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001. memo	Samuel Berger to Patti Solis Doyle; RE: Czech Republic (2 pages)	00/00/0000	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Millennium Council
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H.E. Vaclav Havel 10/2/97

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RESTRICTION CODES

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- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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THE FOUNDATION FOR A CIVIL SOCIETY

COMMITTED TO PROJECTS
THAT STRENGTHEN THE FORCES
OF DEMOCRACY, CIVIL SOCIETY,
THE RULE OF LAW, AND MARKET
BASED ECONOMIES IN THE
CZECH AND SLOVAK REPUBLICS,
AND BEYOND.

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Wendy Luers,
President Michal
Kováč of the
Slovak Republic
and Mrs. Kováčová

"...the Foundation for a Civil Society knows this country, its problems and its people well, and is able to respond to our particular, practical needs."

Václav Havel,
President of the Czech Republic

The Foundation for a Civil Society is a US-based nonprofit, nongovernmental organization (NGO) created in January, 1990 to foster democracy, civil society, the rule of law, and market-based economies in the Czech and Slovak Republics, and beyond. Since its inception, The Foundation has raised in excess of 10 million dollars from foundations and corporations globally, including two United States Agency for International Development (USAID) grants to help develop the non-profit sectors in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Guided by a distinguished and expert Board of Directors

drawn from private and governmental sectors, it was founded by journalist, human rights activist and current president, Wendy W. Luers. Its multi-national staff of 32 is based in New York, Prague and Bratislava. In the future, it is hoped that the Czech and Slovak offices will become indigenous NGOs serving their unique communities.

The success of The Foundation stems from its country-specific knowledge, hands-on operating experience and adaptability to rapidly changing needs. It works as a **catalyst**, initiating and developing projects and locating the resources to fund them. It serves as a **facilitator**, mobilizing its extensive network throughout the international community, identifying worthy undertakings and connecting them with appropriate funding sources, qualified institutions and expert individuals. Working as a **partner** with other NGOs, The Foundation frequently acts jointly on projects that might not otherwise be realized.

The efforts of The Foundation for a Civil Society are primarily aimed at nurturing a free and democratic way of life in societies emerging from decades of political and social oppression. Though much has been accomplished, much remains to be done. Anchored in the Czech Republic and Slovakia, The Foundation has gained practical experience which it also shares with leaders of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, and elsewhere, as they face the challenges of developing civil society.

Consequently, the experience gained since 1990 is The Foundation's most valuable resource.

In order to achieve its goals, The Foundation for a Civil Society has implemented a broad array of creative programs that fill real needs, are demand driven, and for which other support may not yet be available. These programs provide assistance and technical support to nonprofits, governmental reformers, and innovators in the legal, environmental, educational and cultural sectors of the Czech and Slovak Republics.

In 1995, after a broad competition, The Foundation was awarded the first two of nine United States Agency for International Development funded **Democracy Network Programs**. The two-year, \$1.5 million Czech and the three-year, \$3 million Slovak country programs are designed to develop and strengthen indigenous, public policy-oriented nongovernmental organizations with the goal of engendering sustainability that will last beyond the Democracy Network and other foreign funding. Focusing on four priority development sectors — Democracy, Social Safety Nets, Economic Development and Environment — their components include a training and assistance program, a small grants program and a campaign to improve the image of the NGO sector.

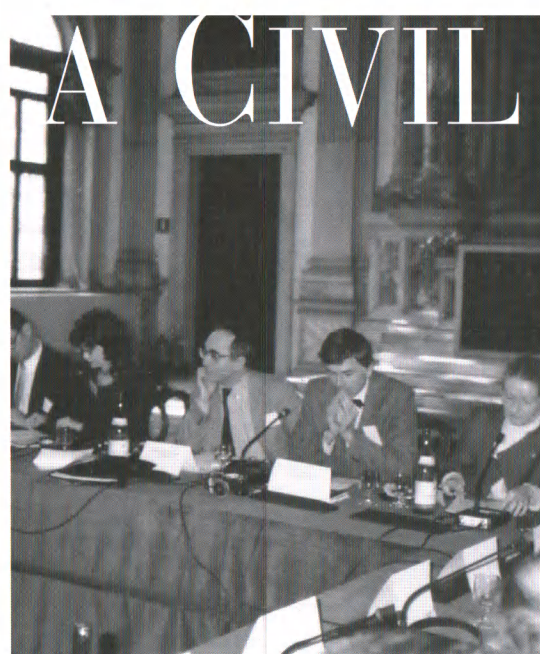
At the urging of President Václav Havel, **The Project on Justice in Times of Transition** was created to assist states emerging from repression or conflict to engage in dialogue across national, ethnic, religious and ideological boundaries with the intention of preventing political, legal and moral legacies of the past from jeopardizing their progress towards democracy and peace. With great ingenuity,

The Project brings leaders from countries in periods of transition together with their policy-making counterparts from other countries which have undergone or are undergoing similar transitions. This provides an extraordinary stimulus to pragmatic problem-solving by offering a broad spectrum of leading policymakers exposure to international experiences in ending conflict, establishing peace, and building civil society through reconciliation and dialogue. In nine distinct initiatives to date, The Project has been active in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Northern Ireland, South Africa and throughout postcommunist Europe.

The Expert Advisors Program was established, with the generous support of the Ford Foundation and The Pew Charitable Trusts, to assist Czechs and Slovaks facing the unprecedented task of economic and social transformation. Created to meet the demands of policy makers and opinion leaders for long-term technical assistance, the Program places high-caliber Western experts in local and national government institutions and public policy oriented NGOs for a period of six months to two years, to develop and implement effective reform policies.

Along with its many **Community Revitalization Initiatives**, The Foundation is establishing a **Community Revitalization Center** to share and to help develop creative and effective ways to meet urgent, local needs. Other enterprises include roundtable discussions on issues such as transportation, public markets, rural and urban development in the Czech Republic, and a recent **Survey**, with case studies, providing an overview of Czech government programs and policies which effect local development.

The only scholarship that awards full funding for one academic year of study to deserving Czechs and Slovaks is The Foundation's **Secondary School Scholarship Program**. Since its inception, over 80 high school students, nominated by their school directors and selected through a rigorous national competition, have been placed in leading independent boarding schools in the United States, Great Britain and Canada. Through **The FCS Fellowship Program** over 3,500 people have been taught English using a dynamic curriculum emphasizing cross-cultural exchange, one of the most important aspects of the learning experience.



to HIV/AIDS awareness in a Czech context. Thanks to the support of the Elton John AIDS Foundation, the innovative project is now being readied for implementation in Slovakia.

Concerned with the scarcity of funding for culture, The Foundation has developed a number of special projects as well as three awards recognizing outstanding Czech and Slovak artists.

The Jindřich Chalupecký Award is presented annually by President Václav Havel to a young Czech artist and administered in the Czech Republic by the Chalupecký Association. The newly established **Young Slovak Artist of the Year** award is co-organized with the Slovak National Gallery and presented by President Michal Kováč. Both awards include an exhibition, a three month residency at the Headlands Center for the Arts in Sausalito, California, and a one week stay in New York City and are made possible by the Trust for Mutual Understanding. **The Award for the Decorative Arts**, sponsored in 1995 by the Swarovski Company in Austria and co-organized with the Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, awards its recipients an exhibition at the Museum and a three month residency at the Rhode Island School of Design.

Through the generosity of Dr. Alfred Bader, founder of Aldrich Chemicals, and his wife, Isabel, The Foundation administers the **Bader Awards for the Research of Baroque Painting**. Presented annually to three students under the age of 30, the award allows them to travel abroad for in-depth study. The Foundation also oversees the **Alfred Bader Award for Young Chemists**, given through the Czech Chemical Society to a promising Czech organic chemist, and several other Bader initiatives, including the Bader Ph.D. Fellowships to Harvard University, Columbia University, Imperial College London and the University of Pennsylvania.

In addition to the programs mentioned above, The Foundation for a Civil Society continues to facilitate special events and projects, offering in-kind contributions in the form of staff time, expertise and networking information, as well as finding creative funding solutions for projects whose requirements fall outside of our means.



Top: The Project on Justice in Times of Transition, Venice Conference, 1993.

Middle: Secondary School Scholars with Mrs. Barnes-Basora and Mitchell Reznick, Celebrate Prague in New York, 1994.

Bottom: President Václav Havel of the Czech Republic and Wendy Luers.

4/16

Ellen - Finally received the
information from the Czech
Rep. - I also had a
conversation w/ Dr. Ramboaskova -
It seems that with the
establishment of FdN. Forum
2000, the Czech govt. no
longer has an official Mill.
commission - I will proceed with
not including them for Rome -
right? Thanks C.

*Embassy of the Czech Republic
3900 Spring of Freedom St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008*

Vaclav
Havel

Ms. Caroline Croft
The White House Millennium Program
708 Jackson Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20503

Washington, April 6, 1998

Dear Ms. Croft:

Thank you for your interest in the issues related to the millennium celebrations in our country.

As you know, last September the Forum 2000 Conference was held at Prague Castle under the auspices of Vaclav Havel, President of the Czech Republic, and Elie Wiesel, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate. The subtitle of the conference was "concerns and hopes on the Threshold of the New Millennium".

A foundation "Forum 2000" was established to organize this conference. The International Advisory Board of the Conference recommended that the Conference should have a follow-up -- a series of four more conferences. This year, a conference will be held on October 11 - 14. Its format will be comparable to that of last year.

In addition to preparing the conference series, the Foundation Forum 2000 provides sponsorships to twice a year projects related to the conference. This year, the sponsorship was provided for the event titled "Is There a Purpose in Nature", organized by the Center for Theoretical Studies, Charles University (Ivan M. Havel, Director). In summer, a so called student forum are planned.

The next conference series should be more focused, i.e. each one should deal with a specific theme in a comprehensive way. A general topic of the series is "What is the future of the world and global human community". The following specific topics should be discussed during the next conferences:

1998: "Globalization -- experience. instruments, procedures"

The conference should summarize already tested potential instruments in politics, science, economy, legislation, and it should address the obstacles for their implementation.

1999: "Models of the Future Integration of the World - What the Human Community Should Look Like"

The conference should discuss social, anthropological, cultural, and political forms of a potential world order.

Phone: (202) 274-9700

Fax: (202) 966-8540

2000: "Spiritual Foundations of the Integrating World"

The conference should deal with ethical, religious, and educational aspects and objectives of world community integration.

2001: The conference should have a political character. It would become a political challenge resulting in a document, which would draw upon the outcomes of the preceding conferences.

During the 1998 conference, the participants will be divided into three groups:

1st day: Keynote speakers addressing the present political organization and governance in individual regions of the world.

2nd day: Keynote speakers dealing with the economic organization of the world, with the national state, and in a globalized world, and regional and global interests

3rd day: Keynote speakers dealing with spiritual, ethical, and cultural dimensions of the present civilization.

For further information, you can also contact

Mr. Rene Kubasek

Forum 2000 Foundation

Residence in Royal Gardens, Prague Castle

119 08 Praha 1

tel./fax: 011-420-2-24310989, tel.: 011-420-2-24310991, e-mail: f2000@oasnet.cz

Please contact me if I can be of any further help.

With kindest greetings,

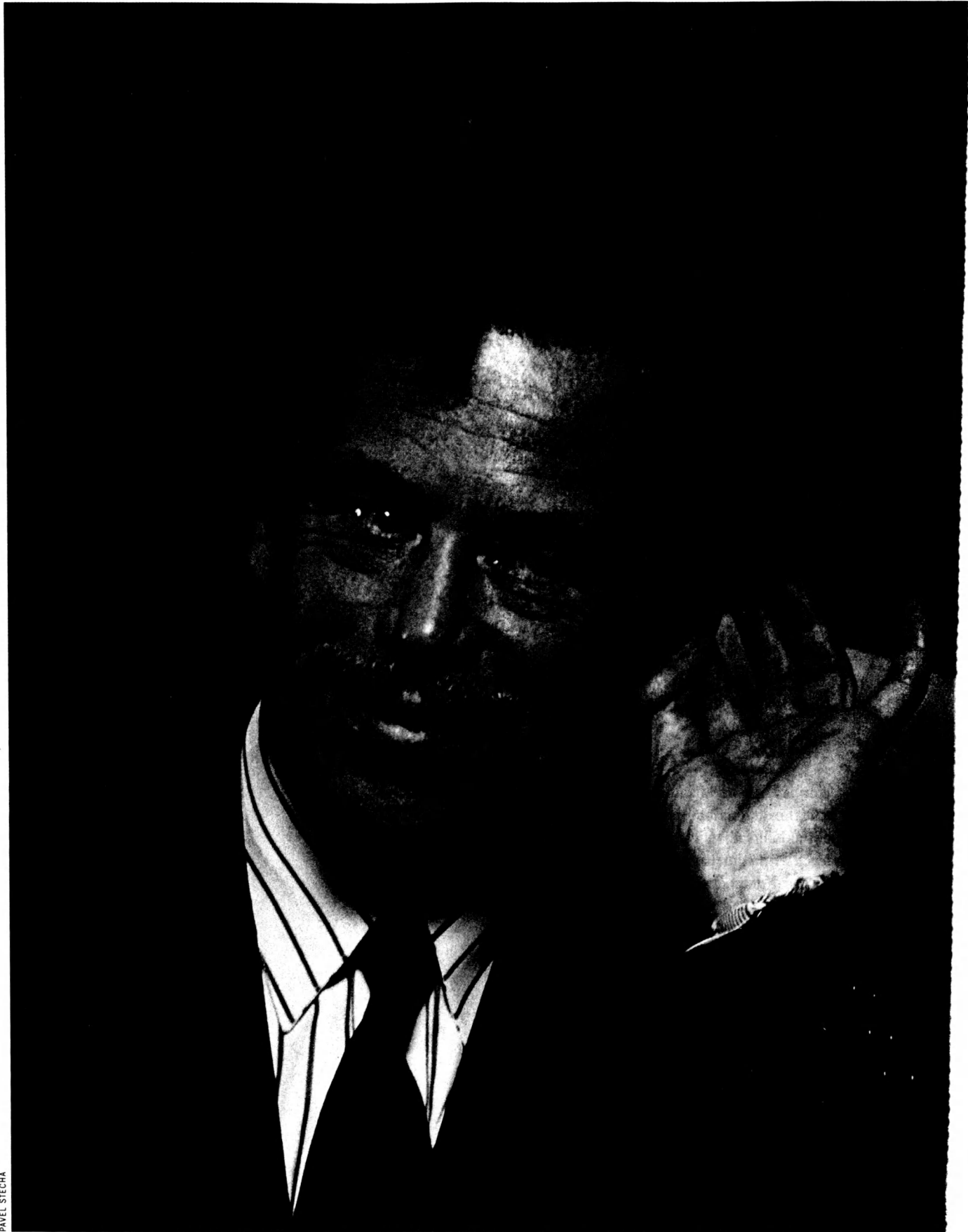
Sincerely,



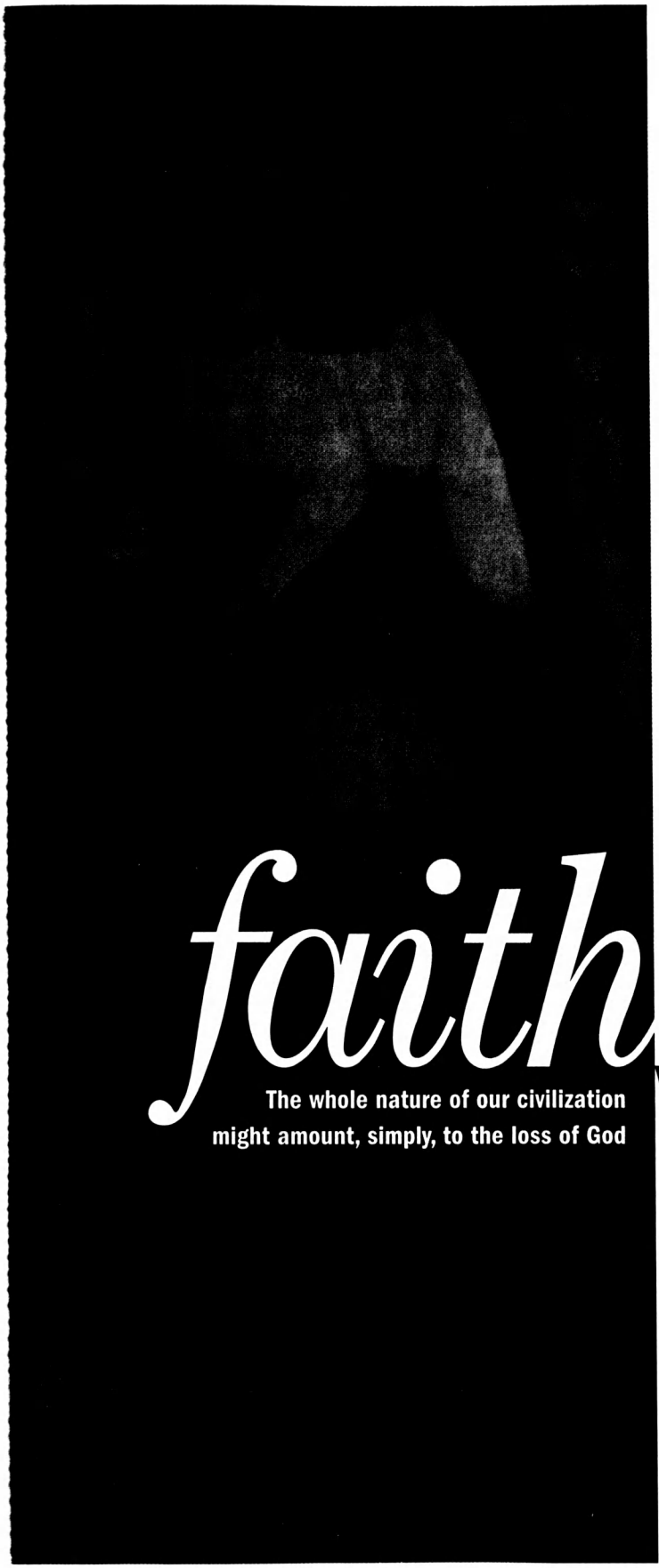
Hana Rambousková, Ph.D.

Science, Technology, Education & Environment Attaché

Havel



PAVEL ŠTECHA



faith

The whole nature of our civilization
might amount, simply, to the loss of God

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 cul-

in the **WORLD**

tures 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 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?

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.

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 consid-

ering 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

DO YOU SUPPOSE
THERE MIGHT BE A
WAY TO STOP
THAT BLIND
PERPETUAL MOTION
DRAGGING US INTO
hell?

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.

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? ■

A TRUE AND
ESSENTIAL TURN
FOR THE BETTER CAN
DERIVE ONLY
FROM CHANGES IN
THE SPHERE OF THE
spirit

MEMORANDUM TO THE FIRST LADY

FROM: ELLEN McCULLOCH-LOVELL

RE: VISIT OF VACLAV HAVEL, PRESIDENT, CZECH REPUBLIC

On Thursday we will meet with President Havel to discuss Forum 2000 and his ideas for these world conferences of great thinkers and leaders on the issues that face us in the next century. He also wants to know what the White House Millennium Program is planning, especially any international gatherings.

Attending the meeting will be:

President Vaclav Havel
First Lady Dagmar Havlova
Ambassador to the U.S. Alexander Vondra
Director of the Foreign Department, Jiri Pehe
Interpreter from the Czech Embassy

Also attending: Wendy Luers, President, The Foundation for a Civil Society; and Nancy McEldowney, Director for European Affairs, NSC.

Background:

President Havel and Nobel Peace Laureate Elie Wiesel convened the first Forum 2000 in Prague on September 3-7, 1997. The stated purpose of Forum 2000 is "to mark the close of the second millennium as a time to take stock of the issues that continue to divide the world's diverse cultures and civilizations....Forum 2000 attempts to develop a broader, more humanistic consciousness that reflects the deep unity among peoples and embraces the plurality of values in the present world." The Nippon Foundation and two Czech foundations were the sponsors; at the end of the conference, it was announced that Forum 2000 would convene again each year in Prague through the year 2000.

Some of the participants in the first forum were: Oscar Arias-Sanchez, former president of Costa Rica; His Holiness the Dalai Lama; Riane Eisler, author, evolutionary theorist; Skip Gates, W.E.B. Du Bois Professor at Harvard University; Jose Ramos-Horta, 1996 Nobel Peace Prize recipient for his work in East Timor; Ted Koppel from ABC; Jack Lang, former Minister of Culture of France; Wole Sivaraksa, recipient of Nobel Prize for Literature, Nigerian dissident; and many others.

One of President Havel's great preoccupations, as you know, is how to build civil society in post-communist Eastern Europe through increased citizen participation. In his speech to the forum, he emphasizes the need to look beyond individualism or "otherness" to common responsibility. He speculates that we have lost respect for creation, perhaps because of our loss of metaphysics, or the "mysterious inherent meaning or spirit." His thoughts seem to underscore the religious (although not exclusively Christian) meaning of the millennium.

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The Tyranny of Tests

By Marc F. Bernstein

T NORTH MERRICK, N.Y. he debate over President Clinton's proposal for voluntary national testing in reading and math has paid too little attention to whether a national curriculum benefits American children.

I know that the President has not recommended a national curriculum, only national testing, but educators know all too well that "what is tested will be taught." Teachers and administrators will pore over sample test questions to determine what material must be taught so that students — and therefore teachers and schools — do well.

Standard exams will nationalize school curriculum.

Without doubt, there are benefits to focusing the public's attention on academic results. It fosters healthy competition among schools and keeps them accountable for teaching children properly.

There is the risk, however, that even the best-intentioned test makers will create a misguided national standard, even though the Senate has stipulated that a bipartisan board independent of the Federal Department of Education be responsible for

Marc F. Bernstein is the Superintendent of the Bellmore-Merrick Central High School District.

designing the tests. Who creates the test is less troubling than the process that we in the United States follow to create a consensus, to reduce criticism and to advance the political correctness of our time. One has only to remember the recent debate over history standards to shudder at the prospect of national tests. Plus, national tests would be the battleground for proponents of the latest educational trends.

Past movements, like "new math" (and perhaps the more recent "new-new math") or the purists' version of "whole language," were products of university think tanks that often did little real-life research to support their conclusions.

Until now, exposure to the fads of a particular university or school of thought could be confined to a state or to one region of the country. Imagine the risks of applying a little-tested theory to the design of a test given to all American students, a national examination that would in turn determine curriculums and standards.

States have served well as the laboratories of education, allowing different strategies and practices to be tried, modified and then expanded or discarded. Almost every state now has a statewide testing program that permits parents to evaluate their schools and to compare them with similar districts nearby.

A national report card, on the other hand, would be of little use. Is there any validity in having parents in New York compare the state's scores on an eighth-grade math test with those of a more homogeneous state like New Hampshire or Vermont? Most parents can already tell whether their children are getting a good education. Yes, we must continue to strive for higher standards for our children's education, but we can do it without national tests. □

A Prayer for the Days of Awe

By Elie Wiesel

M BOSTON Master of the Universe, let us make up. It is time. How long can we go on being angry? More than 50 years have passed since the nightmare was lifted. Many things, good and less good, have since happened to those who survived it. They learned to build on ruins. Family life was recreated. Children were born, friendships struck. They learned to have faith in their surroundings, even in their fellow men and women. Gratitude has replaced bitterness in their hearts. No one is as capable of thankfulness as they are. Thankful to anyone willing to hear their tales and become their ally in the battle against apathy and forgetfulness. For them every moment is grace.

Oh, they do not forgive the killers and their accomplices, nor should they. Nor should you, Master of the Universe. But they no longer look at every passer-by with suspicion. Nor do they see a dagger in every hand.

Does this mean that the wounds in their soul have healed? They will never heal. As long as a spark of the flames of Auschwitz and Treblinka glows in their memory, so long will my joy be incomplete.

What about my faith in you, Master of the Universe?

I now realize I never lost it, not even over there, during the darkest hours of my life. I don't know why I kept on whispering my daily prayers, and those one reserves for the Sabbath, and for the holidays, but I did recite them, often with my father and, on Rosh ha-Shanah eve, with hundreds of

Elie Wiesel, a professor in the humanities at Boston University, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1986.

inmates at Auschwitz. Was it because the prayers remained a link to the vanished world of my childhood?

But my faith was no longer pure. How could it be? It was filled with anguish rather than fervor, with perplexity more than piety. In the kingdom of eternal night, on the Days of Awe, which are the Days of Judgment, my traditional prayers were directed to you as well as against you, Master of the Universe. What hurt me more:

Making peace with God, 50 years later.

your absence or your silence?

In my testimony I have written harsh words, burning words about your role in our tragedy. I would not repeat them today. But I felt them then. I felt them in every cell of my being. Why did you allow if not enable the killer day after day, night after night to torment, kill and annihilate tens of thousands of Jewish children? Why were they abandoned by your Creation? These thoughts were in no way destined to diminish the guilt of the guilty. Their established culpability is irrelevant to my "problem" with you, Master of the Universe. In my childhood I did not expect much from human beings. But I expected everything from you.

Where were you, God of kindness, in Auschwitz? What was going on in heaven, at the celestial tribunal, while your children were marked for humiliation, isolation and death only because they were Jewish?

These questions have been haunting me for more than five decades. You have vocal defenders, you know. Many theological answers were given me, such as: "God is God. He alone knows what He is doing. One has no

right to question Him or His ways." Or: "Auschwitz was a punishment for European Jewry's sins of assimilation and/or Zionism." And: "Isn't Israel the solution? Without Auschwitz, there would have been no Israel."

I reject all these answers. Auschwitz must and will forever remain a question mark only: it can be conceived neither with God nor without God. At one point, I began wondering whether I was not unfair with you. After all, Auschwitz was not something that came down ready-made from heaven. It was conceived by men, implemented by men, staffed by men. And their aim was to destroy not only us but you as well. Ought we not to think of your pain, too? Watching your children suffer at the hands of your other children, haven't you also suffered?

As we Jews now enter the High Holidays again, preparing ourselves to pray for a year of peace and happiness for our people and all people, let us make up, Master of the Universe. In spite of everything that happened? Yes, in spite. Let us make up: for the child in me, it is unbearable to be divorced from you so long. □

The Keys to Cutting Crime

In a culture dominated by chase scenes and shootouts — from cowboy movies to cop shows and even the nightly news — there is an overwhelming tendency to view the crime problem one-dimensionally.

It's all handled at the point of a gun. You tell the bad guys to put their hands up. You shoot the ones who don't and lock up the rest. Then you go home and chuckle at Sipowicz on "N.Y.P.D. Blue."

With crime statistics falling sharply in many cities around the country, the inclination is to believe that tougher policing is the primary cause, that some 1990's version of Dirty Harry is the reason some of the meanest streets are being transformed.

The police in many cities deserve a great deal of credit, but a more accurate reading of recent crime-fighting successes is, not surprisingly, somewhat more complicated.

"It's very difficult to summarize," said Paul Evans, the Police Commissioner in Boston, which has had remarkable success in curbing violence, particularly gun violence, over the past couple of years. No juvenile has been killed by a firearm in Boston since July 10, 1995.

"If there is one word that I would use to describe what is happening, it would be 'collaboration,'" said Mr. Evans. Boston's success has been the result of an intense collective effort by the Police Department, religious leaders, local community groups and private citizens.

What is being learned (but not yet widely reported) in city after city is the powerful role that changing attitudes at the community level are having in the fight against crime. Big-city residents fed up with the violence that has plagued their lives and stolen so many of their children are exhibiting a greater willingness to become involved in anti-crime initiatives, and to work both directly and indirectly with the police.

This community involvement combined with smarter and more aggressive use of the police and substantially longer prison terms for violent offenders appears to be the key to success in fighting crime.

"What we are trying to do is keep kids alive," said Mr. Evans, as he described Boston's focus on juvenile crime, which has proved to be a more stubborn national problem than crime committed by adults.

"There are some kids who, obviously, have to be taken off the street. But we had to develop strategies beyond just locking kids up."

Law enforcement experts are increasingly coming to this conclusion. Chuck Wexler, who heads the Police Executive Research Forum in Washington, said: "Everything we've learned is that simply arresting people without involving the community in the overall effort is counterproductive."

That is how the police come to be seen as an occupying army, he said. It breeds misunderstanding and resentment.

"What is significant," Mr. Wexler said, "is when you have an ad hoc community group in Kansas City, or the ministers' Ten-Point Coalition in Boston standing shoulder to shoulder with the police in a particular neighborhood, saying this isn't simply a police problem, this is a community problem. That is what is most effective."

Jack Levin, director of the Program for the Study of Violence and Social Conflict at Northeastern University, said: "You can't evaluate in any quantitative way the contribution of the community vs. the police vs. demographics vs. locking people up. But my sense is that in Boston it is the community members who have made the biggest difference. The clergy is doing an outstanding job. They provide spiritual guidance, but they also supervise and monitor and guide these kids who otherwise would be raising themselves after school."

"And there are other efforts. Businesses are offering jobs and in some cases real career opportunities. I have students who go into neighborhoods to do tutoring and mentoring and peer mediation. There are gun buyback programs. There are even clergy in some of the churches doing symbolic toy gun buybacks with 5- and 6-year-olds."

Similar efforts by community leaders and neighborhood residents are under way in cities across the country. In some cases they are coordinated with the police, in many cases they are not. In most cases they escape the attention of the wider public.

The people involved in these efforts are, in Mr. Levin's words, "the forgotten heroes in this war against crime." □

Foreign Affairs

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Missile Myopia

What is coming to be known as the Iran missile crisis is in many ways the quintessential post-cold-war foreign-policy problem. But before we go to war with Iran to solve it, let's sort out fact from hype.

Here is what U.S. intelligence says: Since the early 1990's, Iran (like Syria, Iraq, Egypt and Israel) has developed the capability to build and launch short-range (185 to 375 miles) liquid-fuel Scud-class missiles. At the same time Iran has been trying to develop its own version of the North Korean "No Dong" Scud missile, which has a longer range (800 to 925 miles) but is highly inaccurate. In 1993 North Korea provided Iran blueprints, and possibly even a single copy, of the No Dong missile, but then North Korean aid to Iran tailed off.

Since then the Iranians have been trying to obtain the guidance systems, stainless steel sheets and bigger engines to build their own, more accurate No Dong. In this search, Iranian agents turned to cash-hungry Russian universities and aerospace companies. The Iranians acquired enough technology to build and test on the ground their own No Dong-style engine.

There is a consensus within U.S. intelligence that within a year Iran should be able to flight-test a No Dong with a conventional warhead, but analysts are split over how long it would take for Iran to actually deploy a force of them with any accuracy. Some say two years, some say three. Much will depend on what help comes from Russian companies. In a meeting with U.S. officials on Sept. 18, the Russians confirmed some of the U.S. allegations against their companies and vowed to shut off the sales; other allegations they disputed. The U.S. is now watching to see if the supplies will really be cut off, and are studying the disputed cases.

So much for the facts. Now for the hard part. What to do? It's absolutely legitimate for Israel to worry about Iran's acquiring missiles that can hit Tel Aviv. But the fact is, Israel has been living for years next to Syrian Scud missiles, with chemical warheads. Israel has effectively dealt with Syria through deterrence: Blow me up, I blow you up. Israel may have to deal with Iran the same way.

Some U.S. officials believe the Israeli Government is highlighting Iran now not only to derail its missile program before it is too late, but to divert U.S. attention and energy

from the Palestinian-Israeli impasse, where the U.S. and Israel disagree. There may be no real link between the Iran crisis and the Palestinian issue. But the fact is, neither Israel nor the U.S. will be able to enlist any Arab allies in the Middle East to deal with Iran without giving them the political cover of progress on the Palestinian-Israeli front. That's the reality of Middle East politics. (The U.S. can produce that progress either by knocking Israeli and Palestinian heads together or by just walking away and letting the pain of armed conflict do it. Incrementalism won't work.)

The U.S. also can't resolve this particular Iran crisis at reasonable costs without aid from Russia. A military strike against Iranian missile factories outside Teheran would

The meandering road to Iran.

be very difficult for Israel and fraught with huge risks for the U.S. and its gulf allies. "We really need the Russians' help on this one," says a key U.S. official.

Isn't that ironic. America's hairy-chested NATO expanders just told us that because we won the cold war we didn't have to heed Russia's concerns. Think about the mixed message the Clintonites are now sending Moscow: In the Middle East you have to behave as a strategic partner, but in Europe you have to accept that you're still the main enemy.

As Michael Mandelbaum, a foreign-policy expert at Johns Hopkins, points out: "Russia still matters. Russia is a big country, it still has a lot of leverage on issues that we care about, and it can thwart our designs not by military threats or the use of force, as in the cold war, but simply by not joining the volunteer fire department — by answering the phone and saying, 'Sorry, I'd love to help, but I just don't have the time.'"

In the post-cold-war world the combustible cocktail of weapons proliferation, religious extremism, rogue states and free markets is becoming the biggest threat to U.S. interests. We can't cope with this threat by ourselves or in isolation from other policy goals. Neither can our allies. □

The community
plays a
critical role.

The New York Times

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1997



2000

A statement delivered by

H.E. VÁCLAV HAVEL

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Conference FORUM 2000

September 4, 1997

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 is being held here and has been made possible especially thanks to the foundations sponsoring and organizing 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 is certainly not a chance circumstance that in ancient ages, as well as in more recent times, a number of great wars have erupted in this particular location — and not infrequently also ended here, as for example in the Thirty Years' War and lately at the time of the Munich dictate, then during the Communist putsch of 1948 and at 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, 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 has 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 which 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 civilization than in a place with such eventful history, a place which had 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 organized 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 one hundred prominent personalities of public life, philosophers, political scientists, politicians, scientists, religious authorities and intellectuals from all cultural regions or areas of civilization of the contemporary world. Of course, not all the invited have been able to attend. Nevertheless, I think that 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 shall be almost impossible to feed so many people. We do know how 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 could lead to. 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; that it is disturbing the balance of all ecosystems. 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 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 though 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 — is it not common for titles containing impressive evidence of the disasters into which we are tumbling headlong become bestsellers? — and how very little people take these into account in their everyday activities. For how many years now have these warning data been taught in schools and yet how small is the effect of this knowledge on human behaviour! Does not every schoolchild know today that the resources of this planet are limited and that if exhausted faster than recovered would mean we could not but be doomed? And still we continue in our ways and, moreover, do not even seem perturbed. Quite the contrary — rising production, and therefore also consumption, is felt as the main sign of success of a state, and that 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 it is not, now, critical to point out again and again such horrors which may be lying in wait, unless our whole global civilization 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 this topic. Indeed, the prerequisite of any change for the better is first naming correctly the situation which needs to be changed and then analyzing its causes.

It would be unfair, of course, to deny the existence of numerous projects for the aversion of this danger or for its limitation 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 at all touch basic trends of development from which the threats I am speaking of sprout, 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 criticizing this type 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 only claim 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 civilization? What could really stop the perpetual motion which 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 new understanding will allow the development of new models of behaviour, new scales of values and life objectives, and through this means finally attach 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.

I would welcome it, 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 is because of an observation of mine. Whenever I encounter any kind of deeper civilization problem anywhere in the world — be it logging of rain forests, ethnic or religious intolerance or the brutal destruction of the cultural landscape which had taken centuries to develop — then 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; do we not 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 which seems to legitimize very strongly all kinds of possible and impossible particular interests, which however seems unable to legitimize properly the universal interests, those which reach beyond the framework of the family, company, party, state or current generation. That is namely those interests which could be expected to dominate in today's globally networked world and one threatened by multiple of civilizations. 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 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 attention of all observers conceals somewhat a considerably more substantial circumstance — the contemporary global civilization inside which the tension within the areas of the individual religion is taking place is indeed in essence a deeply atheistic one. Indeed, it is to date the first atheistic civilization in the history of humankind. Simultaneously, it is the first civilization which embraces the whole planet.

The reason why I am stressing this fact namely at this moment is, I hope, obvious: the atheistic nature of this civilization 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 loss of metaphysical certitude, vanishing points and horizons? 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 but the natural manifestation of a phenomenon which, in simple terms, amounts to the loss of God? Or more specifically: the loss of respect to the order of existence of which we are not the creators but mere components, to the mysterious inherent meaning or spirit which does possess 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 so as to say 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 which does not question the meaning of existence and renounces any kind of metaphysics or any kind of its own metaphysical roots?

I have been thinking about the basic questions and paradoxes of the 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 of all continents. And without my view being burdened *a priori* by any kind of paradigm, I 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 conviction.

To put it simply: amongst other things, I expect this conference to give me and many others an answer to whether I am right or mistaken when I think what I am thinking — that the crisis of the so 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 of course 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 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.

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 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 civilization sphere, humankind is actually entering a world whose characteristic features are multipolarity and multiculturalism.

It would seem so far that the more tied the various civilization, cultural and religious groups are by the bonds of a single global civilization - exerting unavoidably a unifying influence — the more they try to confront such grip by emphasizing 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 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, learning about them over the time and in 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. 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 which the act applies in addressing us — 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, on the other hand, I think 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 the 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 coexistence 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 naïve? Would you presume that such 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 them about by their own will and by joining their forces without the need for any appalling impulse from the outside? Would you presume that convincing words of wise people would simply 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 give an identical answer to the several very general questions which 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 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 are truly a varied group — to express, in the most original and interesting way possible, their own views of the issues which 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 space where people reflect on matters concerning everybody and discuss them.

Thank you for your attention 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 degree as your presence here and the ideas you voice enrich my fellow citizens.

FORUM 2000 IN THE HEART OF EUROPE AT THE THRESHOLD OF A NEW MILLENNIUM

President Václav Havel of The Czech Republic and Nobel Peace Laureate Elie Wiesel will convene in September 1997 in Prague in the Czech republic a major international conference to discuss the urgent ethical, ideological and religious issues that confront mankind at the start of a new millennium. The Nippon Foundation will be a major sponsor of this undertaking and organizational support will come from two Czech foundations, Patriae and Bohemiae.

As we approach the end of the twentieth century, surely a historical watershed, it is incumbent upon us to reflect on the opportunities and dangers we are about to face. FORUM 2000 will serve that purpose.

The purpose of Forum 2000 is to mark the close of the second millennium as a time to take stock of the issues that continue to divide the world's diverse cultures and civilizations. With the break-up of the old world order, there is an urgent need for the global community to create new structures of stability and democratic institutions that will foster individual liberties and more widespread observance of basic human rights. Forum 2000 attempts as well to develop a broader, more humanistic consciousness that reflects the deep unity among peoples and embraces the plurality of values in the present world.

Among the themes that will be explored are:

- a stock-taking or assessment of the globe's civilization or civilizations and their interactions and a review of the long lasting effects of the incalculable sufferings in this century caused by tyrants and despots who headed totalitarian and racist regimes;
- an examination of the existing moral, ideological and religious values and principles that are shared by mankind at the turn of the century;
- an exploration of the profound responsibilities and moral obligations that must be borne by mankind in the new millennium in order to safeguard the destiny of future generations.

The conference will consist of six panels, each comprised of a multicultural and interdisciplinary representation of distinguished world citizens. Plenary discussants will be invited to hear a major speech at the opening of each panel and then will be asked to devote the bulk of his/her time to a discussion with the other members of their panel. An invited audience will be asked to participate and will have opportunities to continue discussing the major themes raised by the conference.

The deliberations of the conference will take place in the historical rooms of Prague Castle, the ancient seat of Czech Princes and Kings and the residence of Czechoslovak and Czech Presidents in this century. The Spanish Hall, founded in the 16th century by Emperor Rudolph II to house a part of his renowned art collections, will be the venue of plenary discussions.

The program of the conference will be complemented by a classical music concert and by a prayer assembly bringing together representatives of the most widely professed religions in the country's principal church - St. Vitus's Cathedral.

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001. memo	Samuel Berger to Patti Solis Doyle; RE: Czech Republic (2 pages)	00/00/0000	P1/b(1)

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002. report	RE: United States Government Report (3 pages)	09/05/1997	P1/b(1)
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MEMORANDUM TO THE FIRST LADY

FROM: ELLEN McCULLOCH-LOVELL

RE: VISIT OF VACLAV HAVEL, PRESIDENT, CZECH REPUBLIC

On Thursday we will meet with President Havel to discuss Forum 2000 and his ideas for these world conferences of great thinkers and leaders on the issues that face us in the next century. He also wants to know what the White House Millennium Program is planning, especially any international gatherings.

Attending the meeting will be:

- President Vaclav Havel
- First Lady Dagmar Havlova
- Ambassador to the U.S. Alexander Vondra
- Director of the Foreign Department, Jiri Pehe
- Interpreter from the Czech Embassy

Also attending: Wendy Luers, President, The Foundation for a Civil Society; and Nancy McEldowney, Director for European Affairs, NSC.

Background:

President Havel and Nobel Peace Laureate Elie Wiesel convened the first Forum 2000 in Prague on September 3-7, 1997. The stated purpose of Forum 2000 is "to mark the close of the second millennium as a time to take stock of the issues that continue to divide the world's diverse cultures and civilizations....Forum 2000 attempts to develop a broader, more humanistic consciousness that reflects the deep unity among peoples and embraces the plurality of values in the present world." The Nippon Foundation and two Czech foundations were the sponsors; at the end of the conference, it was announced that Forum 2000 would convene again each year in Prague through the year 2000.

Some of the participants in the first forum were: Oscar Arias-Sanchez, former president of Costa Rica; His Holiness the Dalai Lama; Riane Eisler, author, evolutionary theorist; Skip Gates, W.E.B. Du Bois Professor at Harvard University; Jose Ramos-Horta, 1996 Nobel Peace Prize recipient for his work in East Timor; Ted Koppel from ABC; Jack Lang, former Minister of Culture of France; Wole Sivaraksa, recipient of Nobel Prize for Literature, Nigerian dissident; and many others.

One of President Havel's great preoccupations, as you know, is how to build civil society in post-communist Eastern Europe through increased citizen participation. In his speech to the forum, he emphasizes the need to look beyond individualism or "otherness" to common responsibility. He speculates that we have lost respect for creation, perhaps because of our loss of metaphysics, or the "mysterious inherent meaning or spirit." His thoughts seem to underscore the religious (although not exclusively Christian) meaning of the millennium.

The establishment of Forum 2000 also reinforces President Havel's vision of Prague as an intellectual and cultural center. Prague has been named the Cultural Capitol of Europe for the year 2000; it is the venue for the World Bank/IMF meeting in 2000.

There have been initial discussions on the creation of a Vaclav Havel Center for a Civil Society based in Prague. He is apparently aware of our National Humanities Center, established twenty years ago in North Carolina, and directed by Robert Connor. The National Humanities Center is studying the state of civil society around the world in 1998.

[Jiri Pehe - (YIR-jee PEH-heh) is President Havel's chief foreign policy advisor. He fled the country, lived in the U.S., and has returned. He has a long history with Radio Free Europe.

Wendy Luers' Foundation for a Civil Society has done a lot of work in the Czech Republic. She sat in on the first Forum 2000 and is interested in the international dimensions of the millennium and ways to link our program with Havel's.

Agenda:

President Havel will describe Forum 2000 to you; an invitation to speak may be forthcoming. He will want to explore what ideas you have in common to mark the millennium.

You can discuss some of our ideas for the Millennium Program, such as the White House lecture series and cultural showcase, and our hopes to stimulate community activities that preserve cultural heritage, celebrate creativity, and engage citizens in some action that "gives gifts to the future" -- such as fixing up a school, establishing a new park, restoring a monument, or collecting their family histories.

On the international front, we are aware of the many countries already planning ambitious millennium project, from new capital investments, to programs that attract tourists, to activities such as bell-ringing that bring people together.

We have thought about two kinds of international forums. One would be to convene the millennium program leaders of other nations to share ideas and explore possible joint programming or exchanges. The other would be to hold a White House conference emphasizing international educational and cultural exchange. While we are just beginning to think about the themes of such a gathering, one might be to explore how the flow of ideas and culture helps build civil society. This emphasis would certainly interest Havel.

This will be a free-flowing discussion, in English, although First Lady Havlova does not speak it. The result should be information exchange and possible cooperation in forums here and in Prague.

Forum 2000 Foundation

Five institutions from various places of the world have taken part in organising the Forum 2000 Conference. They understand their mutual co-operation within the Forum 2000 Foundation as a contribution to the ideals of this conference.

Nippon Foundation

The Elie Wiesel Foundation for Humanity

Bohemiae Foundation

Patriae Foundation

Prague Castle Administration

Board of Directors of the Forum 2000 Foundation

Takeaki Hori, Nippon Foundation

Kotaro Kohata, Nippon Foundation

Karel Schwarzenberg, Bohemiae Foundation

Josef Jařab, Patriae Foundation

Lucie Pilipová, Bohemiae Foundation

Jiř Oberfalzer, Patriae Foundation

Pavel Seifter, Office of the President of the Czech Republic

Ivo Koukol, Prague Castle Administration



Nippon Foundation

Background

The Nippon Foundation, formerly the Sasakawa Foundation, is a private non-profit organization that was founded in October of 1962, when it was written into law that a portion of revenues from motorboat racing be channeled to philanthropic activities. According to the rules and regulations governing the motorboat racing industry, 75% of revenues must revert back to the public in the form of winnings. Of the remaining 25%, most of which goes to cover organizer's costs, 3.3% becomes the Foundation's operational funds.

Philosophy

In keeping with the late chairman Ryoichi Sasakawa's belief that "The World is One Family and All Mankind are Brothers and Sisters," the Foundation's activities are geared toward alleviation of human suffering, the advancement of human welfare, and the promotion of world peace. Such activities are conducted over and beyond considerations of politics, ideology, religion or race.

Size

The Foundation has the largest operation budget of its kind in the world, out of which funds are allocated to support both domestic and international projects. In 1996, 60 billion yen (US\$600 million) was available for disbursement; of this amount, 8.31 billion yen (US\$81 million) was earmarked for overseas assistance.

Overseas Activities

The Foundation's overseas support covers a range of areas, including welfare, human resource development, academic and physical education, health care, population, agricultural and rural development, human rights, environment, hunger relief, refugee aid, and international understanding. All proposals in these areas are welcome, but those aimed at covering operational costs, debt repayment, physical infrastructure development, or the promotion of commercial, religious or political purposes, will receive low priority in the Foundation's funding decisions.



The Elie Wiesel Foundation for Humanity

The Elie Wiesel Foundation for Humanity was established by Elie Wiesel, and his wife Marion, shortly after he was awarded the 1986 Nobel Prize for Peace. Rooted in the memory of the Holocaust, the mission of the Foundation is to advance the cause of human rights and world peace throughout the world by creating forums for the discussion of urgent ethical and moral issues confronting humankind.

In 1988 the Foundation co-sponsored a conference „Facing the 21st Century: Threats and Promises“ with former French President François Mitterrand. Seventy-five Nobel Laureates came from five continents to explore issues related to the conference themes. This resulted in the foundation's long-range, in-depth project, „The Anatomy of Hate“, to explore the subject of hate and its effects on humanity.

In subsequent years, the Foundation co-sponsored annual symposia on this issue in Boston, with Boston University; Haifa, with the University of Haifa; Oslo, with the Norwegian Nobel Committee; Moscow with Ogonyok magazine; and New York, with Governor Mario Cuomo.

With the approach of the millennium, the Foundation is turning its hopes toward a new generation. In May 1995, the Foundation brought to Venice young leaders from five regions of the world - Bosnia-Herzegovina, Northern Ireland, the Middle East, Africa and the United States - for an unprecedented dialogue with distinguished world figures from those areas.

Ultimately, the Foundation's goal is to stimulate new insights and more humane responses to problems that confrontation and conflict have failed to solve.



LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Oscar Arias Sanchez - Former President of Costa Rica. Recipient of the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1987 for his efforts to draft the peace plan between Nicaragua, Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador. One of the best-known peace activists, in the region he established the Arias Foundation for Peace and Human Progress.

Timothy Garton Ash - Political scientist and writer. Author of many books about revolutions in Eastern Europe and a regular contributor to „The New York Review of Books“ and „The Times.“

Patricio Aylwin Azocar - President of Chile between 1990 and 1995. In the Presidential elections he defeated General Pinochet and contributed to the return of democracy in Chile. He is currently the honorary President of the World Democratic Congress.

Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo - Recipient of the 1996 Nobel Prize for Peace, in acknowledgment of his work towards a just and peaceful solution to the conflict in East Timor.

Ignatz Bubis - Philosopher and moral and political authority. Representative of Jewish associations and the Chairman of The Central Council of Jewish Organizations in Germany.

Fritjof Capra - Physicist and System Theorist. Director of the Berkeley-based Center for Ecoliteracy and author of several books, he has been engaged in a systematic examination of the philosophical and social implication of contemporary science in society.

Cornelius Castoriadis - Director of „Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Science Sociales.“ Author of more than 15 books, including „Philosophy, Politics, Autonomy.“

Joseph Chan - Professor at the University of Hong Kong. His recent writings focus on Confucianism, human rights and liberalism.

Tze-Chi Chao - Leading intellectual and President of World League for Freedom and Democracy.

Lord Ralf Gustav Dahrendorf - Liberal political scientist and sociologist. Author of many theoretical works and publications about the transformation of society including „Reflections on the Revolution in Europe.“

The Dalai Lama - Highest spiritual representative of Tibet. He was appointed Dalai Lama XIV, with all political rights, in 1954. He has lived in exile in India since 1956. He received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989 for his peaceful struggle for freedom and basic rights for the Tibetan people.

Frederik Willem De Klerk - Former President of South Africa. Together with Nelson Mandela he made a decisive contribution toward the removal of apartheid from political life in South Africa, and established a process of reconciliation between the black majority and the white minority. Together with Nelson Mandela he received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993.

Riane Eisler - Best known for her ground-breaking book „The Chalice and The Blade,“ which brought a new perspective to the past, present, and the possibilities of our future. She is internationally known as a cultural historian and systems and evolutionary theorist.

El Hassan bin Talal - Crown Prince of the Jordan Hashemite Royal Dynasty. Writer, philosopher and economist who urges the for tolerant co-existence of Islam, Judaism and Christianity as well as democratic processes in the traditional Islamic world. He also plays a prominent role in the Middle East peace process.

Gareth Evans - Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Australia. Best known for his role in developing the UN Peace Plan for Cambodia and for founding the ASIA Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Forum.

Henry Louis Gates - W.E.B. Du Bois Professor of the Humanities at Harvard University, as well as the Director of Harvard's W.E.B. Du Bois Institute for Afro-American Research. Also the author of many books, the latest being „Thirteen Ways of Looking at a Black Man“

Bronislaw Geremek - Historian and member of the Polish Parliament. Former advisor to Solidarity and Lech Walesa.

Norbert Greinacher - Professor of Theology at Tübingen University. Ordained a priest in the Roman Catholic Church in 1956.

John Hall - Leading sociologist from McGill University. He studies social conditions for liberal societies, nationalism and civil society.

Václav Havel - President of the Czech Republic. A playwright and political activist, he was incarcerated several times for his views and writings. One of the leaders of the Civic Forum opposition movement which helped bring about the overthrow of communist rule in Czechoslovakia.

Hazel Henderson - Futurist and author of the well-known „Building a Win-Win World.“ Her articles appear in newspapers around the world and she is also a board member of the Worldwatch Institute.

Thor Heyerdahl - Well-known ocean traveller, environmentalist and founder of the Kon-tiki Museum in Oslo.

Takeaki Hori - Advisor to the President of the Nippon Foundation. Economic anthropologist and the author of several books about South Pacific Islands and Oceania.

José Ramos-Horta - Recipient of the 1996 Nobel Prize for Peace, in acknowledgment of his work towards a just and peaceful solution to the conflict in East Timor.

Jostein Gaarder - Made his literary debut in 1986 with a collection of short stories, which were soon followed by two novels about young adults. In 1990 he received the Norwegian Literary Critics' Award and the Ministry of Cultural and Scientific Affairs' Literary Prize for his book „The Solitaire Mystery“.

Vyacheslav Vsevolodovich Ivanov - Professor at the University of California at Los Angeles. He studies the problems linked to ethnic and linguistic conflicts, and to the disappearance of the languages of indigenous peoples.

Claude Jasmin - Professor of Oncology and founding President of the International Council for Global Health Progress. Recipient of several awards for AIDS and cancer research.

Ted Koppel - Key presenter and Managing Editor of ABC „News' Nightline“ since it began in 1980. He has spent thirty-one years with ABC News as a presenter, foreign and domestic correspondent, and bureau chief. Co-author with Marvin Kalb of best-selling book „In the National Interest“.

Serguey Kovalyov - Representative in the state Parliament of Russia. Well-known human rights activist and opponent of Russia's war in Chechnya. Chairman of the Committee for Human Rights he was also imprisoned in 1974 for what were called „anti-Soviet activities,“ and spent ten years either in jail or in exile.

Jack Lang - President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French National Assembly. Former French Minister of Culture, Minister of State and Minister of National Education. A Professor of Law at Paris X University-Nanterre.

Joshua Lederberg - Recipient of the Nobel Prize for Medicine in 1958. Well-known geneticist and member of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences. Recipient of the U.S. National Medal of Science.

Marguerite S. Lederberg - Professor of Psychiatry at Cornell University. She is a member of several medical societies and widely-published in specialized journals.

Nikolaus Lobkowicz - Philosopher, former rector of Munich University and former President of the Catholic University of Eichstätt in Germany, where, in 1994, he founded the Institute of Central and East European Studies.

James Lovelock - Author of the „Gaia“ theory, as well as approximately 200 scientific papers. His main interest is the life sciences.

Cardinal Jean-Marie Lustiger - Archbishop of Paris and member of the French Academy.

Khotso Makhulu - Archbishop of Central Africa. He has a deep concern for some of the major issues that face developing countries, such as the international debt.

Michael Mann - Historian who deals with long term development in European society and the problems of nation states. Author of the well known „The Sources of Social Power.“

Hans-Heinrich Nolte - Professor of East European history at the University in Hannover since 1978. Author of a number of works which deal with questions of peripheries and with the formation of one world.

Michael Novak - Theologian and Political Scientist. He was the recipient of the Templeton Prize in 1994. Author of a number of works about the relationship between liberal society (esp. capitalism) and Christianity, including: „The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism.“

Raimon Panikkar - Professor Emeritus at the University of California. Ordained a priest in the Roman Catholic Church in 1946 and author of several books, including „The Silence of God“.

Shimon Peres - Leading Israeli politician. As Minister of Foreign Affairs, together with Yitzhak Rabin, made a lasting contribution to the peace process in the Middle East, for which he received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1995.

John Polanyi - Recipient of the 1986 Nobel Prize for Chemistry, Professor of Chemistry at Toronto University. Deals also with the nature of scientists' responsibility and democratic values attached to science.

Jacques Rupnik - Political scientist, based in Paris, who focuses on Central European events. Author of „The Other Europe“ about the communist bloc.

Yohei Sasakawa - Renowned philanthropist and President of the Nippon Foundation. His foundation is heavily engaged in of medical assistance programs in the wake of the Chernobyl disaster. He is involved in Leprosy Control Project, Sasakawa Global 2000 agricultural programs in Africa and many other projects throughout the world.

Seizaburo Sato - Professor Emeritus at the University of Tokyo. Research Director of the Institute for International Policy Studies. Published many books and numerous articles on Japanese politics and foreign politics.

Helmut Schmidt - German Chancellor between 1974 and 1982. Developed the Brandt's view of opening of a dialogue and signing agreements with the nations of Eastern Europe.

Leila Shahid - Former journalist. Representative of Palestinian authority in France.

Haris Silajdžić - Co-Prime Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina. A Bosnian Muslim, he shares the post with a Bosnian Serb. He also heads the Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina, which supports for the co-existence of all people in that country.

John Silber - President of Boston University. Author of „Straight Shooting“ and a supporter of the abolishment of the death penalty in the USA.

René-Samuel Sirat - Grand Rabbi of French Consistory and President of the Council Conference of European Rabbis. Judaic theologian who is active in inter-religious dialogue and in reconciliation of the Arab - Israeli conflict.

Sulak Sivaraksa - Buddhist thinker. Author of „Seeds of Peace: a Buddhist Vision for Renewing Society.“

Wole Soyinka - First African to receive the Nobel Prize for Literature, in 1986, for his existentialist-oriented work. He has devoted his entire life to the struggle for human rights and democracy in Nigeria, and now lives in exile in the USA.

Magda Vašáryová - Former ambassador of the CSFR to Vienna and founder and Chairperson of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association.

Zdeněk Vašíček - Historian, archeologist, philosopher, political scientist and former dissident.

Abdurrahman Wahid - Influential Indonesian intellectual. An open supporter of democratic reforms he leads Nahdlatul Ulama, the largest Moslem organization in the country, as well as Forum for Democracy.

Immanuel Wallerstein - Current President of the International Sociological Association. He formulated the world theory system in his book „The Modern World System.“

Richard von Weizsäcker - German President between 1984 and 1994. As a symbol of German reunification, he also encouraged Germany to reflect on World War II war crimes.

Cornel West - Afro-American writer and Professor in Afro-American studies at Harvard University. A respected authority in the field of racial and social equality.

Elie Wiesel - Recipient of the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1986. An Andrew W. Mellon Professor in the Humanities at Boston University. The author of more than thirty books. In 1987, together with his wife Marion, he established The Elie Wiesel Foundation for Humanity.

Marion Wiesel - Editor, translator. A co-founder of The Elie Wiesel Foundation for Humanity. She has translated many of her husband's books from French to English.

Masakazu Yamazaki - Playwright, critic and Professor at the Graduate School of Integrated Science and Art, University of East Asia. Recipient of the Kishida Kunio Drama Prize and the Yomiuri Literary Prize. His writings include „Mask and Sword“ and „On the Art of Noh“.

Zheluy Zhelev - President of Bulgaria until early this year, former dissident and independent thinker. Leading representative of democratic forces in Bulgaria.



THE FOUNDATION FOR A CIVIL SOCIETY

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THE FOUNDATION FOR A CIVIL SOCIETY

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM FOR FIRST LADY HILLARY CLINTON AND PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL

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CAROLYN SEELY WIENER
ATTORNEY AT LAW

KRISTINA ZANTOVSKA
JOURNALIST

From: Wendy W. Luers
Re: Collaboration on Millennium Projects, The White House, Thursday, October 2, 1997
Date: September 25, 1997

Attending from Czech Republic:

President Vaclav Havel
First Lady Dagmar Havlova
Ambassador to the U.S. Alexander Vondra
Interpreter

Attending from the United States

First Lady Hillary Clinton
Melanne Veveer, Chief of Staff for the First Lady
Ellen Lovell, Director, Millennium Project for U.S.
Wendy W. Luers, President, The Foundation for a Civil Society

President Havel and Mrs. Clinton share the desire to seriously consider the implications for the world of the coming millennium and wish to seize this unique opportunity to focus attention, ideas and ultimately effective action on the issues that confront us for the next century.

Each participant has begun his or her process.

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Both President Havel and Mrs. Clinton have spoken and written eloquently on the topic of civil society, democracy and the role of the individual citizen. They are inspirations to leaders around the globe.

Additional items:

- **Tom Dine, the new Director of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL), sees a strong developing role for the radios. President Havel has been a very strong supporter of RFE/RL's relocation to Prague and has provided them with their headquarters there.**
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- **Very initial discussions have begun on the possible establishment of a Vaclav Havel Center for a Civil Society based in Prague and charged with a global agenda.**

Attachments**cc: Attendees**

THE FOUNDATION FOR A CIVIL SOCIETY

FAX MESSAGE

To: Melanne Veveer; Ellen Lovell
From: Wendy Luers (wluers)
Re: Millenium meeting , Oct. 2 Briefing Materials
Date: September 25, 1997

Dear Melanne and Ellen,

Attached is the cover fax for the briefing book. We are sending you Forum 2000 participants list, Havel's speech and other related materials by priority mail tomorrow which should reach your desks tomorrow. Please have someone call Joe Goldberg in our office at 212-223-6530 with the best mail and FedEx addresses.

It was great seeing you both (and Hillary) on the same day. Great trombones as well.

Call with questions. I know you know they are still v. anxious about an invitation letter. I've left it in the hands of the Czech Ambassador, Sasa Vondra.

Cheers,



Fax Number:
Number of Pages (Including cover sheet):

Please call 212 223 6530 if you have any trouble with this fax transmission
477 Madison Avenue, Sixth Floor, New York, NY 10022 Tel: (212) 223-6530 Fax: (212) 223-6534 E-mail: 73303.3024@compuserve.com
Jeleni 200/3 Praha 1, Czech Republic, Tel: 4202-2051-7879, 4202-2051-6260 Fax: 4202-2051-7880 E-mail: fcs@fcs.cz
Mileticova 23, 821 09 Bratislava, Slovakia, Tel: 4217-544-4197, 4217-544-4198 Fax: 4217-544-4282 E-mail: fcs@fcs.sk

MEMORANDUM TO THE FIRST LADY

FROM: ELLEN McCULLOCH-LOVELL

RE: VISIT OF VACLAV HAVEL, PRESIDENT, CZECH REPUBLIC

On Thursday we will meet with President Havel to discuss Forum 2000 and his ideas for these world conferences of great thinkers and leaders on the issues that face us in the next century. He also wants to know what the White House Millennium Program is planning, especially any international gatherings.

Attending the meeting will be:

President Vaclav Havel
First Lady Dagmar Havlova
Ambassador to the U.S. Alexander Vondra
Director of the Foreign Department, Jiri Pehe
Interpreter from the Czech Embassy

Also attending: Wendy Luers, President, The Foundation for a Civil Society; and Nancy McEldowney, Director for European Affairs, NSC.

Background:

President Havel and Nobel Peace Laureate Elie Wiesel convened the first Forum 2000 in Prague on September 3-7, 1997. The stated purpose of Forum 2000 is "to mark the close of the second millennium as a time to take stock of the issues that continue to divide the world's diverse cultures and civilizations....Forum 2000 attempts to develop a broader, more humanistic consciousness that reflects the deep unity among peoples and embraces the plurality of values in the present world." The Nippon Foundation and two Czech foundations were the sponsors; at the end of the conference, it was announced that Forum 2000 would convene again each year in Prague through the year 2000.

Some of the participants in the first forum were: Oscar Arias-Sanchez, former president of Costa Rica; His Holiness the Dalai Lama; Riane Eisler, author, evolutionary theorist; Skip Gates, W.E.B. Du Bois Professor at Harvard University; Jose Ramos-Horta, 1996 Nobel Peace Prize recipient for his work in East Timor; Ted Koppel from ABC; Jack Lang, former Minister of Culture of France; Wole Sivaraksa, recipient of Nobel Prize for Literature, Nigerian dissident; and many others.

One of President Havel's great preoccupations, as you know, is how to build civil society in post-communist Eastern Europe through increased citizen participation. In his speech to the forum, he emphasizes the need to look beyond individualism or "otherness" to common responsibility. He speculates that we have lost respect for creation, perhaps because of our loss of metaphysics, or the "mysterious inherent meaning or spirit." His thoughts seem to underscore the religious (although not exclusively Christian) meaning of the millennium.

The establishment of Forum 2000 also reinforces President Havel's vision of Prague as an intellectual and cultural center. Prague has been named the Cultural Capitol of Europe for the year 2000; it is the venue for the World Bank/IMF meeting in 2000.

There have been initial discussions on the creation of a Vaclav Havel Center for a Civil Society based in Prague. He is apparently aware of our National Humanities Center, established twenty years ago in North Carolina, and directed by Robert Connor. The National Humanities Center is studying the state of civil society around the world in 1998.

Agenda:

President Havel will describe Forum 2000 to you; an invitation to speak may be forthcoming. He will want to explore what ideas you have in common to mark the millennium.

You can discuss some of our ideas for the Millennium Program, such as the White House lecture series and cultural showcase, and our hopes to stimulate community activities that preserve cultural heritage, celebrate creativity, and engage citizens in some action that "gives gifts to the future" -- such as fixing up a school, establishing a new park, restoring a monument, or collecting their family histories.

On the international front, we are aware of the many countries already planning ambitious millennium project, from new capital investments, to programs that attract tourists, to activities such as bell-ringing that bring people together.

We have thought about two kinds of international forums. One would be to convene the millennium program leaders of other nations to share ideas and explore possible joint programming or exchanges. The other would be to hold a White House conference emphasizing international educational and cultural exchange. While we are just beginning to think about the themes of such a gathering, one might be to explore how the flow of ideas and culture helps build civil society. This emphasis would certainly interest Havel.

This will be a free-flowing discussion, in English, although First Lady Havlova does not speak it. The result should be information exchange and possible cooperation in forums here and in Prague.

[Jiri Pehe - (YIR-jee PEH-heh) is President Havel's chief foreign policy advisor. He fled the country, lived in the U.S., and has returned. He has a long history with Radio Free Europe.

Wendy Luers' Foundation for a Civil Society has done a lot of work in the Czech Republic. She sat in on the first Forum 2000 and is interested in the international dimensions of the millennium and ways to link our program with Havel's.

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SELECTED
SPEECHES
AND
WRITINGS
1990-1994

Václav Havel Toward a Civil Society

NAKLADATELSTVÍ LIDOVÉ NOVINY