

Toleration and Tolerance

Models, Metamorphoses and Implications

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Villa Decius 2012



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Tolerance begins
with each of us,
every day

Ban Ki-moon, UN Secretary-General



Danuta Glondys

Welcome and Opening of Conference

Danuta Glondys, Ph.D., Director of the Villa Decius Association
Prof. Aleksander Koj, Chairman of the Board of the Villa Decius Association
Magdalena Sroka, Deputy mayor of Krakow
Jacek Krupa, Member of the Board of Malopolska Region
Małgorzata Bywanis-Jodlińska, Director General of the Voivode Regional Office

Danuta Glondys: Ladies and Gentlemen, I would like to welcome you cordially to our annual conference dedicated to the Idea of Freedom. Living in a free world, we assume that freedom is just given and take it for granted. Yet, the changing reality tells us that it is not, that we have to fight for it and safeguard it at all times. That is why we take up this issue every single year and look at it from different perspectives, asking ourselves if we have done enough to protect it.

This year's conference the *Toleration and Tolerance. Models, Metamorphoses and Implications* is a joint initiative of the Villa Decius Association and the History of Ideas Research Centre of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, prepared in cooperation with Professor Michel Henri Kowalewicz who heads the Centre. Thank you very much Professor for all your help.

The conference will focus on the question of tolerance, its nature and contemporary practice. Remembering that tolerance is not a law but barely permission for "the Other" to exist, that it cannot be imposed upon or forced to be adhered to, we will ask the participants of the conference how to practice it effectively in our communities. But the conference will also be about our emotions and passions, and on what we should actually do so that our passions do not take over and dominate our reason.

Now, let me welcome our conference guests: Jacek Krupa, the Member of the Board of the Malopolska Regional Office, Małgorzata Bywanis-Jodlińska, Director General of the Voivode Regional Office and Magdalena Sroka, the Deputy Mayor of the City of Krakow. Among our

special guests and participants are: Sister Raphael from Rwanda, Arnold Wellman from the United States of America and Nawal El Saadawi from Egypt. Together with them we host outstanding professors from universities in Cambridge, Barcelona, Bochum, Istanbul, Cairo, Krakow, Warsaw and Berlin and students of Krakow universities; Polish and foreign, who came within the Erasmus programme and are here in Krakow doing their MA, BA or PhD studies.

Let me now give our words of gratitude to our sponsors: the Malopolska Regional Office, the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the City of Krakow as well as the commercial sponsors, Polish companies: PZU, Krakow Airport, Orlen Oil, Smart Practical Logic, and Villa Decius Restaurant. Without your support this meeting would have never taken place now, in the Villa, in Krakow. Our conference is reported by TVP Krakow, the Polish Radio for Foreigners, Radio Krakow, Res Publica Nowa, and Visegrad Insight and numerous electronic channels.

This is the first time in our history, and I dare say in Poland that conference events will be broadcasted in four different languages by bloggers: in Polish by Ms Joanna Kryńska from Warsaw, in English by Michael Green from Cork, in Arabic by Kareem Amer from Alexandria, and in French by Henri Kowalewicz from Luxemburg.

..... **Aleksander Koj:** Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to join in and welcome you here as well. Today's meeting is special when it comes to its size and scope. This is a three day conference and this conference will be used to award a special prize, the Polish Prize of the Sergio de Mello Prize UNHCHR.

Some people who knew Sergio Vieira de Mello would say that he was special and they claimed that he would be the next UN Secretary General. In 2003 he went to Iraq as a representative of the UN and it was there that he died in a bomb explosion. The UN role in this Middle East conflict was hampered for a long time.

This year's conference is very close to Sergio. Toleration and tolerance is more complex than what you might think looking at the origin of the word. The word is of Latin origin itself, and tolerance is something that characterises a mature democracy. Wherever we have a mature democracy there will be tolerance or toleration.



Aleksander Koj



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tuc Infidelium sc'lig prussie Cuzi
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Tolerancja

Toleration

Modele, metamod

Models, Metamo

rencja międzynarod

ażdziernika 201

szka / Villa Decius

Kraków

Magdalena Sroka

The Polish word “tolerancja” which could be described as toleration or tolerance means accepting certain views and actions of other people, people who differ from us and whose views are different from ours. Let us look at the situation in Poland and how the Polish political elites act. When we look at them we understand that we have a long way to go. Indeed, this is why I would like to thank all the participants of this conference including especially the speakers and those who are going to participate in the panel. I would like to thank you for your efforts and participation in the event that we in Poland also need.

.....
Magdalena Sroka: I would like to welcome you most cordially. I am really happy to see you yet again here in the Villa Decius. This is an annual “freedom meeting” and for us this meeting is special because of two reasons. Firstly, we are always proud and happy that the Villa Decius stresses the fact that we live in a city where humanistic ideas are born and discussed. The ideas of freedom and tolerance which have been consumed more or less efficiently for ages are still very important for the city itself, for its image and its sense of identity. Secondly, on such an occasion we can remind ourselves that even fundamental values and ideas such as respect for freedom and human dignity cannot be taken for granted. These ideas evolve and we cannot uncritically trust that they will stay forever in the European Union and that supporting them may become more challenging than it was ten years ago.

Recently the socio-economic situation has changed dramatically in Europe, and there has been a lot of pressure on the part of the decision makers. In the situation of growing social exclusion which all our countries face, it becomes really difficult to discuss human rights and promote mutual respect. For the future of our communities your role will be a leading one. You will have to shape the political and social policy and you will be creating conditions for the right development of fundamental freedoms within our communities.

.....
Jacek Krupa: On behalf of the Malopolska Regional Authorities, I would like to welcome all of the guests and representatives of culture, science and academia, all of you representing different nationalities and different interests, you who care about human aspects of our nature, who care about tolerance and who care about the respect for human dignity.



Jacek Krupa

What is the world that we live in? Well, this world has become more and more complex and diverse, so we see differences. Why is it happening like this? Well, because the socio-economic issue of our society has been changing. This is a pluralized, diversified world and our co-existence is possible only thanks to tolerance and toleration understood as a respect for the rights of other people. Maybe that is why the Nobel committee decided to award the Prize to the European Union recently. This decision has been widely commented on around the world. Europe has been tolerant at least since 1945, and this is why we have been able to co-exist in peace despite tensions for so long. The subject of our conference – tolerance and idea of freedom are important both in terms of political context of state borders and in terms of an individual as limits of tolerance and limits of human rights.

This is a prestigious event and we are happy to see it take place in Krakow, the capital of Malopolska Region which has a great tradition of co-existence of different nations and ethnic groups. It was here, at the Jagiellonian University, where the ideas of tolerance by Paulus Vladimiri originated. Here we should continue to debate and exchange ideas and promote their understanding in order to build modern democratic societies not only in Poland but all over the world.

Małgorzata Bywanis-Jodlińska: I would like to welcome you on behalf of the Governor of Malopolska, the high representative of the Central Government. My predecessors pointed to the fact that politicians have a long way to go and they need to focus on tolerance. We also heard that there is as much freedom available as we have tolerance.

Here, in Poland we are building democratic institutions and constructing a democratic state, and there is still a lot that needs to be done. One might think that once the twentieth century with all its wars was over, that we got smarter and became more focused on building a modern society. Yet, we continue to meet at conferences to discuss the ideas of tolerance and freedom; we repeat that we cannot tolerate lack of tolerance or intolerance that is all around us. We are not smarter. Tolerance is still something that we should work on and we should start working on with ourselves. It is true we cannot change the world by simply waving our hands, but we meet and speak the same language and this basically endorses and supports tolerance as such.



Nawal El Saadawi

Creativity, Revolution and Women Justice, Peace and Tolerance Freedom and Dignity

Nawal El Saadawi Ph.D., egyptian feminist, writer and physician

Discussion

Beata Kowalska, Ph.D., Jagiellonian University, Kraków
Prof. Helmut Pulte, Ruhr-University, Bochum

..... **Nawal El Saadawi:** I am very happy to be here for the first time in my life, to come to Poland and to Krakow. I arrived a couple of days before the conference; I moved around and saw the city with its very rich and inspiring history.

I do not think that we are much better than in the days of Hitler – I am using shocking severe words – but that is exactly what is happening. You say that Europe succeeded in living in peace. Yes, Europe has lived in peace because you sent your troops to fight us in Egypt, Iraq, Palestine, and Libya. You lived in peace because you were fighting in our region – we have to be clear about that. Who will you tolerate? It is the victims who tolerate you, the people who are invading them, colonising them. The victims tolerate the aggressors. Do you want to say that the aggressors tolerate the victims?

When I heard Danuta saying that passion should not dominate reason, my reaction was that we still need a lot of passion. I am a physician and a surgeon, but I need the mind and the emotion together. Creativity does not separate science from art, emotions from thinking of the mind. Creativity is the ability to integrate passion of the mind to science, to integrate medicine and literature. I write novels; fiction, but I am a medical doctor. How do we integrate medicine, science, history, politics, and economics to music? You know that now in many medical colleges they teach music to medical students so that they become better doctors. The medical profession has become as commercial as anything in this world. The market and money dominate political people and that is the agony and problem of the world. Exactly like during the times of Hitler, but in a different way.

How can we change that? We need to be creative. I teach creativity and dissidence, I do not teach medicine or anything like that. I invented this subject because I felt that we need creativity in every field and we need to integrate. Our educational systems serve political systems like religion, language and culture. So if we want to liberate the world, to have a more humane world, we need creativity and we need to change educational systems. I am currently teaching in the United States, I am not allowed to teach in Egypt because they think my ideas are very dangerous for the system. But even in the U.S. there are some universities such as in Missouri that do not want me because – they say – I provoke students to revolt.

In fact there is a relationship, a link between creativity and revolution, creativity and dissidence. When you are creative you are aware of the defects of the system, you are aware of injustices. I hear all the time about freedom, dignity, development, democracy, stability, security, but no justice. The word “justice” is very rarely mentioned. But you cannot have democracy without justice, you cannot have development without justice, and peace without justice.

Democracy is a way of life. It does not come by a decree in the parliament. Democracy cannot be practiced only by the parliament or in politics; democracy should start at childhood, in a family where the power between a husband, wife and child is equal. Equality in a family is a prerequisite condition to have democracy in the public sphere. Without equality in the family

and between the older people and the younger, we cannot have democracy in the parliament. We have to learn democracy, it is a process in life, not a decision, and it is not a political decision. You can have elections but it is not democracy as we have seen in the world. I teach now in the University of Michigan and I follow up the campaign of Obama and Romney, and I have to say that these elections are not free. We think there are free elections, but there is no free election when there is a lot of money, buying votes and jobs. Everything is paid and elections became part of the market. So how can you have democracy with such systems?

The question I would like to discuss now is the issue of education. I am very critical of educational systems in Egypt and in the United States and wherever I may go. As I said before any educational system serves a political system in the same way as religion or culture. It serves injustice, it serves racism, it serves gender oppression, and it serves all the dichotomies we do not like and want to eradicate. We need to change educational systems and get rid of fragmentations of knowledge which act against creativity. Only with creativity we can undo the division between different domains; between science and art, medicine and literature.

I graduated from a medical college to become a surgeon, to become a part of the establishment. I was ignorant of the world. I was treating the weakest people, people with chest diseases, and never studied the real causes why people are sick. We, in medicine as in economics and everywhere, usually study not the original causes of the disease but treat the symptoms like in politics and economics. We do not discover the roots. When I was a young physician in the hospital and people were coming to me sick with tuberculosis, we did not ask why they were sick. I treated them surgically or physically or was giving them drugs. Yet, soon I understood that the real roots of sickness were never mentioned at universities because our teachers did not go into history or economic conditions of our communities when we were studying surgery and medicine. I sympathised with my patients and soon learnt that they were very poor, they did not eat, they lived in bad sanitary conditions and I started to ask why they were poor. The minute I asked why they were poor I entered into economics and politics and then I landed in prison. You see... if you are a bit creative, you go beyond your speciality, beyond limitations of your profession and then you will see the world and understand the real causes of diseases whether they are in

medicine, politics or poverty. I discovered poverty and started to understand that most people are sick because they are poor. The question of how to eradicate poverty led me to the political scene and I discovered that I have to fight King Farouk as well as British occupation and British colonialism. Today I am fighting against American invasion anywhere, in Iraq, Palestine, Libya; I am against NATO and the exploitation of oil in our region.

Creativity is a process that will lead you to discover many things and you will start to fight and then have problems because freedom has a price, democracy has a price, but we have to pay the price in order to be free and to know.

Creativity is also a link between the past, present and future. It is present in the process of writing when you depend on your memory and reminiscences from childhood. I remember my grandmother who was a peasant, a poor peasant, but she gave me the first lesson in philosophy, Islam and religions. She was illiterate, but she was fighting against oppression as a woman and for the working people in the village. When I was about six years of age, she took me with her to the local mayor. I remember how she was standing in front of the mayor with no shoes on and the mayor was sitting with the Koran in his hand. She was challenging him saying: “you are robbing us of our cotton, taking our cotton to the King and to Britain and we are starving. You don’t know God”. Then the mayor told her: “You woman, illiterate, you know God? How can you know God if you didn’t read the Koran?”. So she asked him: “Who told you that God is the Koran? Who told you that God is a book? God is justice and we know him by our mind”.

God is not a book; this was my first lesson in religion. God is not the bible, not the Koran, not the Old Testament, not any book, nor a cheetah in India. God is a symbol of justice, so it is important when I am fighting for justice. I am much more religious than people who go and pray, but I am accused in Egypt of being critical of religions. Yes, I am critical of religions as books, as texts, but I believe that God is justice and we have to fight for justice. This is why I rebelled when I discovered that God was not just for me in my childhood. My family treated my brother much better than me only because he was a boy. I had to stay at home, work at school or home whilst my brother would play. He got everything he wanted, even more food

than me. When I asked why was that, my parents said: “well, because he’s a boy”. And when I kept asking “so what?” my parents got fed up with me and said that God said so. I said no, God is justice and he should be just. Then I went to my room and wrote my first ever letter to God. I wrote: “Dear God, my grandmother told me that you are justice, but you are now discriminating between my brother and me. I am even better than him in school and I work harder than him. But if you are not just then I am not ready to believe in you”. I think all children have the same questions.

From the history of my childhood let me now go to the history of Egypt. As you know in Egypt we had a female Goddess Isis, she was the Goddess of Heaven and her husband was the God of Earth. When the socio-economic system in Egypt changed and class system and feudalism came, a woman lost her status of the Goddess of Heaven and had to step down to become the Goddess of Earth and a man became the God of Sky. In our traditions and history women were not inferior. Even your Eve aspiring to become the Goddess of Knowledge tried to eat from the tree of knowledge and Adam followed her. Our Isis was the Goddess of Wisdom and Maat was the Goddess of Justice. Women were prominent in Ancient Egypt. What happened in the history which degraded women to be equal to the devil or to the primary sin? The answer can be found in any religion: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. We have to understand that without going into religion, culture or education we cannot understand politics and economics. Religion is a political ideology, culture is a political ideology and medicine is also a political ideology. Markets are political and elections are economically driven political instruments. Politics dominates everything in our life because of its power and we see it everywhere.

We need to undo the divisions and dichotomies we inherited from the slave system. There is no real separation between the heaven and the earth, between the self and the other. Creativity can abolish these superficial divisions. It is like love when the line between the self and the other is obliterated. You feel that you can do anything for your country, for yourself, for your family. You can kill yourself for others because the line between the self and the other is obliterated. We are human, we are individuals, and we live in a society. Individual responsibility is not separated from collective responsibility and freedom is not separated from responsibility. I cannot be free

without being responsible to myself and to others. Creativity does all that you do not feel, it means spontaneity, it is in your blood, it is a process in your blood that your passion and your mind go together, your body and spirit go together. There is no separation whatsoever between what we call physical and what we call spiritual, they are one.

Now I would like to come to the politics. We live in one world, not in three worlds! Some people say that I come from the Third World. This is an insult to me! What is the Third World? How can we judge who is first and who is third? Is it economic power, money, military potential, or is it values and humanity? We live in one world dominated by the same systems: the capitalist, the patriarchal and the racist. Few people dominate billions of people and take their resources. This is the problem, the disease of the world.

The system is not correct, it is based on injustice and colonialism, invasion, and killing people to take their resources. This is the disease that we have to cure but we cannot cure it by tolerance. Injustice, capitalism, class, race oppression, and invasion of other countries make all peace treaties fail. Look at how many years people are speaking about peace between Israel and Palestine, and it has never happened because it is not based on justice. You cannot force people, you cannot conquer people and stand on their neck and make them submit to say peace. Impossible!

I will just give you one example: our region and Egypt are colonised by the Americans. We got rid of the British colonialism, but we are colonised by the Americans under the so-called “aid”. They give money bribes to the military, to the Muslim brothers, to everybody and they dominate the country. They forced Egypt not to develop nuclear power, not even in medicine, but Israel has nuclear weapons in the region. If we want to make peace then there must be equal distribution of nuclear power in every country. As it is now, America and Israel can conquer anybody, they can kill anybody. We need equal distribution of wealth, nuclear and military power in order to have peace.

We live in one world and that is why there is no separation between the word global and local. We use one word in English now, the word “glocal” and demonstrations all over the world became

“glocal”. I participated in Wall Street demonstrations in New York together with American people fighting against class oppression, racism and poverty. In London, when I marched to Saint Paul’s Square with the demonstrations I discovered that demonstrators changed the name of the square to Tahrir Square and they told me that they were following Tahrir Square and the revolution. The revolution is now becoming global. It is not a matter of Egypt or Syria or Tunisia. People are dissatisfied with the system and are fed up with injustices and oppression everywhere. We have to diagnose the problem in order to know how to treat it. We can treat it by justice, equality, freedom, dignity, socio-economic justice, and sexual justice. I do not confuse whatsoever between economic justice and sexual justice, and social justice and religious.

Now some remarks on the Egyptian revolution. As you know the Egyptian revolution started in 2011. In January, millions of people went to the streets, one of them, Kareem Amer, is with us today. They were mainly young people. I lived with them under the tents in Tahrir Square before Mubarak fell and many of these young men and women were killed. We were successful when we were united and removed Mubarak. But then Hillary Clinton came with a lot of money to Egypt to “install democracy”. She had money for the army, for the Muslim brothers and for new elections. The country was bleeding, the blood was still in Tahrir Square, and here Hillary Clinton comes and says “elections”. Yes, you can use elections and democracy to abort the revolution. This is what happened in Egypt. With American money the Muslim brothers won the elections. They said they were free elections, they were not free. They were dominated by money from the U.S. The Muslim brothers took power and now Hillary Clinton is working with Morsi, the President, and we are losing our rights as free women. Women are losing their rights in Egypt and the U.S. does not care. The U.S. only speaks about women’s rights, but they do not care whether women in Egypt will be deprived of everything. They want to control the region and its oil and to support Israel. These are the objectives of the U.S. in our region.

I would like to end by saying that creativity means courage to speak your mind even if they kill you or lock you in prison. It takes courage to be critical of the President, God and anybody in power. It takes courage to criticize the free world which is not free, the free market which is not free, free elections which are not free, and free universities which are not free. Creativity means

courage to speak your mind. I still believe that God is justice and if he is just he will protect me.

..... **Beata Kowalska:** Thank you very much for a very inspiring lecture. I have a very specific question about the best strategy for change now in your opinion?

..... **Nawal El Saadawi:** How can we change the world? Start with the self, tolerance starts with the self. Democracy starts with the self, everything starts with the self. So if you ask yourself how you can change your life, how you can change yourself if your husband is oppressing you, how you can change your husband, your family, your school, your university, your village, your country, and then how you can change the world. Knowledge is most important and then the ability to unveil the mind because all minds are veiled by bad education and by the media. We need to unveil our mind in relation to everything – politics, religion and economics – and then organise. We need to organise unity and we need knowledge to change the world.

..... **Helmut Pulte:** I can agree with most of what you said, but I have got one question. You were quite critical about the fragmentation of knowledge in our educational systems and you were quite critical about dichotomies in general and you asked us to overcome fragmentations of knowledge and dichotomies in general. So, if you say creativity is a matter of overcoming dichotomies, isn't it necessary to have dichotomies first in order to become creative and isn't it necessary to be an expert in a certain specific field in order to overcome this specialisation later and ask for more general causes of diseases and so on? So I would argue that dichotomies are very important in order to be creative.

..... **Nawal El Saadawi:** That is a very good question and a very good point. I remember one of my colleagues, a professor of psychology, who taught his children religion, who told me: "I give them something to revolt against". It may be correct, but it is dangerous. I will give you an example of religion. When you are taught religion during childhood, you start to be afraid of hell, of the devil, and you are afraid that God will burn you in hell's fire. Fear is precipitated in your psyche and you cannot love God. You cannot love somebody whom you are afraid of,

because fear and love cannot live in one heart. You are brought up to obey and this ruins your creativity. Here is a dichotomy, a split between the mind and the heart. The mind no longer believes in religion, but the heart is still very religious. I agree that dichotomies help a great deal and religion also, but religion has to be taught in a different way so that people are not afraid of hell and will love God.

In Western tradition the history of discovering otherness, difference and strangeness is long, lined with thorns and measured in the cycles of wars waged, pogroms organised, and gallows and stakes raised. The blood-soaked confrontation of major collective identities has been accompanied by the brutal histories of the exclusion of minority groups.

In the 15th century, alternative solutions to conquest and exclusion in encounters with otherness emerged for the first time. It was a concept elaborated on by a rector of University of Krakow, Paulus Vladimiri.

Defined as ‘tolerance’, it would grow to the rank of a value not only of the Enlightenment, but also of what we proudly refer to as “the culture of the Western World”.

Prof. Michel Henri Kowalewicz

Tolerance: Models and Practices

Meaning and understanding of tolerance

Universal values and local practice

Code of tolerance

Sister Raphael, Urszula Naęcz, Polish Franciscan, missionary and educator

Prof. Michael Daxner, The Free University, Berlin

Prof. Ustün Ergüder, Bogazici University, Istanbul

Moderator: Krzysztof Bobiński, Unia&Polska Foundation

Discussion

Hywel Ceri Jones, Director of the Network of European Foundations

Prof. Aleksander Koj, Chair of Villa Decius Association

Prof. Helmut Pulte, Ruhr-University, Bochum

Krzysztof Bobiński: A lot has been said and written about tolerance in the last six hundred years and now the challenge is to make sure that we can put it into practice. Fortunately, we have three outstanding personalities here with us who not only preach tolerance, but also put it into practice. Sister Raphael, a Polish missionary and a nun of the Franciscan Order now living in Rwanda, teaches and educates blind children. Previously she worked in multicultural communities of India and South Africa. We also have Professor Ustün Ergüder from Turkey. He was a rector of the Bogazici University and a diplomat and will discuss the practical aspects of tolerance, using the example of his own conciliation talks between Armenians and Turks,



Michael Daxner

and Turks and Greeks, which are huge challenges and very important issues. Finally, we have Michael Daxner, a professor in Social Studies, who will talk about his own experience in Kosovo and Afghanistan. We are in for a very interesting debate. I will now hand over to Professor Daxner.

Michael Daxner: Dear colleagues in the panel, ladies and gentlemen. Honestly, if it were not for my passion for the Villa Decius conferences I would not like to speak about tolerance. From my practice of the last ten-to-fifteen years, I have learned that tolerance is inseparable from power and that it is more or less a wrapped gift given by those in power to those without power. Tolerance is not something one can achieve from below. Although this has changed a little in the last two centuries toward real democracy and means to create a tolerant environment is a possible result of political action, I am deeply sceptical of this declared tolerance and towards those who claim that we can establish tolerance. True respect is the result and the accomplishment of a political, social and cultural process, but it is not a precondition.

Let me start with referring to my experience in the Balkans. It is a region of perennial, complicated and antagonistic conflicts. The people living there were not permitted to develop their own political space because it has always been in hands of superpowers: the Ottoman Empire, the British Empire, the Austrian Empire, and other minor players who used the Balkans as a field of exercise. The events that occurred between 1991 and 1995 make it difficult to believe that, in our tolerant post-war Europe, Serbs would kill their Croat neighbours, and Croats would kill Bosnians, Bosnians would kill Serbs, and so on. I would have wished for less passion and more rational policies, but there are no retrospective alternatives. Furthermore, the Albanian majority in Kosovo succeeded in creating a state. However, despite its declaration of independence and granted sovereignty by the UN, it is neither an independent nor a sovereign state like Poland, Germany or Austria. It is a state which depends on 80-90% remittances and donor-driven governance.

There is only one institution for education in Kosovo that serves both ethnicities - the International Business College of Mitrovica. I have been a member of its board since its

beginning six years ago. This school works because we managed to get its recognition from the government in Pristina and – despite the fact that Mitrovica is in Kosovo – from the government in Belgrade. This means double compromise in a situation when one does not want to take the side of the present government in Kosovo nor the side of the Serbian government, given the history and post-war rhetoric of nationalist aspirations.

Mitrovica is a city with a river; to the north there are the Serbs, and to the south, the Albanians. Therefore, we created one institution with two campuses. Indeed, we compromised with the political system, but we did not compromise with any principles of how to run the school with both Albanian and Serbian teachers and invite graduates from both sides, Serbian and Albanian. The inherently strict new laws of the republic required that we offered a tender for the construction of buildings and the company to be selected by an independent jury. The jury had to choose one company not two: one Serbian and one Albanian. Whoever they would chose, the conflict on one side of the river would be unavoidable, and its task absolutely impossible to perform. The company chosen was Serbian and they decided to hire Albanian builders, not because they are tolerant but because they receive lower wages than the Serbs. This has little to do with tolerance, but now the buildings are growing in the North and in the South.

One of the lessons learned there was that before implementing any universal principles or norms in a given context, one must initially see them through the eyes of the locals. In order to do so, one would need a lot of empathy for the people and little sympathy for the political systems. If one looks at their actions through the eyes of the locals, one will realise that they are weakening the monopoly both of power and violence of the state as well as the authority of the central administration.

In the North-East of Afghanistan the situation is different and extremely complicated. There are places where life is, given Afghan standards, quite normal but this can change from one place to another. There a war means that there are basically small violent detachments but also insurgents, guerrillas, army, police, and invisible fighters such as the American apache helicopters and drones. The region has two strange ways of peacekeeping and peace building.

There is a 'strategic tolerance' among unlikely partners. For example, farmers all over the world, particularly in poor countries, need to sell what they produce. This means they have to go from their village to the market place. If there are road blocks by the Taliban, the corrupt police or a local competitor, they must pay extortion money. Therefore it may not be worthwhile bringing their produce to the market because they may end up with less money if they do not sell anything. Sometimes they meet non-corrupt local police or drug (opium) dealers and jointly they rid of the roadblocks, each for a different reason. Drug dealers cooperate because they do not want violent barriers when selling their opium over the border or anywhere else. They want freedom of movement and the police do not want roadblocks for enforcing the monopoly of violence by the state. The long-term effect can result in a relatively peaceful area.

In Afghanistan peace is important, but it is understood and defined differently. There it means a relative, minimum stability people need to survive. The people have to make choices: "shall I stay where I live?" or "shall I go to the next biggest city? to Kabul or to Pakistan?". And "if I stay, shall I still have my fields and harvest next year?, will we be here with our family?". These are the real decisions.

It is very clear today that there is economic progress in Afghanistan. But the real question is: who gets the tractor? Everybody knows that a farmer who has a tractor is automatically a strong man in the community. So the question of who gets or protects the tractor, the insurgents or the police or the local warlord, is continuously negotiated.

You may have heard the term Surah; it is similar to a village assembly. It is not really a democratic decision-body, it is not included in the constitution nor in the municipal or district laws. It is a local tradition, a system of deliberation. The people create their Surah when they want to make decisions concerning "what is best for us" and elect a person who will deliver the district governor their statement on what they want. Their representative could be a Taliban or an insurgent fighting against the system, but if the Surah says that they need fresh water or energy, and the message is carried by their Taliban representative, what should a state-appointed mayor do? This capacity of negotiating and deliberation has created a new fraction among the Taliban,



Krzysztof Bobiński

we call it the political one. They are not moderate and are ready to use extreme violence like other groups do, but they can be nailed down on practical issues.

I will close with another Afghan example that refers to our speaker's remarks on gender issues. Ten years ago the education of girls and young women in the countryside of Afghanistan was close to zero. (Never look at the five big cities with its post-colonial baggage, always look at rural districts). Everybody among us, the interveners and the local people, agreed that a woman should learn to read and write. This could only be managed by power – I call it – 'soft source' power. In some provinces it was easy to get girls into school because the World Food programme was distributing a daily ration of oil and flour only to the families whose girls attended school for four hours. This is neither democratic nor morally sound, but it works. When villagers realised how advantageous and profitable educating girls was, how important schools were for their lives and also for overall development into modernization, the Taliban stopped looting and burning down girls' schools.

Empathy and respect that people develop on the local level is a bit different from the individual burden. Needs for survival, food, shelter, security, and exhaustion of war, create social forums or social order which involves new types of social control. I give it to my esteemed colleagues of further generations, and to the two hundred students sitting here, to analyse why it worked. For me, it is proof that before we start talking about tolerance, we have to look at the basic, functional equivalents to irrational and violent power.

This happened both in Kosovo and in Afghanistan. The level of ethnic violence and politically based killings has almost stopped in Kosovo, which is a big success compared to thirty killings per week when we arrived. In Afghanistan, those communities that have the minimum of self-determination, the level of violence is not increasing and this is more than one could expect.

..... **Krzysztof Bobiński:** Thank you very much for these examples of pragmatic tolerance. We will refer to them later during our discussion. Now I would like to ask Professor Ustün Ergüder to tell us about attempts to overcome post-conflict situations that have lasted for decades and will not go away by themselves.

..... **Ustün Ergüder:** First of all I would like to thank the Villa Decius for having me here. This is my third time around and, like Michael, I cannot resist the invitation even though I feel I am not really an academic expert on the question. I am a political scientist who specialised in political parties and did research on public opinion, so toleration and all the philosophical issues are not really within my expertise. I also served as a rector for eight years at one of the universities in Istanbul and that kept me quite away from political science. So I will talk about my experiences which have been developed while I served on two – what I would call – second track diplomacy projects. Second track diplomacy, theoretically and in its pure form, means that one brings along civil society associations or civil persons to develop ideas for solving problems. But in the real world it does not operate like that and sometimes governments become involved.

My first experience is connected with the so-called Greek-Turkish Forum which is still ongoing and which initially dealt with the Aegean issue. The Forum is composed of diplomats and former diplomats, serving and former politicians, academics on both sides, and some businessmen. It was a mixed and still is a very mixed group of people. Its work is currently facilitated by ourselves as we alternate Greek and Turkish chairs of the meetings. In spite of the fact that the Aegean issue has not been fully solved, things have “sweetened up” between the two countries and Turks take vacations on the Aegean without worrying about the petrol down there, and Greeks visit Turkey a lot. With the Greek-Turkish Forum the events started to move really fast, much faster than we expected, so now we decided to challenge another problem ie. the Cyprus situation.

The second experience is even more interesting, if by interesting we mean toughness of the issue. It is the Turkish-Armenian Reconciliation Commission (TARC). Its work was facilitated by a representative of the American University, an American that, in my opinion, had some connections with the state department as well. The Turkish side of TARC consisted of three diplomats, former diplomats of very high rank, a retired air force general, and me. I welcomed the presence of an air force general because they fly in the clouds and they can have “a wider vision”. On the Armenian side we had a politician, a former foreign minister, a historian, a Russian Armenian (who was quite active in Russian politics and lived in Moscow), and the



Ustün Ergüder

leader of the Armenian Diaspora in the United States. Both of these groups held periodic meetings during which we discussed issues pertaining to the conflicts and the so-called historical issue between Armenia and Turkey.

The eventual goal of our work was that the border between Turkey and Armenia would be opened and that better relations between the countries would be established. Here I must admit that in some fields the relations are peaceful right now, but in others there are no relations at all. An example of already existing good relations is the economic activity that goes on between Armenia and Turkey, around 70,000 Armenians working in Turkey as illegal immigrants and a lot of Turkish products going to Armenia through Georgia. Politically, however, the relations are still a challenge. The border is closed and before the issue of whether the events of 1915 are genocide is solved I don't think there will be much more of a development.

The Turkish-Armenian Reconciliation Commission worked quite well for a long time. We were discussing and trying to understand each other, trying to develop civil society contacts between associations, foundations, universities, and were gaining a lot of ground. This all stopped when our American facilitator thought that we should go public and leaked the story to the *New York Times* correspondent in Istanbul, Stephen Kinzer. He probably did it because he wanted to enhance his CV and become a public figure. As soon as he went public, we stopped talking to each other and everybody focused on their own public opinion. The representative of the Diaspora from the United States started talking to his own constituency and the Armenians started talking to their own constituency in Armenia. The dialogue ended. This event killed the initiative that was really going on, which was proceeding in a very productive fashion.

As an academic what kind of lessons can I derive from that? I sat there a lot of the time watching diplomats arguing with each other. They all were representing pre-set views, were influenced by their historical baggage and were carrying their foreign policy baggage, but as long as things were quiet, as long as we did not go public, this baggage was losing its importance. The moment things went public, the baggage became very heavy, too heavy to carry and all dialogue ended.

Also as an academic I was influenced a lot by a book I once read. It was called “My Mother”. The author is a Turkish lawyer who was orphaned during the massacres of 1915, during an Armenian exodus. She was left behind in Turkey and was adopted by a Turkish family. She was reared as a Muslim and grew up as a Turk, and became aware of her Armenian identity late in her life. Her book had a very important influence on me because it enabled me to see the whole thing from the perspective of the other side.

I am a Turk and went through the Turkish educational system with its programmes approved by the state and one-sided history. I discovered the Armenian issue for the first time during my undergraduate studies in the University of Manchester in England. There I became a ‘library worm’, as we say in Turkish. Manchester had a wonderful central public library and there I went into the stacks and found a lot of literature on the Armenian issue, written from both perspectives. This really opened my eyes; I started to see the other and to see myself as the other. If you do not carry this experience I do not think that you will get anywhere. But if you do this exercise and can live the traumas of the other side, you will develop empathy and respect. This is what I experienced in the public library and also later when reading the book “My Mother” and my most important lesson was to be able to put myself in somebody else’s situation. Being a Turk I have to understand the Armenian question and their very strong, not compromising position. I can understand the context and their insistence on a legal qualification of what had happened as genocide.

These are the lessons learnt about toleration, thinking about the other, about conflict. But I share your scepticism. Toleration or tolerance is something that somebody grants and implies a connotation of this kind: I am great but I let the other live. Tolerance should be developed inside local community, among people who live and interact with each other. It is not something that is granted. We should emphasize words like respect, empathy and understanding, and tolerance should be based on that. Tolerance should be based on equality and mutuality. If one can clarify the concept of tolerance with those terms then, I think, one will achieve more.

I agree with our speaker that education is very important, but I would put my emphasis on K12 education (which is a sum of primary and secondary education). This is when you shape the minds, when you load people with historical baggage, with the state determined history, the one-sided history of every nation. All education systems have to be changed and used differently than now. Nobody denies that education is a very important instrument in nation building but you must also recognise that you are living in a global world and that nation building runs against mutual interaction and understanding that we should have.

..... **Krzysztof Bobiński:** Therefore, what you are saying is that understanding and not forgetting is important here. Now yet another perspective of Sister Raphael from Rwanda, where other terrible things happened not so long ago.

..... **Sister Raphael:** I am not going to give you any new information nor will I discover or reveal anything new here, but I will show you the problem of tolerance and discrimination from the inside and will give you examples of many who have to face up to these challenges every day.

Over the last several years I was working with the blind in three countries outside of Europe: for seven years in India, then four years in South Africa to be followed by another six years until now in Rwanda, in Kibeho where we founded the very first school for the blind. In all these countries I met with many examples of discrimination and lack of equal treatment which covered various groups of people within the whole country or within local communities.

In India many people suffer because of the caste divisions. In the 1970s, Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, tried to eliminate it and issued a special resolution which has never been implemented and life goes on like it used to do. The caste system which has been in India for thousands of years imposes very serious social implications. If one wants to marry a person from a lower caste, they will be excluded from their family and deprived of everything, sometimes even of life. If one marries within their caste, they have to follow another discriminatory rule – this time connected with gender division. One finds this rule in discussions about the dowry which has to be paid by the girl's family to the family of the boy.



Sister Raphael

The amount of the dowry usually comes in through long negotiations run by the representatives of both families. However, if after the marriage the boy's family decides that it is not satisfied with the dowry, the requirements increase and if they are not met a tragedy may happen and a woman is mutilated or killed. Another example: vast majority of marriages are arranged by parents and young people meet for the very first time on the day when they are to get married. And if the marriage does not work, what happens next is either a kind of divorce or mobbing, the girl is harassed, mutilated, or even killed.

People belonging to higher castes do not get into relations with lower class representatives; they will not accept any food prepared by the neighbours or people who live next door if they come from a lower caste. Only some more liberal members of higher castes would accept cooperation and some social relations with some lower caste people, with one exception however, namely there is no way one can marry outside their caste.

Problems related to the caste system are also shared by the clergy. This happens when the head of the parish belongs to a higher caste and he has to work with the Harijans, the Untouchables, or when the head of the parish comes from a lower caste and his parishioners belong to the higher caste. Even in these situations, the feeling of caste belonging is stronger than the need to preach Gospel and brings suffering to both the churchgoers and the head of the church there.

This fundamental approach to religion is based on the "either or" rule and brings about lack of tolerance or discrimination on a larger scale. There is an unwritten law whereby a true Indian is only a person who preaches Hinduism. This motivates fundamentalists to move around the country with crusade-like actions trying to convince people to share their ideas. Sometimes they simply go from one village to another trying to convert people into Hinduism. This contributes to hatred towards other religions, persecutions of Christians or Muslims, and can result in killings on religious grounds. Nowadays if one is not a Hindu, they are not supposed to work and live in India. Recently, as a result of domestic fights based on religious conflict, a couple of villages were burnt down by the Hindu fundamentalists in the Orissa state in India. Unfortunately the law is very lenient towards such cases and if you look at

people who commit such crimes, even if they are persecuted against, they will not be charged or will receive a very lenient sentence. They would often be set free or given a suspended sentence which means that they would not go to prison at all. Nowadays, foreigners find it very difficult or impossible to get a residence visa in India. An official reason for refusal is always a very petty, minor issue but majority of those who are refused the visa are Christians.

In 2002-2006, I was working in the Northern Province of South Africa, in the education centre for blind children known as the Siloam School. South Africans have to face up to different problems than those who live in India. Their main community problems result from the long-term race discrimination and apartheid, lack of trust and confidence, underestimating themselves and feeling they represent lower standard as compared to those who were not discriminated against.

In 1948-1994, which marks the time of apartheid, separate schools were created for white and black children. The weakest or the poorest teachers would be allocated to teach the black children, and the black pupils had no access to “white” schools or universities. After the fall of apartheid the situation changed and what we see now is a very different approach among people and representatives of the authorities. However, it is now against the whites. The white people can be deprived of their property, deported from the country, are offered poorer jobs and get poorer education.

Another problem is a multi-religious character of the country, with all its new congregations and new churches – the so-called independent churches – which appear all the time. These *churches* are theoretically based on Christianity, but the links with Christianity are very loose and their founding fathers and active preachers feel they possess the whole truth and sometimes are really hostile towards other religions or other dominations.

Then we encounter health issues and the way community is reacting towards them. One of the endemic diseases of South Africa is albinism and several children within the same family can suffer from it. The albino children are not tolerated or popular at schools, and when they grow

up they find it difficult to find jobs and become an active part of the society. This approach to the albino people comes from old Shaman traditions and beliefs.

Finally we have AIDS, which is wreaking havoc in many regions of South Africa and still remains a taboo. Nobody dares to admit that either he or a member of his family is a carrier of HIV or that they are suffering from AIDS. If they do so, they will be immediately isolated. Even if someone is dying because of AIDS, the family will give a different reason for his death. It was the religious orders that first started to take care of sick people and ran awareness campaigns. Now we are opening the awareness centres for those who suffer from AIDS and looking after the children that have been abandoned by their own families because of their sickness.

I have been working in Rwanda since 2006, in its Southern Province, the poorest region of the country. It is there where most people have no way of making any money and can support themselves and their families only by working on little plots of land. In 2008 the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs supported us and in Kibeho, a village in the South of Rwanda, we opened the first educational centre for blind children.

As one may remember, almost immediately after Rwanda became independent in 1962, ethnic tensions came out, conflicts started to escalate and resulted in civil war and Genocide in 1994. The victims of Genocide were over one million people, 20% of population, all killed in a very short period of time. In Kibeho, almost 25,000 thousand people died and those who survived are still not themselves. They still carry the scars and unhealed wounds. Every anniversary of the Genocide reopens the wounds and – in a way – poses a question of co-existence between the families of victims and the families of perpetrators living in the same area.

Another issue is connected with religions. They do not want to change their relations using or tapping into their own religions, even if religious practices based on emotions do not necessarily have good grounding in ethics. Also Christianity that has been present in Rwanda for only one hundred years is not necessarily a solution. Many priests joined in when the Genocide took place and others were simply passive, possibly fearing for their own lives. This undermined

the credibility of a priest. Not only within the Catholic Church, but within different Christian Churches that have been operating in Rwanda.

We chose Kibeho as the place where we would start our centre because we wanted to bring back some hope to people living there, hope that they did not have. We wanted to divert their attention from the suffering and attract it towards others, and we also wanted to help them financially by employing them. In Rwanda there are over 20,000 blind children and only 250 can go to school. Blindness and other forms of disabilities are seen as a curse imposed by the predecessors, a curse which isolates both children and their families from their communities. This is the reason why families try to hide their blind children and sometimes keep them in small cells together with animals. The fate of children suffering from albinism is even worse. Until recently, these children were either killed or sold as organ donors.

We are approached by children who are very poor and their families live on the verge of basic poverty. They are neglected physically and mentally are malnourished and starving. Currently we have ninety-two children, boys and girls and five of them are albinos. We have over ten more that are waiting because they will probably join us in January when the new school year begins. Despite all financial problems, we decided to expand the school and prepare a few extra rooms for vocational training. If we are successful, our graduates will be able to start their own lives and make a living in future, which will help them become full members of their local communities.

In Rwanda, like in India and in South Africa, blindness is the only reason that makes it possible for a child to join our centre. The religious and ethnic situation is of entirely no consequence. We want to give them not only education but also a chance to enjoy their childhood, to make them aware that they are loved and belong to someone. We want to give them self-respect and respect to other people, get rid of their fear and distrust and, most importantly, we want to instil certain well-grounded ethical rules and principles. We also want them to participate in awareness-raising events and show that the blind are like everyone else. Since the very beginning of our work, the approach of our neighbours has been changing. However, there are no quick or radical

solutions to these problems. The only feasible thing is a long-term effort of educational and religious work which will change stereotypes within time. We know however that we will not satisfy all their needs because our capabilities are limited and we can only be of minor influence to change if this situation continues.

Our religious work is also important and this is why we need good priests of any domination. But we are not missionaries *per se* and we want to be a kind of mark for other people, a symbol of openness and acceptance. We want to be more than just tolerant. Our robes tell a story of who we are and if testimony of our lives will make others look for the truth then we will be grateful to God. Finally, I would like to ask all of the people who are listening to us for a prayer so that God may continue to bless our work and our children.

Hywel Ceri Jones: I would like to very briefly share with you my experience over the last five years of working with the Romani communities in Europe. We do not even know exact statistics but estimate that there are ten to twelve million Romani people living on the territory of Europe. They are at the bottom of the pile, the poorest of the poor, and the unhealthiest of the unhealthy. In the last five years the Romani problem has been recognised for the first time as a European problem and a European responsibility. I agree that it is a complex issue but if we call ourselves a “civilised society” we cannot come to terms with this.

I also wanted to point to one policy issue. I do not I agree with Ustün when he says about history being given priority in the educational system. I have another proposal which I would generalize across all the problems of tolerance, the formation of attitudes and the development of basic attitudes of respect for the other. Investment in the period of early childhood and continuing education are most critical. I do not refer only to primary or secondary education, but also to the relationship between education and the provision of health and community services. I speak about the child, the parents, the family, and the interplay – a holistic approach to investment in early childhood. Those who have been educated but leave school with no skills, no qualifications and fall into a continuing cycle of unemployment, should be included in this holistic approach of community development.

..... **Aleksander Koj:** When listening to the presentations, I was very much impressed by the general understanding that fighting for freedom is related to a certain extent to toleration. What is even more important is the fact that tolerance is a by-product of democracy. You can't fight for tolerance alone, it has to be supported by other social features of community otherwise it will remain only words on the paper.

Whether you discuss this in the context of war or economic discrimination, it comes to fact that as long as no special bond is established within the community you will never achieve real tolerance. This would be superficial and primitive. We must remember this because the word "tolerance" can be abused and often overestimated. In fact, looking at the Balkans, Middle East, Far East, or Africa, we always see the same problem and realise that to achieve tolerance one has to make a big effort towards education and cooperation on a different level. Words are not enough.

..... **Helmut Pulte:** I have got one question with respect to the concept of tolerance. It is my impression that you can only tolerate if you are in a position to do otherwise. This signifies one must have certain means and – in a certain sense – one must have power if they would like to tolerate. Otherwise they suffer. Perhaps one suffers from missing toleration when they are in a minority position as a Christian working in India for example. One does not necessarily tolerate when they are discussing on – so to speak – "equal hate". When one is trying to bring Armenians and people from Turkey together, I think – in a way – they are discussing on "equal hate".

In philosophy there is a widespread belief that one should not tolerate the intolerant because this is destructive and it annihilates toleration. If I take your three very impressive and moving reports, there is perhaps one situation given that one has to deal with an intolerant group. These are the Taliban in Afghanistan. This suggests not to tolerate the intolerant, but to try to negotiate with the intolerant on a practical level. If so, what are the criteria of success? And what are the limits of cooperation, toleration and of these intolerant groups?

..... **Michael Daxner:** Drawing red lines requires one of two options. The first one is possible if you have the power to draw a red line, which then you must defend and meet with all strength and sometimes even with violence. For example, we know that among the universal human rights there is one absolute: NO to torture. There is basically no difference between the torture in Guantanamo and Bagram, and the torture wherever you are. If one is on relatively good terms with a group, within a certain social environment, the common attitude is NO to torture. But if another group gets power or increases their power by torturing other people, then one must fight. Then violence must be used. This is one of the problems where I resist not so much in philosophical, but moral terms. If one sees these things they know which side they would join.

The second option is totally different. The second option comes when suffering becomes intolerable. It is not up to the interveners to decide what people should do; one can only assist in minimising violence and try to help. This was one of the most difficult moments in Sarajevo and Srbska because NATO did not pull out from negotiations while thousands of people were being massacred. Either one gets out or becomes a member of the party.

However, there is one link to what you said that is important: you cannot make generalisations. You cannot compare the Balkans to such a region as Central Asia where there is literally no single human being who knows what peace is. After thirty-five years of war these people know only different stages of war and if we talk of peace we might as well talk of butterflies.

..... **Ustün Ergüder:** Let me start with stressing the fact that what I said included childhood education and I know you are familiar with this. Within the last ten years, Turkey went from fourteen per cent of early childhood education to sixty-seven per cent. I agree that the holistic approach is important because when a child leaves school and goes home to the family, one does not know what is happening there.

Tolerance, democracy. . . one still has problems with these terms. The word tolerance always has the connotation that one might be wrong. If one qualifies the notion of tolerance using words like truth, respect, empathy, then it is fine. But one can also have a benevolent dictatorship with

tolerance, so we have to be more critical of the concept. We always teach our students the big truths written in capital letters, but the world revolves around small truths and the interactions of small truths. The system has to learn this and include these small truths as well.

There is an excellent book that I would like to recommend to you. It is called “Why Nations Fail”, written by Daron Acemoglu, a MIT professor who is a Turkish national married to a Turk, but of Armenian extract. It is co-authored by James Robinson, a Harvard professor. They claim that those empires and nations who learned to be inclusive, and include different interests and ethnic groups, are the ones who live in history.

Most of the anti-democratic laws implemented
by the acting government belong
to the two-thirds majority category.

Prof. László Rájk

Paradoxes of Tolerance in Future Hungary

Prof. László Rájk, University of Theatre and Film Arts, Hungary

The history of tolerance spans centuries-and-centuries. One could find examples in ancient philosophy, in the scriptures and in the Bible, but the first real test of tolerance occurred during the reformation period of Christianity. For a long time tolerance was the most important element of inter-religious discourses and in the last century its principles started to be applied in approaching ethnic, social, moral, gender, and sexual orientation conflicts. Lately tolerance and especially its paradoxes became the subject matter of various philosophical approaches, most importantly in the deconstructivist philosophy. But instead of getting and showing historical examples of different aspects, forms, problems, approaches, arguments concerning tolerance, let me tell you three stories.

The first story starts on the 13th October 2012, in the Tate Modern of London. According to eyewitnesses, a man in his early twenties after sitting calmly for a while in the hall of Mark Rothko's paintings, slowly stood up, walked to the picture entitled "Black on Maroon", and graffitied or rather tagged it with a thick black felt pen. Then without any hurry he walked out of the room. The police are still after him.

This phenomenon is not unique in the history of art exhibitions. Once the sculpture of Rodin called the “Kiss” got tied around with a rope, and in the year 2000 in the Museum of Modern Art in two Chinese performer artists wanted to piss on the urinal (pissoire) of Marcel Duchamp, called “Fountain”.

Let’s see our young man’s tag itself since later it could be very important. It says: “Vladimir Umanets. A Potential Piece of Yellowism”. The words are rather enigmatic. The first part is easy, Vladimir Umanets could be a name, probably Ukrainian, or the title of the Russian soft porno cartoon: Uma Netto, or it could be a pun, play with words, like: U Manet, the painter. But what does “Yellowism” stand for? The answer can be found in the internet at Manifesto of Yellowism which says: “Yellowism is not art or anti art. Example of Yellowism can look like works of art but are not works of art”. It is a paradox definition just like tolerance itself.

Before we come to the gloomy reality of Hungary, let’s discuss the three cases of vandalism on art works and judge them if they are tolerable or not?

The first one is the *tagging*. What happened at the Tate Gallery changed profoundly the meaning, the message of the painting. However the tag is rather small, hardly visible from a distance, so it does not harm the meaning and the message of the “Black on Maroon”. Do not forget the fact that the last known price of a Rothko painting was 53.8 million pounds at a Sotheby auction. The “Black on Maroon” certainly would not be worth as much with the tag than without it. The question rises by itself; is the action of the young man a simple vandalism or just a thoughtful, deliberate demonstration against the growing decadency in the trade of contemporary art?

The second one is *tying down* Rodin’s “Kiss”. The rope did not harm physically the statue and could be removed easily, yet it ridiculed it. Those who know about the action or saw the photos, can never look upon that sculpture as before. There is always going to be a bit of humour in the background, a bitter smile on the faces. Could it be that it was an action warning us of the danger of banality and kitsch. Isn’t it a protest against populism via ridiculing it?

The third example is the *pissing* on the urinal (pissoire) of Marcel Duchamp. (By the way, the artists were stopped before carrying out their action.) Is there anything more natural than to piss into a pissoire? This is the trick, since it puts upside down the concept of Duchamp, which is the founding stone of modern art. Or one can say it is positioning back the pissoire into reality and therefore it is a protest against the relativisation of art and culture. (The action would not have harmed the manifesto type statue because it could be washed and cleaned later, just as it normally happens from time to time in the case of a pissoire.)

Why am I talking about these cases? Because the new Hungarian 2/3 majority in the parliament *pissed on, tied up, and tagged* the Hungarian democracy. Without getting into details let me quickly enumerate the facts. In 2010, obtaining 53% of the casted votes, the present coalition got 2/3 majority in the Hungarian Parliament. Some of leading figures of the winning parties were active to overthrow the *ancient regime* in 1990, therefore the newly elected two-thirds almost immediately started to attack Hungary's well-established checks-and-balances system. In the course of last two years the 2/3 majority passed and implemented a new Constitution, the Fundamental Law. As a result, the Constitutional Court got paralyzed, the Hungarian National Bank is under constant attack, the Chief Persecutor and the juridical system is more and more governmentally controlled. Furthermore, the media lost its independence, the rights of the parliamentary opposition were cut back, the personal data protection got minimized, and some of the worldwide religions were not recognized. The changes were rapid and violent, and the civil society was absolutely not prepared for defence.

All these are very familiar, unfortunately. The symptoms of the actual authoritarian political situation are very similar to those of totalitarianism in Hungary in the late eighties, but there is a fundamental difference. Namely that Hungary is a member state of the European Union. This fact is putting an even bigger weight on the shoulders of those who want to drive Hungary back to democratic tracks. At the same time it also puts the European Union's institutions into a difficult situation since they have to find the ways and means to stop the backsliding of democracy in its member state. The EU takes the situation seriously and already started infringement procedures in several cases of the above listed non-democratic acts of the

Hungarian government. Beside the procedures started by the Union, there is a growing number of disillusioned voters who once supported the acting government.

Giving the subject matter of this conference, it is worth to examine what would be the role of tolerance in course of the re-democratization of Hungary and what to do considering the implemented anti-democratic laws and constitution. In other words « Что Делать? » after the fall of the actual government, because it is going to fall for sure.

We are back again to the questions of tolerance. What are the parts of those implementations of the acting government that could be tolerated, and which are the intolerable ones? The decision is crucial since it is impossible to change everything at once and Hungary, after the authoritarian period, needs a much broader foundation of mutual understandings than it is now. In other words, compromises and tolerance are needed.

Therefore it is time now to reveal the traps and paradoxes of tolerance and draw your attention to the fact that those traps will apply to other countries as well. Generally one sets up three different categories to the paradoxes of tolerance:

1. Paradox: *the tolerant racist*. To understand it let me tell you another very short story. In the early nineties, when the skinhead movement started in Eastern-Central Europe, a man asked me to meet the liberal wing platform faction within the skinhead movement. As a curious liberal and tolerant person I accepted the invitation. Making a long story short, they said that “they are tolerant, since the Jews are white so they are part of the White Power, hence part of the skinhead movement as well”. The false logic of the reinterpretation of an untruthful ideology does not change its racist essence, on the contrary it reinforces it. The racists should never be asked to be tolerant or expend their seemingly existing tolerance. It is necessary that the racist overcomes his or her racial beliefs.
2. Paradox: *the moral tolerance*. If both reasons for acceptance and rejection are moral then what is required is to tolerate what is morally wrong. This is the most frequently

used paradox by the radical extremists blaming the tolerant ones, as they are hypocrite, because they basically are intolerant. The solution of this paradox requires distinction between moral reasons, or a higher order that limits the toleration.

3. Paradox: *drawing, defining the limits*. This is the most complicated paradox, since in other words it means: “No toleration of the intolerant”. Because of its complexity this category has two sub-clusters: (i) those who reject and deny toleration as a norm, as an idea, and (ii) the lack of tolerance of those who do not want to tolerate the denial, the rejection of norms. This paradox is most frequently brought up in political struggles when the opposition rejects to tolerate other solutions than its own. The solution of this paradox is that the limits of tolerance cannot be drawn or defined in an arbitrary, ad hoc manner, only in a justifiable manner.

As mentioned, most of the anti-democratic laws implemented by the acting government belong to the two-thirds majority category. If the new democratic forces, driving back Hungary to the democratic community want to broaden the social foundation of democracy, they have to be tolerant towards those who were active in building up a non-democratic system. If it cannot be carried out, Hungary would face a long “cold civil war”, instead of finding mutual understanding. However, how can a democrat be tolerant towards anti-democrats? It means that the democratic forces will always have to deal with the basic paradox of tolerance: the tolerant is antagonistic towards the intolerant, therefore intolerant. That is the basic dilemma of lawmakers, but always bear in mind that there are other actors in a political struggle, namely the civil society. The civics could overcome the traps in the paradoxes of tolerance, since their rules in policy-making are less rigid and more ad hoc, spontaneous, artistic, and civilian.

Early October there was an international conference held in Budapest concerning how to react against extreme movements. The result was surprising and interesting. By all means it seems that the solution is not the juridical measures to be applied. Legislative solutions could be successful in the short term. In the long term they do not work. Sometimes the extremists became stronger whilst in parliament or government, but sometimes they got weaker. There are no overall trends. Since the extremists belong also to the civic society, they are as spontaneous

and ready to go as the better part of the civilians. Therefore other techniques have to be applied, like ridiculing them, or consciously ignoring them. Last but not least, one should avoid making society constantly hysteric towards extremists, since this is exactly what they wish to achieve.

All the above art actions have to be reflected upon. They may seem to be too artificial but studying them could help find the ways and means, sometimes unorthodox ways and means of fighting with extremism. And final conclusion, just one sentence: putting back Hungary on the democratic track is going to be very difficult, but the work has to be done.



László Rajk

The attractiveness of culture and the wealth of the Western World seem incontestable. They remain unbothered by faltering economies and finances. Yet, this attractiveness challenges the Western World with a cultural trial, which derives from economic expansion, demographic structure and intensifying migration. Living next door to “the Other” proves to be a mutual test and a moment of critical cultural choice both on an individual and a group level.

What will the future look like? Will the increasing social, economic and financial tensions in the Western World destroy already weak rules of co-existence of cultural models and values on the continent? Or will the real change come only in economic confrontation with other than Western cultures, leading to cultural metamorphoses and emergence of new forms of society based on respect and far-reaching tolerance?

Danuta Glondys, Ph.D.

Tolerance: Metamorphoses and implications

Facing social, economic and political challenges

Competition of cultural models

Citizenship responsibilities and rights

Dominika Kasprowicz Ph.D., the Political Science Institute of Pedagogical University, Cracow

Hywel Ceri Jones, Director of the Network of European Foundations

Peter Ripken, President of Board of the International Cities of Refuge Network

Moderator: Wojciech Przybylski, Editor in chief of Res Publica Nowa magazine

Discussion

Prof. Michael Daxner, The Free University, Berlin

Krzysztof Bobiński, Unia&Polska Foundation

Danuta Glondys: Let me introduce the participants of the second debate: Hywel Ceri Jones, one of the greatest men of the United Europe, akin to Schuman and other founding fathers. Hywel used to be the Director General of the European Commission and together with his team made splendid programmes happen. One of these programmes will celebrate its twentieth anniversary this year; it will have its three-millionth participant. Erasmus is the programme and he is the Erasmus founding father.

Next to him there is a rising star of Polish political sciences, Doctor Dominika Kasprowicz. Outstanding talent and diligence, academic teacher of Polish and foreign students, author of numerous researches and publications.

And Peter Ripken, the chair of International Cities of Refuge Network who made Jacques Derrida's dream about "asylum Cities" possible. Finally we have the panel moderator, a political commentator and a historian of ideas: Wojciech Przybylski, editor in chief of Res Publica Nowa, a creator and editor-in-chief of the only Central-European intellectual magazine, "Visegrad Insight". Here Krzysztof Bobiński might say that under his ingenious leadership we will hold this very debate.

..... **Wojciech Przybylski:** Thank you for such a wonderful introduction and now we have to earn it I believe. First question that comes to my mind is whether you all know the distinction between tolerance and toleration. We often use the words interchangeably while they have some different meaning: "toleration", according to the history of ideas, is an attitude of your mind recognising that others can have different opinions and beliefs. "Tolerance" has a political significance, whether you actually permit in the public sphere actions that you would otherwise not agree with or not approve of.

So there is a question of difference and it is rather an infinite task to ask what the limits of tolerance are and can you be tolerant to intolerance? These questions and many others arise at this panel and will be spoken about most importantly. Let us begin with a political process and challenges, with Hywel Ceri Jones.

..... **Hywel Ceri Jones:** Thank you very much for the warm welcome. I am absolutely delighted to be here again in the Villa Decius. I would like to congratulate Danuta and the Villa Decius for this initiative and for keeping firmly on the agenda the issues of democracy and democratic values. I am especially delighted to see so many students here. I would far prefer not to speak myself, but to hear an active discussion with the young people and the students. I would like to hear their views and interact with them.

You mentioned the definitions of tolerance and toleration and I thought we had some very good definitions in the last sessions, both from the respondents and from the speakers. Listening to them I was reminded of a story I heard, of two priests living in Ireland. They lived in the same



Hywel Ceri Jones

village and both of them had been preaching their own version of Christianity for many, many years. They were in deadly rivalry but as their careers were both about to end, one of them went up to the other and looked at him with great suspicion in his eyes and said: “It is time that we shook hands. I think that after all these years we have to acknowledge that we have both been doing the Lord’s work in the Lord’s vineyard, each of us in our own way”. And the other priest replied: “Yes, as you say, you in your way and I in God’s”.

During my European career I had the privilege to be actively engaged throughout the 1990s in the peace and reconciliation initiative in Northern Ireland. Witnessing on ground the determination of previously bitter opponents to build bridges of new trust, to mobilize local communities and to tackle problems of exclusion and alienation at the same time, and opening up more opportunities for employment. Ex-prisoners from both sides of the divide were often the leaders of these initiatives, serving as important models in setting aside bitter hatred and distrust and attracting others to follow them on the pathways towards reconciliation. I saw them building new friendships, surprising new friendships, and I think that the notion and exploration of friendship is one of the elements that I would like to introduce into the debate discussions which has not arisen until now in the language of the conference.

I would like to point out to some of the ideas and messages that I have taken from this moving experience, both as a participant and an observer of the peace process in Northern Ireland. Firstly, and this was echoed by a couple of the earlier speakers, the local level of action is absolutely crucial. People do not live nationally or internationally or at the European level, they live in local communities. As Ustün said, mutual respect and tolerance has to be worked hard on the local level. Throughout my experience of managing European social and educational programmes I have seen numerous times the power of locally based initiatives to attack problems of deprivation, poverty and prejudice in ways which draw on the very specific strengths and talents of the community involved. This can therefore target and deliver practical results far beyond the expectations of national let alone international politicians.

The commitment and engagement of citizens locally can drive the search for solutions which cut much more easily across the boundaries of departments. Education, social, cultural, economic,

and employment departments at the national levels often suffer from their inadequate cooperation and coordination. I agree in this sense that this derives from the problem our opening speaker talked about this morning, that being the fragmentation of knowledge, which is carried further into the way we organise our work in different spheres. This more visible dynamic of locally-based initiatives, of which there are now hundreds perhaps not thousands of examples across Europe and in other parts of the world, provides a much more effective framework to construct multi-dimensional and intersectional efforts to combat deprivation, disadvantage and discrimination. Employers, trade unions, voluntary bodies, and civil society in the broader sense can often find ways that cut through the complexity of negotiation processes so evident at national level as well as the bureaucratic red tape that often categorises it.

The role of the local and regional levels has grown in significance. It seems to be very strongly coming from Wales. Despite and indeed because of the forces of globalisation, economic initiatives have become more widespread with the explosion of decentralised networks and the “think global, act local” message which has been driving new alliances with entrepreneurs and social innovators activating the communities both socially and economically.

Whilst I feel looking back on the experience in Northern Ireland that the power and commitment of the local level was crucial, it was also crucial to recognise what the contribution of the European Union had been. No matter what you do at the local level, you also need a framework of law and the rule of law to which you can refer. Furthermore, you need clear policy framework to accompany and reflect those laws.

It is clear that the financial help the European Union gave to the peace and reconciliation initiative in Northern Ireland played an important part. However, the massive injection of structural funds was only one of the factors that contributed to the successful transition in Northern Ireland to the stability, greater trust and cooperation in the two parts of the island, North and South. This reflected the function of the structural funds.

Jacques Delors would hate me using the word *funds*, he would have said: *structural and cohesion policies*. It was Jacques Delors who manifested the build-up of Europe, the idea that there

should be political balance and equal share in the benefits deriving from the internal market, the biggest internal market in the world, all achieved by a commitment to the policy of cohesion. Cohesion meaning the commitment that every part of the EU should share in the economic benefits that would derive from the internal market. In other words an instrument of solidarity or an instrument reflecting shared values. This was very important, but equally important was the over-arching legal framework that the EU has developed with the obligations on member states to observe the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union and also to respect all legislative developments that had taken place, particularly over the last twenty-five years and most especially in areas like the equal rights for women and men in all spheres of life.

The negotiations that are taking place today in Brussels on the future regulations of the EU Structural Funds for the period 2014-2020 are of great importance in Poland. Apart from the controversial size and cuts for programmes such as Erasmus in the EU budget, what is at stake in particular is the question enclosed in the draft regulations referring to the empowerment of civil society in the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the funds when they are delivered in Poland and the other countries. Without active, clear and visible participation of civil society, the credibility of the exercise will simply not be there. Today during the opening the Mayor of Krakow referred to this. Across most of Europe we can see our societies in the grip of increasing unemployment, especially among vast numbers of young people who, no matter how well qualified, are failing to find a foothold in the world of work.

The Eurozone crisis, the insatiable greed of banks, the global economic fragility has all wrought havoc on the fabric of our societies. The current recession in Europe and the failure to trigger growth and jobs, whilst putting the priority on deficit reduction are highlighting the increasing gap between those who have and those who have not. The financial cuts, which are being introduced in most European countries and in other parts of the world to reduce budget deficits, are hammering the public services which have provided for the most vulnerable, the disadvantaged and the disabled. What is the result of this? Profound insecurity felt by millions of families in our different countries is increasingly leading to protestations, strikes, turbulence, and misery. People are asking what the prospects in this world are now for our children and

young people. It is clear that this mood of growing insecurity and incomprehension is due to the failure to rein in and control the banking sector. I do not want to criticize them exclusively, but they have to be mentioned. It is matched with a growing disillusionment with political parties and politicians, the growing lack of trust in their capacity to handle the crisis both in the short and long term. The seabeds for both right and left extremist parties of discriminatory actions against immigrant and migrant families, and against members of the indigenous population, are evident in our media and our streets. I mentioned earlier the case of the Roma populations, twelve to fourteen million Roma people across Europe who are the bottom of the pile, absolutely desperate conditions which are exasperated by the crises all around us. What is the result? The mass structural unemployment situation is splitting European society in two. For many unemployment is now a permanent state and yet what really matters to people are jobs for today and the future. Without significantly higher rates of employment especially for women we cannot build the economic bedrock to fund larger, more extensive systems of care and protection for people and to cope with the millions of pensioners living longer across Europe.

How can the historic, unwritten contract between the generations of the young and old be sustained? The very basis of the social models and welfare systems we have painstakingly built in Europe over the last century are shaken. Poverty, economic and social exclusion are acting as triggers unleashing anger, frustration and intolerance, both in the part of those in difficulties and at risk, but also in the part of mainstream society.

Let me be clear then, I believe we cannot build a tolerant, happy and prosperous society without profitable business, but nor can we build a competitive economy in a social wasteland. This is the message we all need to send strongly to politicians who are grappling with the serious difficulties faced with the economic and social agenda. These include the overall cohesiveness of our societies, the quality of our education and training systems, the ways in which we look after the interests of vulnerable groups, and the manner in which we can make the relationships of self-improvement, prosperity, social justice, and fundamental rights work across the board. Economic and social policies must go hand in hand.

A final word, the decision by the Nobel Prize Committee last week to award the 2012 Peace Prize to the European Union, has been greeted in the media, especially in the United Kingdom, as ever with a mixed response. Some commentators recognise the validity of the case; they applaud the European bulwark which has not only guaranteed peace, but also huge levels of cooperation through the process of sharing sovereignty since 1957. Other commentators seize on the present economic crisis and especially the Greek case to question the wisdom of the Nobel committee and certainly in the United Kingdom to question the relevance of the peace motive to resonate in the European Union.

I am not and never have been a starry eyed advocate of the European Union. It is without doubt an imperfect and incomplete construction, but looked at in the overall global scene, I have no doubt that the framework, which has comprised of European law and practice, has contributed significantly to progress in our member states to address equality, fundamental rights and anti-discrimination. The core values and principles underpin a shared commitment to peace and reconciliation. Moreover, in the absence of effective global architecture to address the challenges the world faces I am relieved that the EU can still serve as a beacon pointing the way forward to a better future with a shared commitment to combat the negative forms of exclusion, prejudice and intolerance. I leave you with a question for your discussion, what kind of Europe do you want to see develop and what kind of Europe do you wish to shape?

Dominika Kasproicz: What I should stress at the very beginning is that among many significant individuals, specialists in tolerance, I would be the one specialized in intolerance. I am one of the academics dealing with a rather tough topic of populist radical right or in other words with political parties and political forces that are frequently labelled as anti-immigrant ones. After all these years of research, interviews and considerations, I would like to ask you some neither very convenient nor comfortable questions.

As I said the area of my interest is intolerance in the European Union and especially political manifestations of intolerance. So I am only dwelling on the political parties that are populist, right-wing extreme and right wing anti-immigration parties. These parties have been developing



Dominika Kasprowicz

in Europe during the whole post-war period in three waves. The first wave was the immediate post-war period and developed against postulated ethno-pluralism and resulted in the concept that assumed Europe must not combine nor mix, and it is not possible to have very different ethnic groups converge. The second wave happened in the 1960s and early 1970s when the so-called new right parties started to appear. The very first ones were the National Front in France and the NPD in Germany. But the 1960s and 1970s also meant the beginning of the green and feminist social movements, and the revolts of the 1960s which were then retorted by extreme right-wing parties. The third wave of extreme right-wing with its anti-immigrant rhetoric came in the 1980s and 1990s with a focal point being Jörg Haider and his Freedom Party moving into governmental position.

Now, what we actually experience after 2008 is growing social, economic and culture crisis, but can we indeed call it the fourth wave of radical right-wing mobilization? Are we experiencing the very fourth wave of xenophobia and nationalism or, if you like, “nativism”, the concept that combines nationalism and xenophobia? Let’s take an example. If you look at the posters and billboards used for the election campaign of the Swiss People’s Party, with its very poignant graphic design, the message is clear: exclusion of the “other” – an individual or a group of different cultural or religious denomination – according to them serves: “to create security”. Somebody here called the extreme populist parties as a black sheep of the political mainstream, but it seems to me that we have moved one step forward in our social and political practice. When put under scrutiny it appears that the parties that claimed it is necessary to exclude “the others” from society in order to protect “the real people” are no longer the black sheep of the system. Several strategies undertook by mainstream politics and media resulted in many cases that these entities were deeply incorporated into the system and went international. The infamous campaign of the Swiss Peoples Party was widespread in Europe and it is not only the graphics that are similar, but the slogans and, first and foremost, the organisational patterns. In terms of appeal, the common denominator of the anti-immigrant parties is “nativism”. Broadly defined nationalism, combined with xenophobia in the eyes of radicals, gives “indigenous people the right to come first”. So we see billboards and posters sending discriminatory messages like “French First” or “Germany for Germans”.

We were asked to give our views on how political and social changes and developments would shape the tolerance models. If intolerance or anti-tolerance was supported by right-wing populist parties, let's look at the very foundations for which they find the basic social support, let's look at the characteristics of a person who votes for such parties and what would be the political support structures that such parties use.

If you look at an average voter, you will see a male, blue-collar worker with just vocational or primary or secondary education and a young person under twenty-five. This is a mixture of variables that increase the probability of voting for extreme right-wing. However, constituency support is one thing and another one would be political opportunity structures. There are a few important factors that could reinforce the anti-immigrant parties. The first one is the level of unemployment, and here – you may be surprised to hear the findings of the research by K. Arzheimer and E. Carter – the higher level of unemployment is the lower the support for extreme right-wing populist parties becomes. Quite a surprising message. Let's look at the second POS (political opportunity structure) element, which is the position of the major party of the mainstream. It means that if this mainstream party is becoming more right-wing in the eyes of the voters, then the voters would be more willing to accept anti-immigration, radical populist parties. In other words, if the political situation is becoming more radical, if the mainstream parties are becoming more radical, the populist parties become more extreme. How would that relate to the voting system, proportional to majority ones? The bigger the disproportion within the system, the voter would feel it is not just, so he/she would vote for a minor party, i.e. radical right. According to the above mentioned scholars, the odds of voting for the extreme right actually increase with the disproportionality of the electoral system. The last element of the political opportunity structures is that European voters are very strongly attached to their rational choices and so they want to follow them on stream. However, parties sometimes have to form coalitions, grand coalitions, the so-called Rainbow Coalitions and the very presence of such grand coalitions would make a person vote more radical, anti-immigration parties and their programmes.



Peter Ripken

Now let me come back to the very first question if we are actually experiencing the fourth wave of populist right-wing politics. And if so, shall we blame the media for propagating this message or political parties for their activities during the last parliamentary elections?

The electoral results of the parties in question are, at least, ambiguous. If we look at Western European parties (but of course we can look at and discuss Central and Eastern European parties) it becomes quite clear that the statement that Europeans are becoming more and more extreme in voting preferences, is not completely true. Since 2008, the strong electoral performance of the anti-immigrant parties has not been extended. Quite the contrary, in some cases, the anti-immigrant constituencies shrunk. What has not shrunk is the activity of the non-partisan anti-immigrant organisations.

If we want to answer the question of the possible fourth wave of radicalism in Europe, we have to look at the bottom of the iceberg rather than the top. So far researchers and politicians somehow patted these right-wing and extreme right-wing parties, such as Jörg Haider's or the Danish People's Party, but we have not found a ready-made prescription on the "bottom level" of this phenomenon, grassroots mechanisms that give support to self-organisation of the society. These are the only indicators of the new wave of radicalism that is in question.

..... **Peter Ripken:** Like a good German I would like to start with two brief quotes indicating the range of what I want to talk about. I will start with a German quote: "There's nothing good unless you really do it". The second quote is from Voltaire: "I do not like your opinions, but I'll defend your right to express them". These two principles will guide me through my brief speech.

As we have seen and heard, all over Europe there is a wave of loathing foreigners and intolerance against immigrants. Hidden between the lines is the message that there are too many immigrants. There are too many people seeking asylum and we have to do something about it. I am tempted to say that what the Ministers of the Interior in Europe are doing without any mandate from people is a form of "organised racism". I quote this word, a strong word, remembering what had been said in the Tribunal 12 of May this year in Stockholm where

a jury of international experts (Nawal El Saadawi was one of them) accused Europe for violating its own principles of democracy, honesty, transparency, and tolerance. This front is the attempt of assisting people in countries outside Europe who want to come into Europe to seek their fortunes. Some people have said what the European Union is supporting in this endeavour are concentration camps in the desert – in Libya, Algeria and Morocco.

This is the general political situation in which the Minister of Interior, Mr. Friedrich of the German Christian Social Union, last week said we have a wave of asylum seekers especially from Serbia and Montenegro and we have to do something to keep them away. What did he propose? He proposed that we should not give them any money when they come. It is as simple as that and I think that this is “organised racism”.

What can you actually do in this situation? First of all oppose the immigration laws, even if opposing them is very difficult. There are a number of NGOs doing this, and they are all fighting very hard. However, there are also other things that can be done.

I give you two examples of not only solidarity but also practiced tolerance. First comes from the city of Nuremburg. Nuremburg is well known for being the city of Nazi rallies in the thirties and early forties. It is a city which is pursuing a policy of human rights implementation and there was, and still is, an initiative where foreigners, who have come as asylum seekers or recognised refugees, make their tenants known to the Germans. One of them, a computer specialist who had to flee Togo, is offering computer courses in French and German for people who want to learn. These courses are free because according to the German law and also the laws of other countries, asylum seekers are not allowed to work for money or gain full employment. Another example: an economist from Congo is offering an accounting course to various people. By doing so they can change attitudes of the local community.

Another example which I am going to talk about is the International Cities of Refuge Network (ICORN). This came along when Salman Rushdie in the mid-1990s said: “we as writers, we have been protesting against injustices all over, sometimes we have been engaged in secret

diplomacy, writing letters or talking to cabinet members through Ambassadors, but what have we done in practical terms?” Out of this question came the idea of cities of refuge, of cities that open themselves to persecuted writers, bloggers, journalists and translators, people who are in the business of expressing their opinions using the human right of freedom and expression and are in trouble because of this. All over the world we have countries where this is happening. Sometimes I am tempted to say that dictators who do not read are afraid of the free word. A friend of mine, a Nigerian poet said: “For a good metaphor you can end up in prison” and this is happening in many countries; Iran, Iraq, Bangladesh, Eritrea, Cuba, the list goes on and on. We started in the nineties, and France was the leader at the time. This was a time when many intellectuals and writers were in trouble in Algeria and had to escape. And when they arrived to France, the French cities opened their doors to them. They were joined later by other countries and cities like Frankfurt, where I come from, which became a city of refuge in 1997.

When we founded ICORN in 2006 we had about fifteen cities as members. Now we have over forty, but given the situation of writers in trouble all over the world, we need two hundred. ICORN gathers cities who help in very practical terms by offering an apartment, a scholarship and health insurance, and doing so promote solidarity, respect for human rights and intercultural dialogue. I am very grateful that Krakow became a city of refuge. Kareem, who is here as ICORN resident, is a blogger. He is not a writer in the classical sense, he is not writing poetry or novels, but he is using the medium which is transcending borders, which goes beyond the classical definition of genre.

Over the years ICORN became a symbol of a classical contribution to living solidarity and an exemplification of respect which is much more than tolerance.

..... **Wojciech Przybylski:** It will be a difficult task to approach all of what you have said so let me refer to some of the highlights. As we heard, both ideas and practice are important. Practice is especially important when it is performed at the local level, as close to the local community as possible. Even if you think globally about ideas, the locality is always the actual site of performance and makes the world we live in. Then there was another question and interesting



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point referring to legal context and how the law should be developed in order to safeguard a prosperous and liveable world that we aspire for in Europe and beyond. Last but not least there was a tricky question of solidarity raised by Dominika who made us aware of the fact that extreme parties or populist movements unite their efforts against the solidarity of the whole. Let's have short comments from your side of the table and then we will have questions and comments from the floor.

..... **Hywel Ceri Jones:** Let me start with two examples that I have experienced personally. The first one comes from Northern France, the Burgundy area, where I lived for a while. There is a village with one hundred people and the vast majority of those people are local farmers who have never seen an immigrant other than me. During elections the vast majority of them voted for Le Penn and this were not resulting from the level of education, unemployment or participation in one of the extremist parties, but from the overall climate and opinion, which was shaped as anti-immigrant. The other example comes from the time when together with a group of foundations I was involved in monitoring a Swiss referendum on the question of the building of Mosques. You may remember this was eight or nine years ago. The fascinating thing was that the two cantons that had Mosques voted against any restrictions, whereas those with no experience of having Muslims or having a Mosque were the ones that voted negatively.

Let me come back to the point I made earlier that it is an overall general sense of fear and insecurity that undoubtedly feeds unemployment, fear and poverty. This should give us a great deal of concern and only way out of it is employment. We have a government that is putting everything into the deficit reduction and there are hardly any investments in either infrastructure or growth that can turn it around. These are the dilemmas of the Eurozone crisis and debt strategies in Spain and Greece, where the terms of the loans are so strict that they are strangling people. These are really difficult discussions; they are heart-breaking discussions.

I have one question for Peter. You are advocating a qualified/unqualified/limited right to freedom of expression in the writings of the media. But we all have heard about the American film case recently and I was heavily involved in the discussion around the Danish cartoons.

Are there limits of freedom of expression? If so what are those limits and how would you define them?

..... **Dominika Kasprowicz:** There is a bunch of factors that build social support for the populist right sphere and unemployment is only one of them. The most important ones are the social attitude of the community and in some cases détente that has been created by mainstream politics. This is why this flow of anti-immigrant attitudes and feelings found its way out and capitalised into these non-partisan under-surface leaderless resistant types of organisations.

This is exactly what Wojciech was pointing to when he mentioned different levels at which these anti-immigrant, non-tolerant feelings are expressed. This is exactly where it goes to; it goes down to grassroots level and in my opinion there is currently neither discussion within parliaments nor in the media that would give us answers.

..... **Peter Ripken:** You mentioned your experience in a village in France. I will refer to Germany. There are studies in opinion polls in Germany saying that about one-third of the German population is anti-Semitic. The sociologist Alfred Zimmerman has said there is anti-Semitism without Jews, because the majority of the people have never in their lifetime met a Jew. In some of the federal states in East Germany, the former GDR, there are – what right wing people are saying – “nationally liberated zones”. Small towns and villages where the national and the MPD party and their followers are raiding the streets, and the police is on record for very often not intervening. This phenomenon takes place in a complete absence of the hated foreigners because there are no foreigners in these regions. We have third generation Turks and third generation Egyptians living there, generations of those who are denied citizenship although they were born there like the people they were going to school with. So there is this phenomenon of racism without any object or anti-Semitism without Jews.

The question is what are the limits of freedom of expression. The case of the Californian film (apparently done by a Coptic, former Egyptian) is a very good example to show that the principle of freedom of expression is indivisible and should hold through for all cases because

the majority of the people who reacted to that film had not even seen it. In case of the caricatures from Denmark, the truth is that majority of protesting people were worked up and instigated by others.

Some people, I call them preachers, advocate hatred. This is true not only for Islamic countries but also for American Christian fundamentalists who are so adamant about their right of freedom of expression that their words encourage hatred and my lead to violence as killing doctors who practice abortion.

In my opinion, the only limitation to the principle to the freedom of expression is when you are violating existing laws, promote racism or incite xenophobia.

We all remember what happened in Austria where David Irving, who denied the reality of the Holocaust, was convicted because what he said was against the law. We have a similar law in Germany, but it is hardly ever used. This is the problem and what I call “organised racism” by the Ministers of the Interior. There are laws and principles but they are not implemented.

..... **Michael Daxner:** Let me add something nobody referred to, which is the difference between perception and reality. We know, and this is empirical and not theoretical, that the perception of insecurity is much more impactful to the mind-set than real incidents. In the world I work, people are more afraid of suicide attack in areas where no suicide attacks occur than in villages where they do occur, and this can be generalised.

With regard to Dominika’s study on right-wing, I personally would prefer the term ‘radical’ instead of ‘extremist’. You also mentioned Haider, but Haider today would look like a teddy bear compared to the FPA, which has something like twenty-five per cent in the parliament and which behaves like the future leaders. I have an impression that you have a good relationship with the Germans and referred to it very cautiously. However we have a problem because police and security forces in democracies normally tend to support right-wing movements and this has at least a German tradition since 1920 when a German professor Gunther made his famous

statistical survey for years of political crime. I may get the prosecutor on my neck when I say that some of the German secret service is clearly supporters of neo-Nazi groups.

..... **Krzysztof Bobiński:** We must not forget what happened in Eastern Europe under communism rule and how the old trends of pre-war attitudes were consumed by communism into nationalism in 1968 for the anti-Semitic protests. Similar tendencies are emerging again in the new democracies. I am thinking of Hungary and Poland where we have a very distinct right-wing authoritarian trend in society. We should remember it and look at Europe as a whole.

..... **Wojciech Przybylski:** My question refers to responsibility and tolerance. When you say 'tolerate' you say 'do whatever you want, we don't care'. This is an approach which, I believe, has just been criticised as a concept of democracy that leads to radicalism. Maybe tension and clashes must occur. If you do not clash and have arguments for your freedom, you do not oppose. So, is it a question of the attitudes or of a tolerance concept? Or maybe there should be something more than 'laissez-faire' when you approach multi-cultural Europe.

..... **Hywel Ceri Jones:** The question of responsibility... I would like to touch on it in two dimensions. First refers to the responsibility of the media. If one looks across the world and within Europe, you can see that there is a confusion of terminology on the immigration and migration issue. There is a confusion of illegal migrants, legal migrants, asylum seekers, and economic migrants. All of these are bundled into one category and there is little clear differentiation which adds both to the complexity and the simplicity of a negative reaction.

The second dimension is the question of citizenship, of our responsibility as citizens. If you are within the EU it means that you have a shared citizenship, you have Polish citizenship and elements of European citizenship put together. We have been through this discussion three or four years ago in the United Kingdom where they got it all wrong because they asked immigrants in particular the wrong questions about what they knew about the queen and all other kinds of Anglo-centric, not even British, phenomena, instead of discussing the question of shared values. That is the entry point; it is the shared commitment to shared values within the framework of citizenship.

..... **Dominika Kasprovicz:** Juxtaposing contemporary radical right and 20th century dictatorships could be taken as a word puzzle, but it is not and it was not an intention of my presentation. By pointing this out I wanted to stress the difference between the populist right and extremist radical right. The previous one is openly anti-democratic, not even in terms of appeal but also in terms of (violent) practice. In that sense the dictatorships were anti-democratic and by using this title I would like to stress the new quality that we are dealing with. The new quality of not even political parties which are “smart” in terms of organisation, which are operating using the democratic tools and implementing perhaps not even democratic solutions. Also these types of organisations are being transformed in a way we still do not understand. This radicalism was to stress the fact that they cannot be called anti-democratic, cannot be labelled extremist, cannot be punished, but still they are there and are getting more and more influential.

I am reminded by Krzysztof Bobiński about the fact that we should also be discussing the anti-immigrant behaviours in Central and Eastern Europe. The radical right is an issue here as well and the available data confirms all the statements that have been made so far. There is a continuity starting in the mid-war period until now both in terms of extremists and radicals in Romania, Hungary, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, and Poland. The basic difference between the West and the East was pointed out by Vladimir Tismaneanu in his saying: “the nightmares of the past became the visions for the future”. The anti-immigrant stance we know from the West in our region was transformed into the hostility toward historical minorities. Hence, it is not only about the shared experience or the empirical data [on immigration], for the Central European radicals is more about the image, public perception and then the empirics. Based on facts or on “the nightmares of the past”, the message is still influential enough to open the doors for these parties, just to mention the Slovak National Party, three times in the government so far.

..... **Peter Ripken:** I believe that there is no real difference between perception and reality. A reality which is not observed or perceived does not exist. It is only the imagined or the felt reality which becomes a reality of its own. People who have convictions believe that what they believe is true, is reality. They have their own set of convictions and these become a reality whether

it is measured or not measured because they live this kind of perception, this imagined reality, and follow it every day.

My second comment refers to the fact that some European countries try to control or to limit the presence of foreigners. Denmark is such a country, Hungary is such a country, Greece is an extreme case, and Germany has these tendencies. However Denmark, where they were chasing immigrants and foreigners away, was at the same time instituting a law which set up a system which enables cities of refuge to accommodate persecuted writers. I found that to be an interesting contradiction.





Josep Ramoneda

The Color of My Dreams

Prof. Josep Ramoneda, philosopher, writer, Universitat Autònoma, Barcelona

“For two years, almost every Thursday morning, rain or shine, they would come to my house, and it hardly ever ceased to amaze me as I watched them remove the mandatory veils and cloaks and burst out in colors.” “Burst out in colors”: freedom as an explosion that illuminates a concrete world, a territory of shared experiences.

This quote is from *Reading “Lolita” in Tehran*, a fascinating book by Azar Nafisi, which fell into my hands a couple of years ago. Every week, this literature teacher, who now lives in the United States, would receive a group of women in her house in Tehran – only women, so as to avoid arousing the suspicion of the police – to talk about literature. This was free time, that is, a few hours during which the authoritarian regime momentarily ceased, in which complicity allowed them to enjoy a moment of freedom, albeit fleeting and cloistered, but enough to help their spirits survive, thanks to reading and also to the irony displayed over the limitations and difficulties imposed on their lives as women.

Some years ago, I visited Tehran. In no other country in the world had I paid so much attention to women; in no other place in the world had I ever felt there were no men. If what the clergymen wanted was to hide women, they had actually achieved the opposite: giving them full visibility. And let us not forget that, behind many conflicts today, is the struggle for visibility: whoever has the capacity to decide what and who is visible and what and who is invisible, wields power. The entire urban landscape revolves around women. Oppressors are ridiculed by their own

intransigence. It is the stupidity of fanaticism. Their answer to political-religious authority arbitrariness is parallel to Antigone's tragic reply to Creon.

Women have known how to turn the humiliations of clergymen and men into a true language of resistance. Thanks to them, the streets of Tehran are a true spectacle. I spent my time trying to decipher their code keys: the color of the veil, the length of the tunic, the trimming – veil up to the bangs, veil three centimeters higher, veil leaving half of the head uncovered –, what shows from under the tunic, the shoes, the color of the face, everything acquires or seems to acquire a significance. And, of course, whenever you were invited to someone's house, the women, as they arrive, would shed their outer layers – the dark clothes, in varying shades of brown and black, a visa requirement for the guardians of morality – and then the freely chosen colors of their dresses would burst out. "Reality has become so unbearable, so somber, that now, the only thing I can paint are the colors of my dreams," said an artist friend to Azar Nafisi. And Nafisi concluded: "That class was the color of my dreams."

In *The Boundaries of Dialogue*, Claudio Magris narrates the story of a walk down a multicultural fair in The Hague, the trivialization of diversity, and expresses the doubts besetting him: is it possible that everything is worthy of the same acknowledgement just because it is different? Is indifference before what is different an engine of freedom or a way to deactivate it? In Nafisi's seminar or in the homes of my Iranian friends, the explosion of color was the answer to their desire for freedom from the monochromatic landscape of a truth imposed by the political superstructure increasingly unrealistic: the palette of colors of life versus the shades of death. We will know them by their colors. Freedom will be the day when the colors that now only have room in the private spaces erupt into public space. Antigone and Scheherazade: Iranian women represent the tragic challenge to the injustice of power (what is evil if not the abuse of power?), but also, with their clothing and their complicities, like Scheherazade, they too weave stories that perhaps some day will be the spider's web in which male power will be ensnared.

Tolerance is the great yearning in times of intolerance. Tolerance was such a big conquest – towards the end of Franco's regime, when Marx and Lenin were already in bookstores in Spain,

John Locke's *Letters Concerning Toleration* was still banned – that it makes me uncomfortable to submit it to criticism. It is undeniable, however, that tolerance is somewhat similar to concession: the generosity of the powerful – the repository of economic, political, military or ecclesiastical truth – which spares our lives and allows us to express ourselves freely, as long as we do not call anything essential into question. What is essential? That deep down there is only one truth: the one arranged by the powerful. No wonder it is so: the conquest of freedom is a long process of emancipation – far from being completed – in which man has gradually freed itself of organic links and a more or less voluntary servitude which significantly limits its role in the world. Initially, this naturalness did not create a problem: man was very close to the fatalism of animal life; later, when man began to exhibit the capacity to produce its own ideas and make its own decisions, God was invented and everything was put under the admonition of his authority. To right this enormous wrong, to admit that God is an invention of man and that, consequently, the dispute for truth is among human beings and not with the gods, still represents an enormous effort and costs many lives. The paradox of this world is that, despite becoming too small for us; as we are increasingly becoming neighbors, one and the other: ancient times, the middle ages and the most rabid modernity coexist in it. While some of us struggle to prevent economic power from becoming the only source of normativeness in our lives, others are still fighting against the suffocating hegemony of a monotheistic God, which together with its triad – only one God, arbitrary and source of the only truth – is the purest representation of power.

I remember hearing Michel Foucault, during the mid-sixties, recount a very beautiful and short story of truth. It was on January 23, 1974, to be precise, in the dismal main lecture hall of the Collège de France, with lines of people that had only been seen in the times of Henri Bergson, where the philosopher, with only the light of a flexor on an old wooden table, which left in the shadows even the shine of his head, explained how philosophy had allowed us to go from a “foudre,” or aristocratic truth, to a rational or democratic truth. There was a time when truth had a place, a day and an hour, and a repository: from Delphi to Sinai, the revelation of truth was restricted to only a few chosen ones. Truth was an event emanating from power and transferred from subject to subject through rituals. Modernity, however, consolidated the heritage of Greek philosophy: it placed truth at the reach of all those who, once having met some

basic conditions of intelligence and basic skills, were willing to make the necessary effort to pursue it, following the right method with tenacity and patience. Truth is demonstration, truth emanates from method and from a subject-object relationship. This change in the structure of truth was probably a determining factor in the great leap experienced by Europe between the Renaissance and Enlightenment. But the human species is governed by power, an immanent factor in all its relationships and, as a result, the expectations of a truly democratic truth, which would not discriminate between those courting it, were short-lived. Demonstration truth has always been polluted by power truth: absolute autonomy of the spirit does not exist. Systems for the rarefaction of truth, and control of those who dared to search for it, immediately emerged: universities, prestigious schools, scientific corporations. An entire system destined to decide who had the privilege of being acknowledged as the new depositories of the truth.

Free speech means that every person has the right to say whatever he or she wants, regardless of how grotesque or irrelevant it may seem. Without the right to talk nonsense, there is no freedom of speech, among other things, because there is always an authority ready to arrogate the right to decide who talks nonsense and who does not. But not all nonsense is the same, nor can everything that is said have the same value or merit the same acknowledgement. The Bible is probably the best book on power that has ever been written. The Book of Job tells us that the essence of power is arbitrariness. Absolute domination can only be achieved when the whim of the almighty is over and above the rules. Truth can never be a whim. And one of the obligations of critical thought is to constantly alert to the social construction of truth, that is, to the configuration of various implicit limits regarding what can and what cannot be said. This is what we usually call politically correct: a closed, perfectly legitimate narrative, but that has nothing to do with the truth.

It is a perversion of freedom of speech and of the spirit of tolerance to leave aside the question of truth. Everything or practically everything can be said, but not everything is the same, or has the same value. To believe otherwise, to give the same conceptual dignity to the entire carousel of fairgoers, is the most unsubstantial relativism, which eventually turns into the criterion of truth (or of good) things as outlandish as the origin or provenance, consequently fracturing

humanity into endless complacent and excluding small closed worlds. I too, like Albert Camus, between justice and my mother, choose my mother, but aware that justice – if it is truly just – is universal and is right.

This conflict, which is basically the dispute between liberals and communitarians, has determined modernity. And it is still our main ideological battle. There is a marvelous book by Ernst Gellner (*Language and Solitude*) which describes the conflicting relations between both fundamental theories of knowledge: the individualistic or atomist conception and the organic conception. One places truth beyond social control, as an individual discovery, while the other maintains that every researcher displays the onus of his or her linguistic and cultural community. It is the confrontation between the rationalist individual and romantic communitarianism, between the *gesellschaft* (society) and the *gemeinschaft* (community), between universalism and the sense of belonging. In spite of being two radically opposed and apparently incompatible theoretical positions, none of these two attitudes is embodied in a pure state. Purity is always dangerous, because it is a shortcut leading directly to intransigency. Only ironical distancing can keep an individual afloat in the magma of a culture. Irony is what keeps the individual from giving in to the fascination for the collective. And the worst of intellectual addictions: repetition, always so tempting, always so comforting. Human beings tend to create our own small worlds on the basis of mimicry and repetition.

E. M. Forster accurately defined the gap between personal and collective links, thus allowing freedom to acquire the form of a hole: “If I have to choose between betraying my country and betraying my friend, I hope I will have the guts to betray my country.” The comparison between this phrase and that by Camus on justice and filial love is very interesting. Camus confronts reason with emotional feelings, the institution with the individual, and affirms that there are injustices that weigh more than reason because they have something consubstantial with the experience that molds us as individuals. And we should not and cannot give it up, although we must be aware of its limits because, otherwise, we would be bound to the merry-go-round of untouchable belongings and unquestionable fundamentals. Forster confronts the country – a mixture in modernity of reason transformed into state and the nation searching for its origins

in the mists of all things telluric – with the most committed of free elections, the maximum act of freedom: to choose your friends. It's the fact of being able to choose that makes us human.

This is why I enjoy Magris' view on laicism. He removes it from the narrow debate between religion and the state and gives it a dimension of attitude. To be lay is to bet on the universal nature of truth and on the Kantian categorical imperative which compels us always to act as if our actions were a source of rights for everyone, but with the humility of a person who knows that we are, essentially, limited and vulnerable beings in need of recognizing and being recognized, with a highly complex economy of desire inducing us to behave due to motives which apparently are not rational, and capable of maintaining a healthy distance from our most deeply rooted convictions. Not for the purpose of making everyone happy, but rather to avoid falling into arbitrariness and caprice. And the best way to achieve this is by being sufficiently ironical with ourselves.

The apparently secularized and lay Europe has demonstrated on several occasions an unprecedented fear of God. For example: in its day, the debate over the caricatures of Mohammed published in Denmark left me perplexed. The ease with which our rulers bowed their heads to threats made in God's name is pathetic. As if the caricatures were more important than the violence organized in response to them! This is exactly opposite to the spirit of tolerance and secularism. And it is curious – and encouraging at the same time – that it had to be Jiham Momani, a Jordanian journalist, who paid for this incident with imprisonment, or a group of Palestinian intellectuals, the ones who taught us a lesson on how to effectively arrange things in order of importance. The culture of indifference devastates Europe while a virtual culture of fear is crystallizing, aptly fueled by the political power. The Jordanian newspaper *Shihane*, whose editorial department was directed by Momani, published the Danish caricatures together with an image of the decapitation of an American hostage in Iraq. "What is more detrimental to Islam?" the caption read. In Europe, fear of God is so great that those poor in spirit have doubts: we must be more responsible and avoid provocations which irritate the Arab masses, they say. Actually, the only ones irritated were the Syrian and Iranian governments, which had disputes with Europe: they took advantage of the circumstances and organized mobs to torch the embassies. A bad colonialist conscience can cause havoc. As André Glucksmann likes to say, the fear in Europe to "speak badly of evil" is irritating.

In any case, this evolution denotes the consequences of the loss of prestige and the denaturalization of the state, submitted to strong pressures due to certain interpretations of liberalism. The state stymies. However, the void left by the state is occupied by something else: economic power – with growing normative and imperative capacity – and the religious power makes up for the State's loss of referential capacity. As Claus Offe explains very well, in reference to Tocqueville, who identified this problem two centuries ago: “the ideal of a society emancipated from the power of the state contains a religious component that reflects the belief in the superiority of divine law.” This is the case of the United States.

One God, one state. Monotheism is the central piece in the systems of domination in which we are involved. The state has mimicked God: the only source of truth, the only source of obligation. And thus, religion and politics have maintained a life-long relationship of nurturing each other. When the state has deemed it is self-sufficient and that it can do without God to legitimate it, in the end it has seen the need to invent other fundamental truths which can accomplish the same task: nature or history. And when the state begins to weaken, the power of God reappears, although commercialized and transformed into an industry of the spirit, as currently befitting.

One of the positive aspects of globalization is that it draws everything closer together, even religions. And although initially they choose to radicalize their ideological shields – and frequently go to war – it is to be expected that, in the long run, some form of empathy, promoted by contact, will be enforced. When we were children, there was only one religion: Catholicism, ours. And the others, apart from representing evil, were very distant. With coexistence they lose their monopoly over truth and must therefore opt between radicalizing and working only for a few – the chosen ones – or become more pleasant, for strictly commercial reasons. Now we are in the acute phase: clashes resulting from the acceleration of the approximations. Such is the case of Islam's irruption in the West.

But first world religions are part of a landscape increasingly packed with businesses promising to improve both the spirit and the body. If there are so many ways of believing in God, why should ours be the true one? The rupture of the monopoly of faith can only redound in the benefit of plurality. Hence, the discourse on the conflict of civilizations (and its well-intentioned version:

the alliance of civilizations): essentially, this is a desperate way of upholding the monopoly of their own belief, in a way taking for granted that religion determines human societies. We must let the polyvalent identity of man emerge. As noted by Amartya Sen: “the illusion of a sole identity” – the religious illusion on which the division among civilizations is based – “is much more divisive than the plural universe and the different classifications which characterize the world in which we really live.” In line with the spirit of Voltaire’s *Lettres Philosophiques*, we can say that one religion oppresses, two is war, many is freedom.

Tolerance is a concession, pluralism is an acknowledgement. To acknowledge that everyone has the right to speak; and that no one can have a monopoly over what can be said. Societies tend to restrict the space of what can be said: it is a mechanism which guarantees their cohesion. And this is known as ideological hegemony. In the societies of indifference, for example the advanced European countries, there is, however, a more subtle mechanism: it is possible to say almost everything, but almost everything that is said remains for the benefit of inventory. In other words, the space of what can be said is widened, but the space of what may be taken into consideration is enormously restricted. And thus, the frustrating feeling of preaching in the desert grows.

The Maria Moliner dictionary defines Indifference as a “state of mind in which the individual feels no inclination or repugnance toward a given object or business”; Indifference, as the act of relinquishing curiosity, the right to choose and passion, which are three basic elements of freedom. You are less free when you do not feel the need to search, when you prefer the comfort of following conventional guidelines as opposed to the exercise of choosing, when one does not feel the inclination for active experience, creative, if you will, which is our way of being in the world; indifference as apolitical; indifference as a way of eluding the responsibility of social change. I believe indifference is the major dead weight of our open societies, where citizens are trapped in the mirage of consumerism, moving from one frustration to another: no purchase satisfies my wishes because, as soon as I have it, I am already thinking about the next one. Around this anguish, all the rest is decor. And, if there was any doubt, fear appears as a paralyzing factor. Fear has become the dominating ideology because it guarantees complete social control. In

a state of indifference, what sense would the terms word and pluralism have? They are essentially decorative. Whereupon truth vanishes and becomes the kingdom of the vendors of the promises for the immediate redemption of the body and soul: fast food religions, sects and self-help manuals make a fortune.

One of the problems of fear is that it makes us doubly hostages: both of the official truth and of threats. That is why, going back to The Hague Fair, we must always keep certain basic issues in mind: pluralism is not the same as acknowledging everything (the very idea smothers me as much as it did Magris), nor is it a guarantee for any sort of dialogue. In the same way that in order for a negotiation to progress it is necessary that both parties abide by the same rules of the game, in the case of the dialogue, they must share communication protocols. And, above all, one: this lay spirit which places us in a position of listening to the arguments of others, admitting the possibility that their reasoning may convince us. The rest are monologues of no interest whatsoever. Exhibitions by clergymen, lay or religious, in these exercises of eternal narcissism we call fundamentalism.

As male power continues to lose its preeminence in family structures and the traditional appeal to the authority of the father – almost always absent – gradually disappears, there will be an evolution – which is already underway – towards a model of permanent negotiation between paternal power, maternal power and filial power. And perhaps those who think that bargaining, when part of the learning process since early childhood, will become an acquired trait are right, with unquestionable positive effects on social relations as a whole. This would undoubtedly be one of the most hopeful revolutions that the new millennium can offer us and perhaps the basis for a new cosmopolitanism. Because, regardless of what people say, the greatest ideal ever imagined by human beings is still the Kantian ideal of emancipation, in the understanding that every person will be able to think and decide on their own. This dream has the colors of the women in Tehran.



Awarding the Polish Prize of Sergio Vieira De Mello

The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (2002–2003)

Welcome and opening

Danuta Glondys, Ph.D., Director of the Villa Decius Association
Irena Wóycicka, Undersecretary of State, Chancellery of the President of Poland
Magdalena Sroka, Deputy Mayor of Krakow
Ernest Zienkiewicz, Director of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Office in Warsaw
Pery Machado, Minister-Counselor, Embassy of the Federative Republic of Brazil to Poland

The communiqué from the Panel of Judges

HE Staffan Herrström, Ambassador of the Kingdom of Sweden to Poland

Justification of the verdict of the Panel of Judges in a category: Person

Irena Wóycicka, Undersecretary of State, Chancellery of the President of Poland

Speech by the Laureate

Sister Raphael

Justification of the verdict of the Panel of Judges in a category: Nongovernmental Organisation

Krystyna Żurek, Director of Department of United Nations and Human Rights, Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Speech by the Laureate

Marek Śtys, People in Need

Justification of the verdict of the Panel of Judges in the special category: Honorary Prize

Marian Cwiertniak, President of Orlen Oil Company

Speech by the Laureate

Arnold Wellman

Sergio Vieira de Mello a symbol of these universal values which we wanted to stand for and to promote: respect for human life, courage, international responsibility and solidarity.

Danuta Glondys, Ph.D.

Welcome addresses

Danuta Glondys: This is the ninth edition of the Polish Prize of Sergio Vieira de Mello, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights which was launched by the Villa Decius Association to pay tribute to Sergio Vieira de Mello who lived and died for the idea of peace, freedom and human rights.

I would like to bid a warm welcome to all of you ladies and gentlemen; to our laureates, guests, members of the Panel of Judges, representatives of central and local authorities, students, journalists, to everybody who came to Villa to celebrate the idea Sergio represented and to congratulate the Laureates of the 2012 Prize.

Let me present the Panel of Judges who choose the laureates from among many candidates' proposals sent to us from all over the world. Chairman of the Panel is Professor Aleksander Koj, the President of Villa Decius Association, and its members are: Madame Irena Wóycicka, Undersecretary of State, Chancellery of the President of Poland; His Excellency Staffan Herrström, Ambassador of the Kingdom of Sweden to Poland; Pery Machado, Minister-Counsellor of the Embassy of the Federative Republic of Brazil to Poland; Ernest Zienkiewicz, Director of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Office in Warsaw; Krystyna Żurek, Director of the Department of the United Nations and Human Rights of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Mirosław Wróblewski from the Office of the Human Rights Defender in Poland; Brian George of the U.S. Consulate General to Krakow; Krzysztof Bobiński of the Polish Ukrainian Cooperation Foundation; Krzysztof Persak, Director of the Polish Institute of National Remembrance in Krakow; Marian Ćwiertniak, President of the Orlen Oil Company; Jan Gołabek, Member of the Board of Krakow Airport; Jacek Weremczuk, Regional Director of the Polish Insurance Company PZU; and last but not least Tomasz Sendyka, President of Smart Practical Logic, who has been with us since the first edition of the Prize. I would like to thank wholeheartedly for your support and financial contribution and underline the fact that without your assistance it would not have been possible to launch this Prize and celebrate the idea of peace and freedom.

One person is missing in the Panel of Judges today; it is Jan Piekło, who for health reasons cannot attend the event. He is important because it is Jan with whom we created the Prize, and the Villa team can implement it each year under the honorary patronage of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Ambassadors of Brazil and Sweden to Poland.

Ladies and Gentlemen, at this very moment, in this very room, in the Villa, we have most outstanding personalities who promote tolerance and human rights. We have people who are internationally known but also those known very little, who work with small local communities and provide immediate assistance to those who suffer or are in real danger. Let's hope the meeting between them and with us will generate more actions and the ideas of solidarity and responsibility for others will be carried over.

Closing my opening, I would also like to add that it is for the first time in our history that the ceremony of awarding of the Prize will be broadcast and commented upon in four blogs. A Polish blog will be run by Joanna Kryńska, an Arabic blog by Kareem Amer, an English blog by Michael Green, and a French blog by Henri Kowalewicz.

..... **Irena Wóycicka:** On behalf of the President of Poland let me bid a warm welcome to all of you. I would like to say that it has been most rewarding to sit on the panel of the judges and I am a great enthusiast of this Prize and I would like to see it continue. Sergio Vieira de Mello was an outstanding personality and I think that all the laureates and nominees can feel deeply honoured that they were considered for the Prize as his followers.

I would also like to thank the Villa Decius Association for this initiative, for coming up with the idea of this prize. There is so much exclusion in the world, also in our Polish world, that should be counteracted and the Prize of Sergio Vieira de Mello may contribute towards fighting this negative phenomenon. I think this Prize would be of great satisfaction to the nominees and to the laureates. I think that it will help them and give them more energy to boost their paths.

Magdalena Sroka: Ladies and gentlemen. Let me welcome everybody to the city of Krakow. We feel very privileged and honoured to host you here. I am also very happy that among outstanding personalities who are with us today are high representatives of central authorities: the Chancellery of the President of Poland, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Polish Human Rights Defender's Office. It is so meaningful that the Polish State is represented at this important event, and that people who are with us are also our cooperating partners. Let us not forget that this Prize will continue to develop and it will gain in importance if we all propagate its political and social context.

Krakow has been a city of freedom and shelter for persecuted people since the Renaissance. We continue this tradition and practice human rights and solidarity not only as an idea but also by undertaking concrete actions. One of these actions was joining the International Cities of Refuge Network and hosting persecuted writers from all over the world. Now let me congratulate the nominees and the laureates and wish you a good stay in our city.

Opening ceremony

Ernest Zienkiewicz: I would like to express my gratitude for being given the opportunity to open the ceremony of awarding the great prize named after a great person, the Polish Prize of Sergio Vieira de Mello, the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights in 2002-2003.

As a representative of the UNHCR, I take it as a great privilege to acknowledge that the Polish Prize of Sergio Vieira de Mello needs no introduction not only here at the Villa Decius where it will be awarded for the ninth time, but also in many countries all over the world, and that the Prize promotes values that are dear to us since it commemorates a man who truly committed himself to human rights, tolerance and democracy.

Sergio Vieira de Mello was a man that turned diplomacy into the art of getting things done. At the UNHCR where he started his career in 1969 he was soon given the toughest jobs: advisor to the U.N. forces in war-torn Lebanon, humanitarian coordinator in Rwanda where Genocide was



Irena Wóycicka



Ernest Zienkiewicz



Staffan Herrström



Pery Machado

still on-going, special representative in Kosovo where the situation after the war was particularly fragile, head of the U.N. operation in East Timor which witnessed so many atrocities in 2000.

Sergio Vieira de Mello was always in the places where the U.N. needed someone who could 'talk the talk' and 'walk the walk'. In 2002 Sergio Vieira de Mello was appointed U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights and in May 2003, when the U.N. wanted to establish its special representative for Iraq, again Sergio Vieira de Mello was considered to be the right man in the right place and he embarked on this mission which cost him life.

Now the world is ravaged by war, persecution, economic anxieties and poverty, and we all need more de Mellos, more organisations, more whistle-blowers, and more individuals who in terms of human rights 'walk the walk' and 'talk the talk'. The task is huge. We should all undertake "the task with a keen sense of humility and a strong sense of determination", as Sergio Vieira de Mello used to describe the situation in Iraq. By task he meant improving living conditions in the country, by humility he meant it should encompass all the people and not only some, and by determination he meant to overcome all potential obstacles on the way.

The idea that lies behind the Polish Prize of Sergio Vieira de Mello is similar and all those who were awarded have always been looking at the tasks ahead, always dealing with them with a strong sense of humility and with a strong sense of determination. This applies to all Laureates of the Prize who appeared here in the very same room: Bernard Kouchner, Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Alaxandr Milinkevich, to name just a few. It applies as well to those who will be awarded today. Let me now express my gratitude for the work that you have done.

..... **Pery Machado:** Distinguished authorities, dear participants. It is an honour for me to be here today, representing the Brazilian Embassy in Warsaw and to participate in this ceremony to award outstanding individuals and organisations devoted to the promotion of human rights with the Sergio Vieira de Mello Prize.

I also wish to congratulate the Villa Decius Association in the person of Ms Danuta Glondys on the initiative of having created this prize that renders so much to an illustrious Brazilian



Krystyna Żurek

citizen deeply engaged in humanitarian affairs. I also extend my congratulations to all the individuals and organisations nominated for this year's Prize. I am certain that it must have been a very difficult choice for the Panel of Judges to decide who would be awarded as you all have impeccable records in this area.

It is well known that Sergio Vieira de Mello dedicated his life to the promotion of human rights all over the world. He had a brilliant thirty-four year career in the United Nations, his numerous fieldwork assignments which started in 1971 during the Bangladesh's war of independence allowed him to personally experience all human suffering resulting from international conflicts, civil wars and political unrest. This personal involvement led him to pursue an ever increasing role for the United Nations in humanitarian affairs, the foremost of all the observance of human rights for all parties involved. As he was willing to do things and go places that most international bureaucrats would have found risky, he had a clear and unbiased view of what measures were needed to overcome the crises which he was involved in. He saw law and order as a vital agent of peacekeeping and believed international intervention worked only if it was cloaked in legitimacy and that it was always necessary to engage with the worst people in the conflict if only to see how best to neutralise them. His unrelenting efforts to the promotion of human rights, led him to being appointed Assistant High Commissioner for Refugees in 1996, United Nations Undersecretary General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator in 1998, and finally in 2002 the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights.

In the blurry world between humanitarian aid and international law he was as good as it gets wielding a mixture of ambiguity and decisiveness with a personal and institutional authority to try and make it all work. In recognition of his unrivalled competence for effective work to promote peace, he was appointed in 2003 as a special representative of the U.N. Secretary General to Iraq. Sadly his mission in Iraq was cut short by a senseless terrorist bomb attack which resulted in his premature death along with numerous members of his team.

His legacy will never be forgotten as long as we preserve and promote the basic universal values in the field of human rights for which he gave his life.

The Communiqué of the Panel of Judges

Staffan Herrström: The Communiqué of the Panel of Judges of the Polish Prize of Sergio Vieira de Mello, the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights 2002-2003, September 13th 2012, Villa Decius, Krakow.

On September 13th 2012 the Panel of Judges of the Polish Prize of Sergio Vieira de Mello, the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights 2002-2003, held its ninth session at Krakow's Villa Decius to decide upon the awarding of the Prize to a person and an organisation for their efforts in furthering peaceful co-existence and cooperation of communities, religions and cultures.

The meeting was attended by: Staffan Herrström – Ambassador of Sweden to Poland, Geraldo Barbosa de Oliveira, Segundo – First Secretary of the Brazilian Embassy on behalf of the Ambassador of Brazil to Poland, Maria Pamuła – UNHCR Office, Poland, on behalf of the UNHCR, Maria Ossolińska – expert at the Culture and Heritage Office of the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, on behalf of the Chancellery, Krystyna Żurek – Director of the Department of United Nations and Human Rights, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rafał Gutowski – Senior Advisor and the Constitutional and International Law Team, on behalf of the Human Rights Defender in Poland, Dr Krzysztof Persak – Director of the Krakow Branch of the Institute of National Remembrance, on behalf of the Institute of National Remembrance, Brian George – Public Affairs Officer and Iwona Sadecka – Press and Culture Specialist, on behalf of the United States Consul General in Kraków, Dawid Niedojadło – Head of the Operational Marketing Division, on behalf of the President of ORLEN OIL – Founder of the Prize, Urszula Podraza – Spokesperson of the Kraków Airport, on behalf of the President of the Kraków Airport – Founder of the Prize, Tomasz Sendyka – Smart Practical Logic sp. z o. o. – Founder of the Prize, Jacek Weremczuk – Director of the PZU Regional Office in Kraków – Founder of the Prize, and Danuta Glondys – Director of the Villa Decius Association.

Due to other pressing duties the following could not participate in the session: Jan Piekło – PAUCI Foundation, Sylwia Gajownik – ZNAK Christian Foundation and Professor Aleksander

Koj – President of the Villa Decius Association, all of whom nominated their candidates for the Prize in writing.

The Jury confirmed the submission of 42 nominations altogether, including 19 nominations in the Person category, and 23 nominations in the Non-Governmental Organisation category. Nominated in the category Person were 19 individuals. In the Organisation category, 22 entities were nominated. As one of the applications failed to meet the criteria set up in the rules and regulations, it was not considered in the further work of the Jury.

The list of nominees in the category of a Person included:

1. Martti Oiva Kalevi Ahtisaari
2. Adam Bartosz
3. Adam Bulandra
4. Ewa Dados
5. Father Manfred Deselaers
6. Dr Ernő Kállai
7. Satsita Khumaidova
8. Sebastian Kurz
9. Alfreda Markowska
10. Andrzej Mirga
11. Sister Raphael – Urszula Nałęcz
12. Professor Jerzy Nikitorowicz
13. Professor Alfons Nossol
14. Elizabeth Rehn
15. Adam Daniel Rotfeld
16. Avner Shalev
17. Professor Aleksander B. Skotnicki
18. Father Romuald Roman Waszkinel-Weksler
19. Arnold Wellman

The list of nominees in the category of a Non-Governmental Organisation included:

1. Barka UK
2. Białostockie Towarzystwo Esperantystów
3. Auschwitz Jewish Centre
4. Borussia Foundation

5. Bente Kahan
6. Prom Foundation for Social Integration
7. Rule of Law Institute
8. Polish Migration Forum Foundation
9. Japan Federation of Bar Association, Nihon Bengoshi Rengokai
10. Museum on the Seam
11. People in Need, Člověk v tisni
12. Denis Hurley Centre, South African Centre for Refugees
13. South-Eastern Research Institute
14. Wiadomości 24.pl
15. Nigdy Więcej Association
16. Alter Artistic Association
17. Homo Faber Association
18. Association for Legal Intervention
19. Serencza Association for the Promotion of Lemko Art
20. Interkulturalni PL, Association for Promotion of Multiculturality
21. Society of Jesus, the South Poland Province
22. WATOTO – Children of Africa

Having discussed the nominations and conducted its negotiations, the Jury voted that the Polish Prize of Sergio Vieira de Mello, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (2002–2003) is awarded to:

Sister Raphael – Urszula Nałęcz – for courage and direct aid for the victims of conflicts and wars, and determined furthering of human rights and organisation of care for the blind, especially children, irrespective of origin and religion.

People in Need (Člověk v tisni) – for a broad range of activities furthering protection of human rights, provision of care in the most critical regions of the world and implementation of programmes aimed at combating racial and nationalistic prejudices, and xenophobia.

In the recognition of notable accomplishments, the Jury also decided to award the Honorary Prize presented to: **Arnold Wellman** – for assistance and support for local communities in building common and peaceful future, despite cultural, religious and other differences, and painful experiences of the past.



Sister Raphael

The justification of the verdict in the category of a Person

..... **Irena Wóycicka:** Ladies and gentlemen, it is a huge challenge for me to praise such a modest person, but it is still my duty and I am delivering on it with great joy because all the work of Sister Raphael is filled with empathy and sensitivity to the suffering of the most vulnerable. It is a lesson of solidarity with no borders and an exceptional testimony of entering into the world of the blind.

Sister Raphael has devoted her life to helping blind children and this decision was taken during her first visit to the Educational Centre in Laski, run by the Sisters of the Franciscan Order. She joined the Order in 1954, took on the name of Sister Raphael and started studying at the National Institute of Special Pedagogy, combining her vocation with her professional development. In the Centre of Laski she was a teacher of mathematics, but first of all a pedagogue who taught children to be independent.

She was also very much committed to launching a private committee to help the people who were deprived of freedom and their families, to help those who were actually in the opposition and resistance movement, and later under martial law found shelter in the home of the Franciscan Order.

For very many years Sister Raphael wanted to go for missions, but the regime and later the martial law made it impossible. She only delivered on her wish in 1989 in Bangalore in India where she opened the first orphanage and then a school for blind children. After seven years, for health reasons she came back to Poland but she never stopped working. She engaged herself in building a chapel in the school for the blind in Africa. Then, in 2002, in response to the African Bishops call, she set off to Africa and took over the school for the blind which was threatened to be closed down in a mission called Silos. Then she developed the school and she made sure it would be maintained. In 2006, after hearing the relation of Archbishop Henry Causer on developments in Rwanda, she decided to go and see the country that was so much marred by the genocide massacre. There, in Kibeho, she created another Educational Centre for the blind and she continues to work on developing the Centre until today. In October 2011 she received

the Pontifici Prize of Catholic Intelligentsia and the Knight's Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta from the President of Poland.

We live in a modern democratic state where faith becomes or is indeed a private matter of each human being, but the work of Sister Raphael enables us to understand that regardless of your denomination, of your life approach or skin colour, the suffering of an innocent person is not a private problem but indeed a task for all of us because all of us can help. This is why the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland nominated Sister Raphael for the Polish Prize of Sergio Vieira de Mello. I am so very happy that I can actually read the laudation and justification of the verdict of the Panel.

In Rwanda, people think that blindness is a curse, as Sister said in one of her interviews. However, through her work, in a magic way this curse becomes a blessing for blind children who are given back their dignity and their faith, and can also reach those who can actually see but are blind to suffering of other people. She continues to build schools, computer halls, chapels, educational centres, and faith in all those who are excluded.

Sister Raphael is delivering on the universal human rights and combines volunteers and missionaries from all over Rwanda, South Africa, India, Europe, American Polonia, and other communities. She always emphasises special help and support she received from the late First Lady Maria Kaczyńska to create the Kibeho centre and print so many books in the native alphabet for its students. Sister Raphael never gives up, she always looks for people of good faith and makes us aware that we can actually help, and at the Kibeho educational centre there are always two national flags, one from Rwanda and one from Poland.

This award and this ceremony is not only a way of thanking the Sister for her gigantic work, but also an occasion to remind ourselves and other nations that all over the world there are people in need, and that in Kibeho there are so many bricks that can be put together if only we join the efforts.

It is with great pride that we award Sister Raphael with the Polish Prize of Sergio Vieira de

Mello for all she did towards the peaceful co-existence of communities, religions and cultures.

..... **Danuta Glondys:** Let me ask Jacek Weremczuk to step forward to present the Statuette of Sergio Vieira de Mello and the diploma to Sister Raphael.

..... **Sister Raphael:** Ladies and gentlemen, I accept this Prize and I am truly moved. I am also honoured by the fact that I am in a group of people who did a lot of work for those who are rejected and suffering, those who are excluded.

I am convinced that I do not deserve this Prize and in my long life I have never done anything special. I am just following my vocation to serve God and my neighbours. I am sensitive to the needs of other people and I owe that to my parents and to the Franciscan Order that I am part of. Our Founder told us to accept human beings no matter whom they are, and made us ready to serve them at all times. Our Mother followed this approach and that resulted in certain disapproval in many different circles. Still she remained very consistent in following this vision and she expected the same from her Sisters and from other people who worked in the Laski Centre for Blind Children. This is why at Laski you could find people who follow different paths in life and different denominations, those who were suffering and wounded, those who were looking for the meaning of life. And it was there that they found peace and joy.

She died fifty years ago and now the Centre is run by people who had no opportunity to meet her personally, but still the traditions continues to live on and the tradition is passed on to other nuns and non-religious people who joined in. I truly believe that this Prize is something that serves as recognition for this very person, for the Mother who was the founder of this very Order. I think that me and other Sisters who follow the vision that was shared by her, we all try to see a neighbour in other people and try to serve them with all of our hearts.

The justification of the verdict in the category of a Nongovernmental Organisation

..... **Krystyna Żurek:** In 1992 a group of foreign correspondents and world journalists decided that providing information on dramatic developments taking place in the most remote and unstable places in the world was not enough and should be followed by direct and concrete assistance to victims of conflicts and natural disasters.

This is how the “People in Need” was born twenty years ago. A noble idea was gradually transformed into tangible means of assisting those most vulnerable and deprived. As time passed a group of dedicated enthusiasts developed what is now the largest and one of the most effective human rights NGO’s in Central Europe.

Today the “People in Need” are focusing their activities on promoting human rights, social integration and education. They remain committed to humanitarian aid and development cooperation, and over the last two decades they have made their presence in over forty countries in Africa, Asia and Europe. The broad spectrum of activities conducted by the “People in Need” illustrates the vast area of challenges that need to be addressed by the international community to elevate the situation of people around the world. The organisation provides immediate assistance to people who suffer from natural disasters and armed conflicts. It tries to secure long-term aid for those living in poverty, and it conducts development programmes aimed at facilitating access to education, health care and to clean drinking water.

The “People in Need” are also very active in supporting dissidents in countries where promoting human rights remains a challenge. Human rights programmes are currently being conducted, amongst others, in Cuba and Belarus. The organisation attaches a great deal of importance to the question of struggling civil society in countries undergoing political and institutional challenges on their paths towards democracy. They have been present in Ukraine, Moldova and Myanmar. The “People in Need” understand very well that promotion of human rights leads to education and, in that regard, the organisation conducts a wide variety of educational programmes for teachers and students at different educational levels, focusing all the time on



People in Need – Marek Štys

fostering confidence and elimination of racial and national stereotypes and xenophobia. It is also worth noting that the “People in Need” are the organisers of an international film festival devoted to human rights documentaries.

Ladies and gentlemen and friends, Sergio Vieira de Mello dedicated his life to advancing human rights and humanitarian causes in places where it was most challenging and thus most needed. The “People in Need” has been doing so for over twenty years, providing aid and assistance in many different ways and various different angles. They have been providing immediate assistance as well as basic foundations for long-term solutions. Their dedication to human rights and the impressive scale of their actions and the important effects of their activities on a large number of people have been the main reasons for presenting the “People in Need” with this year’s Polish Prize of Sergio Vieira de Mello.

..... **Danuta Glondys:** Let me ask Jan Gołabek to step forward to present the Statuette of Sergio Vieira de Mello and the diploma to the “People in Need”.

..... **Marek Śtys:** Ladies and gentlemen, thank you very much. I am sure that this Prize will become a great encouragement for the next years of our assistance in human rights work. I am not speaking on behalf of myself or my colleagues in Prague, but I am speaking on behalf of all our colleagues who are currently in the field in difficult countries like Afghanistan, South Sudan, Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo and other places and regions around the world.

I have been with the “People in Need” since 1999 so my relationship with the organisation is very intimate. I have spent many years in the field, in Afghanistan, Kosovo, Pakistan, Congo, and last week I finished my two years assignment in Ethiopia and I am looking forward to many more years with the “People in Need”.

This year we have celebrated our twentieth birthday and I hope that we will keep developing our work in future to have a bigger impact, better quality and efficiency. I hope that we have a long way to go in front of us.

Thank you for many kind words and information. I would just like to add some background of how we started. Before 1992 when PIN was established, there was a group not of war journalists and filmmakers, but a group of travellers who could not travel west or south, so they had to travel east. Therefore they were visiting places and regions like Central Asia and they were establishing tremendous relations with the people there. And then, after the fall of the Soviet Union and the disintegration of Yugoslavia, these regions became war zones and these travellers started to act and help with pure personal and very straightforward solidarity. The first actions of these people were very straightforward, it was simply fundraising. Then they loaded trucks with food, some blankets and old clothes and drove for a week or ten days to somewhere in Armenia or later to Sarajevo.

Later we developed into providing assistance and educational organisation that helped victims and worked with people in situations of distress and disasters. And it does not apply to humanitarian aid only. We all know that critical situations are not only outcomes of natural disasters or foreign interventions, but may result from the political environment, the nature of government and governance. Poor governance and impossibility of rotating the governments are the root causes of wars in many countries around the world. This is why in our organisation we “shelter” under one roof the humanitarian department and the human rights department and act together. In the majority of cases we are successful, but sometimes we fail. In 2008, in Burma – where we had already worked on the support of free media and local youth societies and helped families who had relatives in jail – a cyclone struck leaving one and a half million people in poverty. So we came in with the humanitarian aid but immediately realized that it was impossible to deliver it because we had no chance to register convoys heading south into the Delta where there is a divide in the government and the army, and our aid was confiscated.

Let me also refer to programmes carried within in the Czech Republic, like the programme of social integration which has been already mentioned. It focuses on the most marginalised group of Czech society, on Czech Romas who live in absolutely appalling conditions. If you went to the countryside in the northern part of the Czech Republic, what you would see would be beyond any expectation, you would not recognise that we were not looking at pictures of African or Indian slums, but at people who live in the heart of Europe.

This is why our work focuses not only on direct assistance but also on creating awareness and expanding people's horizons for displaying tolerance and solidarity in Czech society. And here, very specifically, we are targeting the young generation and audience of our film festival "One World" which takes place annually in March in Prague. If you get a chance please visit us, we are selecting the best, most visible films and creating special didactic visual materials. Currently we have around four thousand schools, which are roughly sixty-five per cent or two-thirds of Czech primary schools, where teachers have didactic tools to present topics devoted to people living in disaster regions, in crippling poverty, stricken by wars or natural disasters, or living in very oppressive regimes. The interesting thing about this project is that it is also trying to map blank pages of Czech history and refers to our experience with an oppressive regime which started in the 1950s and is still not a part of an official Czech curriculum.

All of this could not be done without the strong constituency within the Czech society, who support our budget with twenty-five per cent, small funding coming from tens of thousands of small donors, and my gratitude has to be extended also to them. We also have always received fantastic support from the late President Havel who shared with us his thoughts and followed the same values as we do.

We have hopefully another twenty years ahead of us and I can promise we will keep focusing on individual people, we will not get lost in bureaucratic practices of big projects. We will always see the individual behind our work. This is what we remind ourselves every year, because a person can easily get caught in the large financial rules, in the paper work behind the computer desks. This idea is also reflected in our logo – it shows a person surrounded by a fence and it seems that the person cannot get over it, that is somehow closed in the circumstances where he can hardly help himself, and asks others to help and make him free.

The justification of the verdict in the special category: Honorary Prize

Marian Cwiertniak: Ladies and gentlemen, dear members of the Panel of Judges, it is a great honour and privilege for me to present laudation for the representative of a global business. Big business is associated mainly with profits but over recent years a lot of business companies have really learned a hard lesson. Namely that in the business perspective you have to allow for a broader social perspective, you have to see the people and their needs, because it is the only way to create the added value for shareholders. If we follow only profits for the shareholders this is the road to nothing. The current structural economic crisis confirms that you have to keep a right balance, and approach social and structural development at the same time.

I would like to thank the Villa Decius Association for inviting us to take part in this very important and prestigious project, for allowing me to present you with this laudation and to find myself in such a fantastic community of people.

The Polish Prize of Sergio Vieira de Mello honours outstanding personalities who have worked for the international dialogue, who have worked for the peaceful co-existence of communities and cultures. Today the Prize goes to the hands of Arnold Wellman, a man who was able to fight for these values from a very difficult position, and I know what I am saying because I am wearing the same hat presiding over a big international company.

Mr. Arnold Wellman has worked for many years in a well-known American company – the United Parcel Service dealing with corporate matters and public relations. He was responsible for the Corporate Social Responsibility policy and budget, and assisted and supported projects aimed at granting young people and the youth access to education in many forgotten parts of the world. So UPS started to build and equip schools and provided funds for additional classes for children in Poland, Ukraine, India, Mexico, China, and in the poorest regions of the U.S. He saw that it is indeed an obligation of global business to be sensitive to poverty and to counteract ever deepening social divisions and social divides. Without this human solidarity we will never make this planet a better place and a more dignified place to live.



Arnold Wellman

The UPS programme gave a chance and a hope to many thousands of children. They were granted access to computers and internet which opened them to the world, enabled them to understand the whole perspective and potential that they have, and encouraged them to seek different possibilities of self-development in a natural way. It also stimulated cooperation between peers coming from different schools and countries, like between Polish schools in Lipka and Serock and the Ukrainian schools. UPS was also organising educational trips and study visits abroad for children who had never been abroad or who never left their village before.

Now Mr. Arnold Wellman is to be thanked for this entire work. He has contributed a lot as he really felt that this part of his company's activity was so very important. He was personally committed to supporting these projects and also spending time and also private money on them.

Arnold Wellman is an American; he has worked for an American company all his life; his family did not come from the regions which he supported. His only relation to each and every one of them was human and emotional. From this perspective he never entered into very complex historical problems but he kept looking into the future, trying to make sure that the new generation of people have equal chances and equal opportunities. His work shows that now, when we live in this fast growing global village, we can indeed but stop and notice a real village with its poverty with its problems, with its disillusionings and with longings and desires. As soon as we identify the needs, we can actually address them by arranging for the collaboration of people who come from worlds apart, and I know many employers from UPS and not only from that company were cooperating on these projects.

The passion and the work of Mr. Wellman not only gave hope but also became a lesson of solidarity and empathy, and opened children and young people to the world. For me and many of us in the business world Arnold Wellman became a model to follow. It is his dedication and the effects of his work in so many countries of the world that have been the reasons for presenting him with this year's Polish Prize of Sergio Vieira de Mello.

..... **Danuta Glondys:** Let me ask Tomasz Sendyka who actually nominated Mr. Wellman to step forward and together with Marian Ćwiertniak to present the Statuette of Sergio Vieira de Mello and the diploma.

..... **Arnold Wellman:** Ladies and gentlemen, thank you so much for this great honour. I thank the jury for selecting me, but I must say my contributions are very small compared to the work of Sister Raphael and the “People in Need”. What little work I have done also pales into comparison with the great work of the people who are sitting at the back of the room today, who travelled from far away to be here with us. They did not come from Mexico, China or India but from villages in Poland and Ukraine, where they live and work hard. That is why I think they are the ones to be awarded.

What my company did was like giving seeds to these people. We brought some small funds and some encouragement, but they had to execute the plan. It was to provide an opportunity for villages that largely had no hope. In a global village, their villages were forgotten, were not needed, so we tried to connect those areas that were disconnected with technology and improved levels of English in the classroom.

We found things here in Poland that opened our eyes. As an American I had no idea, I did not understand the special relationship between people in Ukraine and people in Poland. We learned so much and got from these people much more than we gave.

I would like to introduce to you a little girl from Ukraine. I met her when she was three years old. Today Jana is eleven years old and although she will not speak English here, she knows English because it is taught at her school, at her village in Ukraine. Jana sends me emails in perfect English at least twice a month. Her mother and father also use the internet and send me emails from a village that had no internet.

Jana has already travelled to Poland and presented her unique Ukrainian culture to Poles, knowing that in her village in 1939 it was Poland. She cherishes the culture she lives in and

belongs to, and shares it with Polish children and they share their culture with her. Now she, like many of her colleagues at school, has friends in Poland. She goes skiing in Poland, went to her first swimming pool in Poland. Yes, it is all about Jana and Kati.

Both my wife and I are humbled by this wonderful prize and we are really humbled because we share it with two very deserving laureates. Thank you very much for this honour and please remember it is all about children like Jana and Kati.

EXPERTS

Kareem Amer

Egyptian cyber-dissident, human rights activist. The first blogger in the Arabic world sentenced to four years of imprisonment for the content of his writing. In 2007 awarded a prize by the “Reporters without Borders”. In 2012 received a scholarship from the City of Krakow as ICORN writer-resident.

Krzysztof Bobiński

Journalist and publicist, social activist. President of the Unia & Polska Foundation and a board member of the Polish-Ukrainian Cooperation Foundation. Regularly contributes to *Open Democracy*, *European Voice* and is an associate editor of the European section of the *Europe's World*.

Hywel Ceri Jones

Director of the Network of European Foundations. Former Director General of the European Commission. Initiator and co-creator of programs: ERASMUS, COMETT, TEMPUS and Youth for Europe. One of the most outstanding men of the United Europe.

Michael Daxner

Professor of Sociology and Jewish Studies. The Principal International Officer on Education, Science and Technology in Kosovo (UNMIK), an adviser to the Austrian Government for Issues on the Soft Sector Politics of South-Eastern Europe (2002–2006). Currently adviser to the Minister of Education of Afghanistan and researcher in this part of the world.

Üstün Ergüder

Twice Rector of Boğaziçi University in Istanbul. President of the Council of Magna Carta Observatory of Academic Freedom in Bologna. The Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Third Sector Foundation of Turkey and a member of the Executive Board of Vehbi Koc Foundation.

Danuta Glondys

Director of the Villa Decius Association. Ph.D. in Cultural Studies. Traveler. Director of the Culture Department of the Municipality of Krakow (1993–1999). European Commission expert for selections of the European Capitals of Culture.

JE Staffan Herrström

Ambassador of the Kingdom of Sweden to Poland. Former political advisor to Deputy Prime Minister Ola Ullstein (1981–1982). Former chairman of the Liberal Party. Until 2010 Ambassador of the Kingdom of Sweden to Vietnam.

Dominika Kasprowicz

Ph.D. degree in Political Science. Assistant Professor in the Political Science Institute of Pedagogical University of Cracow. Author of many research studies and publications concerning European issues.

Aleksander Koj

President of the Villa Decius Association. Medical doctor and scientist working in the field of biochemistry and molecular biology. Professor, author of over 200 papers. Doctor honoris causa of three US State Universities (Cleveland, Hartford, Buffalo). Three times Rector of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow (1987–1999).

Michel Henri Kowalewicz

Philosopher and historian of ideas. Professor at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, founder and head of the History of Ideas Research Centre at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow. The focus of his research is on the exploration of the different models of Enlightenment and the dissemination of ideas and texts in the 18th century.

Beata Kowalska

Associate Professor at the Institute of Sociology at the Jagiellonian University in Poland. For many years her main field of interest has been the cultural, social and political processes taking place in the Middle East with the particular interest in the role of women's movement in the processes of democratization.

Jacek Krupa

Member of the Board of the Malopolska Region, responsible for culture, tourism, sport and development of technology. Mayor of the city of Skawina (1990–1998), Deputy chief of the Krakow county, Chief of the Krakow county (2002–2005), Member of Parliament (2005–2011).

Pery Machado

Minister-Counselor in the Embassy of the Federative Republic of Brazil to Poland. His previous work experience includes posting in South America, Africa and Europe. He has been awarded the Brazilian Order of Rio Branco (Commander) and the Royal Norwegian Order of St. Olaf (Knight 1st Class).

Wojciech Przybylski

Historian of ideas. Editor in chief of *Res Publica Nowa* magazine. Founder and editor in chief of *Visegrad Insight*. Coordinator of Tischner Debates at Warsaw University. Author of numerous articles on society, culture and political life.

Helmut Pulte

Philosopher, professor at the Ruhr-University Bochum, director of the Institute of Philosophy at RUB and the head of the Chair for Philosophy and Theory of Sciences at this Institute, co-publisher for the *Journal for General Philosophy of Science*.

László Rájk

Architect, designer. Lecturer at the University of Theatre and Film in Budapest. Former dissident, founder of *Samizdat Boutique* and co-founder of underground *AB Publishing House*. Member of Hungarian Parliament (1990-96). Former advisor to National Committee of UNESCO. Since 2003 advisor to the European Commission.

Josep Ramoneda

Philosopher, writer. Professor at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Founder and head of the Centro de Cultura Contemporànea de Barcelona (until 2011). Head of the Institut de la Recherche et de l'Innovation in Paris. Regular contributor to *El País* and *Cadena SER* radio. Author of *Apología del presente*, *Después de la pasión política*, *Del tiempo condensado*, and *Contra la indiferencia*.

Sister Raphael

Urszula Nałęcz, Polish Franciscan, missionary and educator. Founder of educational institutions for the blind people in the poorest parts of the world (incl. India, South Africa

and Rwanda). Awarded with the Order of Polonia Restituta Medal, Bene Merito and Pontifici Honor Badges.

Peter Ripken

President of Board of International Cities of Refuge Network. Senior consultant of Frankfurt – City of Refuge (since 1997). Worked as a journalist focusing on international affairs, literary agent and organizer of cultural events, such as the Frankfurt Book Fair. One of the founders of International Cities of Refuge Network (2005).

Nawal el Saadawi

Egyptian feminist, writer and physician, leading activist for human rights, repeatedly persecuted and imprisoned for her activities. One of the most widely translated contemporary Egyptian writers. Visiting professor of many universities including: Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Sorbonne.

Magdalena Sroka

Deputy Mayor of Krakow in charge of culture and city promotion. Master of Arts in theatre studies, manager of culture, producer of festivals, shows and TV programs. Director of the Krakow Festival Office (2008-2010). Co-initiator of legislative reforms regulating the cultural sector.

Irena Wóycicka

Undersecretary of State for social affairs in the Chancellery of the President of Poland. Former Deputy Minister of Labour and Social Policy. Professor of economy at Warsaw University. From the 70's an activist of the opposition movement, collaborator of Workers' Defence Committee (KOR) and Solidarity.

Ernest Zienkiewicz

Director of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Office in Warsaw. For many years involved in supporting underprivileged and threatened by exclusion groups of society.

ABOUT THE VILLA DECIUS ASSOCIATION

The Villa Decius Association was founded in 1995 by well-known representatives of the world of science, economy and culture. Within several years it has established itself as a cultural institution of international outreach and a platform of cultural dialogue linking nations and uniting Europe.

Members of the Association include artists, researchers and academics as well as animators of cultural and educational events. The Board of Association is chaired by the former Rector of the Jagiellonian University, Professor Aleksander Koj and the Association's activities are supervised by Director Danuta Glondys, Ph.D.

Villa Decius' interdisciplinary programmes are addressed to representatives of scientific, artistic and political milieus, and also to managers and entrepreneurs working in multicultural communities. In its programmes Villa Decius gives important place to global and civilization issues, European integration, protection of cultural heritage, promotion of ethnic and national minorities and human rights.

Villa Decius hosts meetings and debates of outstanding guests, scientists, artists and representatives of the political elites. Thus the ideas of Renaissance which accompanied its beginnings are enriched with new contemporary dimension and perfectly match the character and tradition of the place.

ABOUT THE HISTORY OF IDEAS RESEARCH CENTRE AT THE JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY IN KRAKOW

History of Ideas Research Centre at Jagiellonian University in Krakow is an independent research and didactic unit of the Faculty of Philosophy of this university. Centre was founded on 1 November 2011, pursuant to the Jagiellonian University Rector's Regulation no. 73 of 10 October 2011.

The main goal of History of Ideas Research Centre is about carrying out the project: "History of Ideas Research Network" (editing a publishing series as well as a biannual electronic magazine, organisation of yearly conferences and monthly meetings, the development of the history of ideas and its methodology, coordinating the international network, and the projects on the European and global scales).

According to the originators' point of view, it's an exceptional opportunity to highlight a long Polish tradition of humanities in the global scientific community.

THE POLISH PRIZE OF SERGIO VIEIRA DE MELLO

THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS (2002-2003)

Honorary patronage:

Ambassador of the Federative Republic of Brazil to Poland

Ambassador of the Kingdom of Sweden to Poland

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Following the initiative of the Villa Decius Association, the Sergio Vieira de Mello Prize was established in the year 2003 with an aim to promote democracy and tolerance, and to pay tribute to Sergio Vieira de Mello, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights.

The Prize is awarded to a Person and an Organization for their merits for peaceful coexistence and cooperation of communities, religions and cultures.

The Prize is awarded to Individuals and Organizations from Poland and abroad.

The Prize is awarded by the Panel of Judges composed of the High Representatives of: the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the President of the Republic of Poland, HE Ambassador of the Federative Republic of Brazil, HE Ambassador of the Kingdom of Sweden, Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Polish Commissioner for Civil Rights Protection, Consul General of the United States of America to Krakow, the Polish Institute of National Remembrance, foundations cooperating with the Villa Decius Association in matters related to human rights as well as Sponsors of the Prize and the Chairman and the Director of the Villa Decius Association.

The Laureates are given a Statuette of Sergio designed and made by Andrzej Renes and a Personal Diploma. The Prize may also have a financial dimension.

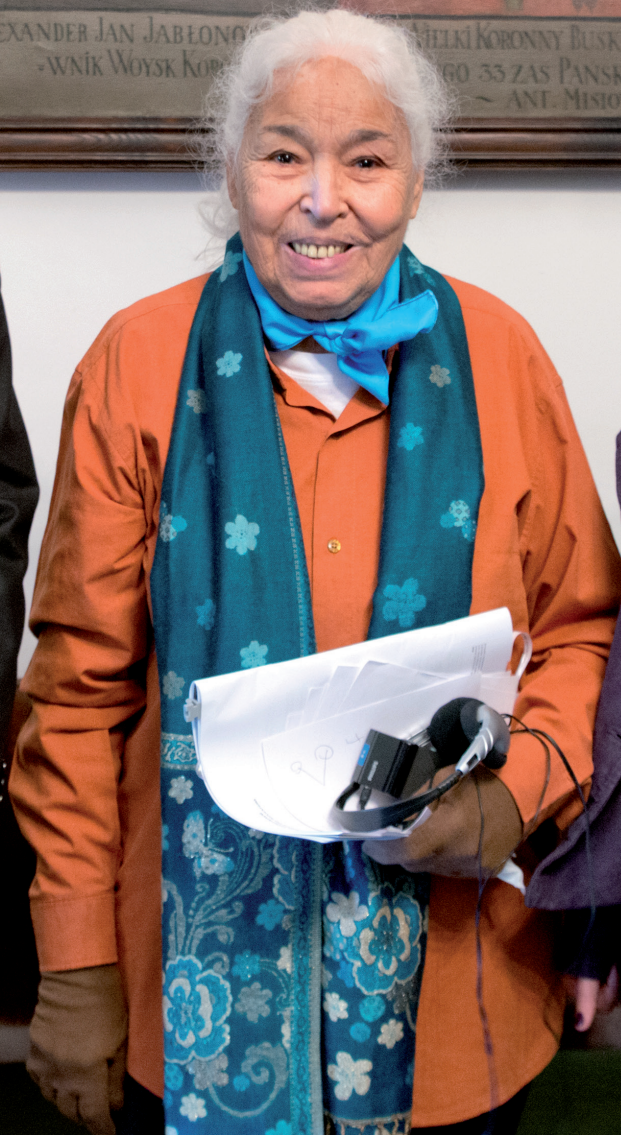
2004	Tadeusz Mazowiecki One World Association	2009	Fatos Lubonja Leopold Unger (1922–2011) United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq
2005	Rev. Marian Żelazek SVD (1918-2006) Krzyżowa Foundation for European Understanding	2010	Nagy El-Khoury and Mohammad al-Nokkari Memoriał Association Andrzej Przewoźnik (1963–2010)
2006	Alaxandr Milinkevich Jewish Culture Festival	2011	Hassan Omar Hassan Halina Nieć Legal Aid Centre Bernard Kouchner
2007	Maryna Hulia Magurycz Association	2012	Sister Raphael - Urszula Nałęcz People in Need Arnold Welman
2008	Krystyna Pryjomko-Serafin Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights Szewach Weiss Michał Żejmis (distinction)		



Mr. [Name]

[Name]
[Title]



















Organiser



Cooperation



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Rzeczpospolita Polska
Ministerstwo
Spraw Zagranicznych

Projekt współfinansowany przez
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