street here in Palermo. The message was "Here dies the hope of the honest citizens of Palermo." A very different message was written on a board after

the murder of the magistrates a decade later, when the people of Palermo began to rise up together to end the culture of violence.

Today begins a dawn which will see no sunset. There can never be a sunset on democracy. And so Palermo provides us a model of citizenship. Its lessons are there for all to learn and follow. Its message of hope is one that should light our way into the next century.

I was thinking, as I was standing behind the stage ready to go on, about a very famous line that President Kennedy used many years ago. Remember when he went to Berlin, when Berlin's freedom was under attack, and he stood there in front of the Berliners and told them "Ich bin ein Berliner--I am a Berliner." Now, what he meant by that was that I am a lover of freedom; I am a person who will stand with those who stand for freedom; that I will walk the long road with you.

Well, today we are thankfully beyond the Cold War but we have new challenges to face. Those challenges of violence and crime and corruption stalk us. Terrorism, international trafficking of women, drugs and weapons, those are the threats to democracy today. We do not have to worry as we did about the past, but if we do not pay attention to the present and the future, we will find ourselves behind a new iron curtain of fear.

So, if you will, think with me about how we can ensure that the lessons of Palermo are built on and that we stand with the people of Palermo and brave people and leaders everywhere, that we stand with the forces of law and order and civil society, those two wheels on the cart.

And if we do, then I think we could say, as President Kennedy said in another context, "*sono Palermitana*," And when we do that, then we can say not only "Viva Palermo" but "Viva Democracy" as well. Thank you all very much.

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DEMOCRACY AS UNIVERSAL IDEA

Speech made by Dr. Wole Soyinka, Nigerian Nobel Prize Winner, at the CIVITAS conference in Palermo, Italy on June 22, 1999

The approaching millennium puts the strangest ideas and projects into the heads of all kinds of institutions, individuals and even nations. One such project came from the New York Times of the United States which invited a number of public voices to declare what initiatives, discovery or development would earn their vote for what it termed. 'The Best', or 'Greatest' Idea of this Millennium'.

Arriving at a choice did not present any difficulty - I opted squarely for the idea, the concept of certain fundamental human rights as being inherent to all humanity. Those 'inalienable rights' could not receive detailed elaboration within a limited essay - in any case, they are all firmly entrenched in the United Nations Declaration of Fundamental Human Rights - but, leading the charge to arrive at my choice of the millennial winner, was the right of participation in one's own structures and practice of governance - a cardinal article of faith in that same U.N. charter of Human Rights, as expressed in Article 21.

The logic of that primacy of attribution is equally clear - only by ensuring the participation of all of society, in the principles and modalities of governance, including access to information and thus, the possibility of checks on, and regulation of governmental conduct, equality of access to social services and opportunity, equality of access to the mechanisms of redress under a law to which all citizens are equally subject, adherence to the principle of governmental accountability either in fiscal conduct or in any aspect of the exercise of authority etc etc. - only through this fundamental right can all the other provisions of rights be guaranteed within society. Indeed, if I had had a hand in the drafting of that Declaration, I would have inserted Article 21 in the Preamble, then re-stated it on its own as Article Four, that is, following immediately on the first three Articles which contain affirmations of birth into a condition of freedom, equality in dignity and rights, equality of race, colour, sex, religion etc. and of course - the right to life. Mind you, if you study paragraph 2 of the Preamble closely enough:

"..... the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want..."

and *then pursue to a political conclusion* the very first Article, which affirms that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights," you discover that you are already within the territory of the democratic idea.

Indeed, if the time-span given to us had extended further back even beyond the first millennium to include the very beginnings of the

formation of rudimentary. I would have made the Democratic idea my first choice, if only to correct the mistaken notion that Democracy was the brainchild of the Athenians. The truth is different - democracy has remained a constant in all societal striving in the evolutionary history of governance. We need not hesitate over who patented the expression *demokratia* - that word belongs to the Greeks - but, I believe it would be a most foolhardy historian who would try to pinpoint the exact spot on earth, or the exact moment when the democratic idea was born, when democratic principles were first applied to the management of the affairs of society and for arbitrating multiple interests within the community. Today, admittedly, the democratic idea is not attestable in universal governance, nevertheless, it is safe to claim that even within the most intransigent autocracies that still pollute the surface of the earth, the democratic idea is constantly manifested as a concrete yearning of its oppressed peoples, not as an idea that blew in from without, but as a recognition of pre-existent social arrangements within that same society, whose distortions can be traced to distinct, historical factors.

Of the democratic idea, which forms for me, the socio-political guarantee of fundamental human rights, I had this to say:

"Humankind has always struggled to assert certain values in their own right, values which the individual intuitively felt belongs to each as part of natural existence, and this in defiance of theological, or secular-ideological claims to a holistic primacy. It is difficult to imagine a period when such values were not pursued in spasmodic acts of dissent from any specific order of co-existence, that is, dissent from norms that appeared to govern society even in its most rudimentary form. Even after years of conformity to a social usage, to precedents hallowed by time, acts of dissent are never absent, and they obtain their primary impulse in crucial instances from the individual's seizure of his or her subjective worth.

In the devolution of authority to one individual as the head of a collective, we find that systems of checks on arbitrary authority, in some form or the other, are quite commonplace. Take for instance, monarchical rule among the Yoruba. At the apex is a quasi-deified personage, endowed with supreme *authority* over his subjects. Measures taken to preserve the mystic aura of such a ruler at times involved his never being seen to eat or drink. Often, he was not permitted to speak directly to his people but must employ an intermediary voice - like the *okyeame* (spokesman) among the Ashanti. For the highest ranked kings in the Yoruba world, the *ekeji orisa* (companions to the deities), even their faces must not be seen - we shall further elaborate this theme of distancing. Despite this formal distancing however, the monarch was pledged to rule within a strict contract of authority, to which the people, through a cultic hierarchy or caucus of elders, held him bound. Transgression of a taboo, failure to fulfil ceremonial duties on time etc. resulted in fines, rituals of appeasement, or a period of ostracism. The major crime however was abuse of power, authoritarianism and a trampling down, or appropriation of the rights of the citizenry. For this category crimes, there was only one response: the king, on being judged and found guilty, was given a covered calabash and invited to retreat to his inner chambers. He understood the sentence - he must never again be seen among the living." I do concede, however, that:

"Sometimes of course only the sheerest or merely symbolic vestiges of such controls remained, once a power-driven individual had succeeded, through co-opting, sidelining or eliminating the custodians of such safeguards, in converting collective authority to a personal monopoly. Society is thereupon characterized by tensions, palpable or hidden, between the suppressed rights of the people and the power rapacity of one individual, now bolstered by a machinery that all but obscures prior relationships between ruler and ruled."

We find therefore that a misunderstanding, or simplistic accounting of some ancient political systems and their cultural superstructures is what gives rise to the patronizing habit of excluding one zone of humanity or another from the universal grasp of democracy. The African continent has been the favorite zone of exclusion in this respect, which is why I sometimes involve the metaphor of the veil in order to dramatize the process of distortion that has taken place in the culture of distancing in ancient societies - distancing, which is not the same thing as alienation - in the image of community leadership. What is grossly manifested in dictatorship is - *alienation*. Alienation, by its very nature, is immune to the claims of communal responsibility, since its very definition consists of its not being - a part of others. And so, while we must not commit the error of positing distancing as a corrective strategy to leadership alienation, the former should be recognized historically, as a symbolic process for preserving the aura of authority, yet ensuring at the same time that this aura did not translate into a distortion of the organic relations of the multiple and mutually regulatory spheres of authority within society:

The veil is a prominent feature of monarchy in many African societies - Benin, Yoruba. Dogon etc. It comes most commonly in the form of a beaded extension of the crown, and its purpose - as we have stated - is the mystification of the plain human visage, and the distancing of its owner from the rest of community. The contemporary dictator in military uniform, with which we are very familiar - in Latin America, the banana republics and in much of the African continent - does not of course wear that royal veil of distancing. He has found a substitute - in the wraparound dark glasses, a military affectation that can only be regarded as a pathetic equivalent of the veil, an artifact of double alienation, since it is of course yet another acquired object of foreign manufacture. If the eyes are indeed the window on the mind, perhaps the purpose is to disguise a tunnel of nothing but mirrors, receding into an infinity of featureless void.

Certainly in all aspects, the alienation theology of the veil in its most brutal manifestation, constitutes today the apprehension, indeed the very basis and *raison d'être* of leadership within a large part of the African continent. The spiritual aspects of the royal veil, with all its implication of moral responsibility, abjuration of materialism, a rarefied intuition and understanding, indeed a wisdom and objectivity that are acquired from corporeal distancing, a lofty disinterest that breeds confidence in the administration of justice - all these have all been jettisoned, winnowed out with the passage of time. Only the grosser residue has been embraced, a venality and self-aggrandizement that have become recognizable as the sole legacy of the exercise of power, a repudiation of the innate role of communal custodianship in traditional kinship, that commenced with the collaborationist role of increasingly alienated monarchs in the

enslavement and merchandising of their own peoples. Is it not ironic that it is from the agents of such externally inspired disorder, from those races that initiated the attrition of African societies through enslavement, followed by colonization, that we mostly encounter negative pronouncements over the qualification of the African peoples for the alleged sophisticated niceties of genuine self-governance - that is, democratic governance?

And thus we find that the major obstacle placed on the route to a full democratic self-realization of the African continent has been largely conceptual, stemming, as observed, from external commentators, and especially from the democratic societies of the West. But perhaps I dignify this tendency by applying the notion 'conceptual', since it is not so much a concept as a rhetorical ploy that substitutes self-interest and collaborationist zeal (with the mythical 'strongmen' of newly independent states) for clear, analytical thinking and the more difficult habit of mind that engages in self-criticism as a prelude to a critical understanding of other societies.

'Africa is so difficult to understand'. Or; 'do you really think that democracy can ever work in Africa?' Sometimes, we encounter that developmental variant: 'perhaps modernization has been taken too far in Africa'. Or yet again: Africa is in too much of a rush. She is trying to achieve in a few decades what it took Europe and America several centuries to achieve. And so on *ad infinitum*.

Of the many logical correlatives of that very theme however, the one that I *find myself* futilely awaiting is the following: Is Africa ready for dictatorship? Or indeed, for theocracy? There are parts of Africa, just as we find in other continents, which have undergone a feudal phase, but it would be difficult for any historian to assert that military dictatorship is a home-grown *African* commodity, or is the logical evolution of the traditional forms of government on that continent, which extend from loose forms of republicanism through monarchism to, exceptionally, the military state that was exemplified by the remarkable Zulu kingdom of King Shaka.

Dictatorship, in any case, is as varied as any geographical reality, including continents Africa, Asia, the Americas or Europe. So is democracy. Some form of democracy is practiced in the United States of America, very different from that of - for example France, and of today's democratic Soviet Union, whose governance structures require both a President and a Prime Minister operating in tandem. The dictatorship of the Taliban in Afghanistan, one of the most revolting anachronisms even of theocratic atavism anywhere in the world, is certainly different from the dictatorship of a Miliesovic in Yugoslavia, whose reading of power is to rid Kosovo of every last co-believer in the faith of the Taliban, dehumanize its peoples and purify the landmass of Kosovo of any lingering vestiges of non-Serbian history. Between the vulgar theocracy of one and the partial theocracy and ultra-nationalism of the other, we have, together with Rwanda, the unholy trinity of crimes against humanity that appear to have come together to usher us into the next millennium.

However, to continue with our quick excursion into democratic variants, seeking to find in them a common denominator that would help to build up the democratic idea - in the United States, the President appears to be in an enviable position where he has no

power-sharing appointee, not even in his Vice-President. Indeed, the world's view is that such a President is one of the most powerful individuals on earth. But we do not know that his major appointments into his own cabinet must be vetted by a committee whose guiding parameters may bear no relation whatever to the qualifications required for the post, or the experience and professional capability of the candidate in question. And when it comes to law-making and national expenditure, the very notion that a legislative bill can be routinely tagged onto the passage of a national budget is one that fills observers from other nations with horror, seeing in it nothing but a recipe for potential chaos and paralysis of government! Indeed we have seen this happen. It was this very mechanism that successfully paralyzed government once within this current incumbency, followed by a close encore, and has made the U.S. a monumental debtor to the United Nations. Poorer member states of a near bankrupt U.N., amazed and frustrated, have watched attempts at settlement stymied by one article of legislation or the other, irrelevant to the issue of legitimate debts. Even the legal system of the United States would never tolerate such conduct in business relations. Yet the citizens perceive no contradictions in their system, and cling to the belief that they have the greatest democratic system in the world!

Now why is that? One major consideration, arising even from that cited example of apparent governmental anomie is - the division of authority, and thus the institution or controls within the very operations of power - in short, the very antithesis of dictatorship. We may cavil at the imperfections, the periodic revelations of the flaws in the system; our nausea may be aroused - to cite from within that same inexhaustible cauldron of contradictions - by the unedifying spectacle of the elected representatives of a mighty democracy in a voyeuristic orgy, polluting our air-waves with a prurient exhibitionism that would be unthinkable in any other democracy in the world - all that may make one seek to re-define the ethical propositions of democracy but - one overriding principle of democracy remains uncompromised in that very aggravating exemplar: the principle of the balancing of power, popular participation in the choice of leaders and representatives, and the structure of accountability. Now, is this an aspiration that any will claim is permanently absent in the projections of any society, even if temporarily obscured by current ramifications of power?

We are of course obliged to commence by accepting that society must be *governed*. That appears axiomatic, but is *governed* what we really mean? I recognize that we are in the territory of semantics here, and it is possible to find languages whose equivalent expressions of 'governed' in the language I am using now, may be used interchangeably with 'managed' or even 'organized' or 'ordered'. 'Govern' has a built-in connotation of hierarchies that lead sometimes to a conscious avoidance of the word. Will it be sufficient simply to admit that society must be managed? Or administered? The problem with concepts like 'govern', or 'rule', 'control' etc. is that they imply a power relationship, and any power relationship already implicates domination, and thus conflict with society. So perhaps, in thinking of democracy, our real problematic resides in the territory of power. Is power avoidable as a function of political management? I am speaking here of power, not authority, which even power is obliged, for administrative purposes, to delegate. The expression 'delegation of power' - very different from '*separation of powers*' - is really a

deception: what we really mean is a delegation of *authority*. If King Lear had understood the difference, it is quite likely that the world of dramatic literature would have been robbed of the awesome tragedy of Shakespeare's play.

While we acknowledge that the history of society very recognizably spins on the axis of its strategies of productive life, its means to creative existence, there also exists a less material reading, no less valid and provable, that makes the history of society one of eruptions and consolidations along the axis of Power and Freedom. The materialists reject this reading, but even today, when we examine contemporary realities - from the Sudan in Africa to Ireland and Yugoslavia, is it really possible to deny that the tension between Power and Freedom may be said to define, in a palpable and indeed quantitative way, the motions of history within most societies?

Underlying such systems of governance as Militarism, Gerontocracy, Feudalism, Totalitarianism, Monarchism (constitutional or otherwise), Dictatorship (benevolent or absolute), Theocracy etc. we find that there is always this issue at stake - the issue of power - however understated. Anarchism is the only form of - well, we would contradict that by terming it governance, so let us settle for 'social arrangement' - the only form of social arrangement which defines itself *ab initio* as an antithesis of what we have identified as the power principle. Democracy, like anarchism, recognizes the danger of the monopoly or concentration of power within narrow sections of society and seeks to widen its base, placing its legitimacy within popular representation. One and all, these various systems commence with a recognition of the primacy or power as a driving principle in social relations with which they must come to terms. Anarchism is the extreme example of this coming to terms with Power, its prescription is one that may translate - not as an engineering or management of power as in Democracy or Constitutional Monarchism - but as a progression towards its total obliteration.

This is why, in defining any system of arbitration among group interests within a community, or between the individual and the collective, it is always useful to give recognition to this deleterious social factor that community attempts to bring under control. But why not let it run rampant? Why not simply let power and its subjects find their own natural levels in relationship, between absolutism on the one hand, and submission and/or enslavement on the other? The answer is simple: it has been tried before, and indeed, such retrogressive endeavors have yet to cease. Every phase of human history, from antiquity to the present, provides us the most wasteful instances of this contest, and society recognizes that, in trying to define its own attributes, one element that appears constant within its aspirations is that of security. Not for nothing does the Universal Declaration of Human Rights define the 'highest aspiration of the common people' as 'freedom from fear and want, lacking which, they may be 'compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression.' Is it at all surprising that we find a near identical expression of the same human aspiration in the Book of Ifa, from among the Yoruba people?

Dandan enia l'ayan ko mu ire lo s'aye....Ipo rere naa ni
aye-amotan *ohungbogbo*, *ayo nigbagbogbo*, *igbesi laisi*
ominu tabi iberu ota.

Certainly, it is the human being that was elected to bring values to the world.....and his place of good is the knowledge of all things, joy at all times, freedom from anxiety and freedom from fear of the enemy[Irostu Wori].

If we therefore marry the two projects of history and society (with or without the states) the first (conceded) as a dynamic progression in mustering strategies of productive existence and the enhancement of life and, the latter as the material base of unit of mobilization, requiring that measure of security and cohesion that will go towards fulfilling the earlier stated mandate of history, it is hardly surprising to find that humanity returns again and again to an understanding that the unpredictability, the alienation and solipsistic attributes of unarbitrated power actually militates against both. Illumination may appear to be slow in global manifestation - given the repetitive cycle of the waste and destruction that have bedeviled humanity in its existence but, the realization, the consciousness, is never absent - neither in philosophical writings from antiquity (despite Plato and company), and the admonitions embedded in the world's scriptures, nor in the evidence of resistance to the predatory negativity that Power imposes as a constant threat to human security.

Even militarism feel the need to obtain a symbolic legitimation by the people. Observe the parades of public adulation, utilizing emotional dates on the public calendar - National or Independence Day, Labor Day, Heroes' Day or whatever - to present the masters of violence to a seemingly emotionally charged crowd, meticulously choreographed and programmed - what does this fakery of public endorsement mean but an admission that there has been a subversion of a rational system of leadership, and that the palpable restlessness born of alienation needs, periodically to be plastered over by public complicity. There the Maximum Leader exhibits yet again his Maximum Presence, his ledger of achievements, his program of action for the next five, ten, or twenty years. The cooption of the crowd is designed to constitute tacit approbation for a corruption of reality, all of it conscious counterfeit, and counterfeiting is an admission of an anterior reality which is the organic sense of social being in the populace. It is an attempt to preempt and subvert the distillation of several millennia of societal wisdom:

"The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government, this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures."

That elaboration, in effect, a simple manual of procedure in the rites of Democracy, is taken from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It does not permit of relativism, since it follows a premise of universality of an inherent human value and dignity that repudiates the enslavement or marginalization of any portion of community. All that is still lacking is the will to take this summons to its logical conclusion, to recognize that the deprivation or such a right is tantamount to an assault on one of the most fundamental human rights and thus, to place its most notorious manifestation, dictatorship, on the same rung of universal repudiation as the very crimes it spawns in short - to categorize dictatorship in its true colours, as - a crime against humanity.

Wole Soyinka

[Palermo Homepage](#)

[Palermo Conference](#) > [Civic Education](#) > [CIVITAS International](#) > [CIVITAS Advocacy Campaign](#)

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International Priority**

Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
Palermo, Italy
June 18, 1999

Thank you very much to the mayor for that generous introduction and for your leadership that has been so critical to the progress that we mark as we meet here in Palermo. Thank you also to the many leaders who have joined us today: your Secretary and Minister of Education Berlinquer; the Chairman of the European Commission, Romano Prodi; my friend David Dorn, the chair of Civitas International; the United Nations Undersecretary Pino Arlacchi; and to all of you who are civic educators and leaders from around the world.

As we gather here this evening in this beautiful opera house, we can celebrate together its re-opening. And we could even hear, if we listen hard, the shouts of joy from children who listened to their first concert two years ago after they helped re-open the doors of this historic building—the third largest opera house in Europe. I have heard stories about how hard they worked week after week and month after month as they helped bring this building, closed for 25 years, back to life. The children held art exhibits to raise money. They encouraged their parents and their neighbors to be part of this historic effort. Their enthusiasm was infectious, and soon everyone was involved with electricians and craftsmen working so hard to restore the building to the cheers of community residents.

These young people now serve as guides. They not only introduced visitors to this beautifully restored cultural center, they help introduce visitors and their fellow citizens to an object lesson in citizen action and democracy-building. They have, it is to be sure, reclaimed their precious cultural heritage. But as

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importantly, they have become part of a remarkable citizen movement to combat crime and violence that continues to transform life in this city.

Today we have come from more than 80 countries to learn the lesson of Palermo and to underscore the vital role that citizens and citizens' movements play in strengthening the forces of democracy around the world. I have to recognize the contribution of Civitas International. It has provided invaluable help and promoted important work to make the idea of civic education come alive, and by doing so, it has helped to nurture democratic workings around the globe. Thank you for sponsoring this important international conference.

I have seen the results of the work of Civitas in many different settings. Just a few years ago, I had the privilege at the White House of meeting with some of the teachers who had been trained by Civitas, who had been working with young people in Bosnia helping to prepare future citizens following the end of that terrible conflict. I will give credit again to the work they were doing—as they went into classrooms and communities helping people not only to rebuild the physical aspects of their lives, but to reclaim their rights as human beings and as citizens—to help build a new democracy.

All of you know so well that a democracy proclaimed on paper alone does not guarantee that people understand their democratic and civic responsibilities. But today, the work of Civitas, the work of the people and leaders of Palermo, and the work of so many of you here is helping to make more clear than ever that if communities wish to enjoy the benefits and perks of democracy, then they must produce citizens who understand what hard work it is to keep democracy alive.

We come together in a time of great possibilities, and we can see the courses of democracy sweeping across the world. Even today, we celebrate the first free elections in Indonesia in more than 40 years; the reaffirmation of democracy by all races in South Africa; a new hope for peace in the Middle East; and finally, the end of Serbia's brutal and systematic effort to drive ethnic Albanians from their homes so that finally—finally—the Kosovars can begin to return to gather their families together and rebuild their lives. And I wish to thank the government and the people of Italy for your stalwart support of our efforts in Kosovo.

So there is much to celebrate. I could list many examples that would keep us here all night. But as

Kosovo unfortunately reminds us, even as the forces of freedom, peace, and democracy move forward, age-old ethnic and religious and tribal hatreds continue to be unleashed and strong undercurrents of crime, violence, and corruption threaten to dismantle many of our hard-fought gains.

I have been privileged in the last seven years, both with my husband and on my own, to try to travel our world on behalf of the United States. And I have seen firsthand newly emerging democracies take hold, find their footing, stumble, regain their footing, and try to go forward. I have seen advanced democracies struggle with corruption and crime and violence, but I have seen how resilient the forces of democracy can be. But in order to strengthen and maintain these forces for justice, peace, and power, we have to do more to nurture and build a strong civil society and to teach not only our children, but ourselves, the lessons of citizenship.

Now building and maintaining a democracy is very hard work. It is, in fact, a never-ending process. My own country became a democracy—a newly independent state, if you will—in 1776. And for over 220 years, we have been working hard to protect that democracy. It took us more than 10 years to draft the Constitution, almost 90 years to rid our nation of slavery, almost 150 years to give women the right to vote, and even longer to ensure that all of our citizens were equal under the law. It is still difficult for people to understand, even those in well-established democracies, that elections by themselves are not enough; that laws by themselves are not enough; that even peace agreements, whether it's between nations or between governments and organized crime, are not enough.

What we have learned over the years is that our most cherished ideals can only be made real through the everyday effort of ordinary citizens. Our laws and institutions are absolutely critical, of course, but democracy is nurtured and sustained only when democratic values are rooted in the hearts, the minds, and the actions of ordinary men and women. When citizens truly believe that every individual is entitled to respect and dignity; when citizens practice the responsibility of citizenship in their daily lives; and when parents pass on these lessons of the heart to their children by their examples, by the stories that they tell them as they tuck them into bed at night... It makes a very great difference whether a parent passes on the biases, the bigotry, the prejudices, the fears, the insecurities that struck the past, or helps the child look toward the future with hope. What better way to renew and

strengthen our commitment to keeping these lessons of the heart than here in Palermo? The lessons of citizenship could not have a better form.

I've been told that when the mayor talked about how to go about creating the society in which we should all want to live, he talked about a cart with two wheels—that to move forward in a democracy and to create a kind of lawfulness, you need law enforcement and civil society to work together. If one wheel moves too fast, the cart spins around instead of moving forward. Again and again, in my country, here, and around the world, we have seen that law enforcement cannot work in isolation, or lose its accountability to the people it serves. It must work hand in hand with citizens to change the culture of violence and to strengthen the rules of law.

I too have a metaphor, like the mayor, that I use to describe the challenges we face to building and maintaining democracy. I talk about a three-legged stool. One leg is government, which of course includes law enforcement as its primary obligation to people. The other leg is the economy that provides opportunities for people to fulfill their own aspirations. And the third leg is what we call civil society. Now we cannot sit on that stool if there are only two legs or even just one. We cannot sit on that stool if one leg is stronger than the other two, or longer or shorter. Creating the balance that we must have in society requires that each principle institution work together; that the government be efficient and effective, honest and transparent; that it helps do for individuals what individuals cannot do for themselves and what market economies cannot do or produce.

We need government that protects our freedoms and defends our lives. But the government—no matter how well functioning, how honest, how transparent—cannot by itself create citizens. We know we also need a free-market economy which creates jobs and wealth and gives consumers choices that unleash potential for families to pursue their economic goals. But the market economy, no matter how much wealth it produces, cannot create citizens. Only civil society, which exists in that space between the government and the economy, can do that work. It is in that space where we live our lives; where much of what makes life worth living occurs; where our families are born and raised; where our faith gives us support and meaning; where arts and culture, such as those from this magnificent stage, lift our spirits and expand our minds.

So what we must do as we meet with our educators for democracy is to understand how special it is to build up civil society. So Mr. Mayor, whether its image is a two-wheeled cart or the three-legged stool, we are speaking the same language. We understand that a vibrant civil society is as essential to human progress as the institutions of government and the economy. We need them to balance and reinforce each other and remain strong enough to support us all in the years to come. That is truly at the heart of our words today.

Today, whether we look at the on-going violence in some of our cities, or the age-old hatred and conflicts that still tear communities and nations apart, or the struggles that new democracies face to keep moving forward, we understand the past we've had. You have come with a great deal here in Palermo, and we have much to learn from you as we stand in solidarity with you. Palermo teaches us about the emerging role that women are playing around the world in ending violence in our societies.

You saw the video that was at the beginning of the program; the white sheets hanging from balconies; the words, the feelings, the shouts from these women. I have seen the role that women are playing all over the world—standing up against hatred and violence, standing for peace and security. I have just come from a meeting at the mayor's office with women from around the world who represent an initiative in our government called "Vital Voices," where we have brought together women who are on the frontlines in the struggle for democracy. Every time I meet with such women leaders, I am awed by their courage and commitment.

It is the same here in Palermo, with the women of Palermo who helped spark the rebirth of citizenship. They knew full well that years of violence and bombings had left hundreds dead and people without hope. The voices of the people of Palermo were silenced, and the symbol of this great city's history and culture were hidden or abandoned. But the brutal slayings of two of the good and honest and courageous magistrates sparked a level of outrage that people understood; they had reached the end of their tolerance.

We helped women first with those sheets. I'm sure many thought it wouldn't amount to very much, but those anti-Mafia slogans touched a deep place in the hearts of women, men, and children. The community of the sheets was one of the first physical signs that the people of Palermo were going to stand against the violence and corruption

that held this city captive. Those voices were not just women's, they belonged to everyone. "Enough is Enough" became a slogan of shopkeepers, religious leaders, business leaders, political leaders, and even elementary school students who began, in their own way, to lay their stake in the future right in the heart of Palermo. They began to adopt the many monuments here in Palermo, and demanded they be restored and opened to the public.

Educators played such an important role here in Palermo. They've created a "lawfulness" group and began to promote activities that promoted civic conscience among their students. To the teachers, the parents, and the students who rallied to demand money pocketed by dishonest officials to be used instead to construct new schools and repair old classrooms, we owe a great debt of gratitude.

You know, when I do travel around the world, I often go to places that are off the beaten track of visiting officials. I go to schools in villages or decayed urban centers. I go to hospitals that care only for the poor. I walk the streets of neighborhoods that are ridden with corruption and violence. And because I am coming, the local officials will repair the streets; they will pave them all. They will fix the school room facilities. I remember being in a school and being told it was the first time they had ever had electricity. And the only reason they had it was because I would pay a visit. I remember speaking to a teacher in that school and saying to her, "Now that I have come and I will leave, I hope you will be able to keep your electricity." And she said something very interesting. She said, "You gave us the excuse for the electricity, but now we know we have power." Well it is that sort of power that needs to be spread.

People are standing up on behalf of democracy and against violence and corruption all over the world. Again, women often lead the way because they are tired of seeing their husbands, their fathers, their sons, their loved ones murdered, jailed, lost. So we are often the ones who do say, "Enough is enough." Whether it is in Northern Ireland where Catholic and Protestant women have come together to work to try to make the peace real; or whether it is in the Balkans where women are working to repair that tragic area; or whether it is in one of the poorer spots of the last part of the twentieth century, Rwanda, women are attempting to stand up against the forces of evil.

Think, if you will for a moment, of a place like Rwanda, where 800,000 men, women, and children were slaughtered in the space of just a few months.

I have been there. I have met with women and men, with leaders and citizens as they attempt to make sense of a picture that seems so bloodstained. I recently met with women from Rwanda who asked me for one thing. They didn't ask me for help or resources from our government. Instead, they asked for my assistance in building a playground. Because just as the citizens of Palermo understood, they took small steps toward big acts of courage of bringing people together, of building a possible future; so too did these women from Rwanda by building a playground where children would play again and where adults would once again believe in the future.

I think of the courageous women I have met in El Salvador and Guatemala, who fought on opposite sides of those armed conflicts. They lost fathers, sons, and loved ones, but now they understand that they must work together to ensure that they have a peaceful future. They became the architects of many of these elements of peace agreements that brought the sides together. They are continuing to work to bridge the differences that have kept them apart.

Democracy is also taking root in China. I have met with women there who had all the laws they needed on paper. I have met with the human rights activists who again had all the laws they needed, but of course, they were not being enforced or respected. They didn't understand how they could keep moving forward with democracy unless they could stand and be heard and let their voices join the chorus of those who understand fully that China's future must include voices of all of its people.

So Palermo has taught us to listen to the voices; listen to the weak, the marginalized; listen to those who appear powerless but who, once they decide to be citizens, are part of the most powerful movement on earth.

Palermo teaches us another equally important lesson. If we are to ensure that we continue to move the forces of democracy forward so that they prevail, then we have to create the citizens of the future. That means education for citizenship in classrooms, but it also means education for citizenship in families and communities.

I have just come from one of the monuments that children have restored. I saw the excitement and the pride in their eyes and on their faces. I have seen how this church that was closed for decades and decades, which is now reopened, has helped to revitalize an entire neighborhood. The children were taught those lessons, they were taken there by their teachers, they were helped to create a

CD-ROM about what they had done and what they had learned. They are on the frontiers as pioneers in democracy-building. One of those young citizens, a girl named Anna, wrote, "Let's not keep quiet. The death of the judges made us understand that we have to talk and not be as silent as fish. If we see young people drugging themselves, we have to speak out and not be afraid." I love that image: not being silent as fish. Think about what that young girl is telling all of us. Think about what she is asking of us adults. This simple statement she goes on to conclude by saying, "If we see someone who doesn't respect our city, we have to scold him. All Sicilians must learn that Sicily is wonderful."

If every child had that same sense of citizenship, we would not have to worry about the future of our democracies. Whether it is building a playground in Rwanda or in Belfast, Northern Ireland; or as I've also seen young children in Luzern, Switzerland being given responsibility and a little bit of money to plan a children's parliament in their city, we have to do more to involve our children. We are up against great competition. Yes, crime and corruption and violence are the worst enemies of democracy, but the consumer culture...

(SOME REMARKS WERE CUT OFF WHEN THE TAPE CHANGED SIDES.)

...activities—from participation, from being part of a collective effort—and democracy requires that kind of responsibility. So we must go into our schools and our communities, and we must as a nation do more to encourage democracy-building among children. One of our President's most important initiatives as president has been the Americorp Program—designed to encourage young people to serve their nation by tutoring children, helping the environment, providing healthcare, doing the work that citizens have to do. Through a program called "Learn and Serve America," we are integrating community service into the basic school curriculum. That is, I believe, an important kind of initiative that we should be looking at. Because all the studies show that when young people—like those I just saw in church, or those I see in my own country—feel that they are part of democracy, they will become the citizens we need.

I visited many places around my own country because, as I have said, this old democracy that I represent here does not have all of the answers. We are constantly learning as well. But as I roam in and out of communities, time and time again, I have been struck by the energy and the honesty of the children. Whether it is a young African-American

girl in the poorest neighborhood in one of the toughest cities in America who is successfully tutoring a young child to learn, or whether it is a group of students who are coming together to solve an environmental problem, or here to save a monument—it is that kind of educational effort we have to pay more attention to. We cannot take for granted that the lessons of democracy will be passed on. Very little of consumer culture helps people to understand what it means to be citizens. So we have an extra responsibility that each of us must work to meet.

Many of you have heard the story of how, in the early 1980's, after yet another mafia murder, some unknown hand scribbled a message on a street here in Palermo. The message was, "Here dies the hope of honest citizens of Palermo." A very different message was written on a board after the murder of a magistrate a decade later when the people Palermo began to rise up together to end the culture of violence. "Today begins a dawn which will see no sunset." There can never be a sunset on democracy.

And so Palermo provides us a model of citizenship. These lessons are here for all to learn and follow. This message of hope is one that should light our way into the next century.

I was thinking, as I was standing behind the stage, ready to go on, about a very famous line that President Kennedy used many years ago. Remember when he went to Berlin when Berlin's freedom was under attack. And he stood there, in front of the Berliners and told them, "I am a Berliner." Now what he meant by that was that I am a lover of freedom. I am a person who will stand for those who stand for freedom. I will walk the long road with you.

Well today we are thankfully beyond the Cold War, but we have new challenges to face. Those challenges of violence and crime and corruption stalk us. Terrorism, international trafficking of women, drugs and weapons continue to threaten our democracy today. We do not have to worry as we did about the past, but if we do not pay attention to the present and the future, we will find ourselves behind a new iron curtain of fear.

So if you will, think with me about how we can ensure that the lessons of Palermo are built upon, and that we stand with the people of Palermo and brave people and leaders everywhere. That we stand with the forces of law and order and civil society—all the wheels on the cart. And if we do,

then I think we can say, as President Kennedy said in another context, "Democracy is never a final achievement. It is a call to untiring effort, to continual sacrifice."

Then we can say not only, "Viva Palermo," but "Viva Democracy" as well. Thank you all very much.

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EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Rome, June 23, 1999

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
First Lady
The White House,
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ms. Verveer:

I would like to express my sincerest appreciation for your very able assistance in the coordination of the First Lady's visit to Palermo. I know it certainly was not as easy as it looked.

Again, thank you for your outstanding efforts and hard work.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Tom Foglietta", written over the printed name and title.

Thomas M. Foglietta
Ambassador

*file Italy
civil society*



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Chief of Staff, Office of the First Lady
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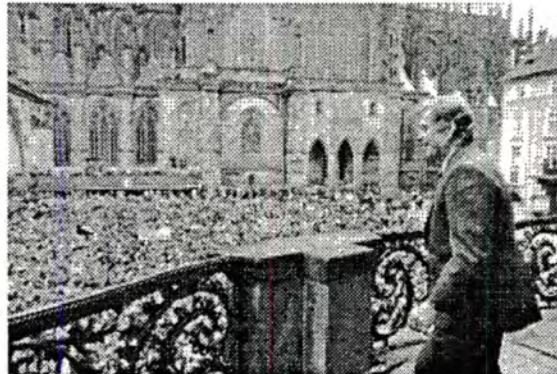
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98/05 - Vaclav Havel

By Jacques Rupnik



"President Vaclav Havel embodies for Czech public opinion an ersatz of an idealized monarch," commented a Prague intellectual on the occasion of Havel's reelection. There is a mixture of admiration and regret among some of those who shared Havel's fate in the bad old (good old?) days. They would grant you that he is the most influential political figure to emerge from under the rubble of a collapsed Soviet empire--but at what cost? Is not his political triumph a loss for literature, for the voice of dissent that he once embodied, for the community of intellectuals held together by their opposition to power?

More than anyone on the world stage today, Vaclav Havel ignites the old conflict over who best serves democracy: the politician who is trapped in the constraints and appearances of power or the intellectual whose role is, precisely, to criticize power? Hence the widespread but somewhat reductionist reading of Havel's biography as a classic confrontation, between the *vita activa* and the *vita contemplativa*.

It's possible, of course, to discern a trajectory from literary man to politician in three major phases of Havel's work. First came the playwright of the 1960s, influenced by Beckett's and Ionesco's *Theatre of the Absurd*, author of *The Garden Party* and other plays performed to great popular acclaim at the Theater on the Balustrade in Prague. Then, after the Soviet tanks crushed the Prague Spring of 1968, there was the dissident writer and thinker who became in the 1970s and 1980s the leading voice of Czech spiritual resistance to totalitarianism. His essays, such as "The Power of the Powerless," became the compulsory companion volume to the Charter 77 human rights manifesto.

Finally, his election as president of Czechoslovakia in December 1989 became the symbol of a peaceful and democratic revolution that swept across half of Europe. Here was "another Havel," a man for the 1990s: the statesman, the politician, the embodiment of the powers that be.

Yet these are not so much phases, or distinct stages, in a career as they are different realms of activity in which Havel's ideas and commitments are developed. To oppose Havel's theater to Havel's politics is to miss the point of both. His plays of the 1960s (*The Garden Party*, *The Memorandum*, *The Increased Difficulty of Concentration*) are powerful satires of the dehumanizing effects of the large impersonal bureaucracies of our times. In his 1970s plays--*Audience*, *Private View*, *The Protest*--Havel explores the moral conflicts between principle and compromise that confront people in a totalitarian society. His *Largo Desolato* of 1984 is a moving (because, one guesses, autobiographical) depiction of a dissident intellectual who feels overwhelmed by his role as an eternal supplier of hope to his society.

In his "Letter to Olga," written in prison on November 21, 1981, Havel summed up his view as follows: "Writing is a supremely solitary activity and so it is somewhat of a paradox that I, of all people, should have taken it up. The thing is, I am basically a social person, even politically minded (not that I would like a career in politics, but in the sense that I take an interest in public matters, i.e. matters of the *polis*--the community). I was probably attracted to theater (among other things) because, of all the artistic disciplines, it has the greatest potential to be a social phenomenon in the true sense."

It was symbolic that the
Velvet Revolution was born, and Czech democracy
reinvented, in a theater called the *Magic Lantern*

And what did Havel the president have to say on the subject in 1996? "The world as the experience of a structured environment includes an inherent dramatic dimension, and theater is actually an expression of our desire for a concise way of grasping this dramatic element. A play of no more than two hours presents, or is meant to present, a picture of the whole world, and it attempts to say something about it. And what, in fact, is politics? The traditional definition of politics has it that it is the conduct of public affairs and the concern for them and their administration. Obviously, concern for public affairs means concern for humanity and the world we live in. And that, in turn, requires an understanding of humanity and a recognition of all aspects of our self-awareness in the world. I do not see how a politician can achieve that without recognizing the dramatic element as an inherent aspect of the world as seen by human beings and thus as a fundamental tool of human communication."



So it was intensely symbolic that the Civic Forum, the movement that led the Velvet Revolution, was born, and Czech democracy re-invented, in a theater with the predestined name of The Magic Lantern. In fact, given the inseparable relationship between drama and politics in Havel's thought, the Velvet Revolution of 1989, which led him from prison to the presidency, remains his best "play." It was theatrical revolution, with the "people" playing themselves to themselves and Havel--the--dissident propelled to center stage. Milan Kundera described it as "fascinating, not only politically but esthetically. It was the last movement *prestissimo* of a sonata written by a great master."

Just as Havel's theater had political dimension, so his political style often has a theatrical touch. Rather than the obsession with television prime time and sound bites

characteristic of his western counterparts in politics, Havel has a concern for timing and decor; even diplomatic protocol is sometimes practiced as stage direction. Above all he likes a "confusion of the genres," as when delaying the departure of the presidential plane from Melbourne airport in 1995 to meet with the Rolling Stones; or having a beer in a Prague pub called Golden Tiger with one of his writer friends, like the late surrealist Bohumil Hrabal, and, yes, Bill Clinton; or lobbying congressmen in Washington for NATO enlargement before meeting in a New York bar with Madeline Albright and Lou Reed.

If you thought Havel is lost to the theater, think again. He might one day surprise us with a play entitled *The Comedy of Power*. The warning on the first page will say: "Any similarity between the characters and living people is purely coincidental."

The second, more serious question raised by Havel's change from dissident to president does not concern only the obvious contrast between the dissident intellectual who took considerable personal risks to "live in truth" and the politician who must live in a pragmatic world of semi-truths or would-be truth. Havel is the classic illustration of a conflict between what Max Weber defined as the ethics of conviction and the ethics of responsibility.

Havel's way to overcome or rather refuse the conflict is to give a different meaning to the word *responsibility*. In his *Summer Meditations* (1991) he writes: "Genuine politics-politics worthy of the name, and the only politics I am willing to devote myself to-is simply a matter of serving those around us: serving the community and serving those who will come after us. Its deepest roots are moral because it is a responsibility, expressed through action, to and

for the whole."

Lofty words, but have the seductions of power led Havel to compromise his ideals?

**Havel has a view of politics as legitimized by something
that transcends it, by ethical and *spiritual* values**

There are two main criticisms leveled at Havel's record in office: The first argues that he failed to oppose effectively the breakup of Czechoslovakia. The second claims that he did not voice strongly enough his opposition to Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus's reduction of the democratic dream of 1989 to the free-market verbiage of the 1990s. It was a movement, as many of us see it, from the works of the great Czech philosopher Jan Patočka to works of the doctrinaire American economist Milton Friedman or, if you prefer, from the sublime to the ridiculous.

The first point is well taken. Presiding over a disappearing country can hardly be considered a triumph. But this criticism fails to take into account the basic facts of democratic politics. Whatever Havel's clearly voiced commitment to Czecho-Slovak understanding, the voters, particularly the victorious party leaders, Vaclav Klaus on the Czech side and Vladimir Meciar on the Slovak side, decided otherwise. In this situation, Havel, in July 1992, did the only decent thing: He resigned, adding in a paraphrase of Churchill that he had not been elected to preside over the demise of the Czechoslovak state.

The exigencies of democracy also partially explain the issue of Havel's compromise when he returned to the political scene as Czech president in January 1993. Once his friends from the Civic Movement had been wiped out in the 1992 election, the presidency became attainable only through a degree of compromise with Vaclav Klaus's dominant neoconservative party. His eclipse in the first year or two of that presidency was such that he almost recovered the status of a "dissident-president." It certainly was the most difficult period he went through in office. But in fact, the Friedmanites needed him (to provide continuity and reassurance abroad) more than he needed them. And Havel eventually staged a remarkable comeback, culminating in his December 1997 speech to a joint session of Parliament, which provided the final straw that brought down Vaclav Klaus and forced an early election. In that speech, Havel, at last, clearly formulated his essential differences with Klaus: not just on ethical standards in public office (corruption scandals, campaign finances, etc.) but politically. To Klaus's economism, which sees no need for institutions between the individual and state power except for the market, Havel opposed an alternative vision of a politics that stresses the importance of the rule of law, of a vibrant civil society, of decentralized power. For the first time since 1989, the distinction between economic liberalism and political liberalism was clearly drawn. Confusing democracy with "the market plus elections" can lead to an "illiberal democracy," he said. There are plenty of those in the postcommunist world. The Czechs, with Havel reelected, can do better than that.

Whatever one thinks of Havel's ups and downs in domestic politics, he remained central Europe's clearest voice in foreign policy. He supported NATO's enlargement, of course, as a means to avoid turning the area again into an unstable and vulnerable no-man's-land between Russia and Germany. He also spoke out on issues in which principles were at stake. In 1993 he was one of the only European heads of state to favor an intervention in Bosnia; he saw nationalist conflict and "ethnic cleansing" in the Balkans as the first major test case for the post-cold war order in Europe. Also in 1993, he invited Salman Rushdie to Prague to defend tolerance and pluralism amidst much fear in Prague government circles of Islamic terrorist retaliation. He later pleaded for the admission of Taiwan to the UN and received the Dalai Lama--not the standard European posture vis-à-vis China.

Havel shares with Tomas Masaryk, his predecessor as philosopher-king at the Prague Castle between the two world wars, a view of politics as legitimized by something that transcends it, by ethical and spiritual values. Havel does not claim to be a philosopher, but as he used philosophical themes in his plays and his dissident essays, so he does today in his presidential addresses. There's a great deal of continuity between these speeches and his earlier critique of modernity, of a world dominated by impersonal apparatuses and by a faith in science and technology that causes man to lose awareness of his spiritual existence. Nor is the theme of "responsibility as destiny" new to the dissident he used to be. The novelty is probably in the tone, more pessimistic than in the days of the struggle against totalitarianism, and with an emphasis less on the libertarian response than on the spiritual, almost religious dimension of the crisis of our civilization. As in these words from his 1995 Harvard commencement address:

"The main task in the coming era is ... a radical renewal of our sense of responsibility. Our conscience must catch up to our reason; otherwise we are lost. It is my profound belief that there is only one way to achieve this: We must divest ourselves of our egotistical anthropocentrism, our habit of seeing ourselves as masters of the universe who can do whatever occurs to us. We must discover a new respect for what transcends us: for the universe, for the earth, for nature, for life and for reality. Our respect for other people, for other nations, and for other cultures, can only grow from a humble respect for the cosmic order and from an awareness that we are part of it."

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We want civility among strangers, decency among competitors, forbearance among faiths, peace among nations, fairness and freedom for all. Who would quarrel with these hopes? But who would claim that they prevail over fear and desire? We must find a spiritual faith that transcends the self, subduing fear and tutoring desire in goodness. Yet history shows that the spiritual becomes institutionalized, then fearful, aggressive, fanatical--whereupon its only hope is to dominate.

98/05 - Man's freedom, Gods Will



Elie Wiesel received the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1986. An Andrew W. Mellon professor in the Humanities at Boston University, he is the author of more than thirty books, including *Night*, *Dimensions of the Holocaust* and *The Fifth Son*. Wiesel is a cosponsor, with Vaclav Havel, of *Forum 2000*.

IN ALL MY WORK--fiction or nonfiction--I have been struggling with these questions. Where was God? What about God? How does one explain the silence of God, the absence of God? Or the presence of God? The complexity of God? If you think I have the answer, you know me better than that. I do not. And it is too easy to put everything on God's shoulders. Much too easy. Where was man, where was humanity, where was civilization? (Whatever *civilization* means.) Where was culture? I, as a child, did not believe too much in humanity, because I come from a very religious background. Then I grew up, and when I began studying, I realized that, well, I work in society, sometimes for society, surely with society, and the problem really is: How can a teacher (and I want to be a teacher), how can a teacher teach when he realizes, as you so well know, one of the most painful discoveries we have made: that the killers came from university-educated people? How can one admire a sonnet by Schiller and a symphony by Beethoven and kill children? I do not

know.

Fanaticism is something that opposes men not only to others, but to God, too. A fanatic wants everybody to be in prison, so that he or she could be free. A fanatic would put God himself in prison. I think we must open the gates of that prison to men, to women, and to God himself

- Elie Wiesel

So what can I say? I still have problems with God--or he has problems with me. Terrible problems. He is God and I am not. On the other hand I believe that I must continue in spite of what happened. I would almost say today that because I have faith in humanity, I must have faith in the Giver of humanity. In other words it is through the human being and almost for the human being that I cling desperately to God. If I were to give up on humanity, I think I would give up on God. But I am not giving up, and therefore I am not giving up on God, either.

The tragedy of the believer is much greater than the tragedy of the nonbeliever. Dostoyevsky said something very clever with which I do not agree. He said: "Man does not choose, but oscillates between good and evil." Now, if we do not choose, why can we be guilty, why should we be condemned or judged? Ultimately, there is a choice. One thing I should add is that religion or faith should never become an instrument of fanaticism. Absolutely not. Fanaticism is, I think, something that opposes men not only to others, but to God, too. A fanatic wants everybody to be in prison, so that he or she could be free, so to speak. A fanatic would like to put God himself in prison. I think we must open the gates of that prison to men, to women and to God himself.

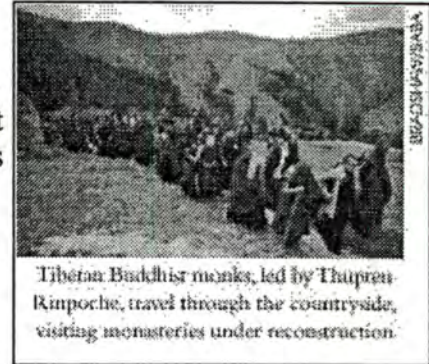
Fritjof Capra is a physicist and systems theorist. Founding director of the Center for Ecoliteracy in Berkeley, Calif., he is author of *The Tao of Physics* and, most recently, *The Web of Life*.

I HAVE A COMMENT on the speech of President Havel, and I make this with great hesitancy, because I found myself in such profound agreement with everything you said, President Havel. But I think I can serve you best by being critical. You invited us to be critical. You said that the crisis of responsibility ultimately goes back to a loss of respect for the order of existence, and you associated that order of existence with the sense of spirituality and good spiritual knowledge. And I agree very much with that. But then you went on to say that this order of existence is guided by a definite intention, a definite purpose, and I think that means to narrow our view, if we say that. As James Lovelock has shown in his pioneering work, we can now speak of a Gaian order, a Gaian organization and even a Gaian intelligence without having to assume a purpose. I believe that the notion of purpose and intention is a human projection, it is a reflection of a linear human thinking, and so, in a subtle way, it is a consequence of an anthropocentric view that you yourself criticized. And

I think we do ourselves a disservice by narrowing our view of creation by assuming purpose and intention.

Vaclav Havel

I POSED THE QUESTION to hear your views, and I respect them. Maybe you are right, but I do not think so. I believe that the order of being is actually unthinkable without something which we call in our human words meaning, direction, objective, purpose. We have no better terms for it, no better words to describe it, but it is important that this order of being is not a blind coincidence. I think that it has its own spirit, but of course that is something difficult to prove, and I am not sure whether there is anybody here who could play arbitrator and tell which one of us is right.



Tibetan Buddhist monks, led by Thupren Rinpoche, travel through the countryside, visiting monasteries under reconstruction.

Bronislaw Geremek is Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs and author of *The Common Roots of Europe and Poverty: A History*.

VACLAV HAVEL ASKS for the presence of God in this world, or for the application of a religious dimension at the end of the century. How can that be done? How otherwise than through men? The dignity of the human being can be proved by, for instance, the fact that man is created by God. But it can also be understood as something unique to the human being. We cannot overlook the concept of human dignity, because this is something deeply rooted in the spiritual experience of Judaism and Christianity and it is certainly not alien to Islam or Buddhism, or even to agnosticism.

Seizaburo Sato, research director of the *Institute for International Policy Studies*, has published many works about politics, including *Modern Japanese Attitudes Toward the World*.

ONE OF THE MAJOR characteristics of modern industrial civilizations is their strong drive for secularization. Once any society is modernized, or industrialized, trends toward secularization are inevitable, but at the same time there is the birth of new religious movements, many of which are more narrow-minded, more hostile to other religious believers. These two trends are very closely connected. Human beings cannot survive solely on the physical satisfaction of their needs. We have spiritual desires to be fulfilled. The existence of people who are indifferent to religion is only one aspect of modern

civilization. We should pay due attention to the more dangerous one, that is, the revival of narrow- minded religious movements. This is one of the most important challenges we human beings are facing now.

René-Samuel Sirat *is Grand Rabbi of the French Consistoire and president of the Council Conference of European Rabbis. He is active in Israeli-Arab conflict resolution.*

I WOULD LIKE to touch very briefly upon something that has been said here, and that is the ancient problem of the theologian: the omnipresence and omnipotence of God on the one hand, and the freedom of man on the other hand. One 14th-century scholar theorized that God, in his great goodness, did not want to give man an illusion of freedom, but genuine freedom, morally founded freedom. This is a theory that rather limits omnipotence, because it does not allow us, God or man, to predict the future. We could say, using modern terms, that God knows all the parameters and, knowing these parameters, God, in his omnipresence and omnipotence, can act, but he can also be taken by surprise depending on the behavior of men, positive or negative. This is the price that God pays for giving man freedom.

Cornelius Castoriadis *was the Director of Studies of the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales and the author of 10 books, including Philosophy, Politics, Autonomy. He died in 1997.*

TWO ALTERNATIVES seem discernible for the future. Either the Westerners recover their spiritual and political creativity and are capable of decisively influencing a fertile blend of the European political tradition with other cultures (the beginning of such a movement can of course also take place in the nonwestern world), or the whole world becomes more and more enslaved by the autonomized movement of technoscience and of economic growth for growth's sake. Events prove that a Madonna video clip cannot offer a valid alternative to the Koran.

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Nailed To The Masthead

98/05 - At the Century's Turn with Vaclav Havel

By Nelson W. Aldrich, Jr.

Leading this chorus of international voices is arguably the greatest man—artist, anti-Communist dissident, philosopher-statesman—of the last 50 years

It's the voice of Europe, mostly, that we hear in this issue. Yes, there are American voices here as well—and Asian, African and Latin American voices. But it's from Europe that our guest editor, the honorable Vaclav Havel, president of the Czech Republic, has gathered the majority of the people who speak to us here from Forum 2000, the international conference Havel organized with Elie Wiesel in Prague last autumn. (Three others are planned.) These are some of the Old (and emerging New) World's most brilliant minds and bravest souls: statesmen, historians, writers, scientists, justifiers of the ways of God to man. And hosting and challenging them all is Havel himself, arguably the greatest man—artist, anti-Communist dissident, philosopher-statesman—of the last half-century.

What these speakers have to say, Americans may be dismayed to hear. I certainly was. Viewed from Europe (viewed from anywhere but the United States, perhaps), the prospects for civilization often seem perilous at best, blood-soaked and despotic at worst. There is hope as the millennium approaches, but it is not of the blessed-optimism school most frequently associated with America. This hope is pragmatic, seasoned with hard-earned skepticism. Not that these voices are gloomy; rather, they are deeply serious.

At its close, the century passes before European eyes in scenes of almost unimaginable horror: the slaughterhouses of two world wars, the deliberate butchery of millions by Stalin, Hitler and Mao, the Soviets' soul-killing domination of Eastern Europe, and more recently, the sectarian and ethnic barbarities in the Balkans and Northern Ireland.

Most Americans cannot comprehend these horrors, especially as we seem headed for a true American century, one in which we are the only remaining

superpower, with an economy that grows both jobs and wealth at incomparable rates, and our disparities of ethnicity, culture and faith just seem to rub along with (relatively) little friction.

For Europeans, however, coming to terms with the millennium is a different matter. How do they assess where they've been and what it portends for where they are going? Our speakers address these questions with an acute sense of personal accountability—which was, indeed, the point of the Forum. History, as Marxists conceived it, is defunct. Divine Providence, as Christians, Jews and Muslims conceive it, is unknowable, thanks to man's God-given freedom. And so all nations, faiths and cultures, all families and individuals must discover within themselves a felt, conscious responsibility for the world—for, as one used to say, posterity.

This will not be easy. Among the most powerful decision-makers of our time—politicians, capitalists, business managers—time horizons are steadily foreshortening, and the mere sense of posterity has diminished accordingly. “What did posterity ever do for me?” is probably not (yet) a bumper sticker. It's worse—a dirty little secret rationalization for a widespread feeling of helplessness in the face of the future, one's own as well as the world's. Helplessness, even if subliminal, is a poor foundation on which to build a sense of responsibility.

Which is why so much of this issue of CIVILIZATION seems devoted to the question of God. To conquer helplessness and assume the burdens of responsibility, to take the long view, perhaps God alone can provide the strength. Yet we know too well from history, even recent American history—and the voices in this issue testify to other histories—that such a faith, strong enough to help us save the world, is more than strong enough, under the “right” circumstances, to impel us to destroy it.

Readers may have the sense that the Prague Forum ended on the horns of that dilemma. If so, let us recognize that painful spots are good places to begin—if nothing else, to begin thinking.

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98/05 - Contributors

"The most interesting thing about working with Vaclav Havel on the International Committee of the Forum 2000," says **Jacques Rupnik**, "is that it brought together, around the same table, people who would be unlikely to meet normally." Rupnik, who was born in Prague, is author of *The Other Europe: The Rise & Fall of Communism in East Central Europe*. He notes that this issue of CIVILIZATION "is a way to make sure the debate started in Prague leaves a trace, and that it is available to a wide audience."

Wole Soyinka, the Nigerian playwright, won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1986. His plays include *A Dance of the Forest and The Lion and the Jewel*; his most recent work is *The Open Sore of a Continent*, an examination of political unrest in Nigeria. He is currently the Woodruff Professor of the Arts at Emory University.

Born in Czechoslovakia, **Antonin Kratochvil** has lived in the United States for 25 years. His photographs have appeared in nearly every major American magazine, from *Time* and *Newsweek* to *The New York Times Magazine* and *Rolling Stone*; last year, he photographed an American Hmong community for CIVILIZATION. His photographs in this issue come from *Broken Dream*, his monograph on 20 years of war in Eastern Europe. "It was a project that spanned an era, from the depths of the totalitarian systems to the euphoria of revolution to the present day, when things have gone sour," Kratochvil says. He calls Vaclav Havel an "island of morality in demoralized, post-Communist Eastern Europe."

Bohdan Holomicsek met Vaclav Havel in 1974; they have been friends ever since. An electrician for most of his working life, Holomicsek has worked as a professional photographer for the last four years.

This issue marks the first appearance of **Nicholas von Hoffman's** new column, "In the Stacks," about the Library of Congress. "There's a million topics in there, and I hope to keep it varied," he says. "I will be like a butterfly flying about the garden of the Library." Von Hoffman is the author of *Capitalist Fools* and *Citizen Cohn*.

Signs of CIVILIZATION/In Print

Daniel Akst is the author of *St. Burl's Obituary*, a novel. **Robin Cembalest** is the executive editor of *ARTNews*. **Bill Donahue** is a frequent contributor to

Outside whose articles have also appeared in *The New York Times Magazine*, *DoubleTake* and *George*. **Dennis Drabelle** is an editor at *The Washington Post Book World*. **Elise Harris** is a senior editor at *Out* magazine. **Jennifer Howard**, an editor at *The Washington Post Book World*, is completing a novel. **Joan Caraganis Jakobson** has written for *The New York Times*, *Cosmopolitan* and *Family Circle*, among other publications. **Stanley Mieses**, a former staff writer at *The New Yorker*, is currently features editor of *Newsday*. A professor of the history of landscape at Harvard, **John R. Stilgoe** has written many books, including *Borderland* and *The Common Landscape of America*. **Jennifer Veech** is a writer and editor in Washington, D.C.

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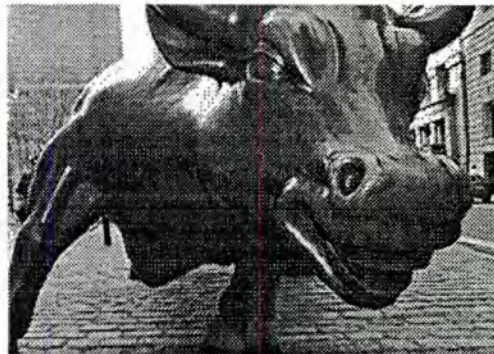
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Seen from afar, from heaven or an ivory tower, nothing is more mixed for good and ill than global capitalism. It has given us new technologies and bewildering change, great wealth and great inequities of wealth, new possibilities of health and new threats of disease. How to tip the balance to the good?

98/05 - The Bull in the Garden



Once a fixture outside the New York Stock Exchange on Wall Street: Aruro Di Modica's *Charging Bull* now resides in a nearby park.

Oscar Arias Sanchez, former president of Costa Rica, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1987 for his efforts to negotiate with Nicaragua, Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador.

ACCORDING TO KHALIL GIBRAN, the God of Good and the God of Evil met one day on the summit of a mountain. Both spirits were highly upset because humanity repeatedly confused them. The God of Evil was greeted as if it were the God of Good and likewise the God of Good was received as if it were the God of Evil. Frustrated with the misunderstanding, the gods could not help but curse humanity's stupidity.

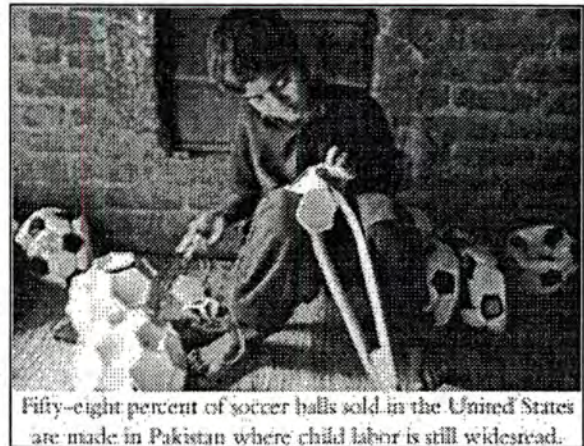
As we stand on the threshold of a new millennium we have the ability to prove Gibran's gods wrong. As humanity grows closer culturally and economically through modern technology and free trade, globalization will continue to provide many opportunities for mankind. However, we must be wary of allowing globalization to proceed at its present pace if we do not ensure that it is applied with global equity. For example, third-world imports to the industrialized world are still levied tariffs that are 30 percent higher than the

global average. This translates into a loss of about \$60 billion a year in revenues for developing countries. Not coincidentally, the ratio of the income of the top 20 percent of the world's people to that of the poorest 20 percent rose to 78 to 1 in 1994, a rise of over 100 percent since 1960. Our world now counts over one billion people who are illiterate and around 800 million people who go hungry every day. From 1987 to 1993 alone, the number of people in the world with incomes of less than one dollar a day increased by 100 million to a total of 1.3 billion people.

Globalization has, I'm afraid, created many losers, and little effort is being made to ameliorate their condition. Politicians have chosen the weakest in society--the poor, children and the elderly--as the scapegoats for economic crisis, turning them into the victims of state welfare reduction. By cutting social spending in the name of increasing economic growth, our leaders have erroneously concluded that economic development and human development can follow separate paths.

None of these depressing trends are inevitable, and their course could be reversed if our leaders made poverty reduction a national and international priority; instead, they continue to chant the term "economic growth" as their mantra. In doing so, they justify diverting resources from programs that help society's neediest to subsidizing weapons manufacturers instead.

A world without poverty is not a utopia, it is a realistic goal for the future. The world does not lack the financial resources to feed, educate and clothe its inhabitants. Rather, it lacks leaders committed to addressing the problems of the impoverished. The leaders of the 21st century must understand that humanity cannot survive if it follows the ethics of the 20th century. The 20th century was marked by cynicism, hypocrisy, selfishness, greed and the desire to please all without changing the status quo. In the 21st century, we must resurrect solidarity and compassion.



Fifty-eight percent of soccer balls sold in the United States are made in Pakistan where child labor is still widespread.

F.W. de Klerk was instrumental in ending apartheid in South Africa. He served as president from 1989 to 1994 and, with Nelson Mandela, received the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize.

FROM OUR EXPERIENCE in South Africa, in the case of sanctions against a country with an inherently strong economy, the chances that sanctions will be very effective are not great. We circumvented sanctions very successfully over a long period of time. They disrupted our economy, and the whole country is

still paying a price for those sanctions, but it was not the sanctions that brought about change. I sincerely believe that the constructive reforming influence of economic development in a country should not be underestimated. If you restrict a country, quite often the sanctions are used to foster political antipathy toward the international powers that exercised the pressure on you. The result is political mobilization against those powers. One of the biggest election victories ever secured for my party by one of my predecessors was based on an anti-American campaign, because of sanctions. It mobilized a lot of support.

Engagement and interaction and the fostering of economic growth are much more constructive and successful ways of influencing opinions than applying a form of force (for which, incidentally, the poor usually pay the heaviest price because it results in unemployment). While I see a place for sanctions in exceptional circumstances, I think they must be used sparingly. And I think that when the international community uses sanctions, they should make sure they act in an evenhanded manner. If sanctions are applied by big powers against smaller powers, but not against other strong countries where comparable situations exist, they lose their moral justification.

Shimon Peres *was the Israeli prime minister from November 1995 to May 1996. A central participant in the Middle East peace process, he is author of The New Middle East and Battling for Peace.*

STRENGTH AND WEALTH TODAY are products of science and technology. No matter what the size of your land, no matter what the wealth of your natural resources, no matter what the number of your people, what really counts is the level of your scientific effort, your investment in education, your ability to encourage the human mind to flow freely and stimulate new ideas. And the difference is major. It is not just a change in discipline, but a change in content. Science and technology and information do not have frontiers. For science to travel from one country to another, it does not need a passport. Technology does not need a visa. The flow of information is stemmed neither by iron curtains nor by traditional borders.

Jean Monnet suggested to the Europeans (and to the rest of us) that we abandon a world of politics for a world of economy. Politics is basically for politicians who seek glory, economics is basically for people who need food. Young women and men know that the old stories of geographic differences between north and south, the ideological differences between communism and democracy, or the differences in skin color, or tradition, no longer exist. Whoever bases their industry on science or technology can offer a new opportunity to every person, no matter where he lives, no matter what the color of his skin. I think the real clash is between religion and the modern age. Today the problem is not relations between the Muslim world and the Christian world and the Jewish world. The real conflict is for Christianity and Buddhism and Jewishness to face an entirely new world.

It has become more and more difficult to practice old-fashioned defense

strategies. As the opportunities are borderless, so are the dangers. Missiles do not respect borders; they are not impressed by distances. They can negotiate long ranges without any difficulty, and because terror is not limited to a certain state, it can arrive in the most unexpected places. We are passing from a world of enemies to a world of unnamed dangers. And while enemies have a land, these dangers are floating, they are in disguise. We have to change our coalitions, and our strategies, to meet these novel and global dangers. When I look at the younger generation, I wonder: what will be their opinion about us? They will think we are from the Stone Age, these people who were quarreling and fighting instead of creating and competing.

I must say I have been an optimist all my life, and I remain an optimist. Life is so short, why waste it on pessimism? The challenge is for us to open our eyes to these new opportunities.

Claude Jasmin *is an AIDS researcher and the founding president of the International Council for Global Health Progress.*

***Health care is where we see solidarity, agitation
against discrimination and compassion***

ON THE PERSONAL LEVEL, we can speak of the wealth of our modern times. Never before has health care, for example, advanced so much and been so promising. Health care is a new religion; it is in health care that we see solidarity, where we see agitation against discrimination, and compassion. Look at the example of AIDS. In all the countries of the world there are people suffering from this disease, and these people not only get together and wield a certain amount of political power, but they can also send a message to the whole of humankind. They are doing something at the personal level that generates a global impact. What Levinas refers to as the "mission of the medical profession" is this ability to respond to the suffering of other people. I do not know whether this is something that is genetic, but in the field of health care, nations and countries are to a certain extent expressing solidarity.

Joshua Lederberg *received the Nobel Prize in Medicine in 1958 for his work in genetic structure and function in microorganisms. He is now Clinical Professor of Psychiatry at Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center in New York City.*

***Sheer numbers, crowded conditions, speed of transport
mean that we are more vulnerable to influenza than we
were in 1918***

WHAT I WOULD LIKE to talk about are communicable diseases, which can move from one individual to another and can move readily across international

boundaries. We have today a world situation in which every day more than one million people cross national boundaries by air alone. This takes no account of forced migrations, wars, refugees, or other kinds of traffic.

What I view as the most tangible threat is influenza. We need only be gently reminded that the 1918 pandemic of flu was the major demographic event in the western world in the 20th century. Twenty-five million people were killed in the space of one year by influenza, and yet we seem to have totally forgotten about it.

There can be absolutely no question that the same process that generated that particular strain of influenza in 1918 will recur. And the preparations that we have made for this inevitability are pitiful and grossly inadequate to the circumstances. While now we have better supportive care and hospital care, the sheer numbers of the population today, the crowded condition of the world and the speed of transport of people from one place to another mean that in many aspects we are not less but more vulnerable today than we were 70 years ago. So we have a common cause, there is a common enemy, and we should be mobilizing together.

Hazel Henderson is the author of *Building a Win-Win World* and five other books about global development. She is currently a member of the Advisory Council of the Calvert Social Investment Funds in Washington, D.C.

THE DAILY \$1.5 TRILLION flows of global capital across borders, much of which is speculation, has changed the game for every nation's government. No country can control its domestic economy and exchange rates while opening itself up to waves of this "hot money." Yet the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, central bankers and their private banking colleagues have all hailed the opening up of national economies as a fast track to economic growth--pointing to the Asian growth miracle, which they expected to create new wealth that would lift millions out of poverty.

How could the experts have missed what any first-year engineering or ecology student knows? Engineers understand that removing barriers and countercyclical and damping mechanisms can set up oscillations of increasing amplitude which can shake megastructures to collapse. Ecology students know that in living systems the work of cells and clusters of organisms can proceed only within boundaries, usually permeable membranes. Different political cultures, goals and rules--local and national--not only drive real economies but are "membranes" that protect local markets and communities from being disrupted by large external flows of energy, information or money.

Thus, until international agreements and global circuit breakers can damp the huge speculative flows in the global casino, various sorts of communities and small national economies are well advised to make sure that much of their interactions are local. Homegrown economies are the best safety nets. By adopting local currencies (of no interest to international speculators),

communities can insulate local markets from global instability, increase employment and build social bonds. Indeed, the currencies issued by many cities and towns in North America during the Great Depression played a key role in regenerating local economies. Today, the world needs at least three kinds of currency--local, national and international--in addition to a global version of the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission to regulate global financial markets.

It is possible to go much farther, to change today's global economic warfare into a win-win game in which the most ethical countries and companies succeed

Hazel Henderson

This kind of response to the global casino is possible only in the context of a belief, increasingly encouraged by scholars in many disciplines (including game theory, psychology, political science, anthropology and ecology), that human beings are the fundamental actors driving economies and societies, as well as corporations and financial institutions. Rather than viewing ourselves as pawns of larger market forces, as neoclassical economic paradigms often do, we must see that we are powerful visualizers and realizers of new technologies, new design principles, new music, dance and art forms and new financial arrangements. By the same token, we are also instigators of powerful movements for social change--toward universal human rights, democracy, environmentalism, feminism, and ethical responsibility for future generations.

It's clear from history that an initially small group of determined people (less than 5 percent of a population) can leverage change in whole societies. In coups d'etat, for instance, a few dissidents can bring down a government by doing little more than capturing a radio or TV station. But humans have equal propensities for "win-win" sharing, caring, and cooperative behavior as for win-lose competition.

One way in which ordinary people can exercise their power in the new global marketplace is through socially conscious investing. Through my own experience in this field, as an advisor to the Calvert Social Investment Funds, I have listened to countless debates on Wall Street in which followers of free-market economist Milton Friedman have insisted that the only moral behavior for fiduciaries is to maximize their investors' rates of return (whether from tobacco or land-mine stocks or investments in other socially and environmentally destructive industries). But an alternative vision, which has been gathering more and more force, says that investors have complex goals. They seek more than competitive returns. Happily, recent studies confirm that investors can have competitive returns and hold portfolios that reflect their broader social goals and values. Such "social value" investors are currently changing the economics of the tobacco industry.

Today, the global playing field must be leveled upward, not downward, by negotiating treaties and agreements to raise its floor. Some of the girder work under this ethical floor is already in place, through UN and other global

agreements on worker safety and consumer and environmental protection. Yet it is possible to go much farther, to change today's global economic warfare into a win-win game in which the most ethical countries and companies can succeed. In the largest planetary context, all our individual self-interests are converging toward the evolution of healthy human societies within nature's ecological capacity. With longer time horizons in view, earth ethics and human morality simply become pragmatic. People all over the world need to understand this--which is what President Vaclav Havel meant when, in his speech to the U.S. Congress in February 1990, he called for "a global revolution in the sphere of human consciousness."

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We need the ties that bind: family, ethnicity, religion, party, nation. They remind us that we are not alone in a world of strangers. Yet each in-group must have out-groups, and each "in here" contains people who, to gain power, would make mortal enemies of those "out there."

98/05 - Member, Dismember - Remember



A Serb father celebrates victory with his son after Serb forces take Vukovar. November 1991.

Bronislaw Geremek

TOTALITARIAN SYSTEMS cast doubt on the fundamental values of European civilization, but paradoxically enough, they were a product of European civilization. The tragedy of Shoah and the Gulag Archipelago were certainly different, just as Nazism and Stalinism were, but at the base of both there was hatred, contempt for human beings and fanaticism. At the dawn of the European millennium they remind us that no civilization, no society and no nation can feel secure on its own. The successes of the idea of freedom and human rights in the Euro-Atlantic sphere, as symbolized by the year 1989, make us hopeful that Europe is entering the next millennium by tying its future and its integration to the fundamental values of its tradition--and that is a kind of obstacle to the repetition of the dramatic experience of the 20th century.

The downfall of the communist system and the end of the cold war were short-lived celebrations. New frustrations, new sources of conflict erupted, not as new challenges, but as new threats for the future of Europe and the world. National conflicts and ethnic tensions have come to occupy a special place among them. One of the international conferences organized in Paris some

years ago expressed this catastrophic diagnosis of the new situation in its title: "A Tribal Europe?" The collapse of two supranational states, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, has naturally led to the affirmation of new nation states, as always happened in history when empires collapsed. After World War II, Yugoslavia was kept together by violence and the pressure of the international balance of power. But we have to understand that for these people freedom was naturally connected with national identity, and the sense of a threat to this identity was at the origin of the resistance to the communist regimes. Thus, in the postcommunist world, the ethnic conflicts that appeared were not a manifestation of tribal bond, but of a natural desire to regain independence on the one hand, and on the other, the exploitation of these feelings and desires by the political elite. That is what is dangerous: political manipulation of such national feelings.

In the post-communist world, ethnic conflicts were not a manifestation of a tribal bond, but of a desire to regain independence, and the exploitation of this desire by the political elite

Thus nationalism is the last stage of communism; it appears in the postcommunist territories as a new way of organizing societies whose democratic institutions have been devastated. Politics and politicians have a very responsible role to play in these difficult transition periods. It is easier to win social support by invoking hatred and aggression than to rally people around an affirmative political message. It is easier to win supporters by dividing the world into "us" and "them", by creating an atmosphere of a threat coming from enemies, than to convince people of the value of common action.

But I do not think we should see only a pessimistic message in this new ethnicity at the end of the century. In fact, behind these ethnic conflicts there are always differences of interests but very rarely conflicts concerning economy, ecology or politics, a struggle for power, rule over the land or water for natural resources, or for access to labor or capital or food. The threat lies in politics, which uses such conflicts as its tool and exploits them. While opportunities can be created by international institutions and by education, the problem nowadays seems to be that there are no institutional systems of international cooperation to respond to such a situation. This system is becoming more and more anachronistic and inefficient, and education is still not considered the priority of our time. Even if [Samuel] Huntington's thesis about the inevitable clash of civilizations is not confirmed by the state of current world politics, it is still not difficult to identify politicians and states that run their actions and policies in this way. It means that in order to unify--if [Arnold] Toynbee is right that civilization is created around a religion--we should concentrate our attention on religious method and practice.

No great religion of the modern world voices hatred towards others. None of them is fundamentalist in essence per se. But each one of them contains a totalizing or totalitarian tendency to have exclusive rights to one's own truth. And so no religion is free from responsibility, from abuses made in its name. It

is important for the future to square our accounts with the past in such a way that we naturally condemn hatred, persecution and fanaticism. And we should say with hope that it could be a message for the next century.

Fritjof Capra

IT SEEMS TO ME that very often these tribal conflicts, not only in Europe but around the world, must be seen as liberation struggles of ancient nations, which are often cut in two by modern nation-states or are confined by modern nation-states that have no forum to address their grievances because the United Nations is not a forum of nations, it is a forum of nation-states. The Kurds are not represented in the United Nations, nor are the Chechen nor the Basques.

I have been thinking about my father, who was born in a town not far from Prague called Most. I could say that my father was actually born in the Czech Republic, but he was not born in the Czech Republic, he was not born in Czechoslovakia, and it is cumbersome to say he was born in part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy which is now known as part of the Czech Republic. It finally came to me that all I have to say is that my father was born in Bohemia. It was Bohemia then and it is Bohemia now. So, maybe the future is a Europe of nations or cultural regions.

Haris Silajdzic *has served as prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina and is now co-chairman of that nation's Council of Ministers. For the past decade, he has been the Bosnian government's most prominent spokesman abroad.*

BOSNIA, FOR A MILLENNIUM, was a place for refugees. It was a refuge, especially for all those fleeing religious persecution in Europe. Now Bosnia is being killed in front of the whole world, and one successful monument to multiethnic, multicultural coexistence is being destroyed. But Bosnia serves as an example. It must not be lost. It must remain in the collective memory of humankind; otherwise, all those 200,000 people, all the suffering, has been in vain. This fascist virus must be killed in Bosnia. Bosnia should not be simply the next page in the old black book. It should be the last page in that book. A great part of the Berlin wall fell on Bosnia, and we are still paying the price, but we are now picking up the pieces and trying to make a bridge, and that is what Bosnia has always been and I hope it will be for the future, for the sake of mankind.

F.W. de Klerk

We should not ask of a Frenchman to stop being a Frenchman simply because he is a European and there is a European

Union. The big challenge is to strike a balance between these realities

THERE ARE TWO REALITIES nobody can change in this world. On the one side is globalization, growing interdependence, the need for close cooperation and togetherness. I support that. On the other side is diversity. Each individual finds a very essential element of his or her identity in a specific religion, faith, language, culture--and, more and more, regional identity. At the same time, through globalization, all of us are or are becoming citizens of the world. The challenge is not to force people to choose one or another of the many dimensions of identity, but to create room and space for each element of this multidimensional identity. Because if you suppress the one in order to promote the other, generally speaking you cause tension and create a tremendous potential for conflict. We in South Africa have 11 official languages, and we have tried in our new bill of rights to create room and space for this great cultural diversity so that we can steer it towards being a strength of our country rather than a threat hanging over our head. We should not ask of a Frenchman to stop being a Frenchman simply because he is a European and there is a European Union. And likewise we should not ask of anybody to give away that which he or she cherishes, simply because he or she is also a part of a greater whole. The big challenge in this field, I believe, is to strike a balance between these realities that are inevitable and cannot be changed.

Lord Ralf Dahrendorf *has served as Germany's European Commissioner for Foreign Relations, director of the London School of Economics and warden of Oxford's St. Antony's College. He is author of Reflections on the Revolution in Europe, among other books.*

THERE ARE MANY REASONS why social cohesion has become a problem in the open society. For example, the battle for the open society required solidarity, but living in an open society does not of necessity require solidarity. Cohesion suddenly becomes an issue. I see it as perhaps the greatest single problem, and I do not expect that moral precepts alone will help us to overcome it. Aspects of the welfare state had a very important role in creating social cohesion. The urge for welfare reform, which exists in many countries, must not be used to destroy the solidarity that creates a cohesive effect in certain aspects of social solidarity, which has been institutionalized. The other is a term that has rightly been associated with 1989, and it is still very much debated in east-central Europe and the rest of the world, and that is: a civil society, which exists not against government, nor because government wanted to create it, but because people realize that their lives take place largely in relationships which are outside governmental control. And this civil society, the creation of associations and institutions in which people find their home, seems to me to be one of the most difficult tasks associated with the moral needs that have been rightly emphasized by so many.

Immanuel Wallerstein *formulated the "world theory system" in his three-part work The Modern World System. A historian and sociologist, he is president of the International Sociological Association.*

THERE IS A VERY INTERESTING table in a book [I read recently] about Europe which took every capital of the ex-Soviet bloc and showed what their ethnic population was in 1870 and what their ethnic population is today. And not a single one of them in 1870 had a majority of people coming from the ethnic group that is now dominant, and of course the figures for 1980, which I think were the last that the author had, are widely different. So that's a very important point to make. However, there is another point to make, which is that there is a second process of ethnic homogenization going on, and that's international migration.

Now, in the United States, Canada and all the western European countries virtually without exception--France, Germany, Britain, Belgium, Netherlands, but even Italy, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, etc.--we have today, depending on the country, a significant percent of the population who are from the third world. And it is very likely that within the next 25 years, regardless of legislative efforts (and they will probably be negative in most of these countries), there will be a continuing influx of new immigrants plus demographically a different rate of reproduction of this third world within. So that perhaps 25 years from now, up to a third, maybe even more, of the population of western European countries, America and even to a smaller extent Japan, will be composed of populations from the third world who will be socially, economically and often politically excluded. So, looking forward in terms of social conflict, it seems to me that that is one of the looming major social conflicts of today.

Norbert Greinacher is a professor of theology at the University of Tübingen and a prominent Catholic thinker.

AT MY UNIVERSITY, we have about 500 professors, and among them we have only ten women. And it is a shame what is now happening in the Catholic Church, where women cannot be ordained. (I believe we have seen one exception to this rule here in Czechoslovakia, where some women were indeed ordained here and became Roman Catholic priests.) Of course, this conflict between the sexes is not the only conflict we are seeing today, but it is a conflict that has been with us for a long time and I believe that is a conflict that we should definitely pay attention to in the 21st century.

Henry Louis Gates, Jr. *is the W.E.B. Du Bois Professor of the Humanities at Harvard University and the author of Colored People: A Memoir and The Future of the Race, among other books.*

WHO IN THIS ROOM 20 years ago would have thought that when we spoke

in 1997 of ethnic violence in Georgia we would be speaking of a republic in the ex-Soviet Union and not some town down the road from Atlanta?

I think we need a muscular humanism--a humanism that is without arrogance but that is also unafraid to assert itself, its tenets, its hard-won moral knowledge, one that has courage as well as conviction, one dedicated to the fight for justice.

We have all heard in recent years about the politics of identity, a politics that has a collective identity at its core. One has to assert oneself in the political arena as a woman, as a homosexual, as a Jew, as a person of color. But while the conversations about it are based in recent terms, the phenomenon itself is ages old.

The politics of identity starts with the assertion of a pre-given identity. It says: "This is who I am, this is who we are. Make room for me, make room for us, accommodate my special needs, our special needs, confirm recognition of what is distinctive about me, what is distinctive about us." If you think about it, it is about the priority of difference. What I am calling humanism this afternoon starts not with identity but with the ability to identify with. Less important than the identity of the other is the capacity to identify with the other. It asks what we have in common with others while acknowledging the internal diversity among ourselves. It is about the priority of a shared humanity. In short, we must move from a politics of identity to a politics of identification. But a politics of identification of necessity must always be accompanied by an economics of identification.

Who would have thought 20 years ago that when we spoke in 1997 of ethnic violence in Georgia we would be speaking of a republic in the ex-Soviet Union and not some town down the road from Atlanta?

You see, the paradox of American democracy and American corporate capitalism, so gloriously successful in so many ways, is the nagging persistence of antiblack racism and the presence of a huge black underclass. For our community, the African-American community, it is both the best of times and the worst of times. The size of the black middle class has quadrupled since that terrible day in 1968 when Doctor King was so brutally assassinated, and today we have the largest black middle class in our history. Nevertheless, 40 percent of all black children live beneath the poverty line, a figure almost identical to that same statistic the day Doctor King was assassinated. In 1990, the ratio of black men in the care of the prison system--in prison, on probation, or on parole--[to the number who earned a college degree was 70 to one]. The ratio for white males was six to one. The Washington Post reported that in the first three months of 1997, nearly 50 percent of all the black men between the ages of 17 and 35 in Washington, D.C., were somehow in the care of the prison system.

Our tenet, it seems to me, should be to lobby for those social programs that have been demonstrated to make a difference for those sufficiently motivated to

seize these expanded opportunities. More importantly, however, we have to demand a structural change in America that would be the equivalent of a Marshall Plan for the American cities. We have to take our people off welfare, train them for occupations relevant to the next century and put them to work. Because joblessness, not racism alone, is our biggest crisis.

Dr. King did not die so that half of us would make it within the black community and half of us perish forever, tarnishing two noble centuries of agitation for our equal rights. All those who love justice and freedom must accept our historical responsibility and live Dr. King's credo that none of us is free until each of us is free and that all of us are brothers and sisters, as Dr. King said so long ago, white and black, Protestant and Catholic, gentile and Jew and Muslim, gay and straight, rich and poor. As the great James Baldwin put it and I quote: "Though there are whites and blacks among us who hate each other, we will not; there are those who are betrayed by greed, by guilt, by bloodlust, but not we; we will set our faces against them and join hands and walk together into that dazzling future when there will be no white or black." And, we might add, no desperately poor.

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Could it be that liberal democracy is fundamentally rebellious, defiant, centrifugal? That without some distant tyranny to over-throw, its center cannot hold? And that with no center, no coherence or purpose, its energy etherealizes, leaving behind the ignoble quarrels of narrow interests, and finally only the ultimate interest of the self? Yet perhaps it is there, on the respect and self-respect of individuals, that we can build again the morale of freedom and the hope of justice.

98/05 - The Prospect of Politics



Supporters ready for a 1994 African National Congress Rally in support of Nelson Mandela.

Immanuel Wallerstein

IT IS WIDELY THOUGHT that the collapse of communism in 1989 marked the great triumph of liberalism. I see the definitive collapse of liberalism as the defining geoculture of our world system. Liberalism essentially promised gradual reform that would ameliorate the inequalities of the world system. The illusion that this was possible within the framework of the system has in fact been a great stabilizing element, in that it has legitimated states in the eyes of their populations and promised them a heaven on earth in the foreseeable future. The collapse of communism, the collapse of national liberation movements in the third world and the collapse of faith in the Keynesian model in the western world were all simultaneous reflections of popular disillusionment with the validity and reality of the reformist programs each propagated. But this disillusionment knocks the props out from under popular legitimation of states and effectively undoes any reason why their populations should tolerate the continuing and increasing polarization of our world system. I therefore expect considerable turmoil of the kind we have already been seeing in the 1990s, spreading from the Bosnias and Rwandas of this world to the

wealthier and more stable regions such as the United States.

The first conclusion I draw from these premises is that progress is not at all inevitable. But I do not accept that it is therefore impossible. The world has not advanced morally in the last several thousand years, but it could. We can move in the direction of what Max Weber calls "substantive rationality," that is, rational values and rational ends arrived at collectively and intelligently.

The second conclusion is that the belief in certainties, a fundamental premise of modernity, is blinding and crippling. Modern science, that is, Cartesian-Newtonian science, has been based on the certainty of certainty. The basic assumption is that there exist objective universal laws governing all natural phenomena, that these laws can be ascertained by scientific inquiry and that once such laws are known, starting from any set of initial conditions we can predict perfectly the future and describe the past. It is often argued that this concept of science is merely a secularization of prescientific thought, representing merely a substitution of nature for God, and that the requisite assumption of certainty is derived from, and is parallel to, the truths of religion.

If everything is uncertain, then the future is open to human creativity, to possibility and therefore to a better world. But we can get there only if we are ready to invest our moral energies in its achievement and to struggle with those who prefer an inegalitarian and undemocratic world

The third conclusion I draw is that human social systems are the most complex systems in the universe and therefore the hardest to analyze; therefore, the struggle for the good society is a continuing one. Furthermore, it is precisely in periods of transition from one historical system to another one, the nature of which we cannot know in advance, that human struggle takes on the most meaning. Or, to put it another way, it is only in such times of transition that what we call free will outweighs the pressures of the existing system to return to equilibrium. Thus fundamental change is possible, albeit never certain, and this fact makes claims on our moral responsibility to act rationally, in good faith, and with strength, to seek a better historical system. We cannot know what this system would look like in structural terms, but we can set out the criteria for one that would be substantively rational. In my view, it is a system that is largely egalitarian and largely democratic.

Far from seeing any conflict between these two objectives, I would argue that they are intrinsically linked to each other. Any historical system cannot be egalitarian if it is not democratic, because an undemocratic system is one that distributes power unequally and this means that it will also distribute all other things unequally. And it cannot be democratic if it is not egalitarian, since an inegalitarian system means that some have much more material means than others and therefore inevitably have more political power.

The fourth conclusion I draw is that uncertainty is wondrous and that if

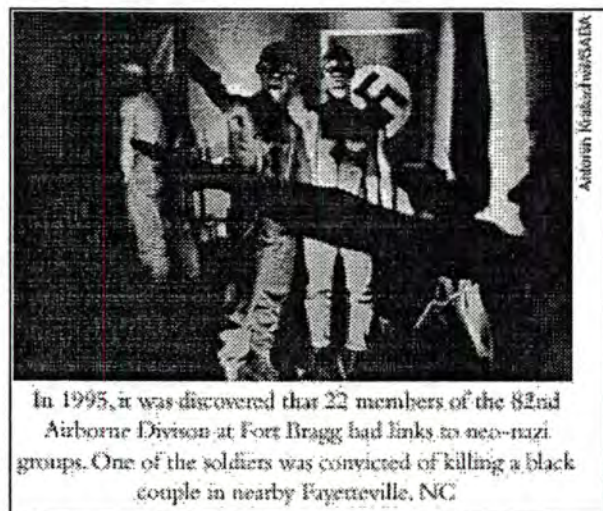
certainly were to be real, it would be moral death. If we were certain of the future, there could be no moral compunction to do anything. We would be free to indulge every passion and pursue every egoism since all actions would fall within a certainty that would have been ordained. If everything is uncertain, then the future is open to creativity, not merely human creativity, but the creativity of all nature. It is open to possibility and therefore to a better world. But we can get there only if we are ready to invest our moral energies in its achievement and if we are ready to struggle with those who, under whatever guise and for whatever excuse, prefer an inegalitarian, undemocratic world.

Michael Novak was the recipient of the 1994 Templeton Prize for Progress and Religion and is currently the George Frederick Jewett Scholar in Religion, Philosophy and Public Policy at the American Enterprise Institute.

CAPITALISM, IN MY VIEW, is primarily a discovery mechanism, both by way of market and by way of enterprise. This is the most important and most overlooked characteristic of a capitalist system. It is constituted not by markets and private property, but by enterprise, creativity, practicality and the desire to make things that are new. I would also like to address Professor Wallerstein's point about the idea of egalitarianism. I think, unless understood correctly, it is a murderous and authoritarian idea. Talents are so different, the capacity to work is so different, ambition is so different that I think the chances of being poor in an open society, in a society in which there is opportunity even if it is unequal, is much better than being poor in an egalitarian society. There are many kinds of equality: equality before the law, equality in opportunity. But material equality, I think, is a great enemy of liberty and a great enemy of democracy.

Timothy Garton Ash is author of *In Europe's Name: Germany and the Divided Continent*, among other works. Throughout the 1980s, he documented the emancipation of central Europe from communism for The New York Review of Books.

I THINK IT IS STILL POSSIBLE to tell a story of progress, but it is a much more modest and fragile progress. It is the story of a Europe which in the 18th century gave us the idea that one needs very serious language to constitute a nation. In the 19th century we added the idea that every serious nation requires a state. And then in the first half of the 20th century, the clash



In 1995, it was discovered that 22 members of the 82nd Airborne Division at Fort Bragg had links to neo-Nazi groups. One of the soldiers was convicted of killing a black couple in nearby Fayetteville, NC.

of nationalisms as conceived through the unrestrained competition of states for power in its extreme totalitarian form led to destruction in two world wars and European barbarism. But in the second half of the 20th century, at least in the part of the continent fortunate enough to be placed in the west, after 1945 there did develop a new model of cooperation and migration between states. This essential achievement was nowhere better formulated than by one of President Havel's predecessors, namely the 15th-century Bohemian king Jiri of Podebrady, author of the first proposal for a peacekeeping union in Europe. The essence of his proposal was: We shall not take up arms for the sake of any disagreements, complaints or disputes, nor shall we allow any to take up arms in our name.

How better to sum up the real central achievement of the European Union, the achievement of permanent institutional cooperation and peaceful conflict resolution? Now, 1989 was a chance to begin to extend this achievement to the whole of Europe. That chance was not properly and promptly seized, and hundreds of thousands of people have paid with their lives in the former Yugoslavia, in Sarajevo and Srebrenica, for that failure. And yet I think the chance is still there. But let us define clearly what that chance is. The chance is, I believe, not the achievement of some millennial finality of unity for a few states in one corner of the continent, but the chance to build a peaceful, nonhegemonic, liberal order for the whole of Europe. I think one of the central themes of our discussions has been a very important discussion of what could be a shared moral minimum for individual conduct, built around the notion of human dignity common to all civilizations. What we need to complement this is the search for a shared moral minimum in the conduct of states both in relation to each other and also, if this is to be a liberal order, in relation to their own citizens in respect to human and civil rights and, let me add, also the rights of minorities.

What we need is the search for the moral minimum in the conduct of states, both in relation to each other, and also in relation to their own citizens in respect to human and civil rights, and the rights of minorities

Of course, this leaves open vast questions about how these standards can be enforced, but Europe, in the European Union, in the Helsinki process, in the Council of Europe, in several other institutions and processes, has begun to find novel and partially effective answers to those questions. I am not suggesting any artificial contradiction between the maximal goal of unity and the minimal, though still ambitious, goal of liberal order. But I am suggesting that in the years since 1989 we have perhaps concentrated too much on the maximum for the few, when we had a unique chance to achieve the minimum for the many.

I do firmly believe that the chance that was opened up for Europe in 1989 is still there, that this precious and unique model is capable of developing and adapting to the larger Europe. But it is capable of that only if we see its achievements and its goal clearly, and without millennial illusions, and cleave to

the old and very unshallow wisdom which teaches us that less can be more.

Cornelius Castoriadis

[IT HAS OFTEN BEEN SAID] that national governments or states will not surrender their sovereignty to international institutions. But we see today that these governments are surrendering their sovereignty to other bodies, multinational trusts, national corporations, financial oligarchies, and other institutions. There are even cases of a Mafia organization becoming almost sovereign on a world scale. I'm not talking about some Monaco, which is not ruled by the Mafia, but very important countries.

So the possibility for a demise of national governments in the 21st century should not, to my mind, be seen in the perspective of an international world government, but in terms of misgivings about the corrosion of the state prevalent today in the former Soviet Union, where in fact the constituted powers are not exercising any real power at all. Real power is exercised elsewhere, most of it, we know, by more or less decent mafias.



In 1990, this statue of Lenin was toppled from its perch in Bucharest. Five years later, it still lay in the field where it had been dumped, along with its comrades

Michael Mann wrote *The Sources of Social Power*. A historian at UCLA, he studies the long-term development of European society and the problems of nation-states.

Modern liberal democracy originated in northwest Europe and its wide colonies. Ralf Dahrendorf defined its essence pretty exactly. It is the political attempt to live with difference. Those who hammered out our political constitutions recognized the diversity of what at the time they called interests. They recognized they were contending with interests, and they were seeking to compromise and regulate them. These were economic interest groups: the aristocracy, the gentry, manufacturers, farmers, artisans, laborers. They were more or less what we can roughly call classes, though it should be understood that I am not in any sense using a tight Marxian form

of analysis. This system of liberal democracy was rather good at dealing with domestic interest-group conflicts, and so it was quite capable of coping with subsequent interest-group conflicts, like conflicts between men and women.

So liberal democracy is essentially concerned with the institutionalization of conflict, and for many years it centered on class conflict. It was a response, it should be remembered, to pressure from below, from subordinate groups. And

the consequence was that liberal democracy always promoted social rights, as well as political and civil rights. For example, factory workers were interested in getting the vote only in order to lower taxes, have factory safety regulations, stop the employment of their children in factories, etc. Now when we talk about liberalism as enshrining only the rule of political or civic citizenship, I think that's fundamentally wrong. Liberal democracy has always contained extensive social legislation: That was the point of getting political citizenship. It never saw the abolition of class, or the creation of social harmony, but it saw regulation through compromise.

Liberal democracy had its blind spots. In western Europe's only colony, Ireland, religion was never satisfactorily coped with, and religious diversity was never satisfactorily coped with by the British state. But its major blind spot was, of course, in the white colonies where "we, the people" comprised only the contending interests among whites. Those of other races were not recognized as being part of "we, the people," and they were subjected to massive ethnic cleansing, sometimes nearing genocide, and alternatively to cruel slavery. Eventually their survivors were admitted to "we, the people," and so in the 20th century liberal democracy looks extremely benign, and indeed, it is relatively benign.

Capitalism can also be made relatively benign, but only after subordinate groups, including classes, have struggled successfully for rights within it. Yet modern neoliberalism tends to suppress this history. It asserts that the spread of capitalist markets automatically brings development and prosperity to all. It forgets that the real history of liberalism is rooted in conflict, including class conflict.

If what Hazel Henderson called the Washington neoliberal consensus--the IMF, the World Bank and the U.S. government--is all that we provide to the south of this planet, then this will involve child labor, inadequate labor laws, the expropriation of common peasant rights to land, etc. In other words, class exploitation seems linked to a foreign enemy and probably to a local class. The result will not, of course, be liberal democracy. In the short run, it has already resulted in authoritarian regimes' damping down local protest. In the long run, it will often lead to organized movements of both the left and the right. Fascism and communism are probably dead, but movements of the left and the right resembling them will probably resurge, claiming to unite the "organic" people against its local and foreign enemies, and the sorry history of Europe will be repeated.

Richard von Weizsäcker served as president of Germany from 1984 to 1994. He is the author of *A Voice from Germany* and honorary president of the *International Council of Christians and Jews*.

During the Cold War we seemed to know fairly well what to do: We wanted to stand up for freedom against suppression and dictatorship. Nowadays it seems that it was sometimes easier to fight for freedom than to prove ourselves able

and worthy to live up to the chances and options of a more or less undisputed freedom. After the end of the East-West confrontation, large new parts of the world and Europe are heading for democracy and capitalism.

Both those systems seem to follow the rules of free competition- competition for votes and majorities in democracies, competition for customers and material gain in the markets. But the spread of capitalism seems to progress more quickly and to dominate the notion of what competition is about. We sometimes fail to notice the differences. In the free markets, competition makes a choice between success and failure. The stronger ones are rewarded; nobody takes care of the weaker. And in democracy, competition decides the mandate of responsible leadership. But free and liberal democracy can survive in the long run without respect for minorities, without care for the weak, without provision for social justice. This is what we have to seek majorities for: to fulfill those goals. We've learned that lesson from the outset from the father of our market economy, Adam Smith.

Free and liberal democracy cannot survive in the long run without care for the weak or provision for social justice. This is what, in political democracies, we must seek majorities for: to fulfill those goals. We've learned that lesson from the outset from the father of our market economy, Adam Smith

In the time of open borders, free trade and the flow of information, know-how and capital, we seem to forget such basic insights. In Europe we still have to learn the lesson of how to achieve global competitiveness without losing social cohesion at home. This is a special task, for instance, in my own country, where the two systems of social welfare, with or without capitalism, have now merged into one common free market. But as far as I can see, the same problem will also have to be solved everywhere in this continent.

There are, of course, positive effects to the rapidly growing global economic relations: the increasing number of developing countries that are getting new chances thanks to their skills combined with cheaper prices. And there is the healthy and inevitable process in some of the old industrialized countries, including my own, to reform the welfare state. But there also seems to be a kind of downward competitive pressure at work; most Latin American or southeast Asian nations, for example, let alone Africa, cannot afford to meet American or western European standards. But more trade with them, more investment in their countries, while it could be good for our economy, is not necessarily good for some of our citizens. There is in our country an increase in wage disparities between skilled and unskilled workers, and the gap seems to widen. There is both a moral and an economic need not to protect our jobs from cheaper goods produced by low-wage workers abroad, but it is in our interest that the workers in the poorer societies do better in the long run than they do today in terms of both stable democratic institutions and the application of principles as to how human beings should be treated at work. This remains also one of the main responsibilities of those large international companies that

are rooted in our old industrialized countries.

I am deeply impressed by both the way Elie Wiesel has characterized history and how President Vaclav Havel asked for general and very personal spiritual guidelines. Once more we are aware of the enormous challenges and responsibilities of the religions and churches and temples around the world. Nobody can or wants to deny any religion its specific deep belief or truth. But far too often ideological or theological or even power-based religious disputes have disturbed rather than helped peace.

In the case of the former Yugoslavia, we have witnessed more confrontations than peacemaking from some of the churches involved. It is time to hear from responsible religious leaders who will encourage concrete ethical behavior by individuals, by market participants and by nations at the threshold of the next century.

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98/05 - The Chimes of Liberation

By Wole Soyinka

I am a writer and therefore an explorer. I claim instant kinship with all such explorers, from whatever corner of the world they might come. It is understandable, therefore, if my terminal images of this millennium, as it teeters toward its close, are images whose central figures are those of my tribesmen, writers. They are not pleasant images; they are images that chasten the optimistic hold of those far more dramatic images of human achievement--the heroic doggedness of the space station *Mir*, for example, or the understated planetary voyager *Sojourner*, meticulously surveying and analyzing the surface of an alien planet. There appears, suddenly, to be no limit to the capability of man to interrogate the universe and override its primordial vantage of secretiveness. And those very triumphs, plus a thousand others, including quantum leaps in man's ability to communicate with his kind and the erosion of distances through almost magical technological contrivances--these very manifestations of the infinite capabilities of the human mind only amplify the ongoing failures in the liberation of the mind.

If there is any one territory that offers itself as a worthy challenge to a new, millennial consciousness, it is clearly that of the human mind. This might seem like a redundant proposition. Our progenitors have fought battles in the name of that very cause, battles that go back centuries and have registered a truly humbling array of protagonists and martyrs--Socrates, Galileo, Giordano Bruno, Martin Luther, et al. The *proof* that the mind has attained a supreme confidence, even exultation in its own convictions, comes when and only when it no longer experiences a need to extinguish all others. If we only recall that in much of the history of the world, the competitive struggle for the spiritual regions of the mind has never been divorced from the mundane contest for political and territorial power and control, the will to dominate and enslave, we may be able to grasp more readily the fact that today the face of religious fanaticism is a familiar specter of power craving. The enslavement of the mind by those who would rather maim or kill the object of their proselytization than surrender it to the uncertainty of questions or skepticism is no different, in effect, from the tyrannical temper of the dictator of any age, whose very existence is rendered palpable to himself only in the complete and evident submission of the citizenry in every aspect of their lives, without questions, without doubts, without the concession of a possible alternative order of their social being. Abject adulation remains their common goal. If ever there was an

unholy marriage, it is the pairing of the theocratic and secular mandates of power whose issue has always been guaranteed as enslavement, death and destruction.

The ascendancy of these collaborators in the renewed enterprise of human enslavement is not limited, of course, to the continent from which invariably stem my major concerns. It is a phenomenon that has scarred Europe in recent times, resuscitating fears that Europe's own descent into the abyss of inhumanity may not have been quite the aberration that European humanists hoped it was. The rise of extreme nationalism, racism and xenophobia that has swept through France, Germany, the United Kingdom and even some Scandinavian countries during the past decade--a tendency that appears only recently to have begun to reverse itself very slightly--is yet again evidence of the ease with which the collective mind can be swept up by demagoguery that appeals to the "zone of faith" in the consciousness of most human beings. The "nation" is only another article of faith, like religion and ideology, and an appeal to the irrational baggage that sustains it in the mind is no different from the irrational supports of religious or totalitarian orders.

Demagogues understand this and are tuned to the psychological moment when internal difficulties, such as economic reversals or other areas of discontent, render a people most vulnerable to a new theology. It is the duty of freedom to resist but, better still, to evolve strategies that free the mind from the age of susceptibilities--that instill the habit of skepticism as critical device. This liberation of the mind is the most elevating task that mankind can address. The proof is simple and direct: Development is not possible except in the freeing of the mind, since the mind is what proposes the many options of development. Totalitarianism and dictatorship, in all forms or regimentation, both of the theocratic and the secular faces, are by contrast the ultimate expression of mind subjugation, and therefore there is one prime candidate for the unfinished business of this century, indeed of this millennium. It is the eradication of dictatorship, in all forms and for all time.

I confess to being parochial on behalf of my kind, that is, the verbal explorers of the universe of experience. Nevertheless, we let the hanging of a writer by a state, after a cynical mimicry of judicial process, stand as the image of indictment against any coalition of governance that proceeds by arbitrary dictation, metes out its own violent reckoning for real and contrived crimes and is not subject to accountability. The Nigerian martyr Ken Saro-Wiwa symbolizes the malignancy of unchecked power in this century and recalls us to the fact that the world remains unliberated as long as there is one spot in it where its peoples answer to the same condition of feudalistic order, or slavery, that the contemporary mind has repudiated. A new global consciousness is required that will proclaim dictatorship in any form-- be it of the secular or the theocratic kind--to be a crime against humanity.

We are speaking here of zones of peril where journalists write their own obituaries, knowing full well that each day may be their last, and poets, painters and filmmakers approach their work as a probable last will and testament. It is surely time to move from rhetorical denunciation to concerted strategies. The

breeding grounds of fanaticism need to be rendered barren and their insatiable maw starved of nourishment. Nations must come to the aid of afflicted zones, abandon their language of diplomatic niceties and act on behalf of our endangered humanity. The universal peril of fanaticism must, at one level or the other, become a priority project of the United Nations-- over and beyond the designation of a calendar year as the Year of Tolerance. It is time to sound the chimes of universal liberation. The twenty-first-century world that we envisage will clearly not be a universe of secular nations--and it is a pity--but those who people it can cohabit only through secular arbitration. Only this secular order of negotiations, accessible to us all, can guarantee and enhance those privileged areas of spiritual intuitions as they impinge upon the rest of us who are not so privileged and make no pretense of being on a first-name relationship with the Divine Mind. The ideal state is one that guarantees the right to enshrine our individual intuitions in organized observances that, while remaining independent of, indeed jealous of, all others, must accept them. The alternative to this is a will to domination, exercised through intimidation, terror and violence. This is the reality that confronts us in many parts of the world, demanding, for our survival, a crucial revision of our posture toward that rampaging other, that supremacist, intolerant other, that fascistic, apocalyptic other that will sooner or later erase the world rather than share its potential for yet unsuspected routes to enlightenment. We must consciously devise means of rehabilitating this fanatic mind of whatever persuasion--luring it into the embrace of the Universal Shrine of Humanity whose portals exclude no one. Beyond the portals we may glimpse the enticing vistas that the creative--and optimistic--mind has been spared to project into the next millennium.

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ONLINE[current issue](#)[what's new?](#)[search](#)[subscribe](#)[contact](#)*The whole nature of our civilization might amount, to the loss of God*

98/05 - Faith in the World

By Vaclav Havel



HUMANKIND TODAY IS WELL aware of the spectrum of threats looming over its head. We know that the number of people living on our planet is growing at a soaring rate and that within a relatively short time we can expect it to total in the tens of billions. We know that it shall be almost impossible to feed so many people. We know that the already-deep abyss separating the planet's poor and rich could deepen further, and dangerously, because of this rapid population growth. We know how difficult it will be for people of various nationalities and cultures to coexist so crowded together. It is also commonly known that modern humankind has been destroying the environment on which its existence depends; that it is ever faster exhausting nonrenewable sources of energy and other riches of this planet; that its activities are contributing to global warming, to the buildup of the greenhouse effect and to the enlargement of holes in the ozone layer, and disturbing the balance of all ecosystems. We all know, too, about the danger into which humankind is heading by developing, producing and proliferating weapons of mass destruction. And finally, we know all about the current and expected future rise of social problems, crime, drug abuse and various forms of human alienation and frustration in the event of the further concentration of people in large agglomerations that destroy natural human communities and bonds.

Any one of us could certainly go on listing similar threats for a long time, describing them in more detail and in rich colors, explaining how deeply they are entwined. There is a paradox--a large one, yet typical for our era--in the

hell?

WHenever I have encountered any kind of deep problem with civilization anywhere in the world--be it the logging of rain forests, ethnic or religious intolerance or the brutal destruction of a cultural landscape that had taken centuries to develop--somewhere at the end of the long chain of events that gave rise to the problem at issue I have always found one and the same cause: a lack of accountability to and responsibility for the world.

There are countless types of responsibility, more or less pressing, which vary among individuals. We feel responsible to ourselves or for ourselves, for our health, our performance, our welfare; we feel responsible for our families, our companies, our communities, our professions, political parties, churches, regions, nations or countries; and somewhere in the background of all these feelings of responsibility there is, in every one of us, a small feeling of responsibility for the world as a whole and for its future. We know that the world does not end at the moment of our death and that it is wrong to act as if we do not care if the floods come after we are gone. But it seems to me that this last and deepest responsibility, responsibility for the world, has become a very low priority--dangerously low considering that the world today is a more interlinked place than ever before and that we are de facto living one global destiny.

At the same time, our world is dominated by several great religious systems, whose differences seem to be coming to the fore with increasing perspicuity and actually forming the background to many real or potential political and armed conflicts in the present and future. In my opinion this fact--which is attracting, understandably, the concerned attentions of all observers--conceals somewhat a considerably more substantial circumstance: that the contemporary global civilization inside which this religious tension is taking place is in essence a deeply atheistic one. Indeed, it is the first atheistic civilization in the history of humankind.

Could the fact that humanity thinks only within the limits of what lies in its field of vision and is incapable of remembering also what lies beyond, whether in the temporal or spatial sense, not be the result of a loss of metaphysical certitude? Could not the whole nature of the current civilization, with its shortsightedness, with its proud emphasis on the human individual as the crown of all creation--and its master-- and with its boundless trust in humanity's ability to embrace the Universe by rational cognition, could it not all be only the natural manifestation of a phenomenon which, in simple terms, amounts to the loss of God? Or more specifically: the loss of respect for the order of existence of which we are not the creators but mere components. Could it not be that the issue is a crisis of respect for the moral order extended to us from above, or simply a crisis of respect for any kind of authority higher than our own earthly being, with its material and thoroughly ephemeral earthly interests? Could not the crisis of responsibility and accountability for the world as a whole and for its future be only the logical consequence of the modern conception of the

world as a complex of phenomena controlled by certain scientifically identifiable laws, formulated for God-knows-what purpose-that is, a conception which does not question the meaning of existence and renounces any kind of metaphysics or its own metaphysical roots?

I have been thinking about the basic questions and paradoxes of contemporary civilization for many years, and in recent times I have even had the opportunity of encountering different aspects of these issues in various countries on all continents. And I have become increasingly convinced that the crisis of the much-needed global responsibility is in principle due to the fact that we have lost the certainty that the Universe, nature, existence and our lives are the work of creation guided by a definite intention, that it has a definite meaning and follows a definite purpose. This loss is accompanied by the loss of the feeling that whatever we do must be subjected to the regard for the higher order of which we are part and to the respect for its authority in whose field of vision every one of us is permanently present.

**A true and essential
turn for the better can
derive only from changes
in the sphere of the**

spirit

I HAVE MENTIONED that the nature of the world today reflects the predominance of several great religious systems which are playing an increasingly important role--or rather whose mutual "otherness" seems to be becoming increasingly important--and that many people actually perceive a conflict between these different religious worlds as one of the threats humankind will encounter in the future. Since the fall of the colonial system and the end of the bipolar division of the world, and due to the population boom and the growing self-confidence and influence of various countries and continents lying outside the limits of the hitherto dominant Euro-American civilization sphere, humankind is actually entering a world whose characteristic features are multipolarity and multiculturalism. And so far, it would seem that the more tied the various civilizations, cultural and religious groups are by the bonds of a single global civilization--exerting unavoidably a unifying influence--the more they emphasize their sovereignty, inalienable identity, specificity or simply things by which they differ from the circle of the other groups. It's as if one lived in an epoch of accentuated spiritual, religious and cultural "otherness." This growing accent is indeed another large threat to this world.

But how to restore in the human mind a shared attitude to what is above if people everywhere have a different image of that which is above and everywhere feel the need to stress that "otherness"? Is there any sense in trying to turn the human mind to the heavens when such a turn would only aggravate the conflict among our various deities? I am not, of course, an expert on

various religions, but from all that I know about the main ones, I have gained the indelible impression that they have much more in common than they admit or are willing to admit.

Starting from the basic point of departure--that is, that this world and our existence here are not a freak chance having little meaning but are part of a mysterious, yet integral, act whose sources, direction and purpose are difficult for us to perceive in their entirety--to the large complex of moral imperatives that the act implies--all this surprisingly seems to unite the various religious systems, while the specific aspects of their traditions, accents, liturgies and interpretations remain, in my view, an immensely important but not dominant factor. What does dominate is the similarity in what the various religions ask of us as human beings, or how they perceive us.

Perhaps the way out of the current bleak situation could be found in the search for what unites the various religions and cultures, in the search for common sources, principles, certitudes, aspirations and imperatives, a purpose-minded search; and then, applying means adequate to the needs of our time, we could cultivate all matters of human coexistence and endeavor, and at the same time the planet on which it is our destiny to live, suffusing it with all the spirit of what I would call the common spiritual and moral minimum.

Do you suppose this might be a way to stop that blind perpetual motion dragging us into hell? Would you presume that such a universal recovery of the human spirit and of human responsibility for the world, that such an "existential revolution" as I once called it, could be provoked only by some unprecedented shock or disaster? Or is it within the power of wise people to bring about this recovery or revolution by their own will and by cooperation without the need for any appalling impulse from the outside? Would you presume that persuasive words of the wise would be enough to achieve what must be done, or would we need, as in the past, charismatic prophets or modern messiahs or even some kind of historical miracle?

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fact that although contemporary humanity has been aware of these dangers, it does almost nothing to confront or avert them. I find it fascinating how preoccupied people are today with all kinds of catastrophic prognoses--is it not common, for example, that books containing impressive evidence of these disasters become bestsellers?--but how very little people take these into account in their everyday activities. Does not every schoolchild know today that the resources of this planet are limited and that if exhausted faster than recovered we are doomed? And still we continue in our ways and, moreover, do not even seem perturbed. Quite the contrary: Rising production is considered to be a state's main sign of success, not only in poor states where such sentiment could be justified, but also in wealthy ones, which are cutting the branch on which they sit with their ideology of indefinite and senseless growth.

It is not necessary to point out again the horrors that may be lying in wait if our global civilization does not change direction. Today, the most important thing we can do is to study the reasons why humankind does nothing to avert these threats and why it allows itself to be carried onward by some kind of perpetual motion, unaffected by self-awareness or a sense of future options. It would be unfair to ignore the existence of numerous projects for the aversion or limitation of this danger, or to deny that a lot has been done for the implementation of such projects. However, all attempts of this kind have one thing in common: They do not at all touch basic trends of development from which the threats I am speaking of sprout, but merely regulate the impact of those trends. (A typical example is legal acts, ordinances or international treaties stipulating how much toxic matter this or that product may contain or how much toxic waste this or that plant may discharge into the environment.) I am not criticizing these kinds of standards or safeguards; quite the opposite. I am glad that something like this is being done. I only claim that these are technical tricks that have no real effect on the substance of the matter.

What, then, is the substance of the matter? What indeed could change the tendencies of today's civilization? What could really halt the perpetual motion which we have not been able to control so far? human communities and bonds.

It is my deep conviction that the only option is a change in the sphere of the spirit, in the sphere of human conscience, in the actual attitude of man toward the world. It is not enough to invent new machines, new regulations, or new institutions. We must understand differently and more perfectly the true purpose of our existence on this earth. Only such understanding will allow the development of new models of behavior, new scales of values and life objectives. In short: it appears to me that it would be better to start from the head rather than the tail.

**Do you suppose there might
be a way to stop that blind perpetual
motion dragging us into**

*file with
society*

Thursday, September 4, 1997

Topic of the day:

The World We Have Inherited

Burdens, divisions, values, assets and visions

OPENING SESSION

ELIE WIESEL

President Havel, Mrs Havel, Ladies and Gentlemen. It is with a sense of privilege that I declare open this international forum. To all of you - statesmen, scholars, artists, scientists, physicians, teachers, journalists, students and friends, all of you renowned men and women who have chosen to help the weak, the sick, the poor, the defenceless, to help them overcome despair by exploring our common future, all of you who have so graciously responded to our invitation, President Havel's and mine, and who came from distant lands interrupting important occupations, thank you.

Assaulted on a variety of fronts by multiple corrosive elements, modern society seems threatened in its perturbed vision of itself as well as in its impact on its Earth. For we have learned that the past remains alive in the present and that no event is isolated. Whatever happens to one community affects all others. Whatever occurs today will be felt tomorrow. It is enough to read newspapers and watch television to measure our growing anguish as we seem to hurry faster and faster towards the year 2000. Never have events followed one another at such an accelerated pace. History seems terribly impatient to take leave of an age whose downfalls surpassed its conquests. Where is humankind going? How is one to seize and comprehend the ideals that are meant to illuminate its progression?

The outgoing 20th century, which Hannah Arendt termed the most violent in recorded history, has transgressed civilisation's limits both in good and evil. Yes, the two totalitarian ideologies that, though different in outlook and method, more than ever before pushed humankind to the open abyss, have been vanquished. But in the field of medicine, unprecedented triumphs have been recorded. In the domain of science and technology, society has accomplished astonishing miracles, but on the level of social consciousness and moral philosophy and sensitivity to events, it is sadly lagging behind. Granted, man has conquered visible space and discovered hidden secrets of matter. But what has man learned of what is taking place in the human soul? What does the human being know of what is awaiting him or her as he or she watches on television the victims of starvation in Africa, the corpses in refugee camps or the war orphans in devastated villages? This is why President Havel and I have decided to organise this international colloquium. We are meeting to bring our collective sense of commitment and our inevitable but necessary hope. And now it is my great pleasure and privilege to invite our host, a man of conscience, courage and talent, President Havel, to give us his keynote address.

VÁCLAV HAVEL

Ladies and Gentlemen, distinguished friends. Before I open my address and, after consultation with Elie Wiesel, I would like to propose a minute of silence in memory of Princess Diana.
(One minute's silence)

Ladies and Gentlemen, distinguished participants, allow me to welcome you all very cordially to the Czech Republic, to Prague and Prague Castle. Thank you for accepting the invitation to the Forum 2000 conference, which has been made possible especially thanks to the foundations sponsoring and organising it.

First, if you allow me, I would like to say a few words about our country, about this city and this Castle. The Czech Lands, probably due mostly to their location in the centre of Central Europe, have - since time immemorial - been a crossroads of diverse power interests and currents of thought. It was certainly not by chance that in ancient times, as well as in more recent times, a number of great wars erupted in this particular location - and not infrequently also ended here, as for example in the Thirty Years' War.

More recently, at the time of the Munich diktat, then during the Communist putsch of 1948 and in the attack by armies of the Warsaw Pact against our country in 1968, events in our country were a test for all Europe, a warning to the continent, and a challenge to redefine its basic values and demonstrate coherently the amount of courage it was willing to exert to defend those values. Probably even more important than this political fate was what I would choose to call the spiritual record of our country. The East and the West, Catholicism and Protestantism, democracy and totalitarianism, republicanism and monarchist absolutism, mysticism and enlightenment, national subjugation and national blossoming, tolerance and chauvinism, the awareness of global context side by side with provincialism and isolationism, Central Europeanism and a traditional deep interest in matters non-European, selfish and ignorant short-sightedness and astonishing historical vision - all have combined and clashed over the long decades and centuries in a very extraordinary manner.

An amazing specimen of what I have just said about our country bears the name Prague. This city has been, every so often in its history, a true crossroads of European spiritual trends - as in the period of Rudolf II, currently the theme of a large exhibition being held in Prague. This city has often been called magical, mysterious, enchanting, spellbinding, particularly because of its eventful and multi-layered history growing from the perpetual entwining of the Czech, Jewish, German and Italian elements with various other European influences that have made an indelible mark on its appearance and permeated the atmosphere of the city.

The Castle, on whose premises we find ourselves today, is central and dominant to Prague, a city which - in my opinion - is more Central European and European than just Czech. With almost encyclopaedic consistency, it has been a great witness to the history of the city and country, offering a lens-like, converging reflection of the past ages. It is, or rather for long centuries has been, also the centre of our life - both spiritual and cultural.

For all the reasons indicated above, I feel that the Czech Republic, Prague and Prague Castle are a most fitting location for the meeting that opens here today. Where else should wise people from all over the world meet to reflect together for a few days on the fate and future of our common civilisation than in a place with such an eventful history, a place that has always felt with such sensitivity the threats looming over humankind and its culture, as well as the hopes that man may and must nourish?

Our conference follows a series of similar events organised over the years by the foundation established by Marion and Elie Wiesel, some of which I had the honour of attending; it also, however, has unique and individual features distinguishing it somewhat from the mentioned series. I am hinting not only at the items on its agenda, not only at the external framework of the conference and accompanying events, not only at its ambition to establish a certain tradition, but mainly at the circle of its guests. Invitations to this conference have been sent out to about 100 prominent personalities from public life, philosophers, political scientists, politicians, scientists, religious authorities and intellectuals from all cultural regions or areas of civilisation in the contemporary world. Of course, not all the invited have been able to attend. Nevertheless, I think that those of you who did find time to travel to Prague are a truly brilliant sample of the people who, on this planet, are engaged in the most fundamental questions of its destiny.

Before I assume the part of a keen listener to your debate, I shall try to outline in a brief, and indeed rather simplified, manner my personal expectations of this conference. Humankind today is well aware of the varied spectrum of threats looming over its head. We do know that the number of people living on our planet is growing at a soaring rate and that within a relatively short time we can expect it to number tens of billions. We do know that it will be almost impossible to feed so many people. We do know that the already deep abyss separating the planet's poor and rich could deepen further, and dangerously, because of this rapid population growth. We do know how difficult it will be for people of various nationalities and cultures to coexist crowded so dramatically together; and we know how many different kinds of conflicts such a situation can prompt.

It is also a commonly known fact that modern humankind has been destroying the environment on which its existence depends, that it is ever faster exhausting non-renewable sources of energy and other riches of this planet, that its activities are contributing to global warming, to the build-up of the greenhouse effect, to the enlargement of the holes in the ozone layer, and that it is disturbing the balance of all eco-systems. We all know, too, about the danger into which humankind is hurling itself by developing, producing and proliferating nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction in general. And finally, we all know about the current, and the expected future rise of, social problems, crime, drug abuse and various forms of human alienation and frustration in the event of the further concentration of people in large agglomerations destroying natural human communities and bonds. Any one of us could certainly go on listing similar threats for a long time, describing them in more detail and in rich colours, explaining how deeply they are entwined. Hundreds of books have been written about these threats;

some have even become topics of expensive global summits.

I see a large, yet typical, paradox for our era in the fact that although contemporary humanity has been aware of these dangers, it does almost nothing to confront or avert them. It is fascinating how preoccupied people are today with all kinds of catastrophic prognoses. How common it is for titles containing impressive evidence of the disasters into which we are tumbling headlong to become best-sellers? Yet people take very little account of these disasters in their everyday activities. For so many years now this warning data has been taught in schools and yet the effect of this knowledge on human behaviour is so small!

Does not every schoolchild today know that the resources of this planet are limited and that if they are exhausted faster than they are recovered, this would mean we could not but be doomed? And still we continue in our ways and, moreover, we do not even seem perturbed. Quite the contrary. Rising production, and therefore also consumption, is sensed as the main sign of the success of a state, and not only of poor states where such feelings could be justified, but also of the wealthy ones, cutting the branch on which they are sitting by their ideology of stupidly indefinite and senseless growth.

It seems to me that what is critical now is not to point out again and again such horrors that may be lying in wait unless our global civilisation changes its essential direction. Today the most important thing, in my view, is to study the reasons why humankind does nothing to avert the threats about which it knows so much, and why it allows itself to be carried onward by some kind of perpetual motion - basically unaffected by self-awareness or a sense of future options and, as it seems, virtually incapable of being affected.

I believe and hope that our conference will touch on this topic. Indeed, the prerequisite of any change for the better is first to correctly identify the situation that needs to be changed and then to analyse its causes.

It would be unfair, of course, to deny the existence of numerous projects designed to avert this danger or to limit it, as well as the fact that a lot has been done for the implementation of such projects. However, all attempts of this kind have one thing in common - they do not touch at all the basic trends of development from which sprout the threats I am speaking of, but merely regulate their impact using technical or administrative instruments. A typical example of such instruments are legal acts, ordinances or international treaties stipulating how much toxic matter this or that product may contain or how much toxic waste this or that plant may discharge into the environment. I am not criticising these types of standards or safeguards against any type of threat. Quite the opposite, I am glad that something like this is being done at all. I claim only that these are technical tricks reducing the unfavourable impact of other techniques - without, however, such regulatory activity having any effect on the substance of the matter. What then is the substance of the matter? What indeed could change the tendencies of today's civilisation? What could really stop the perpetual motion that we have not been able to control so far? It is my deep conviction that the only option is for something to change in the sphere of the spirit, in the sphere of human conscience, in the actual attitude of man towards the world and his understanding of himself and his place in the overall order of existence. It cannot suffice to invent new machines, new regulations, new institutions. It is necessary to understand differently and more perfectly the true purpose of our existence on this earth, and of our deeds. Only such a new understanding will allow the development of new models of behaviour, new scales of values and objectives in life, and through these means finally bind a new spirit and new meaning also to the specific regulations, treaties and institutions.

In short, it appears to me that it would be better to start from the head rather than the tail.

It would be welcome, of course, to hear whether you share this conviction of mine or perhaps, relying on your life experience, your knowledge and your beliefs or faith, what further and more specific points you would like to add to this topic.

One of the reasons I believe that a true and essential turn for the better can derive only from changes in the sphere of the spirit arises from an observation of mine. Whenever I encounter any kind of deeper problem of civilisation anywhere in the world - be it the logging of rain forests, ethnic or religious intolerance or the brutal destruction of a cultural landscape which had taken centuries to develop - somewhere at the end of the long chain of causes that gave rise to the problem at issue I always find one and the same reason: a lack of accountability to the world and responsibility for it.

There are countless types of responsibility, perceived as either more or less pressing, many of which vary naturally among individuals. We feel responsible to ourselves or for ourselves, for our health, our performance, our welfare; we feel responsible for our families, our companies, our communities, our professions, political parties, churches, regions, nations or countries; and somewhere in the background of all these feelings of responsibility there is, in every one of us, a small feeling of responsibility for the

world as a whole and for its future. Don't we all feel that the world does not end at the moment of our death and that it is wrong to act as if we do not care if the floods come after we are gone? Nevertheless, it seems to me that this last and deepest responsibility, that is responsibility for the world, is very low for a number of reasons and is actually dangerously low against the background of the fact that the world today is a more interlinked place than ever before in history - and that we are de facto living one global destiny and that almost anything that happens anywhere in the world may in one way or another affect the lives of us all.

And yet we live in a world that seems to legitimise very strongly all kinds of possible and impossible particular interests, which however seems unable to legitimise properly universal interests, those which reach beyond the framework of the family, company, party, state or current generation, that is namely those interests that could be expected to dominate in today's globally networked world, one threatened by a multiple of civilisations. Those who pursue such interests - not superficially and only verbally, but truly sincerely - are today being pushed more obviously to the margins of society as idealists standing apart from the real state of affairs.

The current world is dominated by several great religious systems whose differences seem to be coming increasingly to the fore and form the background to many real or potential political and armed conflicts in the present and future. In my opinion this fact, which is understandably attracting the concerned attention of all observers, somewhat conceals a considerably more substantial circumstance - the contemporary global civilisation inside which the tension within the areas of individual religion is taking place is, in essence, a deeply atheistic one. Indeed, it is to date the first atheistic civilisation in the history of humankind. Simultaneously, it is the first civilisation that embraces the whole planet.

The reason I am stressing this fact at this moment is, I hope, obvious: the atheistic nature of this civilisation coincides deeply, I believe, with the hypertrophic pursuit of individual interests and individual responsibilities together with the crisis of global responsibilities. Could the fact that humanity thinks only within the limits of what lies in its field of vision and is incapable of remembering also what lies beyond, whether in the temporal or spatial sense, not be the result of a loss of metaphysical certitude, of vanishing points and horizons?

Could not the whole nature of the current civilisation - with its short-sightedness, with its proud emphasis on the human individual as the crown of all creation and its master, and with its boundless trust in humanity's ability to embrace the universe by rational cognition, could it not all be but the natural manifestation of a phenomenon which, in simple terms, amounts to the loss of God? Or, more specifically, the loss of respect towards the order of existence of which we are not the creators but mere components, to the mysterious inherent meaning or spirit of this order, to its memory capable of not only recording that part of our deeds concealed from others but of recording it for eternity, that is of evaluating our deeds from the point of view of eternity?

Could it not be that the issue is a crisis of respect for the moral order extended to us from above, or simply a crisis of respect for any kind of authority higher than our own earthly being, with its material and thoroughly ephemeral earthly interests? Succinctly, could not the crisis of responsibility and accountability for the world as a whole, and for its future, be but the logical consequence of the modern conception of the world as a complex of phenomena controlled by certain scientifically identifiable laws, formulated for god knows what purpose - that is, a conception that does not question the meaning of existence and renounces any kind of metaphysics or any kind of metaphysical roots of its own?

I have been thinking about the basic questions and paradoxes of contemporary civilisation for many years and in recent times I have even had the opportunity of encountering different aspects of these issues in various countries on all continents. And without my view being burdened a priori by any kind of paradigm, I have become repeatedly and increasingly convinced of the validity of that which I have just outlined. It is for this reason that I shall be especially interested in the views of this assembly of wise people, to see how they either refute, or on the other hand supplement, my convictions.

To put it simply, amongst other things, I expect this conference to give me and many others an answer to the question as to whether I am right or mistaken in thinking that the crisis of much needed global responsibility is in principle due to the fact that we have lost the certainty that the universe, nature, existence and our lives are the work of creation guided by a definite intention, that it has a definite meaning and follows a definite purpose and, together with this certainty, also all and every humility towards what reaches beyond us and surrounds us. This loss is, of course, accompanied by the loss of the feeling that whatever we do must be subjected to a regard for a higher order, of which we are part, and to a respect for an authority in whose field of vision every one of us is permanently present.

I have mentioned that the image of today's world reflects the predominance of several great religious systems which are playing an increasingly important role - or, rather, whose mutual "otherness" seems to

be becoming increasingly important, and that many people actually perceive a conflict between these different religious worlds as one of the threats mankind will encounter in the future.

Yes, after the fall of the colonial system and the end of the bipolar division of the world, and due to the population boom and the growing self-confidence and influence of various countries and continents lying outside the limits of the hitherto dominant Euro-American sphere of civilisation, humankind is actually entering a world whose characteristic features are multi-polarity and multi-culturalism. So far it would seem that the more tied the various civilisations and cultural and religious groups are by the bonds of a single global civilisation - unavoidably exerting a unifying influence - the more they try to confront such a grip by emphasising their sovereignty, inalienable identity, specificity, or simply things by which they differ from the circle of the other groups as if one lived in an epoch of accentuated spiritual, religious and cultural "otherness". This growing accent is indeed another large threat to this world.

But how can we restore in the human mind a shared attitude to what is above, if people everywhere have a different image of that which is above and everywhere feel the need to stress "otherness"? Is there any sense in trying to turn the human mind to the heavens when such a turn would only aggravate the conflict among our various deities?

Of course, I am not an expert on the various religions, but from all I know about the main ones, learning about them over time and from direct contact with them, I have gained the indelible impression that they have much more in common than they admit or are willing to admit. From the basic point of departure - that is, that this world and our existence here are not a freak chance of little meaning but are part of a mysterious, yet integral, act whose sources, direction and purpose are difficult for us to perceive in their entirety - to the large complex of moral imperatives the act applies in addressing us, it is surprising that all this seems to unite the various religious systems. While the specific aspects of their traditions, accents, liturgies and interpretations remain, in my view, immensely important, they are not a dominant factor. What, on the other hand, does dominate is the similarity in what the various religions ask of us, as human beings, or how they perceive us.

The last but perhaps most important question I would like to ask is, whether a way out of the current bleak situation could not be found in the actual search for what unites the various religions and cultures, in the search for common sources, principles, certitude, aspirations and imperatives, a purpose-minded search; and then, applying means adequate to the needs of our time, to cultivate all matters of human co-existence and endeavour as well as the treatment of the planet on which it is our destiny to live, and to suffuse it all with the spirit of what I wish to call, with your permission, the common spiritual and moral minimum.

Do you suppose this might be a way to stop that blind perpetual motion dragging us into hell, or would it seem to you to be unrealistic and naive? Can you conceive that such a general and universal recovery of the human spirit and human responsibility for the world, such - as I once called it - "existential revolution", could be provoked only by some unprecedented shock or disaster, or is it within the power of wise people to bring it about by their own will and by joining their forces without the need for any appalling impulse from the outside? Can you imagine that the convincing words of wise people would be enough to achieve what has been described or would we need, like in the past, charismatic prophets or modern messiahs or even some kind of historical miracle?

Distinguished friends, I would be very surprised if any two of you were to give an identical answer to the several, very general questions I have posed here. It is not, however, our purpose to reach an agreement on something of neutral content, or on a compromise, and then to issue that as a joint manifesto nobody would bother to read because it is too vague. We can bravely leave that procedure to official conferences and summits. The agenda of this assembly is different: an opportunity for its participants - and they truly are a varied group - to express, in the most original and interesting way possible, their own views of the issues that are undoubtedly of concern to us all, and to turn the mutual exchange and confrontation of these views into a true forum, a forum as a space where people reflect on matters concerning everybody, and discuss them.

Thank you for listening, and I wish us all a successful meeting. I also wish you a pleasant stay in Prague and hope you will absorb some of its special atmosphere - let it be an enrichment for you, at least to the same extent that your presence here and the ideas you voice enrich my fellow citizens.

file *Rebecca*
civil society
THE PROJECT ON JUSTICE IN TIMES OF TRANSITION
INITIATIVE REPORT

WORKSHOPS FOR NORTHERN IRELAND COMMUNITY LEADERS

November 25- December 1, 1998
Northern Ireland

Summary Report

As a follow-up to the conference for community leaders that was held in Belfast in April 1998, The Project on Justice in Times of Transition of The Foundation for a Civil Society and The Northern Ireland Voluntary Trust (NIVT) organized a **series of four workshops** that were held throughout Northern Ireland. These workshops were requested by those who attended the three-day program in April and felt that community leaders would benefit from another program in the form of a series of one-day workshops held in a variety of locations. As with the April program, the workshops featured a **blend of international and local experience**, affording an opportunity for community leaders from throughout Northern Ireland both to hear the perspective and insights of a community activist from Croatia, and to share and strategize with each other.

The four workshops were held in **Derry / Londonderry** (November 25), **Belfast** (November 27), **Craigavon** (November 30) and **Omagh** (December 1). As many as two representatives from local groups in each community attended for a total of 50-75 participants per workshop. In order to allow more extensive discussion on certain subjects, participants met in small groups that were facilitated by local community activists and individuals affiliated with the NIVT. All small group discussions were summarized and reported back to the larger group of workshop attendees so that everyone could reflect on the discussions regardless of which small group they chose to join.

Branka Kaselj, the Executive Director of the Centre for Peace, Non-Violence and Human Rights in Osijek, Croatia, participated in all four workshops in Northern Ireland. She has been with the Centre in various capacities since 1993 and has focused much of her work around providing support to community leaders and disseminating information about and among the projects with which she works. Ms. Kaselj took part in the April 1998 conference in Belfast and, as her remarks were quite well-received and participants requested an opportunity to engage in further discussion with her, she returned to Northern Ireland to lend her insights again for the November-December workshops.

At these workshops Ms. Kaselj described her work with the Centre for Peace, Non-Violence and Human Rights and some of the steps that she and her colleagues have taken to overcome fear and prejudice. These included personal development of activists, working with those who have been the most affected by the war, opening a dialogue among people from different communities, providing assistance to those deprived of their human rights, and laying the groundwork for the return of refugees. To facilitate its work, the Centre created three specific programs:

- Peace Education and Psycho-social Support
- Promotion and Protection of Human Rights
- Peace-building and Community Development

She described the special roles played by women, young people, ex-soldiers and religious leaders in the implementation of these programs as well as the challenges Croats face as they work to create a culture of peace in the aftermath of conflict.

In addition to Ms. Kaselj's presentation, which was followed by a question and answer period, the community leaders at each workshop had an opportunity to explore several issues of particular concern. The morning of each workshop included sessions during which participants examined subjects related to different constituencies, namely **prisoners, youth, victims and women**. The issues of prisoners and victims are particularly salient in Northern Ireland and the recent peace agreement and resultant discussion of decommissioning have brought them even further into public discourse. While there has been much programming on this subject, including a series of meetings for prisoners and one for victims organized by the NIVT, the November-December workshops have been the only occasion on which members of the two groups came together to grapple with issues of concern.

In all four workshops the discussions about **politically motivated former prisoners** were charged but constructive. There was consensus that the issue of ex-prisoners is one that must be confronted not only by the ex-prisoners and their families but by society in Northern Ireland as a whole. Despite the peace agreement, participants noted, there is a climate of fear, and ex-prisoners face discrimination and stigmatization when they try to reintegrate after their release. One of the greatest difficulties they face is unemployment, in part because they are required to note their conviction on employment applications, a stipulation that many workshop participants thought should be eliminated. Another challenge for recently released prisoners is rejoining their families after years of absence and confronting the tensions that result from families' readjustment. This is particularly difficult when family members' roles have changed over time and people have developed in different ways. It was noted on several occasions that families of ex-prisoners must be acknowledged as victims and receive the attention and support that they need. In general, workshop participants underscored the lack of adequate support services from and distrust of various agencies and statutory bodies. Ex-prisoners are often isolated and, in the opinion of many workshop participants, the suffering they have undergone and their potential to contribute to society are not properly acknowledged. Participants suggested that educational and legislative work is necessary to dismantle barriers for and eliminate demonization of ex-prisoners. Concurrently, ex-prisoners should get out into the community and tell their stories so as to break down stereotypes and prevent the recurrence of violence, particularly among young people.

The subject of **young people** was one of concern in all four workshops but the discussions were not contentious. Rather, workshop participants identified a number of problems that young people face and articulated possible ways to address them. The greatest concern was the perception of young people in Northern Ireland which workshop participants considered unfairly negative. Participants said that youth feel "devalued" and are seen by the community as a problem and the source of anti-social behavior. However, it was noted that the violent tendencies that are exhibited by youth are the result of the society's culture of violence and the Troubles that have caused young people to become more polarized, extreme and suspicious. This disengagement results in young people's distance from political processes which, in the minds of workshop participants, is a significant loss. It was agreed that some of the issues related to young people could be addressed by changes in the educational system as well as resources that would create sustainable programs and safe spaces for young people. It was felt that with greater facilities and attention paid to young people, their opportunities could be maximized and their talents recognized.

The sessions on the subject of **victims** were among the most difficult as the issues discussed were particularly painful and few workshop participants were able to offer solutions that could be easily implemented. The first point that was raised in several workshops was the use of the term "victim" and whether "witness" or "survivor" was more appropriate or desirable. There was also discussion at each workshop of who should be considered in the category of victims. Many participants thought that all residents of Northern Ireland (and some people included the Republic of Ireland and Great Britain) have been victims of the Troubles, though to varying degrees. Some discussion occurred about the different ways in which people have been affected by the conflict, such as whether ex-prisoners should be considered victims or how to take into consideration people like those who

witnessed a bombing but were not physically hurt. There was, however, consensus that victims—however narrowly or broadly defined—have not received adequate support and, in some cases, have suffered further as a result of politicians and the media. It was also agreed that as part of coming to terms with the past, Northern Ireland society must listen to victims and acknowledge their feelings. Although silence has been a coping mechanism, it has also hindered the healing that is necessary for all of those who have been affected by the conflict. Workshop participants recommended that increased attention and resources be provided to survivors of the Troubles so that victims' pain can be acknowledged and addressed.

Workshop participants identified a myriad of issues as concerns for **women** including childcare, domestic violence, education, single parenting, unemployment and low pay, lack of confidence, sectarianism, mental health and sexism. Although some of these issues were characterized as "women's issues" there was recognition that many are actually broader issues that must be dealt with by the entire society, not just women's groups. Participants noted, too, that there are massive expectations of women, especially the pressures of family responsibilities. Also, the nature of a patriarchal society can discourage women from speaking out or becoming involved in politics or other male-dominated systems. One participant attempted to get to the crux of the problem when she speculated whether women's image as loving and caring prevents them from fighting men for resources and representation. Several women commented that these stereotypes are held by women as well as men and that women must confront their own prejudices on a variety of levels. Workshop participants recommended that resources and support structures must be provided for women—particularly young women and those in rural communities—to build up their capacity.

The afternoon sessions of the workshops featured a **video presentation called "Communities in Transition"** which was initially developed for the April conference and has been updated and refined to include the individuals from Croatia, Israel, Nicaragua and South Africa who took part in the conference as well as community activists from throughout Northern Ireland. The video was developed in conjunction with a workbook and is now available for use in communities in order to spur discussion about and encourage activity related to the consolidation of peace in Northern Ireland.

Following the video presentation and discussion, the workshop participants broke into smaller groups in order to examine questions of **how the community relates to broader issues of peace-building** and make recommendations. Group members identified a number of skills that the community sector has developed, particularly the abilities to network, mediate and create inclusionary, consensual decision-making processes. Several people felt that community work both contributes to peace-building and has many of the same elements; both are about creating a just and equitable society. However, there are many challenges for such efforts which must bring people together around common problems, a process which can contribute to the demystification of the other side. Obstacles include real and perceived risks, lack of resources and time. Workshop participants indicated that single-identity work is a necessary basis for peace-building and that differences between various communities must be recognized. They noted the need for continuity of funding, projects and people involved, and suggested that community workers must be realistic about what can be accomplished. They should also bear in mind that "less is more" if it means entrenching positive change among a smaller group rather than simply encouraging change on a superficial level with many.

A full report of the 1998 workshops for community leaders will be forthcoming.

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THE PROJECT ON JUSTICE IN TIMES OF TRANSITION INITIATIVE REPORT

THE NEW POLITICAL ARCHITECTURE: A WORKSHOP FOR LEADERS FROM NORTHERN IRELAND, THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND AND GREAT BRITAIN

July 19-24, 1998
Cambridge, Massachusetts

The Project on Justice in Times of Transition of the Foundation for a Civil Society and the Executive Seminar Program of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University co-sponsored a week-long workshop in Cambridge, Massachusetts for a group of political leaders from Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland and Great Britain. This off-the-record workshop—the first of its kind since the May 1998 referenda—provided a unique opportunity for 35 leaders from a wide range of major political parties, including newly elected members of the new Northern Ireland Assembly, to come together in a neutral environment to analyze and develop strategies to address the critical challenges facing them and the new Assembly.

By employing case studies and allowing time for informal activities, this timely program gave the participants a chance to learn how other societies have dealt with problems comparable to those currently existing in Northern Ireland, and to strengthen personal relationships in order to foster dialogue and a greater understanding of different viewpoints.

The workshop was a follow-on to the successful first joint initiative of The Project and the Kennedy School on Northern Ireland, *Managing Change in a Diverse Society*, held at Harvard University in 1996. In the 1998 workshop, both the organizers and several of the participants who attended the 1996 program were struck by the tremendous optimism among the group as well as the relative ease with which the participants were able to confront difficult issues.

The political diversity among those attending the 1998 workshop, which included members of the anti-agreement Democratic Unionist Party as well as members of all parties involved in the peace talks, was considered an across-the-board endorsement of the importance of dialogue, though not the peace agreement itself. The wide range of viewpoints made for lively and provocative discussions, in which participants consistently responded to the professors, speakers and each other frankly and enthusiastically while recognizing the sensitivity of many of the topics, such as parades and political violence.

Many of the participants credited the excellence of the Harvard faculty and the diversity and quality of the participants with the success of the discussions. At the end of the week, many of the participants left the workshop with a better understanding of each others' political views and the situation in Northern Ireland, as well as a stronger commitment to a more inclusive political process.

BACKGROUND

Embroiled in talks for over 21 months, political leaders in the region finally reached an agreement in April 1998 on a new government for Northern Ireland. After 26 years of recurrent violence, this historic peace accord, popularly known as the Good Friday Agreement because of the timing of the breakthrough, proposed to reinstate self-rule to Northern Ireland by creating new power-sharing institutions, including:

- A Northern Ireland Assembly, which will be composed of elected members from Northern Ireland and serve as the legislative body governing the province;
- A North-South Ministerial Council, which will facilitate joint policy-making between ministers of the Republic of Ireland and members of the Northern Ireland Assembly; and
- A British-Irish Council, which will convene representatives of the British and Irish governments, devolved institutions in Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales, the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands to cooperate on matters of mutual interest.

The Good Friday Agreement was overwhelmingly, though not unanimously, approved in May by referenda in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. Elections were held in June, and as a result, 108 representatives from a range of political parties in Northern Ireland, including those who opposed the Agreement, made up the new Assembly.

To many, this momentous political development marshaled in a new era of optimism in Northern Ireland.

“We have come here and as you can see...we do represent a broad spectrum of opinion within the north of Ireland, and a lot of us are political enemies.

But I do think we have come away from this week with a deeper understanding of each other and we have forged friendships with people and seen people on a personal level. And I think that is a very, very important step forward on the road to reconciliation, on the road to peace and on the road to justice in our society.”

—Dara O'Hagan, *Sinn Féin, Northern Ireland*

However, many obstacles lie ahead. **Police reform, prisoners, and parades** are particularly contentious issues subject to discussion and debate as the Assembly convenes within a new political framework. Based on the success of the 1996 joint Northern Ireland initiative of The Project and the Kennedy School, *Managing Change in a Diverse Society*, leaders from Northern Ireland, Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland specifically requested that The Project organize this workshop to help tackle some of the difficult issues related to peacebuilding in this new political environment.

WORKSHOP OBJECTIVES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

With the new peace accord, many believe the genuine prospect for the consolidation of peace in Northern Ireland now exists. Yet, institutional and psychological change must occur in order for peace to take root, and such change will require extended and concerted effort on the part of leaders across the political spectrum, and the development of appropriate strategies. To help promote such change, The Project maintains the following overarching goals for its initiatives in Northern Ireland:

- To provide an opportunity for a broad representation of leaders from Northern Ireland, and, as appropriate, from Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland, to spend a concentrated amount of time together focusing on issues related to the consolidation of peace;
- To provide these leaders with information about possible solutions to some of the challenges facing Northern Ireland by exposing them to examples from other societies in the world;
- To encourage the continuing development of informal ties among the participants, which can contribute to the growth of trust that is essential for political and social cooperation; and
- To draw all sides farther into the peace process to reinforce the value of negotiation rather than violence, and increase their confidence in the ongoing nonviolent diplomatic and reconciliation processes.

The 1998 workshop was a success in that it provided a neutral space in which participants could study issues related to peace-building in other parts of the world. The diverse group of political leaders, representing a wide spectrum of viewpoints, spent four full days at the Kennedy School discussing case studies presented by Harvard University faculty members. (See below for a description of the participant composition and an explanation of the case study method.) The program, held off-the-record to encourage open and frank dialogue, focused on three areas critical to the consolidation of peace in Northern Ireland:

- creating credible, effective and trustworthy institutions of justice;
- the challenge of leadership in times of rapid change; and
- economic development.

While each of these subjects has its own particular complications in the Northern Ireland context, there are other countries that have encountered similar challenges and identified solutions and strategies to address these challenges. By examining analogous case studies set in countries other than Northern Ireland on relevant themes such as prisoners, police and parades, the participants were able to step back and look at their own problems more objectively and constructively, and to learn about solutions that could be applied to Northern Ireland.

Furthermore, the organizers encouraged informal interaction by planning a day on Martha's Vineyard as well as several evenings for socializing, networking, and strengthening friendships. **The participants were able to create personal linkages that they would never have been able to envision in their own political environments.**

It was noted that while the participants appreciated the exercise of examining other countries and found it useful, this year they were more open to talking about Northern Ireland both in the classroom and informally. Unlike in the 1996 workshop, the group found it much easier to confront the uncertainties of Northern Ireland directly and to engage

in dialogue across ideological lines. The participants openly debated the thorny issues they are currently facing in Northern Ireland much earlier in the week this year and with more objectivity, decorum, and an eye towards the future. Instead of dwelling on how to settle the past, the focus was on, "Where do we go from here?" Many participants attributed this to the new optimism ushered in by the peace accord as well as to the enabling environment provided by the Kennedy School and The Project.

THE PARTICIPANTS

The group of 35 participants comprised mid- and senior-level politicians representing 16 parties—those for and those against the May referendum. Of the diverse group of participants, 27 were from Northern Ireland, five from the Republic of Ireland and three from Great Britain. (Please see list of participants on page 10.) Moreover, 13 of the participants are elected members of the Assembly, six others were candidates for the Assembly, and three are elected members of the Republic of Ireland's parliament. The composition was diverse in terms of gender and age as well, as approximately one-fifth of the participants were under 30 years old and women made up approximately one-fourth of the group.

As with all of The Project's initiatives, every possible effort was made to ensure participant diversity. To obtain the mix of participants that was needed to yield lively and thought-provoking discussion and debate during the Kennedy School program, The Project worked with the leadership of various political parties in Northern Ireland and Advisory Board member Paul Arthur to identify the most appropriate representatives from each major party. Both those who participated in the successful 1996 program and those who heard about it lobbied for The Project to organize additional programs for new and "veteran" participants. As it was not feasible to conduct more than one workshop during the summer of 1998, it was agreed that a mix of a few previous participants along with individuals who had not taken part in the 1996 program would be ideal for the 1998 workshop.

Three participants from the 1996 program returned to take part in the workshop. Only one invited party, the United Kingdom Unionist Party (UKUP), did not send representatives. Due to miscommunication among UKUP

party members, their representatives withdrew at the last minute. The workshop organizers received a formal letter of apology from UKUP party leader Robert McCartney.

THE CASE STUDY METHOD

The Kennedy School's innovative "case study method" challenged the participants to examine how certain complex subjects have been addressed in various countries and to consider ways in which they might be approached in Northern Ireland.

The Kennedy School faculty defines a case study as a written description of a problem or situation without analysis or conclusion. To sharpen problem solving skills and improve the ability to think and reason analytically, the case study method puts participants in the role of decision-maker by giving them the opportunity to discern central from peripheral facts, identify key alternatives, and formulate policy recommendations. Throughout the workshop, the faculty encouraged the group to assert and support their ideas, to listen to others and evaluate their positions, to keep an open mind and be willing to change it with new insights or evidence, and, ultimately, to make well-informed decisions. The discussions were moderated in an effort to avoid addressing Northern Ireland specifically so that the participants could respond mindfully and objectively; thus, the responsibility of drawing parallels and applying the strategies employed in various models to Northern Ireland was left entirely to the participants.

Several of the case studies were developed specifically for this workshop by Professor Philip Heymann in consultation with colleagues at Harvard. A member of the Harvard Law School and Kennedy School faculty, Professor Heymann served as faculty chair for the workshop. He has had extensive experience in the U.S. Department of State and the U.S. Department of Justice, and in countries such as El Salvador, Russia, and South Africa on issues related to police reform and court systems.

THE CURRICULUM

The curriculum for the July 1998 program drew heavily on analogous case studies set in countries other than Northern Ireland and focused on three broad topics: creating credible,

"It was great to see most of the parties in Northern Ireland here, the parties in the Republic, and the political parties in Britain. We have all gone through a conditioning process. There is more work to be done, but I think we are listening a lot more to each other and we are beginning to empathize with each other."

—Joe Byrne, *Social Democratic and Labour Party, Northern Ireland*

“I want to pay tribute to the faculty of Harvard and to the Foundation for a Civil Society for putting together this excellent program which is encouraging people like us not to be narrow minded and to recognize that there is much to be learned from stepping out of your own shoes and into someone else's to examine the difficulties and challenges faced in other areas.”

—Gary McMichael, *Ulster Democratic Party, Northern Ireland*

effective and trustworthy institutions of justice; the challenge of leadership in times of rapid change; and economic development.

Creating credible, effective and trustworthy institutions of justice

Among the preconditions to political development and economic growth are safety and security. Therefore, strategies for addressing such issues as parades, police reform, majority/minority rights, political violence, and the release and incorporation of political prisoners into society are both essential and urgent in creating a climate in which peace will endure.

Professor Philip Heymann facilitated a discussion on **parades and political demonstrations** in apartheid South Africa, encouraging the participants to consider a) how marches relate to history and identity; b) the role of the police and the community in avoiding violence; and c) the right to march and the circumstances (if any) under which marches should be banned. As the workshop fell in the middle of a tense marching season in Northern Ireland, this topic was particularly incendiary and the participants had difficulty keeping the focus on South Africa. Professor Heymann steered the discussion back to the case study to illustrate how perceptions (in this case, how the communities and demonstrators perceive the police, and vice versa) often dictate action. This example showed the participants that communities with a long history of distrusting the police eventually began to react differently to police attempts at crowd management under a new legal framework. The participants also discussed the need for third party monitors as well as cooperation between the community and the police to help avert or manage violence as a rival faction demonstrates.

To address the issue of **police reform**, Peter Zimmerman, Senior Associate Dean for Executive Education and Program Development at the Kennedy School, presented a case study of a Houston, Texas policewoman's use of deadly force. The case described a patrolwoman who used her weapon in self-defense, fatally

wounding a suspect. This act was considered heroic both by the community and the men in her police department. The group engaged in a provocative discussion on the appropriate use of firearms and whether the shooting in this case merited such applause. Professor Zimmerman then focused on the influence of organizational culture and how it guides behavior and performance within police departments.

Professor Philip Heymann continued the theme of policing by engaging the participants in a discussion on **developing legitimacy for law enforcement** in South Africa. The group addressed improving police-community relations, ensuring police accountability, dealing effectively with crime, and managing the process of institutional change. Professor Heymann concentrated on police restructuring during the transition in South Africa and, specifically, how a police force that had enforced apartheid could gain acceptance in all law-abiding sectors of the community. In response, the participants suggested: creating a civilian police force, establishing review boards for discipline, designing new training curricula, diversifying the command structure and ensuring that new recruits represent minority groups, addressing paramilitarism, and strengthening community leadership to promote acceptability in the community.

On the topic of **majority and minority rights**, Harvard Law Professor Lani Guinier challenged the participants to rethink the meaning of democracy and to reflect on various voting methods used in the United States and around the world. She encouraged the group to question the fairness of proportional representation and majority rule, and to consider the nature and importance of democratic participation beyond the process of voting.

Further examination of majority and minority rights was presented by Dean Zimmerman with a case involving alleged systematic and long-standing discrimination against racial minorities by the United States Department of Agriculture. The case described how African-American farmers in the United States formed an alliance to lobby for a **managerial commitment to civil rights**. The participants

analyzed ways in which social and professional expectations—based on perceived or assumed group characteristics—lead to discrimination, and how effective leadership can challenge these assumptions and generate a respect for diversity among the workforce.

Professor Philip Heymann introduced the issue of **political violence** with a case study on terrorism and the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. He asked the participants to analyze the effects of political violence on the peace process by putting themselves in the key policy-making role of advisor to Prime Minister of Israel Shimon Peres in the aftermath of the assassination of former Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. Professor Heymann set up a scenario in which the advisor had the opportunity to assassinate a Hamas terrorist/Palestinian hero who has been making the bombs that have killed many Israelis. After much debate, the participants collectively engaged in a cost-benefit analysis of the use of political violence in this particular scenario. They dissected the decision-making processes that lead to and perpetuate terrorist activity and then talked about ways in which societies and political leaders can emerge from a history of dangerous conflict.

Professor Heymann brought the focus back to South Africa with a case study on negotiating the **release of political prisoners**. The participants discussed the concept of amnesty for political prisoners and its degree of importance in relation to the peace process in South Africa. The participants were encouraged to look at the costs of releasing prisoners and, in particular, the risk of more violence by and against those who were released. The participants examined specific examples of contentious prisoner releases in South Africa and discussed ways in which former prisoners can be reintegrated into the community and how to engender a respect for the rule of law.

The challenge of leadership in times of rapid change

As political leaders edge toward a new and uncertain order in Northern Ireland, they face intense personal pressures. Maintaining credibility and support is difficult when introducing new possibilities or when new political realities alter or make obsolete traditional structures of

authority. A new understanding of the leaders' role, as well as ideas for coping with the stresses and challenges of change, will be critical to their success.

In one of the most thought-provoking classes of the workshop, Marty Linsky, Lecturer in Public Policy at the Kennedy School, addressed the myriad **challenges to effective leadership** by encouraging the class to analyze the broader context of authority relationships. Drawing a distinction between authority and leadership, Mr. Linsky described authority as the power to influence or command behavior, and leadership as requiring confidence and the learned skills of observance and interpretation in order to manage successfully. He encouraged the group to take a critical look at a) how people respond to authority by analyzing the repercussions of the abuse of power and b) why those in a position of non-authority are sometimes able to meet the expectations of a community or constituency better than those who have taken or been given authority.

During this class session, Mr. Linsky took advantage of a serendipitous opportunity to use the participants themselves as a case study on leadership. Though the classes were closed to the media, the organizers allowed a few exceptions *as permitted by the participants*. As the second session of the class on leadership began, a journalist from the Boston Globe asked to observe part of the discussion. When the Harvard faculty made a unilateral decision to allow the journalist to sit in briefly, the participants protested since they had not been consulted. Mr. Linsky then presented the request to the participants and left the center of the lecture hall. A heated debate among the participants on whether or not to allow a media presence ensued.

During the course of the debate, one participant took it upon himself to preside over the discussion. While the participant in charge instilled some order in the discussion, the majority of the participants eventually objected to his self-selected authority and chose another moderator. After much back and forth, the participants finally decided to allow the journalist to observe during the first 10 minutes of class. This captivating exercise allowed the participants to see not only how they respond to authority, but also to analyze why they had the overwhelming need to look to

“Some of the leadership strategies...can be applied to my new position with the party immediately upon my return.”

—Richard Good, Alliance Party, Northern Ireland

“...we go back to Northern Ireland with a much clearer view of where all the various parties stand on crucial issues. The sessions on industrial investment will certainly be used in our party's formulation of policy on this crucial issue.”

—Jim Wells, Democratic Unionist Party, Northern Ireland

authority to moderate the discussion and lead the group to a decision.

Mr. Linsky concluded the session on leadership with the following suggestions: effective leadership depends upon the ability to be objective (what Mr. Linsky refers to as “ruling from the balcony”), to surround yourself with allies and confidantes, to listen to yourself and look behind other people's words, to confront hard realities, and to make a distinction between the role and self.

Economic development

Regional growth strategies, job creation, foreign direct investment, business location decisions, and the role of political leadership as well as public services (such as education and tax policy) are crucial in creating the climate for economic growth and achieving success in the global marketplace. In what the participants deemed the most useful and practical segment of the workshop, the faculty and several guest speakers addressed strategies for local and regional economic development.

Debora Spar, Associate Professor of Business, Government and Competition at Harvard Business School, captivated and energized the group with a presentation on economic investment, a topic the participants considered extremely important to strengthening peace. She first presented the case of Intel's Costa Rican plant site to illustrate what political leaders need to learn and think about to **promote economic development and attract high technology investment**. The participants analyzed Intel's site selection process and Costa Rica's well-developed investment strategy targeting the technology industry. Professor Spar and the participants teased out some of the most important factors for attracting investment, such as political stability and predictability, a commitment to economic openness, and an educated and highly skilled workforce.

Professor Spar then introduced the case of Gerber Products Company investing in Poland in 1991. To establish a base for European operations and get a head start on emerging markets in Eastern and Central Europe, Gerber sought to acquire one of Poland's largest food processing plants. Yet Poland's political instability at the time prompted

Gerber to take a closer look at the **costs and benefits of investment in an uncertain environment**. Professor Spar's method was to let the class steer the discussion, but she also encouraged them to put forth options for Gerber. The participants reviewed extensively the opportunities and risks related to the Gerber case, from the perspective of both the investors and the country in which a business is planning to invest, and then focused on what drives industries to invest in developing countries in general.

Dean Zimmerman then addressed regional economic development with a case study on the Institute of Industrial Promotion of Andalusia (IPIA). IPIA was tasked in the 1970s with **promoting private sector development** in Andalusia through the coordination of regional economic policy. Dean Zimmerman urged the class to draw lessons from the development of the Macael marble industry and consider ways in which the lessons are applicable to various underdeveloped sectors of Northern Ireland, such as tourism and agriculture.

To complement the case studies on economic development, the Harvard faculty invited four businessmen to give a **practical assessment of investment in Northern Ireland**. The panelists addressed the possible obstacles to foreign investment and what leaders should do to provide a business-friendly political environment. The panel was composed of John Cullinane, president of The Cullinane Group, Inc. and founder of Cullinet Software, Inc.; Louis L. Davis, Founder and President of Entre International, Inc.; Thomas DiBenedetto, Managing Director of Caucus Fund, L.L.C.; and Ira Jackson, Executive Vice President of BankBoston Corporation. The participants also attended a thought-provoking luncheon address on economic development in Northern Ireland by Jim Lyons, Senior Trial Partner at Rothberger, Johnson and Lyons LLP and Special Advisor to the President and Secretary of State for Economic Initiatives in Ireland.

SPECIAL EVENTS AND INFORMAL ACTIVITIES

The group was given a number of opportunities to socialize throughout the week to encourage the development of informal ties and camaraderie among the participants. To

welcome the participants, the Kennedy School organized an opening reception and dinner in the penthouse of the Littauer Building. The participants also had a chance to relax and interact with each other in a purely social setting at a cocktail reception at the home of Bill and Sally Fay Cottingham in Cambridge. On another evening, the organizers gave the participants a guided tour of historic Boston, which was followed by an informal dinner at the famous "No Name Restaurant".

Midweek, the participants spent a memorable day on the island of Martha's Vineyard, during which the group engaged in a vibrant luncheon discussion on civil rights led by Charles William Maynes, President of the Eurasia Foundation, and Sheldon Hackney, Professor at and former President of the University of Pennsylvania. The discussion was held at the home of Frank Loy, then-Chairman of The Foundation for a Civil Society and recently appointed Under Secretary of State for Global Affairs. After an afternoon of shopping, sightseeing and swimming, the participants enjoyed an evening with notables such as Art Buchwald, Walter Cronkite, Mike Nichols, Diane Sawyer, and Mike Wallace at an informal reception and dinner hosted by Rose and William Styron and Nancy and Miles Rubin. One participant commented that the day provided a wonderful opportunity to "relax, reflect, and build social connections." The day of casual and informal activity on the Vineyard visibly increased the level of rapport among the participants in the in-class discussions that followed.

Later in the week, the participants attended a cocktail reception at the Mercury Gallery with distinguished Boston business and political leaders, such as Ambassador Ray Flynn, former Boston Mayor, and Cathy O'Toole, former Boston Secretary of Public Safety and member of the Patton Commission on Policing. Following the reception, the American Ireland Fund (AIF) hosted a dinner at the Ritz Carlton Hotel at which Kingsley Aikins, AIF Executive Director, gave a keynote speech on the challenges of organizational and political fundraising. The week concluded with a reception and dinner hosted by the Kennedy School at which the participants were presented with certificates for their participation.

MEDIA COVERAGE

The workshop discussions were officially closed to the press in order to provide a forum in which the participants could speak openly. However, in response to numerous media inquiries, the organizers and participants agreed to allow a *Boston Globe* journalist to sit in briefly on a few workshop discussions to observe the structure of the classes.

At the end of the week, a press briefing was held, in which a representative of each political party had the choice to participate. Members of two Unionist parties, the Democratic Unionist Party and the Ulster Unionist Party, chose not to sit at the press table with Republican party representatives and asked for a separate forum, a request that could not be accommodated by the organizers. The discord at the press conference illustrated that despite the recent progress made in Northern Ireland and the new optimism and openness seen among the workshop participants, the road to reconciliation and the consolidation of peace in Northern Ireland is indeed a long one. Articles on the news conference and the workshop's proceedings appeared in *The Irish Times* and *The Boston Globe*.

PARTICIPANTS' EVALUATIONS

Questionnaires about the effectiveness of the program and possible follow-up activity were distributed to participants at the last session. All participants, with the exception of one, ranked the program as excellent or above average, and the majority of the participants stated that the program exceeded their expectations. All participants found the program to be useful and several highlighted the sessions on economic development and leadership as being particularly helpful.

In regard to the content of the case studies, the participants suggested putting more emphasis on economics, leadership, and future problems. Almost all participants suggested that the organizers reduce the volume of reading materials or, alternatively, give the participants more time to read and prepare for classes. While most of the participants thought the program was relevant and well balanced, some believed that a few of the case studies were inapplicable to Northern Ireland.

"We don't have an opportunity in Northern Ireland to socialize. We do still live in highly segregated areas. One of the precious things that happened here is that we have that safe space provided for us that enables us to have that learning in a much more trusting environment."

—Monica McWilliams, Northern Ireland Women's Coalition, Northern Ireland

“[The workshop] forced me to consider the other person's point of view on its merits and with less emphasis on preconceived ideas.”

—Austin Currie, *Fine Gael*, Republic of Ireland

The participants commented that the day on Martha's Vineyard was by all accounts interesting, enjoyable, and relaxing, and it provided an excellent opportunity to socialize and get to know each other better on a personal level.

Some of the participants noted that the program did significantly change their perceptions of the situation and/or the politicians in Northern Ireland, Great Britain and/or the Republic of Ireland, and most commented that it enhanced their understanding of each others' points of view. **Many of the participants felt that the workshop strengthened their commitment to a more inclusive political process, and the majority of the participants planned to maintain contact with people from other parties, noting the importance of forging political and personal relationships.** Practically all participants responded with enthusiasm about the opportunity to build new networks and relay the knowledge gained at the workshop to their party colleagues. Furthermore, the participants said they would use the strategies learned through case studies, though they were not specific about how. The majority of the participants are eager to participate in follow-up activities sponsored by The Project and the Kennedy School.

PROPOSED FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES

At the end of the workshop, virtually all of the participants expressed a desire for follow-up programming, though few had specific suggestions about structure or content. A significant reason for this is the newness of the Assembly and the need for political leaders to grow into their new roles and identify key issues. The participants did, however, offer a few general suggestions for follow-up work, which include:

- Organizing a conference that would provide an opportunity for a **mid-term evaluation of the Assembly**;
- Continuing programming on **political structures, institutions, and leadership for political leaders** in Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland and Great Britain to engage in dialogue with those from other countries who have faced similar challenges;
- Coordinating issue-specific meetings to continue the discussion on **prisoners, marches, and economic issues.**

The Project is currently exploring the appropriateness and feasibility of these and other possibilities for developing various follow-up programs. On the community level, The Project and the Northern Ireland Voluntary Trust (NIVT) have already co-sponsored two programs in 1998 for community leaders and in February 1999 are co-sponsoring another program that will address issues of concern to a range of individuals and groups who can be considered victims of the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Furthermore, community and political leaders alike in Northern Ireland have noted the distance between these groups and indicated their receptivity to initiatives that would begin to bridge the gap. The Project is holding discussions with various community and political leaders about organizing a program to address this need, possibly around some of the topics specifically related to the newly-mandated Civic Forum.

Additionally, it is hoped that the participants in this workshop will carry through on their stated desires to conduct their own follow-up work by:

- Applying the insights they have gained at the workshop by developing and implementing plans for leaders in Northern Ireland (and from Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland) to work together to address obstacles to peace-building and reconciliation;
- Strengthening the personal connections formed during the workshop and building new networks; and
- Relaying the knowledge gained at the workshop to their party colleagues.

In order to ascertain the application of such plans and strategies, The Project will maintain contact with program participants and others in Northern Ireland.

The Project is aware that there are many individuals and organizations working toward peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland. Throughout The Project's work in Northern Ireland, Project staff have heard repeatedly that its unique methodology is needed and effective, and have been urged to extend its efforts. Accordingly, The Project will continue its Northern Ireland programming and tailor its initiatives based on the changing needs and concerns of future participants. ■

WORKSHOP AGENDA

Sunday, July 19

- 4:00 p.m. Welcome and Orientation, FCS and KSG staffs
"Who Elected You?" Case, Peter Zimmerman
- 6:00 p.m. Opening Reception and Dinner

Monday, July 20

- 9:00 a.m. **Political Demonstrations in South Africa**, Philip Heymann
- 11:00 a.m. **A Policewoman's (Non) Use of Deadly Force**, Peter Zimmerman
- 1:30 p.m. **Developing Legitimacy for Law Enforcement in South Africa**, Philip Heymann
- 6:30 p.m. Reception at home of Bill and Sally Fay Cottingham

Tuesday, July 21

- 9:00 a.m. **Attracting High Technology Investment: Intel's Costa Rica Plant**, Debora Spar
- 11:00 a.m. **Gerber Products Company: Investing in New Poland**, Debora Spar
- 1:30 p.m. **The Macael Marble Industry**, Peter Zimmerman
- 6:30 p.m. Dinner at the "No Name" Restaurant

Wednesday, July 22

- 8:30 a.m. Travel to Martha's Vineyard
- 11:00 a.m. Discussion on **United States Civil Rights**
with C. William Maynes and Sheldon Hackney
Lunch hosted by Dale and Frank Loy
- 6:00 p.m. Reception and Dinner co-hosted by Rose and Bill Styron and Nancy and Miles Rubin

Thursday, July 23

- 9:00 a.m. **The Work of Leadership (Part 1)**, Marty Linsky
- 11:00 a.m. **The Work of Leadership (Part 2)**, Marty Linsky
- 12:30 p.m. Luncheon Discussion on **Northern Ireland Economic Development** with Jim Lyons
- 1:30 p.m. **Majority/Minority Rights in a Democracy**, Lani Guinier
- 3:30 p.m. Panel Discussion on **Business Investment Opportunities**
Speakers: John Cullinane, Louis Davis, Thomas DiBenedetto, Ira Jackson
- 6:00 p.m. Reception at Mercury Gallery
- 8:00 p.m. Dinner at the Ritz Carlton hosted by the American Ireland Fund

Friday, July 24

- 9:00 a.m. **Amnesty for Prisoners in South Africa**, Philip Heymann
- 11:00 a.m. **USDA's Civil Rights Reform**, Peter Zimmerman
- 1:30 p.m. **Disruption of the Peace Process in the Middle East**, Philip Heymann
- 3:30 p.m. Wrap-up, Discussion and Debriefing
- 6:00 p.m. Reception and Final Dinner

WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS

Northern Ireland

Alliance Party:	Seamus Close, Anne Marie Cunningham, Richard Good
Democratic Unionist Party:	Paul Berry, Stuart Deignan, Edwin Poots, Jim Wells
Northern Ireland Women's Coalition:	Anne Carr, Marie Crawley, Monica McWilliams
Progressive Unionist Party:	Joan Crothers, David Ervine, Richard Johnston
Sinn Fein:	Garret O'Fachtana, Dara O'Hagan, Sue Ramsey
Social Democratic and Labour Party:	Joseph Byrne, John Fee, Carmel Hanna, Alban Maginness
Ulster Democratic Party:	David Adams, Robert Girvan, Gary McMichael
Ulster Unionist Party:	David Campbell, Derek Hussey, Dennis Rogan, May Steele

Republic of Ireland

Democratic Left:	Elizabeth McManus, TD
Fianna Fail:	Sean Doherty, TD
Fine Gael:	Austin Currie, TD
Labour Party:	Mark Garrett
Progressive Democrats:	J.J. Flavin

Great Britain

Conservative Party:	Jonathan Caine
Labour Party:	Nigel Warner
Liberal Democratic Party:	Lord Richard Holme

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people contributed to the success of this workshop. Among those instrumental in designing the program were Paul Arthur, James Cooney, Philip Heymann, Wendy Luers, Timothy Phillips, and Peter Zimmerman. Lesley Theall, Jennifer Gala and other members of the Kennedy School staff made every effort to ensure that the workshop ran seamlessly. Special thanks also go to Kingsley Aikins, Bill and Sally Fay Cottingham, Miranda Daniloff, Amnon Goldman, Maurice Hayes, Adrienne Kaufmann, Frank and Dale Loy, Claire Storment, Rose and William Styron, and Nick Contos.

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This report was prepared by Eva Canoutas.

The Executive Seminar Program

The Executive Seminar Program of the John F. Kennedy School of Government of Harvard University develops specialized programs for high-level appointed, career and elected officials that address the unique challenges of governance. In keeping with the Kennedy School's overarching goal of finding increasingly effective ways to serve the public interest and to help define the central purposes of democratic societies, the Executive Seminar Program is designed to help a new generation of leaders in multicultural democracies around the world to prepare for leadership in the 21st century. Each seminar is based on the case method of instruction, pioneered at Harvard for executive education. This approach actively engages participants in discussion and elicits a high level of intellectual inquiry. Cases outline real problems confronted by policymakers, and participants are often asked to take the roles of key players in the policy process. Participants are encouraged to view their goals and responsibilities as officials in new ways, to learn from the experiences of others to enhance their own leadership skills.

The Foundation for a Civil Society

The Foundation for a Civil Society (FCS) is a US-based non-partisan, non-profit, non-governmental organization created in 1990 to help people face legacies of the past, embrace reconciliation and peace, and develop flourishing civil society institutions—such as non-governmental organizations and civic associations—in order to determine their own and their country's future. The Foundation for a Civil Society is built on two pillars: the Citizen Participation Initiative and The Project on Justice in Times of Transition. The Citizen Participation Initiative is an adaptable collection of programs—ranging from NGO development to cultural and educational exchanges—that helps people in emerging democracies actively participate in building strong, sustainable civil societies. The Project on Justice in Times of Transition assists states emerging from repression or conflict to engage in dialogue across national, ethnic, religious and ideological boundaries with the intention of preventing legacies of the past from jeopardizing their progress toward democracy and peace. “A New Political Architecture: A Workshop for Leaders from Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland and Great Britain” was the 16th of The Project's distinct initiatives which have provided an extraordinary stimulus to pragmatic problem-solving by offering a broad spectrum of leading policy-makers exposure to international experiences in ending conflict, establishing peace and building civil society through reconciliation and dialogue. Among the countries and regions in which The Project has worked are South Africa, Northern Ireland, Central and Eastern Europe, Nicaragua and El Salvador.

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THE PROJECT ON JUSTICE IN TIMES OF TRANSITION INITIATIVE REPORT

BOSNIAN RECONCILIATION INITIATIVE - PART III

June 4 - 6, 1998
Budapest, Hungary

In June 1998 The Project on Justice in Times of Transition of the Foundation for a Civil Society and The British Association for Central and Eastern Europe (BACEE) organized another program that brought together a diverse group of leaders from the Bosnian Federation and the Republika Srpska to engage in dialogue on a range of critical issues relevant to peace-building in Bosnia. This program was specifically requested by Bosnians as a follow-on to two previous initiatives co-sponsored by The Project and BACEE: a November 1996 Workshop on Reconciliation for Bosnia held in London and a series of workshops held throughout Bosnia in August 1997.

This third workshop convened in Budapest several distinguished leaders from around the world to speak about dilemmas they have faced and the solutions they have found as their countries underwent transitions from civil conflict toward peaceful coexistence. By offering their perspective and experience, these individuals attempted to guide the Bosnians as they address the issues facing them in their own communities. The three-day program represented a significant departure from many of the reconciliation initiatives taking place in Bosnia, which rely on methodology advanced by Westerners with little or no first-hand experience in post-conflict situations. Instead, The Project and BACEE served as facilitators, bringing in the international speakers so that these individuals who do have experience rebuilding societies could convey their practical knowledge.

By all accounts, the June 1998 program was a success as it afforded a critical opportunity for interaction among the participants and resulted in several specific ideas about additional in-country programming. Some of the Bosnian participants—who included politicians, non-governmental organization (NGO) leaders, clergy, academics and journalists—had not seen each other for seven years. Others pointed out that the workshop was their first opportunity for politicians and community leaders

from the same ethnic group to sit around a table together. All seemed to agree that the chance to meet on neutral ground along with individuals from other societies that had undergone similar transitions created a unique environment for problem-solving.

WORKSHOP SPEAKERS AND PARTICIPANTS

The workshop was structured to enable dialogue among the Bosnian participants and five individuals from other countries who have tackled the challenges of transition and post-conflict reconciliation. The following individuals offered their insights:

- **Naomi Chazan** serves as Deputy Speaker of the Israeli parliament and represents the Meretz Coalition. A political scientist by training, Dr. Chazan participated in both previous workshops co-sponsored by The Project and BACEE and her insight into negotiation and peace-building has been extremely well-received by the Bosnian participants.
- **David Ervine** is the Spokesperson for the Progressive Unionist Party in Northern Ireland and a newly elected member of the Northern Ireland Assembly. He was a key player in securing the Loyalist cease-fire of October 1994 and the all-party talks process that resulted in the 1998 peace agreement.
- **Joseph Reilly** has been a community and trade union activist in Ireland for many years. He was a delegate to the Peace and Reconciliation Forum and, through his 12 years of involvement on the National Executive of Sinn Féin, played a leading role in the development of the party's peace strategy.
- **Piotr Stasinski** is the editor and chief of the Essays section at the Polish daily *Gazeta Wyborcza*. He was involved in democratic opposition activities in Poland from 1981 to 1989.

“Do things always have to be the way they were? Why did we allow
our division to become traditional? Why did we allow our children to continue
a war that was immoral, that couldn't be won?”

—David Ervine, Northern Ireland

as a scholar at the Polish Academy of Sciences and as editor of *Wola*, an underground Warsaw weekly.

■ **Joaquin Villalobos** is the former leader of the guerrilla organization Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador. After the civil war, he founded the Democratic Party of El Salvador and is now working on a book about his experiences. Mr. Villalobos participated in the 1996 workshop on Reconciliation for Bosnia.

The workshop was moderated by Ralph Johnson, the American Ambassador to Slovakia.

The following 17 Bosnians, five of whom had taken part in previous Project-BACEE initiatives, attended the workshop:

Safet Bico

Member, Republika Srpska National Assembly

Krstan Bijeljic

Pantelija Damjanovic

Serbian Radical Party

Sead Demirovic

Editor-in-Chief, *Vecernje Novine*

Selma Hadzihalilovic

Women to Women Sarajevo

Hadzem Hajdarevic

Columnist, *Ljiljan*

Faruk Kajtaz

Editor-in Chief, Youth Radio Mostar

Dragan Kalinic

President, Republika Srpska National Assembly

Dzevad Mlaco

Mayor of Bugojno

Esad Muhibic

Ombudsman, Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina

Nedžad Mulabegovic

Rector, Sarajevo University

Aleksandra Petric

Helsinki Citizens' Assembly

Nikola Poplasen

Vice President

Republika Srpska National Assembly

Dusan Sehovac

Sarajevo Serbs' Association

Vildana Selimbegovic

Senior journalist, *Dani*

Gordana Vidovic

Association of Citizens "Future"

Lidija Zivanovic

Banja Luka Women's Legal Aid Center

(Affiliations noted are those that were in effect at the time of the program.)

Although a number of Croats had accepted the invitation to attend the workshop, for various reasons at the last minute they did not travel to Budapest. It was noted, however, that during this period many Croats were opting not to attend programs of this nature, regardless of the sponsoring organizations. The lack of balance among the ethnic groups represented at the workshop was noted with dismay by participants and organizers alike. Nevertheless, it was agreed that the discussions could still be productive and the challenge for future programming would be to take extra steps to ensure that all ethnic groups were represented.

CHANGING MINDSETS TO TRANSFORM CONFLICT

The opening session of the program was one of the most noteworthy as it brought together two men who had not met before, but whose lives had followed strikingly

similar though entirely separate trajectories. David Ervine, Spokesperson of the Progressive Unionist Party of Northern Ireland, and Joseph Reilly, a representative of Sinn Fein from the Republic of Ireland, spoke about their personal struggles and those of their like-minded countrymen as they moved from violent conflict to peace-building.

David Ervine began the discussion by explaining how he came to the conclusion that the conflict in Northern Ireland must be brought to an end. In his youth he felt that his community was under siege and he had been swept up in the violence. He believed that attack was the best means of defense and did not see an alternative. However, serving time in prison afforded an opportunity to reflect and to consider "how there might be a better way."

Mr. Ervine's changed attitude resulted from his realization that the war in Northern Ireland was unwinnable and, therefore, an immoral war that must end. Along with Mr. Ervine's understanding that now that he and his contemporaries were middle-aged and that the next troops in the war would be their children, came an awareness that the warring factions in his divided society were, in fact, interdependent.

Joe Reilly characterized the distance of his own journey when he noted that during their time in prison neither he nor David Ervine would have expected to some day be sitting in the British Embassy in Budapest speaking with a group of Bosnians about conflict reconciliation! He echoed Mr. Ervine's sentiment that although opponents in Northern Ireland might have fundamental disagreements, there was still room for discussion and cooperation.

Mr. Reilly referred to the peace process as having "converts" and "conscripts" and suggested that the challenge is to turn the conscripts, those who are brought along by circumstances, into the converts, those who genuinely believe in the process. He noted, though,

that there is no recipe for peace and that despite the agreement in Northern Ireland, peace has not yet won out; what has been achieved in Northern Ireland is an opportunity to develop a peace process.

One of the Bosnians pointed out that political conflict in Northern Ireland still exists, and wondered how each side should deal with altering its moral or political positions. Mr. Ervine responded that in the process of conflict transformation former combatants have moved from using violence to using politics as a way to deal with the conflict. He stated that his society could not make a wise decision against a background of violence, but that a decision nonetheless had to be made. Mr. Reilly elaborated on this point, explaining that the recent agreement in Northern Ireland allowed for different parties to develop strategies to implement the agreement in a way they consider acceptable. However, he conceded that there are many problems and it remains to be seen whether the agreement can be implemented successfully. And, Mr. Reilly assured the Bosnians, this will require taking risks on all sides.

Additional questions and comments from the Bosnians centered around the role of the Americans and the British in brokering the Northern Ireland agreement, how to bring the general population along with the agreement that leaders had signed (including discussion about the roles of women and non-governmental organizations), demilitarization, and whether a general amnesty in Northern Ireland would facilitate post-conflict reconciliation. As well, one Bosnian participant asked about the challenges of implementing an agreement and another speculated that although the cause of the Northern Ireland conflict may have been primarily religious rather than political, in Bosnia it had no religious dimension as is often portrayed. Mr. Ervine and Mr. Reilly offered responses that underscored the complexity of the conflict in Northern Ireland and encouraged the Bosnians to consider the multi-faceted nature of their own situation.

"It has been a very, very difficult road...One of the primary things that we had to do was convince our own people, before we convinced anybody else, that this was a direction that we had to go. The energy, the resources, time, the mental energy, the continuous meetings that you have to do in order to convince your own, before you start talking to your opponents...is probably the most important part of any negotiations."

—Joe Reilly, Republic of Ireland

“If you accept the legitimacy of the other side
and the way the other side defines its identity, then you should be accepting
the fact that people are responsible for what’s happening
and not history and not religion.”

—Naomi Chazan, *Israel*

RECONCILING POLITICAL AND COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

At the start of this session Israeli Parliament Member Naomi Chazan noted that she saw her participation in the conference as an opportunity for the Bosnians to learn from Israelis’ and Palestinians’ achievements as well as from their mistakes. She began by providing some brief context for the Israeli-Palestinian situation which has been highly emotional and violent. Then she outlined a number of factors that have enabled or impeded the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. She described two measures of effectiveness for the resolution of all conflicts: (a) whether there is an implemented agreement and (b) the capacity to lay the groundwork for long-term reconciliation between the conflicting communities. Dr. Chazan explained that the first measure is essential but formalistic and the second relates to how people interact, not necessarily now but in the future. In order to achieve success in the second measure, it is critical to consider it at the time that the first measure is taken.

As well, Dr. Chazan listed a number of enabling and impeding factors in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process:

- 1) Each party in the talks has the right to define its identity as it sees fit (by accepting the legitimacy of each group’s self-definition, the other groups also accept the fact that people are responsible for their own actions)
- 2) There must be agreement on a common political direction
- 3) The significance of personal relations among the negotiators, as trust develops over time
- 4) Not educating the constituency results in nurturing a counter-constituency as, in a period of uncertainty, people will return to the familiar, namely religion and local community

- 5) NGO activity without formal access to power is meaningless
- 6) Credible third-party or international involvement is critical
- 7) The dynamic of process is such that parties do not have the power to dictate the outcome of the process but merely to shape it
- 8) Alternative institutions must be created to complement a peace agreement

One of the Bosnian participants asked about considerations for Israelis and Palestinians regarding a binational state versus two sovereign states. Dr. Chazan responded by describing several options and how well they meet various considerations of justice and security. The workshop moderator, Ambassador Ralph Johnson, then framed a question about the role of NGOs in Bosnia, their relationships with political leaders, and whether NGOs are working to develop support for the political agreement. In response, several Bosnians related their own experiences, particularly regarding the NGO work being done by women and on refugees. The ensuing discussion among the Bosnians and Dr. Chazan focused on ways for NGOs to attract the attention of the media and politicians and resulted in an invitation from the speaker of the Republika Srpska National Assembly for NGO representatives to approach him and engage in discussion at any time. Other points that were raised in this session included whether members of a society in conflict are apt to become more parochial as the conflict continues, and how issues that are addressed in peace agreements can be inter-related and require coordinated implementation.

CREATING MECHANISMS FOR REBUILDING TRUST

Joaquin Villalobos described his experience as a former combatant who was integrally involved with the conflict

and peace process in El Salvador and some of the conclusions that he has drawn. He began by saying that although political issues are commonly considered the basis for peace negotiations, creating an appropriate psychological environment is actually the first step. Mr. Villalobos also noted that he had considered the Salvadoran conflict to be unique and the worst in the world but he has since learned that all conflicts—no matter how brutal and intractable—can have negotiated solutions.

He also emphasized that while in war issues may be black and white, a peace process by definition is nuanced and should be viewed as an opportunity. Echoing one of Naomi Chazan's points, Mr. Villalobos stressed that peace means accepting the right of one's adversary to exist; peace, he said, means accepting difference. He noted the importance of not believing everything that is said about one's enemy and, as the peace process develops, building bridges with former adversaries.

Mr. Villalobos also provided some detail about the specifics of police reform in El Salvador and emphasized that one result of long-standing conflict in a society can be continued violence, even after the political dimensions of the conflict are addressed. He pointed out that approximately 6,000 people were killed in war-related violence each year during a 10-year period in El Salvador, whereas in the post-war period as many as 10,000 have been killed annually by delinquents. These deaths that have occurred in peace time are the result not of political violence, but of residual violence that is facilitated by the society's familiarity with and access to weapons.

The discussion following Mr. Villalobos' remarks focused on the necessity of mutual recognition and dialogue, the importance of establishing the facts about what happened during the conflict, and punishing war crimes as appropriate. However, it was noted that certain topics should no longer be discussed, namely the

basis for the terms of the existing peace agreement, history, religion, and who deceived whom. Issues that participants felt merited attention included the return of refugees, strengthening the economy, establishing an independent media, and providing future generations an opportunity to forget the past. In response to this last point, Mr. Villalobos shared a personal story about how difficult it had been for him to extend his hand to the individuals who were responsible for his father's torture and death, but how he had considered it necessary in order to achieve peace.

DEVELOPING A FREE AND INDEPENDENT MEDIA

Piotr Stasinski recounted the development of freedom of the press in Poland, particularly the challenge of creating an independent media. According to Mr. Stasinski, Polish journalists had to overcome a lack of professionalism characterized by biased reporting that revealed their political leanings. He also noted that one of the motivating factors for the media to remain non-partisan was the commercial aspect since partisan publications have smaller circulations than those that serve a general audience. One of the difficulties that the Polish media still face, Mr. Stasinski said, is the parity principle, a complicated system of governance applied to television which results in political positioning for control of the media.

The discussion that followed Mr. Stasinski's remarks raised a number of key issues about what is needed to develop an independent media in Bosnia, notably resources, technical assistance, regulation, and training of professionals. It was also mentioned that the media can be used as a tool to affirm progress in the Bosnian peace process.

In response to a comment made by one Bosnian, Mr. Stasinski replied that he does not believe that politics is everything. Rather, the goal of the press should be to empower people with information so that

"You need to be very persistent about the use of dialogue... At the beginning of the war...we used the negotiation like a political tactic... The negotiation was to support the war, [it] was like a political flag... But...the situation changed. The negotiation was more important than the war...in the end the negotiation made [it] impossible to maintain the war."

—Joaquin Villalobos, *El Salvador*

“When we were journalists in the opposition, writing pieces against Communists, in fact we weren’t journalists in the common sense of the word...we were opposition propagandists. We were providing the picture that was opposite, that was white rather than black. But it was very unjust. Not in the sense that we were lying, but in the proportion of and in the selection of matters that we covered and news that we broke, we were fervently anti-Communist and we were proving our case with every word.

That is not the case anymore and we had to change to adjust to democratic media environment where standards of news coverage are higher, while Communists, if any, are no more an oppressive power.”

—Piotr Stasinski, Poland

they can make their own decisions. Joe Reilly agreed with this statement, noting that censorship—both state censorship and self-censorship within political parties—prolonged the Northern Ireland conflict as it prevented people from directly debating the issues.

INFORMAL EVENTS

It was clear that the insight and analysis that the international speakers provided about the situations in their own countries was an important element in demonstrating to the Bosnian participants that even the most intractable conflicts could be transformed. The elegant setting of the British Embassy provided a neutral and comfortable forum for discussion. Equally important, however, was the opportunity the program afforded for the Bosnians to engage in discussion outside of the conference room. Informal dinners and receptions throughout the Bosnians’ stay in Budapest provided a chance to further discuss the themes that had been raised by the speakers and to explore ways in which strategies might be applied in the Bosnian context. These events enabled the Bosnians to socialize and interact with individuals with whom they would not normally come in contact and to develop connections that could later prove valuable. For example, one participant arranged with another to sell his newspapers in two municipalities that had previously been inaccessible.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Although at the outset the workshop discussions were rather general, by the second and third days, the Bosnian

participants were using the international participants as resources and sounding boards and debating the desirability of a number of concrete proposals. Specifically, the Bosnian participants identified a need for follow-up activities that would:

- develop political leadership skills for women;
- encourage municipal cooperation on the return of refugees; and
- create a journalistic code of conduct.

In the months following the conference, Project staff and advisors have been in contact with a number of the Bosnian participants. Four of the women who attended are eager to organize a program that would enable Bosnian women to examine issues of political leadership in light of the experiences of women from other countries. At the June 1998 program, Naomi Chazan was asked by several women who attended to lead a workshop in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1999. This program, which is tentatively scheduled for June 1999, is currently being developed with the guidance of several Bosnian women from the *Nas Je Vise* campaign. The program will focus on a variety of topics and afford an opportunity to create concrete linkages among Bosnian women and serve as a catalyst for local capacity-building.

As well, Dzevad Mlaco, the Mayor of Bugojno, approached the conference organizers about a program to encourage municipal dialogue and cooperation surrounding the issue of refugees. In November 1998 BACEE held a preliminary workshop on this topic in Bugojno and additional work on the subject is being explored. ■

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The development and implementation of the June 1998 Bosnian Reconciliation Initiative were the result of the hard work and expertise of a number of people. Sir John Birch, Wendy Luers and Tim Phillips played key roles in designing the program and Marina Bowder and Joyce McLellan were instrumental in arranging the myriad of details. Invaluable insights and contacts were provided by Jill Benderly, Chris Bennett, Anna Husarska, Joe Montville, Spence Spencer, Lael Stegall and Sonja Valtasaari. As well, the perspective provided by Anthony Monckton and his scrupulous note-taking during the conference were a tremendous help to the organizers.

British Ambassador Nigel Thorpe not only provided his embassy and staff for the conference but, with his wife Susan, graciously gave a reception in their home for conference participants, speakers and a range of Hungarian leaders and foreign diplomats. As well, British Deputy Head of Mission Christopher Prentice and his wife Nina hosted a wonderful dinner, and American Ambassador Peter Tufo provided his residence for a reception.

Financial assistance for The Project's general development work in 1998 and specifically for the program on Bosnia was provided by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Compton Foundation, the Albert Kunstadter Family Foundation, the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, and a donor who wishes to remain anonymous. The British Association for Central and Eastern Europe is partially funded by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. BACEE received funding specifically for this program from the Westminster Foundation for Democracy and the British Government Know How Fund.

THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION FOR CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

The British Association for Central and Eastern Europe was established in 1967 (as the Great Britain/East Europe Centre) in the belief that both halves of a then-divided Europe shared a common destiny and needed non-official points of contact. Its purpose today is to promote the evolution of democratic institutions and market economies, freedom of expression, the effective administration of justice and respect for human rights in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. It does this through a wide range of projects, seminars, exchanges and via awards. The Association also seeks, through its membership and contacts, to support and promote the founders' concept of a common European destiny. Over the years, the range of contacts and countries involved have grown to include Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, and the Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). The Association's Governing Body includes Members of Parliament from the Labour, Conservative, and Liberal Parties and others prominent in public life. The Chairman is Giles Radice, MP.

THE FOUNDATION FOR A CIVIL SOCIETY

The Foundation for a Civil Society (FCS) is a US-based non-partisan, non-profit, non-governmental organization created in 1990 to help people face legacies of the past, embrace reconciliation and peace, and develop flourishing civil society institutions—such as non-governmental organizations and civic associations—in order to determine their own and their country's future. The Foundation for a Civil Society is built on two pillars: the Citizen Participation Initiative and The Project on Justice in Times of Transition. The Citizen Participation Initiative is an adaptable collection of programs—ranging from NGO development to cultural and educational exchanges—that helps people in emerging democracies actively participate in building strong, sustainable civil societies. The Project on Justice in Times of Transition assists states emerging from repression or conflict to engage in dialogue across national, ethnic, religious and ideological boundaries with the intention of preventing legacies of the past from jeopardizing their progress toward democracy and peace. The June 1998 Bosnian Reconciliation Initiative was the 15th of The Project's distinct initiatives which have provided an extraordinary stimulus to pragmatic problem-solving by offering a broad spectrum of leading policy-makers exposure to international experiences in ending conflict, establishing peace and building civil society through reconciliation and dialogue. Among the countries and regions in which The Project has worked are South Africa, Northern Ireland, Central and Eastern Europe, Nicaragua and El Salvador.

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SATURDAY, JULY 10, 1999

A Force Now In the World, Citizens Flex Social Muscle

By DAVID BORNSTEIN

Twenty years ago social activists could identify only one independent organization working to protect the environment in Indonesia. Today there are more than 2,000, an environmental network based in Jakarta reports.

Citizen organizations have been similarly emerging across much of the world. In Slovakia, there were a handful of such organizations active in the 1980's; now there are more than 10,000. In the Philippines, registered nonprofit organizations grew from 18,000 to 58,000 between 1989 and 1996. And in the United States, aside from religious groups and private foundations, 70 percent of nonprofit organizations filing returns with the I.R.S. are less than 30 years old; a third are less than 15.

To some economists and social scientists, the astonishing growth of citizen-led organizations signals a new kind of global revolution. "It is reshaping politics and economics both at the domestic and global levels," said Lester M. Salamon, the director of the Center for Civil Society Studies at Johns Hopkins University. "I believe it is as important a development to the latter part of the 20th century as the rise of the nation-state was at the end of the 19th century."

Consider recent events in which citizens' groups were major players: the defeat of apartheid in South Africa; the end of the dictatorship in Chile; the political transformation in the Philippines; the overthrow of Communist regimes in Central Europe; the creation of an international treaty prohibiting land mines; the establishment of an international criminal court.

Organizations founded by private individuals have historically played a vital role in democracies. Writing in the 1830's, Alexis de Tocqueville remarked that nothing was more deserving of attention than America's associations. Women's suffrage, organized labor, civil rights, consumer protection, environmental protection, gay liberation and the rights of the disabled are all movements pioneered by citizen organizations.

What is different today, however, is not only the increasing number of these groups worldwide, but also the view that they are a distinct sector, one that, like government, serves essential social functions, but that has many of the entrepreneurial qualities of business. The profit, in this case, is primarily social progress.

"This new sector really is competitive like business," said William Drayton, the president of Ashoka, an organization, named for an altruistic emperor of India, that supports people working to bring about social changes in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Central Europe. "It's got open entry. Organizations are competing for money, for recognition, for staff."

Mr. Drayton and others hold that the citizen sector is leading the social half of society through the same type of changes that transformed the European economy three centuries ago.

"In the early business environment, the

Continued on Page A17

file civil society
NGO development



Joao Silva/Sygma, for The New York Times

Citizens' groups helped bring down apartheid in South Africa. Here, a line waits to exercise the right to vote.

Citizens Flexing Social Muscle

Continued From Page A15

right to conduct different businesses was given by the crown," said Sharon Oster, a professor of economics at the Yale School of Management. "That monopoly model fell apart and became a competitive model." As controls on economic enterprises were loosened in the 17th and 18th centuries, new players flooded the field of business.

Just as trade and manufacturing were monopolized centuries ago, colonial and authoritarian Governments pretty much monopolized the social arena. The viceroys in India, the Communists in Central Europe, the generals in Latin America and Africa had little tolerance for citizens who tried to engineer broad social change.

As colonies gained independence and democracy spread, opportunities opened up for what Mr. Drayton called social entrepreneurs. These people, he said, have vision, practical ability and drive, they cannot rest until they have solved social problems not just locally, but system-wide. Think of Florence Nightingale, who developed modern nursing; Ralph Nader, who pioneered the consumer movement, or Muhammad Yunus, who founded the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh and spread the idea of microcredit — small loans to fight poverty — around the world.

At the same time, such breakthrough movements as Gandhian self-reliance and nonviolence, civil rights, liberation theology and feminism have helped prime hundreds of millions of people for social engagement. And the growth of the middle class has increased the pool of potential recruits.

Mr. Drayton sought to catalyze the citizen sector by adapting the venture-capital approach. The idea was to search for budding innovators to supply them with seed money and connect them in a global fellowship. In 1980 he created Ashoka, which has its headquarters in Arlington, Va., and now supports nearly 1,000 social entrepreneurs in 33 countries. Among them are Vera Cordeiro and Wojciech Onyszkiewicz. Ms. Cordeiro has built a program in Rio de Janeiro to help prevent recurring

illnesses by providing post-hospitalization assistance to poor children and their families. Mr. Onyszkiewicz built an unusual food bank in Poland, through an exchange in which farmers donate food to the urban poor and rural children are taken on educational trips to Warsaw.

Mr. Drayton said that the business sector had grown in productivity because it developed a beneficial competitive approach that rewarded innovation. He believes competition in the social sector could generate the same kinds of productivity increases.

"When there is a critical mass of institutions, people and ideas, and they feed on one another and strengthen one another, the competi-

Some successful groups attract vast sums of financing.

tive revolution begins to set in," Mr. Drayton said. "You begin to get a culture that says: 'This is great. We're proud to be doing this. We admire people who do this well. We reward them.' It happened in business and it's exactly what you're seeing at the moment in the citizen sector."

J. Gregory Dees, who teaches social entrepreneurship at the Graduate School of Business at Stanford University, said: "I'm seeing two broad trends. One is a shift away from the idea of this sector being primarily about charity and the transfer of wealth to being about a desire to find more systemic and sustained solutions to social problems. And the other is an increased openness to experimenting with business methods and market-based approaches."

These days, donors are more apt to stop financing organizations that cannot demonstrate their effectiveness. Some winning ideas, on the other hand, are rewarded. The Grameen Bank and the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee, a

citizen organization, have been so successful in alleviating poverty and educating millions of villagers that they have attracted hundreds of millions of dollars of financing from around the globe. More than a thousand development programs worldwide are emulating their experiences.

Some activists fear too much competition, arguing that groups can be more effective by forming coalitions. "We need to find better ways to cooperate with one another if we are going to advocate effectively," said Laurie Regelbrugge, the chief operating officer of Civicus, an international network of citizen organizations.

Barry Nalebuff, a management professor at the Yale School of Management, points to a different kind of problem: that growth does not necessarily lead to productivity gains unless accompanied by market discipline. "There are too many nonprofits today and the reason is simply the difficulty in getting them to merge," Mr. Nalebuff said. "In the for-profit sector, if an organization is doing poorly, somebody can take it over. There is no such thing as a nonfriendly acquisition in this sector. You need to be in bankruptcy before you lose control, the result being that we have much redundancy."

And Christine W. Letts, executive director of the Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations at Harvard, said that to deliver the goods — i.e., social change — "at a cost that is appropriate for its performance," this new sector needs to develop better information systems and standards. "The issue is how much is wasted," she added.

Still, the advocates are optimistic. "There has been a general questioning of the capacity of the state to carry out a whole host of functions," Mr. Salamon said. "This sector represents another way of organizing the common business of society."

Past experience and a faster rate of change mean that in 20 years the citizen sector "will be almost unrecognizably more mature," Mr. Drayton said. "Many of the institutions that took business 300 years to develop will be well on their way to development," he predicted.



Institute for Civil Society

February 20, 1997

Ms. Lynn Cutler

4335 37th St., NW
Washington, DC 20008

Dear Ms. Cutler,

Thank you for your interest in the Institute for Civil Society. We are eager to participate with others involved in the task of building civil society and are seeking partners in that process. For now, let me describe the Institute's projects and priorities and explain our guidelines.

The Institute's concerns and strategic directions are:

- the rebuilding of civil society and the clarification of business and governmental responsibilities in relation to civil society;
- the promotion of human development through education, the arts, and moral and spiritual development;
- the methodical dismantling of the various cultures of violence, whether they be behavioral or institutional;
- the advancement of local institution-building and grassroots actions which also have national implications or national impact;
- programs and strategies which have demonstration and replication value and which make a measurable difference in the day-to-day lives of economically, socially, and politically marginalized people.

Conceived three years ago, the Institute was inspired by the great movements of Eastern Europe which overthrew communism by sheer force of belief and assertion of human community. Similarly, in Latin America, in the face of extreme poverty and militarized political life, grassroots groups have sprouted to offer connection and economic hope.

We believe that the richness of America has depended, first and foremost, not on our vast natural resources but on the sense that its people could always somehow pull together to master challenges and solve problems. Perhaps that sense was created because we are an immigrant country. The newly arrived were thrown together to build a new and common future. They needed one another.

Imagination built the nation and collaboration sustained a diverse population. Inevitable conflicts served the cause of seeking justice and liberty for all. At the end of the day we were all in it together as problem solvers and not merely marketers of one political party or another. The search for answers and solutions made us struggle all the more intensely to surface our problems and fight for solutions.

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Somewhere in the early 1980's a thread in the American fabric frayed. Businesses fled for cheaper labor markets. Politicians failed to take responsibility for their actions and transformed political debate into character assassination. Personal responsibility eroded across society as everyone became a 'victim'. We have defined deviancy down, adapting to greater levels of physical and economic violence.

The Institute for Civil Society operates on three assumptions.

- First, the historic strength of the country is still alive and well. One just wouldn't know it from the evening news (if it bleeds it leads) or from those who live inside the Washington beltway. This strength can once again revitalize and reweave the fabric of our society.
- Secondly, our nation has always been strong because we are like a three legged stool; business, government and civil society must be committed and strong to hold up this democracy. Throughout our history, we go through periods of reinventing the nation by redefining the roles, responsibilities and relationships among these three.
- Thirdly, we must find a way to differ, disagree and argue about our future without resorting to character assassination as the primary mode of conversation. Civility, indeed civil society, requires us to engage in civilized conflict about ideas.

ICS pursues its mission by finding local groups where the rubber has hit the road. We provide them with whatever support we can, including grants, technical assistance and connections with others who may be helpful. We also have a team of senior fellows whose task it is to look at old problems in new ways, and to seek new solutions based on old ideals.

The Institute's current work falls under two headings: funding partnerships, and research and development.

1. Partnerships and initiatives:

- organizing efforts with the Black community, particularly in Boston, around education and economic development and work with at-risk youth;
- efforts to change research and development priorities in health;
- projects with groups or institutions that are focused on innovative ways to promote human development, particularly through the arts;
- groups which work to develop innovative strategies for addressing community level violence;
- initiatives for corporate responsibility and democratic capitalism.

2. New Century / New Solutions:

New Century / New Solutions is a project designed to enable out-of-the-box thinking about problems facing our families, our economy, and our communities. The Institute will have the ability of a think tank to solicit new, innovative ideas. As a project of a foundation that has a track record and a commitment to putting new solutions to work, these efforts will have immediate practicality.

Guidelines

The Institute for Civil Society functions non-traditionally, that is, **we do not encourage or accept unsolicited proposals**. Rather, we develop strategies around major issues relating to the building of civil society and the promotion of human development. We then seek partners for development and implementation of projects based on these strategies.

We believe that this approach is an effective use of human and financial resources for positive social change. We welcome and actively seek the participation of other funding sources who share the concerns and strategic direction of the Institute for Civil Society.

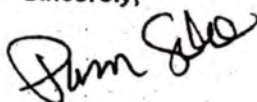
We have been contacted by many seeking funds for worthwhile work. I appreciate hearing of your efforts and we look forward to a conversation about your work whatever the outcome. We will clearly not be able to provide funding for all the worthwhile programs, but hope to collaborate with other community organizations in many forms.

It may be that you contacted us because you are interested in finding ways to make a financial contribution to rebuilding our community. ICS can facilitate family and individual giving within the guidelines outlined above. We can receive and facilitate tax-deductible donations to local groups involved with rebuilding civil society. Partnerships are currently being created with other foundations and individual donors who wish to support the local innovations and problem solving efforts.

ICS hopes to play its modest part in rebuilding civil society. Doing that necessarily means advocating personal responsibility and a commitment to the common good. It also means creating the context in which the tough issues of businesses responsibility to community can be addressed and by calling the question on government's appropriate roles and responsibilities.

Thank you again for contacting us. We look forward to working together on this challenge.

Sincerely,



Pam Solo
President
Institute for Civil Society

file Civil
society

Mr. Václav Havel (President of the Czech Republic)

Prime Minister, Speaker of the Senate, Speaker of the House of Commons, members of the Senate and the House of Commons, distinguished guests, I certainly do not need to emphasize how honoured I am to address you. With your permission, I shall use this opportunity for a few remarks concerning the state and its probable position in the future.

There is every indication that the glory of the nation state, as a climax of the history of every national community and the highest earthly value, in fact the only one in whose name it is permissible to kill or which is worth dying for, is already past its culminating point.

It seems that the enlightened endeavours of generations of democrats, the horrible experience of two world wars, which contributed so substantially to the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as the overall development of our civilization, are gradually bringing the human race to the realization that a human being is more important than a state.

The idol of state sovereignty must inevitably dissolve in a world that connects people, regardless of borders, through millions of links of integration ranging from trade, finance and property, up to information; links that impart a variety of universal notions and cultural patterns. Furthermore, it is a world in which danger to some has an immediate bearing on all; in which, for many reasons, especially because of the massive advancement of science and technology, our fates are merged together into one single destiny; and in which we all, whether we like it or not, suffer responsibility for everything that occurs.

It is obvious that in such a world, blind love for one's own state, a love that does not recognize anything above itself, finds excuses for any action of the own state simply because it is one's own state, and rejects anything else simply because it is different, inevitably turns into a dangerous anachronism, a hotbed of conflicts and, eventually, a source of immeasurable human suffering.

(1050)

I believe that in the coming century most states will begin to transform from cult-like objects, which are charged with emotional contents, into much simpler and more civil administrative units, which will be less powerful and, especially, more rational and will constitute merely one of the levels in a complex and stratified planetary societal self-organization. This change, among other things, should gradually antique the idea of non-intervention, that is, the concept of saying that what happens in another state, or the measure of respect for human rights there, is none of our business.

Who will take over the various functions that are now performed by the state?

Let us first speak about the emotional functions. These, I believe, will begin to be distributed more equally amongst all the various spheres that make up human identity, or in which human beings exercise their existence. By this I mean the various layers of that which we perceive as our home or our natural world; our family, our company, our village or town, our region, our profession, our church or our association, as well as our continent and, finally, our earth, the planet which we inhabit. All this constitutes the various environments of our self-identification; and, if the bond to one's own state, hypertrophied until now, is to be weakened it must necessarily be to the benefit of all these other environments.

As for the practical responsibilities and the jurisdictions of the state, these can go in only two directions: downward or upward.

Downwards applies to the various organs and structures of civil society to which the state should gradually transfer many of the tasks it now performs itself. Upwards applies to various regional, transnational or global communities or organizations. This transfer of functions has already begun. In some areas, it has progressed quite far; in others, less so. However, it is obvious that the trend of development must, for many different reasons, go along this path.

If modern democratic states are usually defined by such characteristics as respect for human rights and liberties, equality of citizens, the rule of law and civil society, then the manner of existence toward which humankind will move from here, or toward which humankind should move in the interest of its own preservation, will probably be characterized as an existence founded on a universal or global respect for human rights, a universal equality of citizens, a universal rule of law and a global civil society.

(1055)

One of the greatest problems that accompanied the formation of nation-states was their geographical delimitation, that is, the definition of their boundaries. Innumerable factors, ethnic, historical and cultural considerations, geological elements, power interests, as well as the overall state of civilization, have played a role here.

The creation of larger regional or transnational communities will sometimes be afflicted with the same problem; to some extent, this burden will possibly be inherited from the very nation-states that enter into such entities. We should do everything in our power to ensure that this self-definition process will not be as painful as was the case when nation-states were formed.

Allow me to give you one example. Canada and the Czech Republic are now allies as members of the same defence association, the North Atlantic Alliance. This is a result of a process of historic importance; NATO's enlargement with states of Central and Eastern Europe. The significance of this process stems from the fact that this is the first truly serious and historically irreversible step to break down the Iron Curtain and to abolish, in real terms and not just verbally, that which was called the Yalta arrangement.

This enlargement, as we all know, was far from easy and has become a reality only ten years after the bipolar division of the world came to an end. One of the reasons why progress was so difficult was the opposition on the part of the Russian Federation; they asked, uncomprehendingly and worriedly, why the West was enlarging and moving closer to Russia without taking Russia itself in its embrace. This attitude, if I disregard all other motives for the moment, reveals one very interesting element: an uncertainty about where the beginning is, and where the end is, of that which might be called the world of Russia, or the East. When NATO offers Russia its hand in partnership, it does so on the assumption that there are two large and equal entities: the Euro-Atlantic world and a vast Euro-Asian power. These two entities can, and must, extend their hands to each other and co-operate; this is in the interest of the whole world. But they can do this only when they are conscious of their own identities; in other words, when they know where each of them begins and ends. Russia has had some difficulty with that in its entire history, and it is obviously carrying this problem with it into the present world in which the question of delimitation is no longer about nation-states but about regions or spheres of culture and civilization.

Yes, Russia has a thousand things that link it with the Euro-Atlantic world or the so-called West; but, it also has a thousand things which differ from the West, just like Latin America, Africa, the Far East or other regions or continents of today's world.

(1100)

The fact that these worlds, or parts of the world, differ from one another does not mean

that some are more worthy than others. They are all equal. They are only different in certain ways, but being different is not a disgrace. Russia, on the one hand, deems it very important to be seen as an entity of moment, an entity which deserves special treatment, that is, as a global power; but at the same time it is uncomfortable with being perceived as an independent entity that can hardly be part of another entity.

Russia is becoming accustomed to the enlargement of the Alliance; one day it will become acclimated to it completely. Let us just hope that this will not be merely an expression of Engels' "recognized necessity" but an expression of a new, more profound self-understanding. Just as others must learn to redefine themselves in the new multicultural and multipolar environment, Russia must learn it also.

This means not only that it cannot forever substitute megalomania or simply self-love for natural self-confidence but also that it must recognize where it begins and where it ends. For example, the huge Siberia with its vast natural resources is Russia but the tiny Estonia is not Russia and never will be. If Estonia feels that it belongs to the world represented by the North Atlantic Alliance or the European Union, this must be understood and respected and it should not be seen as an expression of enmity.

With this example I would to illustrate the following. The world of the 21st century, provided that humankind withstands all the dangers that it is preparing for itself, will be a world of an ever closer cooperation on a footing of equality among larger and mostly transnational bodies that will sometimes cover whole continents.

In order that the world can be like this, individual entities, cultures or spheres of civilization must clearly recognize their own identities, understand what makes them different from others and accept the fact that such otherness is not a handicap but a singular contribution to the global wealth of the human race. Of course, the same must be recognized also by those who, on the contrary, have the inclination to regard their otherness as a reason for feeling superior.

(1105)

One of the most important organizations, in which all states as well as major transnational entities meet as equals for debate and make many important decisions which affect the whole world, is the United Nations. I believe that if the United Nations is to successfully perform the tasks to be imposed on it by the next century it must undergo a substantial reform.

The Security Council, the most important organ of the United Nations, can no longer maintain conditions from the time when the organization first came into being. Instead it must equitably mirror the multipolar world of today. We must reflect on whether it is indispensable that one state, even if only theoretically, could outvote the rest of the world. We must consider the question of which great, strong and numerous nations do not have permanent representation in that body. We must think out the pattern of rotation of the non-permanent members and a number of other things.

We must make the entire vast structure of the United Nations less bureaucratic and more effective.

We must deliberate on how to achieve real flexibility in the decision making of UN bodies, particularly of its plenary.

Most important, I believe we should ensure that all the inhabitants of our earth regard the United Nations as an organization that is truly theirs, not just as a club of governments.

The crucial point is what the UN can accomplish for the people of this planet, not what it does for individual states as states. Therefore, changes should probably be made also in the

procedures for the financing of the organization, for the application of its documents and for the scrutiny of their applications.

This is not a matter of abolishing the powers of states and establishing some kind of a giant global state instead. The matter is that everything should not always flow, forever, solely through the hands of states or their governments. It is in the interest of humanity, of human rights and liberties as well as of life in general, that there is more than one channel through which the decisions of planetary leadership flow to the citizens and the citizens' will reaches the planetary leaders. More channels mean more balance and a wider mutual scrutiny.

I hope it is evident that I am not fighting here against the institution of the state as such. It would, for that matter, be rather absurd if the head of a state addressing the representative bodies of another state pleaded that states should be abolished.

I am talking about something else. I am talking about the fact that there is a value which ranks higher than the state. This value is humanity. The state, as is well known, is here to serve the people, not the other way around. If a person serves his or her state, such service should go only as far as is necessary for the state to do a good service to all its citizens.

Human rights rank above the rights of states. Human liberties constitute a higher value than state sovereignty. In terms of international law, the provisions that protect the unique human being should take precedence over the provisions that protect the state.

(1110)

If, in the world of today, our fates are merged into one single destiny, and if every one of us is responsible for the future of all, nobody, not even the state, should be allowed to restrict the rights of the people to exercise this responsibility. I think that the foreign policies of individual states should gradually sever the category that has until now most often constituted their axis, that is the category of "interests", "our national interests" or "the foreign policy interests of our state".

The category of "interests" tends to divide rather than to bring us together. It is true that each of us has some specific interests. This is entirely natural and there is no reason why we should abandon our legitimate concerns; but there is something that ranks higher than our interests: it is the principles that we espouse.

Principles unite us rather than divide us. Moreover, they are the yardstick for measuring the legitimacy or illegitimacy of our interests. I do not think it is valid when various state doctrines say that it is in the interest of the state to uphold such and such a principle. Principles must be respected and upheld for their own sake, so to speak, as a matter of principle, and interests should be derived from them.

For example, it would not be right if I said that it is in the interest of the Czech Republic that there is an equitable peace in the world. I have to say something else. There must be an equitable peace in the world and the interests of the Czech Republic must be subordinated to that.

The Alliance of which both Canada and the Czech Republic are now members is waging a struggle against the genocidal regime of Slobodan Milosevic. It is neither an easy struggle nor a popular one, and there can be different opinions on its strategy and tactics; but no person of sound judgment can deny one thing: This is probably the first war ever fought that is not being fought in the name of interests but in the name of certain principles and values.

If it is possible to say about the war that it is ethical, or that it is fought for ethical reasons, it is true of this war. Kosovo has no oil fields whose output might perhaps attract somebody's interest. No member country of the Alliance has any territorial claims there, and

Milosevic is not threatening either the territorial integrity or any other integrity of any NATO member.

Nevertheless, the Alliance is fighting. It is fighting in the name of human interest for the fate of other human beings. It is fighting because decent people cannot sit back and watch systematic, state directed massacres of other people. Decent people simply cannot tolerate this and cannot fail to come to the rescue if a rescue action is within their power.

(1115)

This war gives human rights precedence over the rights of states. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been attacked without a direct UN mandate for the Alliance's action. But the Alliance has not acted out of licence, aggressiveness or disrespect for international law. On the contrary, it has acted out of respect for the law, for the law that ranks higher than the protection of the sovereignty of states. It has acted out of respect for the rights of humanity, as they are articulated by our conscience as well as by other instruments of international law.

I see this as an important precedent for the future. It has now been clearly stated that it is not permissible to slaughter people, to evict them from their homes, to maltreat them and to deprive them of their property. It has been demonstrated that human rights are indivisible and that if injustice is done to some, it is done to all.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am well aware that Canadian politics has long and systematically advanced the principle of security of the human being, which you deem equally important as that of security of the State, if not even more important. Let me assure you that this Canadian ethic enjoys a profound respect in my country. I would wish that we are not merely allies in a formal or institutional sense as members of the same defence alliance, but also as partners in promoting this worthy principle.

Dear friends, many times in the past I have pondered on the question of why humanity has the prerogative to any rights at all. Inevitably, I have always come to the conclusion that human rights, human liberties and human dignity have their deepest roots outside of this earthly world. They become what they are only because, under certain circumstances, they can mean to humanity a value that people place, without being forced to, higher than even their own lives. Thus, these notions have meaning only against the background of the infinite and of eternity. It is my profound conviction that the true worth of all our actions, whether or not they are in harmony with our conscience, the ambassador of eternity in our soul, is finally tested somewhere beyond our sight. If we did not sense this, or subconsciously surmise it, certain things could never get done.

Let me conclude my remarks on the State and on the role it will probably play in the future with the following statement: While the state is a human creation, humanity is a creation of God. *L'Etat est l'oeuvre de l'homme, et l'homme est l'oeuvre de Dieu.* Thank you.

file civil society
United States Department of State NIS

Washington, D.C. 20520

February 2, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR: Ms. Verveer
Office of the First Lady

FROM: Margo Squire *MS*
Director, Democratic Initiatives
S/NISC - Department of State

SUBJECT: Scheduling a White House Event for NIS High
School Students - May 8 or 9, 1998

Event: We recommend that, as part of the Civil Society initiative to follow up on her recent trip, the First Lady schedule an event at the White House to recognize 80-100 NIS high school exchange students who are here in the U.S. for one year and their host families. The students will have won an essay contest to come to Washington for a workshop on civil society.

Date: May 8 or 9, 1998

Background:

80-100 high school students from the New Independent States (NIS) will be chosen through an essay contest to participate in a 5-day civic education workshop in Washington, DC. The contest winners will be drawn from the 858 students currently living in the 50 U.S. states through the Future Leaders Exchange (FLEX) or Bradley High School Program, funded by USIA and the FREEDOM Support Act. Students spend one academic year living with an American volunteer host family, attending a local high school and participating in community activities. Over 5400 students have participated in the program since 1993. The First Lady met a number of these students during her trip.

These students are chosen through a merit-based openly-advertised competition throughout the NIS and are among the best and brightest from their societies. We routinely hear from our ambassadors in the field as well as Presidents and other officials from the NIS that this program is among our most valuable and that these students return after their year in the U.S. as real agents of change.

* [The students are scheduled to come to Washington for the workshop from May 9-13. If the First Lady agrees to host an event, USIA could arrange to have the students arrive in Washington on the 7 or 8th. USIA

needs to know as soon as possible if this date will work so that they can make the arrangements.

The Event:

We envision a one-hour event at the White House that would showcase the promise of the next generation of leaders in the NIS countries and the volunteerism of Americans. The students will have responded to the question, "Please describe a social/political issue that is important to you. What is your position on this issue and why?" During the event, the First Lady could recognize the authors of a few of the best essays who could speak about their topics and how they expect to make a difference in their home countries. Alternatively, the First Lady could deliver some remarks about the development of democracy in America and engage in a discussion with a few key students on these issues.

Please let us know if we can provide any further information.