

# Documentation 2013

The Future of Growth  
Economic Values and the Media

# 2529 Delegates from 132 Countries Representing 757 Institutions

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**Conference Documentation**  
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**Economic Values and the Media**

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NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA



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Director General, Deutsche Welle











## Message from the Host

Welcome to the 6th edition of the Deutsche Welle Global Media Forum. Deutsche Welle celebrates its 60th anniversary in 2013 and we will start our international conference with a ceremony to commemorate the founding of Germany's international broadcaster six decades ago.

"The Future of Growth – Economic Values and the Media" is the topic of this year's Global Media Forum. The world economy faces enormous challenges. Pressed to deal with climate change and scarce resources, it must also respond to growing social, political and cultural tensions. As billions of people vie for lives in dignity on a shared planet, the debate on global regulatory and structural policies is swelling. The recent financial crisis has brought transparency and stakeholder accountability into sharper public focus.

The economic progress of many newly industrialized countries and increased South-South cooperation are weaving a new global economic fabric, opening up a wealth of opportunities. Concepts such as energy turnaround, green economies, social justice and environmental responsibility are driving the debate about the economic future. Sustainable climate protection is seen as key to economic viability and prosperity. During our plenary sessions on the second and third days of the conference (entitled "Global Governance: Blueprint for a Sustainable World Economy" and "Changing Economic Values - Green Economy, CSR and Human Rights") we will discuss further important aspects of this topic.

Sustainable economic development and the role of growth have long been sociopolitical issues in which the media play an important role. On the one hand they are to deliver information and knowledge to broadly educate and sensitize the general public. On the other hand, they are expected to be watchdogs, spotlighting problems and holding those responsible accountable for their actions. How can the media meet those expectations? The Deutsche Welle Global Media Forum will provide the setting to develop interdisciplinary approaches to building an economy fit for the future.

Experts from the fields of politics, business, finance, culture, academia, civil society and the media will jointly explore fundamental concerns, such as: What opportunities are presented by new economic values? Is growth imperative to increasing prosperity? How can the media help to raise awareness of sustainable consumption and responsible use of resources? How can fair competition be assured at local, regional, national and international levels? Can interaction between stakeholders be improved? What potential do digital media have to inspire interactive participation in the economic dialogue, especially among younger generations?



We are glad that you have come to Bonn to explore how media can play an active role in shaping our economic future and gain new insights into the future of growth. I am delighted to once again welcome the support of so many respected partner organizations - from government agencies to NGOs, institutions and foundations, and also from media and development cooperation organizations. Special thanks goes to the Foundation for International Dialogue of the Sparkasse Savings Bank in Bonn as co-host of this event. The conference is also kindly supported by Germany's Federal Foreign Office, the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), the European Regional Development Fund, the Minister for Federal Affairs, Europe and the Media in the German state of North Rhine-Westphalia, along with the City of Bonn and other organizations. The North Rhine-Westphalian Foundation for Environment and Development is a cooperation partner.

Let's enjoy three constructive and productive days together.

Erik Bettermann  
Director General of Deutsche Welle

the fact that the *de novo* synthesis of cholesterol is inhibited by the presence of dietary cholesterol.

There is a strong correlation between the amount of cholesterol in the diet and the amount of cholesterol in the blood.

The amount of cholesterol in the blood is also affected by the amount of physical activity.

Physical activity increases the amount of cholesterol in the blood.

The amount of cholesterol in the blood is also affected by the amount of stress.

Stress increases the amount of cholesterol in the blood.

The amount of cholesterol in the blood is also affected by the amount of sleep.

Less sleep is associated with higher levels of cholesterol in the blood.

The amount of cholesterol in the blood is also affected by the amount of alcohol consumption.

Alcohol consumption increases the amount of cholesterol in the blood.

The amount of cholesterol in the blood is also affected by the amount of smoking.

Smoking increases the amount of cholesterol in the blood.

The amount of cholesterol in the blood is also affected by the amount of caffeine consumption.

Caffeine consumption increases the amount of cholesterol in the blood.

The amount of cholesterol in the blood is also affected by the amount of sugar consumption.

Sugar consumption increases the amount of cholesterol in the blood.

The amount of cholesterol in the blood is also affected by the amount of fat consumption.

Fat consumption increases the amount of cholesterol in the blood.

The amount of cholesterol in the blood is also affected by the amount of protein consumption.

Protein consumption increases the amount of cholesterol in the blood.

The amount of cholesterol in the blood is also affected by the amount of fiber consumption.

Fiber consumption decreases the amount of cholesterol in the blood.

The amount of cholesterol in the blood is also affected by the amount of vitamin consumption.

Vitamin consumption increases the amount of cholesterol in the blood.

Monday, 17 June 2013

Anniversary Celebration

Workshops

Special Guest

## Anniversary Celebration

## 60 Years of Deutsche Welle: The Future of International Broadcasters – Values for a Globalized World

Summer had arrived in late June 2013, on a sunny Monday morning along the banks of the Rhine River in Bonn, where Germany's international broadcaster - Deutsche Welle - was celebrating its 60th anniversary. DW made good use of the occasion to kick off its annual three-day Global Media Forum, welcoming more than 2,500 guests from over 100 countries to participate in discussing the topic of global economic values and the media.

The day's festivities began quite appropriately with the performance of a traditional German folksong by the Deutsche Welle Chorus, itself made up of singers from over 20 countries. The more than 200-year-old traditional text of "Die Gedanken sind frei" (Our thoughts are free) proclaims that no form of political repression can ever prevent people from thinking freely.

### Promoting Freedom and Human Rights

Bernd Neumann, Germany's Federal Commissioner for Culture and the Media, said in his introductory remarks that, for many people living in unfree societies, Deutsche Welle is "a primary source of information when it comes to forming their own opinions about current affairs without being influenced by the state." Deutsche Welle, he added, "does not just convey universal values like freedom and human rights, but has also always built bridges between cultures. The high esteem our country now enjoys around the world is also a result of this work. Deutsche Welle is Germany's media calling card in the world."

In order to continue to be a strong player in the growing competition within international media markets, Germany needs "an independent, self-assured and well-positioned international broadcaster - and that is Deutsche Welle," Neumann said. He attested to DW's continuing capacity for innovation, having developed from a shortwave broadcaster to a successful multimedia organization.

The minister of state used the ceremony commemorating DW's 60th anniversary as an occasion to affirm the funding guarantee that the Deutsche Welle Act provides for an independent international broadcaster. "This will also be the case in the future," Neumann said.

In addition, Neumann referred to the expansion of Deutsche Welle's cooperation with Germany's domestic public broadcasters including ARD (Association of Public Broadcasting Corporations in Germany), ZDF and Deutschlandradio as a way to continue synergizing more effectively while ensuring a solid footing for the international broadcaster in the future.



Thanks to a decision reached jointly by Germany's state government leaders and Chancellor Angela Merkel on June 13, Neumann believes these goals are now "one step closer."

### Set for the Challenges of the Future

DW Director General Erik Bettermann said that the decision is "a milestone for Germany's media policy. And the decision is certainly an important step towards securing Deutsche Welle's future." Bettermann emphasized DW's lasting importance, especially in the face of the "establishment of new international broadcasters." He said that more and more competitors are taking part in "a battle for international public interest," which, according to Bettermann, is a competition about values and ideas. According to the DW director general, Deutsche Welle conveys the "values that Germany and Europe stand for: freedom, democracy and human rights." In many countries the pillars of Western society are "no longer self-evident truths," he said.

Bettermann pointed out, that "the widespread interest and favor that Germany receives in many regions around the world is an opportunity for our country, and one that we should make use of." Deutsche Welle is well set up for "the challenges of the future" thanks to a range of far-reaching reforms to DW programming and overall structure that were carried out in the last few years, Bettermann added. The political decision to further integrate Deutsche Welle into the German media system came at the perfect moment, according to the director general. He described DW as a "unique jewel" in Germany's media landscape.

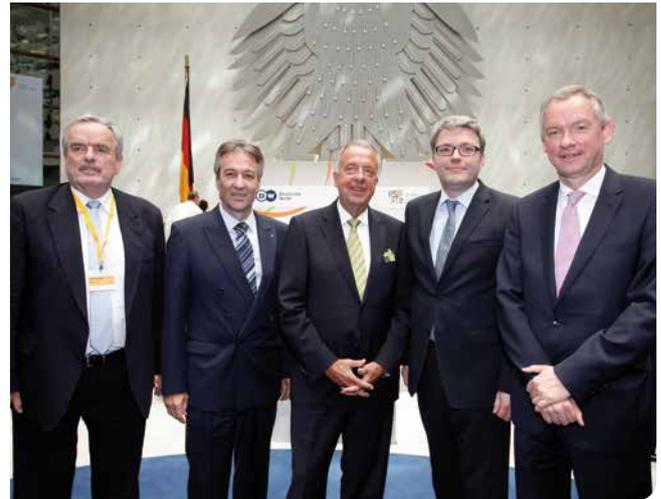


### Paving the Way for the Future

Among the featured speakers at the anniversary ceremonies was ARD Chairman Lutz Marmor, who is also the director general of NDR (North German Broadcasting). He congratulated DW on behalf of ARD. In reference to the federal and state governments' decision of June 13, he said: "The decision has paved the way for the future. Now we just have to breathe life into what we've put on paper." Marmor added that the agreement will allow DW to "internationally represent Germany even more effectively" and to show the world the best ARD, ZDF and Deutschlandradio have to offer. Expanding the cooperation between DW and Germany's domestic public broadcasters will allow for what he called "Deutsche Welle reloaded."

Speaking for the German State of North Rhine-Westphalia, Marc Jan Eumann, the State Secretary for Media in NRW, emphasized that "North Rhine-Westphalia recognizes the importance of Deutsche Welle," which has its headquarters in Bonn. He pointed out that a tax-funded, yet independent broadcaster needs "strong and pluralistic supervisory bodies." He thanked the Broadcasting Board and the Administrative Board for taking on this important task.

For his part, Bonn's Mayor Jürgen Nimptsch compared Deutsche Welle with the United Nations, calling it a mini-UN with citizens from 60 nations who communicate with the world in 30 languages. "The Global Media Forum represents a means of ensuring global sustainability by identifying and solving sources of conflict," he asserted. "This conference aids in developing a holistic approach to addressing the global questions of how to guarantee energy, water and nutritional security for the world's population now and in the future."



### Speakers

#### **Erik Bettermann**

Director General, Deutsche Welle, Bonn, Germany

#### **Jürgen Nimptsch**

Mayor of Bonn, Germany

#### **Bernd Neumann**

Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and the Media, Berlin, Germany

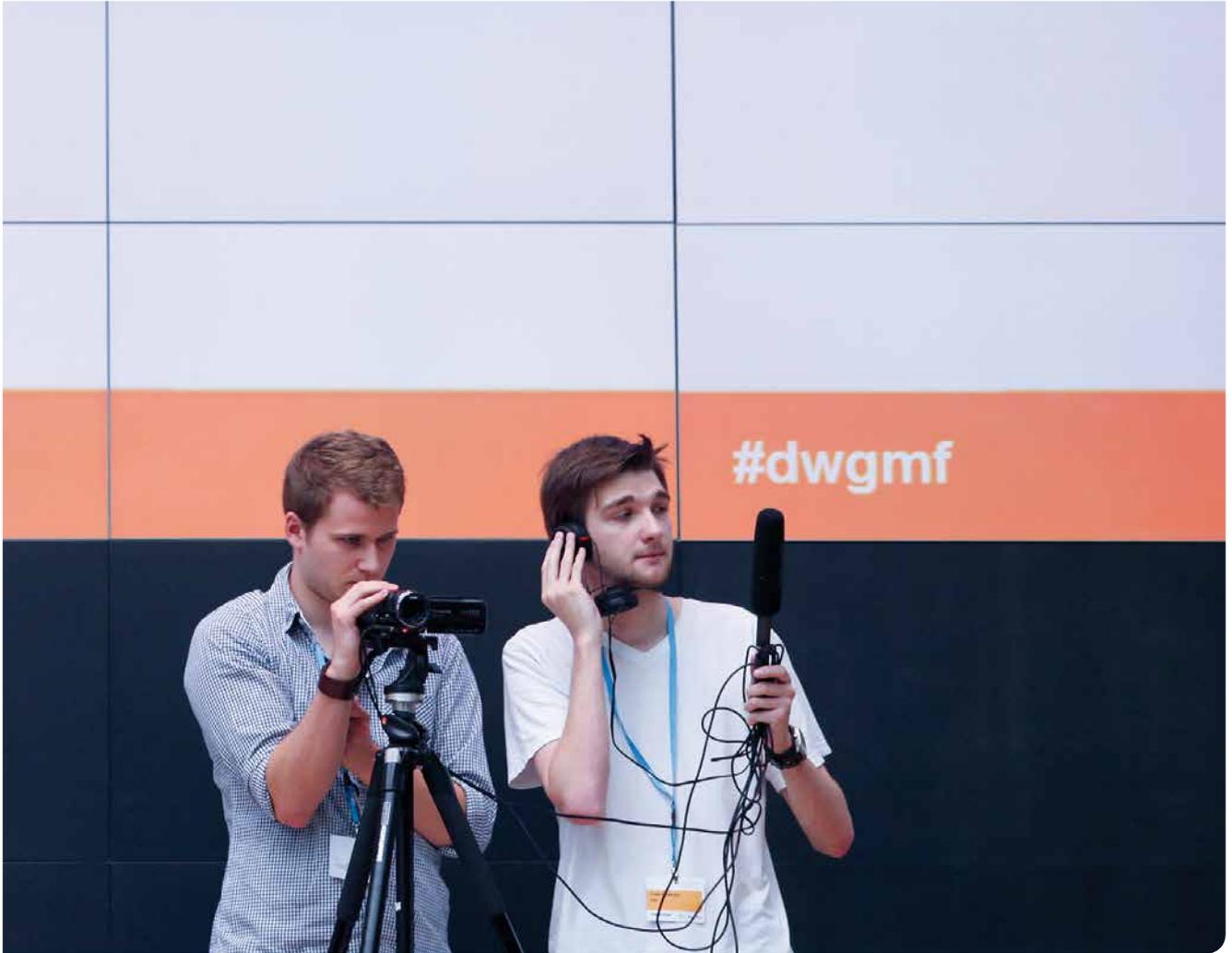
#### **Dr. Marc Jan Eumann**

State Secretary in the Ministry of Federal Affairs, European Affairs and Media of North Rhine Westphalia, Germany

#### **Lutz Marmor**

ARD Chairman and Director General of Norddeutscher Rundfunk NDR, Hamburg, Germany







Workshops



## Society and Transparency: Is Modern Data-Driven Journalism a Big Leap Forward?

Hosted by DW Akademie / Intajour



The panel gave an overview of the state of the art in data-driven journalism (DDJ) and showed best practice examples from Costa Rica, Germany and elsewhere. The panel discussed the relevance of modern DDJ for developing countries and examined the training needs involved. Following the panel discussion, Giannina Segnini and Mirko Lorenz demonstrated some of the tools and methods used in data-driven journalism.

Lorenz explained what data-driven journalism is all about. "Data-driven journalism is not new, but it's evolving," he argued. The data journalist explained this was because of the availability of open data and software tools to process them.

Segnini showed two examples of her DDJ work from Costa Rica and El Salvador. The investigative data journalist and her team from the Costa Rican newspaper La Nacion published a database with the details of 130,000 offshore accounts, known as the "Offshore Leaks". "But just to take a bunch of data and publish some tables is not data-driven journalism," Segnini said. "Data-driven journalism requires analysis."

Christian Kreutz pointed out that there is a need for more and better data and for better trained data journalists as well.

Holger Hank put the importance of DDJ into context and then talked about training needs for journalists. He informed the audience that the DW Akademie now offers training courses in data-driven journalism.

Digitization has created new opportunities for journalistic research and presentation. Data journalists raise the potential of the media to fulfill its function as society's watchdog in regard to economics and politics. They use digital tools to quickly browse huge amounts of data and reveal new facts and conclusions to their audience. But the professional use and deep analysis of data is demanding. Hence it is important to offer professional training opportunities for data-driven journalism.

Panel

**Holger Hank** Head of Digital Division, DW Akademie, Bonn, Germany

**Christian Kreutz** Co-Founder, German Open Knowledge Foundation and Director of crisscrossed GmbH, Frankfurt, Germany

**Mirko Lorenz** Freelance Journalist and Information Architect, Bonn, Germany

**Giannina Segnini** Trainer at the Intajour - International Academy of Journalism and Head of Investigative Research at La Nacion, San José, Costa Rica

Moderation

**Werner Eggert** Director and Chairman of the Management Board, Intajour – International Academy of Journalism, Hamburg, Germany

## Economic Growth and Peace – The Chicken or the Egg?

*Hosted by Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflicts*

Clearly there is a correlation between economic growth and peace. However, does economic growth trigger peace or is it the other way around? During this workshop, organized by the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC) and the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP), the just-released 2013 Global Peace Index (GPI) was used as a lens to look at the peacefulness of Brazil, India and South Africa.

Steve Killelea began the discussion by saying that unless we find a way to learn to live together peacefully, we cannot face the challenges the world sees today, including over-population and climate change. "Peace is a prerequisite," he said. "It is in all of our self-interest to achieve peace."

The GPI of 2013 showed some worrying trends. There has only been a slight deterioration of peace since 2012, but there has been a 5% decline over the last six years. It estimates that the global cost to contain violence is \$9.46 trillion per year, equivalent to 11% of global GDP. Furthermore, there is a clear correlation between countries that are being hit by the recession and them becoming less peaceful.

Mallika Joseph focused on South Asia, and in particular India. South Asia ranks as the least peaceful region in the world. Except for Bhutan, all countries in the region rank very low. However, the perception of people living there is that the region is a lot more peaceful than ten years ago. Interestingly, India spends comparatively little on the containment of violence – both in comparison to countries that do better and those that rank the same. Even though India is doing very well when it comes to growth, it also features extreme economic inequality. Too many people are dependent on weak economic sectors, making them vulnerable to poverty and social unrest. Human security is the crux of the question. There is a need to go beyond economic development, to assure inclusive and equitable economic growth and good governance.

Gilberto Rodriguez shifted the attention of the audience to Brazil. Brazil is less peaceful internally than externally. The biggest reason for this is violent crime. The contribution of the media in continuing the perception of crime as an insuperable problem does not help with coming up with a solution. There are a few main reasons for violent crime in Brazil; huge population concentrations in urban areas; metropolitan areas with great poverty belts; the gap between rich and poor; and easy access to small weapons, even though Brazilian law is very restrictive.

In Brazil, economic stability, social and economic equality policies and fairer distribution of resources have contributed to the

country being more peaceful. However, the agro-business economic model; pressures and sacrifices of the environment and local population; and persisting levels of wealth concentration are pulling the country in the other direction.

Finally, Vasu Gounden looked at the African continent, specifically South Africa. Noting that conflict there is changing, he said that the biggest challenges for the 21st century are likely going to be the rise of crime, in particular the trafficking of drugs, people and arms. In South Africa, peace preceded economic growth. That is not always the case. However, structural socio-economic problems like a pestering housing, skills, and health gap, which will take several generations to deconstruct, are now putting this peace under threat. The country faces a backlog in attempting to redistribute wealth and the income inequality gap is still growing. Additionally, South Africa does not control commodity prices, which have a major influence on the economic growth and peacefulness of the country. Nor does it control global conflicts – only big powers have influence on conflicts, e.g. Syria. Yet, these do impact the country.

In conclusion, the workshop could not answer the questions it posed, but highlighted a correlation between economic growth and peace, even though it is neither linear, nor straightforward. Some recurring points were the importance of addressing economic inequality and the need to look at human security and go beyond economic growth.

### Panel

**Gilberto Marcos Antonio Rodrigues** Professor of International Relations, Federal University of ABC, São Paulo, Brazil

**Mallika Joseph** Executive Director, Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, Colombo, Sri Lanka

**Steve Killelea** Founder and Chairman, Institute for Economics and Peace, Melbourne, Australia

**Vasu Gounden** Founder and Executive Director, African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes, Durban, South Africa

### Moderation

**Marte Hellema** Programme Manager Public Outreach, Global Secretariat of the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict, The Hague, Netherlands

## Skills for Sustainable Growth Through Networking

Hosted by UNESCO-UNEVOC

The skills and knowledge people bring to the workplace have an important role in advancing the economy, but not only that: they also help determine how sustainable an economy is. The role of UNESCO-UNEVOC is to bring governments and people together around shared goals and values on how to live and work sustainably. This is why UNESCO-UNEVOC runs an international network of vocational education institutions around the world. Vocational education experts from the network were invited to present the contribution of vocational education for sustainable growth in their countries, and why they engage in international exchange to achieve it.

The mandate of UNESCO for skills development, said Alix Wurdak, is to promote learning that prepares people for the workplace. UNESCO advocates for skills as an important part of development policy. "The wealth of a country lies in its people's knowledge and skills," said Wurdak.

Jisun Chung presented the case of South Korea. Since it has no natural resources, the only strategy to overcome poverty after the Korean War was to invest in people's skills. "Today, Korea is the only country that has moved from receiving development aid to being a donor country," she remarked. Korea serves as an example of how successful transformation works and is often asked for policy advice by developing countries. That is why it is taking a lead role in the UNEVOC Network in Asia to improve vocational education in keeping with the interests of Asian countries. For a sustainable transition, cooperation between industry and academia must be strengthened, as academia has a role in ensuring creativity and preserving independent thinking so people can make informed decisions about the way their work affects the environment.

Ronny Sannerud presented the vocational education system in Norway, a country rich in natural resources. Utilizing them wisely while expanding renewable sources is necessary to sustain the economy in the future. Environmental questions are integrated into the curriculum, both in theory and in practice. "Norway is a high-cost country, so we have to work smart," he said. Negotiation skills and the ability to adapt to future technology are important skills that small enterprises need. They make up 60 percent of the job market. International partnership and engagement is useful to share ideas and good practices, and to raise the international profile of an institution. This is why the institution is active internationally, for example in Uganda.

Habib Kato presented two scenarios for upskilling young people in Uganda: community-based informal learning, and formal training. "Formal education offers accredited courses and degrees, but can easily get detached from the reality of society,"

he said. To bridge this gap, Kyambogo University together with the Norwegian Centre for Research on Education and Work have set up a vocational pedagogy degree that prepares young teachers for the professions they are going to teach, in dialogue with communities, social partners and workplaces. International cooperation is important for Kato as he noted that "our culture affects the way we produce things." Being able to find out why and how things are done in other countries challenges us to reconsider the way we work, he said, and enables us to pick the best solutions.

Eckart Lilienthal enriched the discussion with insight and experience from Germany, which has felt a rise in interest in its vocational education system after the country did well during the global financial crisis. Despite this, he noted, vocational education is not at the center of educational policy reform: the focus is usually on school and university. This is a mistake that needs fixing.

In summary, the right skills can help build sustainable livelihoods and societies. The skills and knowledge that people bring to the workplace play not only an important part in advancing the economy, but also determine its sustainability. While green skills are needed for renewable energy jobs, they are also needed in all existing occupations. For both, an awareness of one's impact on the environment is crucial. Networking, peer consultation and learning help to pool a country's knowledge base and expertise on how to attain these goals.

### Panel

**Dr. Jisun Chung** Senior Research Fellow and Director, Center for Global Cooperation, Korea Research Institute for Vocational Education and Training, Seoul, Republic of Korea

**Prof. Habib Kato** Professor, Kyambogo University, Kampala, Uganda

**Alix Wurdak** Contact for Europe and North America, UNESCO-UNEVOC International Centre for Technical and Vocational Education and Training, Bonn, Germany

**Prof. Ronny Sannerud** Professor, Centre for Research on Education and Work, Oslo, and Akershus University College, Kjeller, Norway, and Visiting Professor, Kyambogo University, Kampala, Uganda

### Moderation

**Eckart Lilienthal** Desk Officer, Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF), Bonn, Germany

## News for Social Change: Media's Emerging Value Proposition

Hosted by Ashoka

How can quality news media be sustained? Tomorrow's news organizations cannot survive simply by reporting and distributing information. Instead they will thrive by moving to higher-value activities, such as helping people to advance their lives, engage powerfully in their communities and society – and, ultimately, bring about change.

This session explored emerging solutions for media sustainability, focusing on the valuable linkages between knowledge and activation. Panelists included social entrepreneurs who are attacking this new paradigm head-on, confronting the tension between audience engagement and conventional journalistic values and weighing the balance between social and financial impact.

### The Basics Still Work

When Raed Othman founded the Ma'an news agency in 2008, Palestine was dominated by government-owned and political party-owned media, and by a few private media organizations with clear agendas. "So we started with the idea: First, give people information. News is important because it affects people's life. And we told our reporters, you are allowed to do anything except, don't lie. That is the first secret." That dedication to truth meant balanced reporting of multiple perspectives amid Palestine's ongoing conflict. It also meant deep reporting on local issues, so that people recognized themselves and issues they cared about. The result: Five years after launch, 75% of Palestinians see Ma'an as their primary source of news. More telling, 82% of Hamas supporters and 86% of Fatah supporters say Ma'an's reporting is independent. That trust catalyzes audience loyalty that is attractive to advertisers; Ma'an is comfortably self-sustaining.

### Advertising Still Works

"In new democracies," Glenewinkel says, "everyone wants to talk." In post-revolution Libya, 150 radio stations sprouted up in four months; newspapers have exploded in Iraq. "The problem is paying for it." Typically, in countries with weak histories of independent media, financing for news comes either from government-related entities or from foreign interests with mixed agendas – neither healthy nor sustainable revenue sources. Instead, Glenewinkel says, "media should look at multi-dependency of revenue sources. Advertising still plays a crucial role. It can help media move from partisanship to professionalization." The challenge, he says, is twofold: shifting advertising support in large media markets from established media to more independent outlets; and bringing new advertising into markets that have long gone without commercial support.

### News – But More

"You don't serve people just by putting news on the table," says Kothari. "You go further. We end up becoming activists – engaging

people and leading to activities on the ground where people get together." For example: When its journalists discovered that cell phone towers were emitting extraordinarily high levels of radiation, Patrika didn't hold back. It initiated a public campaign to educate readers on the risks and to solicit reports of ailments that could be connected to the towers. And it went to the courts, lobbying state government to change regulations. Among other changes, Rajasthan ordered the towers removed from school grounds. Property developers got involved in the movement because they saw rents dropping in areas near the towers. Citizens put pressure on neighbors who leased their land for towers. "The story is so heartening," Kothari says, "because it touches everyone. We connected our people; the newspaper was a bridge."

In that sense, the role of a publisher remains quite traditional: at its best, news media reflect the needs and aspirations of a community and helps people to realize those aspirations. But Patrika embraces the engagement function in ways that would make many media executives uncomfortable. Likewise, Ashoka has launched a pilot project with the Christian Science Monitor to connect the Monitor's journalism to an online platform that allows people to explore discussions and changemaking opportunities related to the story they've just read.

### Conclusion

In a way, the formula for sustainable media hasn't changed. Publishers build credibility by reflecting and advancing the needs of their audiences. There is an opportunity, as Kothari observes, for media to "take the role of thinking 50 years ahead, or longer, and to initiate a conversation about society's long-term interests." There also is increasing opportunity for publishers to connect the news to opportunities for engagement, creating new trust and loyalty. If such strategies create value for audiences, financial sustainability will follow.

### Panel

**Klaas Glenewinkel** Founder and Managing Director, Media in Cooperation and Transition, Berlin, Germany

**Nihar Kothari** Managing Director and Executive Editor, Patrika, Jaipur, India

**Raed Othman** Founder, Ma'an Network, Jerusalem, West Bank

### Moderation

**Keith Hammonds** Founding Director, News & Knowledge Initiative, Ashoka, New York, United States

## Energy Policy and Economic Growth – Conflict or Convergence?

Hosted by Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

In view of a growing global population, the world economy faces enormous challenges. To satisfy the needs of billions of people, the world will need economic growth and vast amounts of extra energy. The different paths of energy policy being followed worldwide could implicitly lead to different economic models. But ultimately there is still the question: How can the rising demand for energy be met in a responsible and sustainable way? And how can the different needs - of emerging economies like India, of developing countries like Nigeria, and of industrialized countries - be taken into account? The workshop provided a forum for panelists and audience members to discuss the interaction between energy policy and economic growth in different economic contexts.

Anmol Soni pointed out that the biggest achievement in Indian energy policy has been acknowledging the need to meet the country's growing energy demand in a sustainable manner. India has experienced high economic growth since the 2000s. In terms of energy policy, proactive steps have been taken to make energy production and consumption more equitable and sustainable. The biggest challenge facing India is the lack of access to energy and the inequity in providing modern forms of energy across the country. There are big gaps between the requirement and availability. A large proportion of the population still depends on traditional forms of energy such as firewood. Several policies have been introduced to enhance the uptake of modern forms of energy.

According to Obiora Ike, Nigeria's greatest energy policy success has been the government's approval to promote wind and solar energy investments. On the other hand, his country is still not able to meet people's energy needs, leading to frequent blackouts across the country. In his view, the matter of energy is a question of power and justice. Those who are poor and have no power do not have access to energy. There is uneven distribution of energy between industrialized countries and the rest of the world. Furthermore, there are discrepancies in the distribution of technology. A big challenge is the ecological consequences of short-term energy policies.

For Nils aus dem Moore Germany's biggest achievement in the field of energy policy was the decision for a "turnaround" in the energy supply system. The "Energiewende" aims to source Germany's energy supply primarily from renewable energy by 2050. The biggest challenge in this context is the fact that the national measures implemented by Germany are not yet sufficiently integrated into the energy policy at the European and global level. Even perfect implementation of the "Energiewende" in Germany will be no more than a sample with little value without a revitalization of the European Union

Emissions Trading Scheme (EU ETS) and its successive extension towards a global carbon market. A special parliamentary commission on growth, welfare and well-being stated that economic growth and the respect of "planetary boundaries," a framework identifying nine essential geophysical functions of the planet, would only be possible if absolute decoupling of the two could be achieved.

For Severin Fischer, the EU ETS is the most successful achievement of European energy policy. Besides the notion of putting a price on CO<sub>2</sub> emissions, integration of the electricity and the gas markets in the EU is a core element of European energy and climate policy. Although the EU ETS is a great success, the system creates big challenges. Carbon emissions prices are too low, so the system is not effective and has led to a renaissance of coal in Europe. After the failed international climate negotiations and the economic crisis, a renationalization of energy policy can be observed within the European Union. For the future it is important to revitalize the idea of carbon pricing and to put a framework in place for the period after 2020.

The discussion showed that access to energy is necessary for economic growth and should therefore be a priority in national energy policy. Emerging and developing countries have different needs and strategies than industrialized countries like the EU member states. The media's role is to inform truthfully about the realities of the global energy situation and about the advantages and disadvantages of different energy policies, the unequal distribution of energy and its effects on people's living conditions.

### Panel

**Nils aus dem Moore** Head of the Communication Department, Rhine-Westphalian Institute for Economic Research, Berlin, Germany

**Severin Fischer** Fellow, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin, Germany

**Prof. Obiora Ike** Roman Catholic Prelate of the Catholic Diocese of Enugu, Nigeria

**Anmol Soni** Research Associate at the Centre for Research on Energy Security (TERI), New Delhi, India

### Moderation

**Maria Grunwald** Journalist and TV Presenter, Deutsche Welle, Berlin, Germany

## Digital Storytelling – A Message in a Nutshell

Hosted by Grimme-Institut

Based on a presentation that included various digital stories, this workshop gave an introduction to the methodology, technical requirements and benefits of digital storytelling as a tool to put complex messages "in a nutshell".

Guido Kowalski started out with a definition of digital storytelling, which, as a main feature, combines narrative elements with digital content. Generally, digital stories can take up any subject as long as it is being approached from a personal angle, which, according to Kowalski, constitutes the key principle of this method. Although there is no such thing as a specific, fixed format for digital stories, storytelling projects by the BBC such as "Capture Wales" (<http://bbc.in/KYdLT>) have established certain standards concerning their length (2:00 - 2:30 minutes) and word count (250-300 words).

In Kowalski's opinion, the strength of this method is based on the fact that digital stories are quick and easy to produce while, at the same time, displaying a high degree of authenticity. Furthermore, they enable the storyteller to break down complex topics from a wide range of contexts (personal, educational, historical, societal) into a personal narrative without oversimplifying them. The technical requirements for producing a digital story are rather low, since potential storytellers can resort to a number of different technical devices (laptops, tablets, mobile phones), operating systems or editing programs. Given the virtual ubiquitousness of digital devices in our age, the method is therefore open to almost anyone.

When it comes to teaching the technical side of digital storytelling, Kowalski opted for a practical approach ("learning in progress") instead of long theoretical introductions.

These explanations were followed with a presentation by Sarolta Berke, who talked about the creative process and the writing techniques involved in digital storytelling. The main procedure to get people to tell their stories is the "Storytelling Circle" which serves multiple purposes. Apart from breaking the ice and giving people a chance to get to know each other, it aims to boost people's confidence and tease out ideas, especially when participants are convinced that they have nothing interesting or personal to tell. In order to do so, a number of playful activities are involved. The Storytelling Circle directly passes into the writing process in which clarity, the personal touch and treating one's text with respect are the most important features. Along with the script, most participants produce a storyboard in order to structure the relationship between text and images.

The final presentation was given by Dávid Bán, who demonstrated how storytelling is used within his own organization,



the Antrhopolis Institute, and in a number of other Hungary-based projects, such as x-story (<http://bit.ly/1eKMh6b>) and Vitrin (<http://vitrinmesek.hu/>).

The workshop highlighted digital storytelling as a valuable tool that is useful for sharing and transferring individual and/or societal messages in a number of contexts. As the ensuing discussion showed, the method can even be used in a journalistic setting. For this, however, the personal angle at the core of digital storytelling needs to be interpreted as a subjective, authentic approach rather than an obligation to tell highly intimate or emotional stories. Due to its variability and wide range of applications, the digital storytelling method will very likely occupy an important space in a future global media culture.

Panel

**Dr. Dávid Bán** Program Coordinator, Antrhopolis Association, Budapest, Hungary

**Sarolta Berke** English Teacher, Alternative Secondary School of Economics, Budapest, Hungary

**Guido Kowalski** Head of Webmastering / Head of Project, Grimme-Institut, Marl, Germany

Moderation

**Priya Bathe** Freelance Journalist, Editor and Trainer, Cologne, Germany

## Latin American Television: Relaying Values in an Era of Growth

Hosted by *Deutsche Welle*

The media landscape in Latin America has been decisively shaped in the past 20 years not only by new developments in multimedia, but especially by the large growth in pay TV markets and an ever expanding selection of audio-visual products. The commercial media have been going through a consolidation and privatization process for the past few years, and today they share the TV market with products that distinguish themselves by emphasizing educational and cultural issues. Most of these are publicly financed ventures that serve to endorse culture, community development and social values.

How do these cultural and educational products deal with a constantly changing and developing TV market characterized by growing competition, economic imperatives, and new legal and technological frameworks that need to be addressed with limited resources? Additionally, how do they influence the audience's perceptions, given the complexities of expressing values and educational content? Finally, how is the long-term survival of these products ensured in a constantly growing audio-visual market?

The workshop began with a presentation of current media policy in the panelists' home countries. In their introductions they explained how the socio-political environments vary greatly from one Latin American country to the next. Correspondingly, the strategies for educational and cultural content adopted by broadcasters are different. María Eugenia Mosquera, General Director of Vale TV, described the situation in Venezuela, a country where the media landscape is subject to strong regulatory influences. There it is imperative to present content in a way that puts emphasis on a pluralistic view of issues (government, citizens and producers). This enables viewers to identify with the broadcaster, regardless of any one-sided political assessment.

Mónica Ramírez, director of La Red association of state broadcasters in Mexico, spoke about how the role of cultural and educational television is defined in her country, where there is a high concentration of media. She said that this type of television programming is set against economic interests and forms a contrast to purely commercial channels. Its focus on local news and coverage is of great importance because that fills a gap in the market.

Cultural and educational content plays a special role in countries undergoing social and political transformation, said the general managers of Canal Capital, Hollman Morris and UCV Televisión, Enrique Aimone. In Colombia and Chile respectively, the broadcasters accompany processes of peace and democratization, reaching out to audiences to convey the values of



democracy and the defense of human rights. Addressing events in recent history serves as an anchor for content, they said.

The discussion concluded in a debate with the audience about the future of the television industry in terms of media legislation. The course of media policy development in recent years reveals a change in legal frameworks in favor of national and regional productions in many Latin American countries. The workshop panelists agreed that this presents a great opportunity for continued development in terms of technology and content.

### Panel

**María Eugenia Mosquera Alejandro** General Director, Vale TV, Caracas, Venezuela

**Mónica Ramírez López** General Director, Radio y Televisión Querétaro and President of La Red, Queretaro, Mexico

**Roberto Dager Gómez** Executive President, Telerama S.A., Guayaquil, Ecuador

**Hollman Morris Rincón** General Manager, Canal Capital, Bogotá, Colombia

**Enrique Aimone García** General Manager, UCV Televisión, Valparaíso, Chile

### Moderation

**Jenny Perez-Schmidt** Journalist, News Anchor, Deutsche Welle, Berlin, Germany

## Europe, an Economic Tale. The Current Financial Crisis as Seen from Europe and Beyond

Hosted by Goethe-Institut e.V.

How do both Europeans and observers outside Europe perceive the political and economic tensions in Europe? How should we evaluate the economic policy consequences and responses of individual governments as well as of the European Union as a whole? What models for action can be identified? Against this backdrop the workshop discussed cultural factors, the role of institutions and the EU's external trade policy with regard to forward-looking options for viable economic cooperation.

### Cyprus Between National Failures and "The Troika of Three Different Horses"

Economist Louis N. Christofides opened the workshop with a statement on national and European responsibility using the example of the crisis in Cyprus. He said that local economic structures made it difficult to tackle the crisis. Low taxation has led to a weak public sector. The banking sector is inflated and the response to rating agencies' warnings at the beginning of the financial crisis was too slow. Investment bankers also made many bad investments. On the other hand, the troika of the International Monetary Fund, the European Central Bank and the EU presented mutually incompatible strategies within a week. So this raises the question of who now has to pay for the lessons of the Euro experiment.

### Democratic Crisis Management from European and Non-European Perspectives

Beijing-based Asia expert Frank Sieren said that people in China couldn't understand why European countries had problems supporting each other. Europe must realize that there is no alternative to cooperation. Chinese reformers in particular criticized the inefficient crisis management and called the responses of individual countries decidedly too slow.

Greek economist Theocharis Grigoriadis highlighted the cultural and religious influences in northern and southern Europe, which in turn determine different models of action. Business journalist Ursula Weidenfeld, however, pointed to the different historical experiences, which for example led to a recession trauma in the U.K. and Cyprus and to an inflation trauma in Germany. Future financing of state budgets is not only a challenge for countries in Southern Europe; Northern Europe would probably soon face similar problems. So it's necessary to develop a common understanding of basic economic issues.

Grigoriadis, on the other hand, emphasized the power of diversity. Implementing reform strategies would therefore have to take place gradually. Taking into account countries' cultural characteristics was important, he said, because the success of reforms ultimately depended on the backing by a social and political majority. Shock therapy achieves the opposite results.

This could be seen in the economic reform of Eastern European countries in the 1990s and in the current crisis in Greece. Back then, the collapse was followed by xenophobia. Now there was a loss of confidence in European institutions and an articulation of anti-European sentiment - a radicalization of the population. The demand for fiscal discipline wasn't wrong, he said.

### Europe's Economic Future - Challenges and Opportunities

A lively discussion with the audience ensued. A Chinese journalist said she was convinced that Europe will work its way out of the crisis in the foreseeable future. In response to her question about the side effects of a banking union, Louis Christofides said that it was primarily a matter of giving up national sovereignty and greater integration. Bank oversight was not yet sufficiently up to speed and more careful investment strategies were needed.

A Nigerian radio journalist asked about Europe's role in Africa and international competitiveness. Unlike China, Europe had not yet responded adequately to African economic growth. He commented that while China was exerting its influence in the region, albeit mainly by exploiting resources (like Europe in the 1980s), the EU was showing little interest in developing cooperation with Africa. Frank Sieren confirmed this perception and warned that demographically speaking, Europe was in the minority and would have to open up to non-European partners in order to stay competitive in the long-term. This might be possible were the EU to question its behavior patterns. Ursula Weidenfeld noted, however, that economic competition with the BRICS countries should not lead to abandoning Europe's democratic values. Across the board, the round of panelists agreed that "a country should not spend more than it earns".

Panel

**Prof. Dr. Louis N. Christofides** Professor of Economics and Dean of the School of Economics and Management at the University of Cyprus and University Professor Emeritus at the University of Guelph, Canada

**Dr. Theocharis Grigoriadis** Visiting Professor of Economics and East-European Studies, Freie Universität Berlin, Germany

**Frank Sieren** Bestselling Author, Documentary Film Maker, Senior Asia Columnist for Handelsblatt, Peking, China

**Dr. Ursula Weidenfeld** Economic Journalist, Berlin, Germany

Moderation

**Peter Craven** News Anchor, Political Correspondent, Presenter "Talking Germany", DW, Berlin, Germany

## Visibility for the Vulnerable: The Face of Humanity on the Move in Search of a Livelihood

Hosted by World Catholic Association for Communication (SIGNIS)

Human beings have been on the move in search of a livelihood since the beginning of our history. Today, as individuals and states struggle to recover from the global economic crisis, more and more people are uprooting themselves to go in search of a better life and to escape poverty, persecution or conflict. The International Organization for Migration puts the total number of migrants at 214 million, which is about three percent of the world's population. Migration is at the top of political agendas, and journalists have a crucial role to play in how the migration discourse plays out in public. Yet the media often seem to find it hard to report on vulnerable migrants in a fair and balanced way. This panel considered how the media portray those considered to be the most vulnerable migrants: victims of human trafficking, refugees and marginalized migrant workers.

Larry Rich, an American film producer and writer who has reported extensively on migrants in Latin America, said that even after 30 years' experience, "I remain uncertain how successful I and my colleagues have been at making them visible. Even in our best attempts to take the side of the oppressed, we often speak for them rather than give them voice ... We are the voice of the voiceless because we have our hands over their mouths." Rich focused on trafficking. Human trafficking is the trading of human beings as a commodity for profit, usually for forced labor. It is a business. Media should explore why people decide to leave their homes, not simply base stories around sensational images or shocking statistics. "Humanizing the numbers is an overwhelming creative challenge," Rich said, "but behind the statistics are people."

Karen Kesawathany Arukesamy, a Malaysian journalist from The Sun newspaper, focused her presentation on the Asian media's portrayal of groups such as children, women, poor people, migrants, refugees, foreign workers and sex workers. They are presented as vulnerable, weak, victimized, inferior, "at the mercy of someone or desperate for something." This reinforcement of their vulnerability puts them in an even weaker situation. The media should change focus and provide the space for their voices to be heard. Journalists should take up initiatives to pressure the relevant authorities for their rights to be heard.

Rich said he deliberately avoids the term 'victim.' He wants the migrants in his stories to be "protagonists capable of change," while Lori Brumat, head of communications at the International Catholic Migration Commission in Geneva, said, "I hate 'vulnerable'! I don't like that buzzword." Stay away from the "patronizing, well-meaning do-gooder" attitudes of categorizing all "vulnerable" people as victims and robbing them of their identity, she said.

Brumat explained that NGOs and the media rely on each other. Moreover, NGOs are media, too. They increasingly have to behave as if they were media actors themselves in order to interest their audiences (reporting and appealing to donors, partners, governments and opinion shapers).

Ana Cristina Suzina, a Brazilian journalist working in Brussels, concluded the panel presentations by showing how marginalized communities can use the media to speak for themselves. Taking Brazil as an example, she illustrated how poor people can use media to put their concerns (for example, about child labor, access to education or environmental destruction) onto the political agenda. Media are also crucial tools for social mobilization, as people are energized by participating in getting their own stories told and retold through relatively simple and inexpensive means, such as community radio.

The panel agreed that media responsibility to provide visibility for the vulnerable includes highlighting the struggles and challenges of migrants, victims of trafficking, refugees and other marginalized groups. However, the media should also help people speak for themselves, stripping away half-truths and stereotypes to reveal the human truth behind the statistics.

### Panel

**Lori Brumat** Head of Communications, International Catholic Migration Commission, Geneva, Switzerland

**Karen Kesawathany Arukesamy** Journalist, The Sun, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

**Larry Rich** Independent Media Producer and Writer, New York, United States

**Ana Cristina Suzina** Journalist, Brussels, Belgium

### Moderation

**Dr. Jim McDonnell** Director of Development, World Catholic Association for Communication (SIGNIS), London, United Kingdom

## Development Without Growth Without Regrets

Hosted by BUND/Friends of the Earth Germany

The Brundtland Commission (WCED 1987) has defined sustainable development as having two constituent objectives: satisfying human needs, in particular those of the poorest; and respecting limits set by the regenerative capacity of the environment. Regarding the means, however, traditional concepts of sustainable development no longer apply, for two reasons.

On the one hand, "development" can no longer be defined on a country basis, as the majority of the poor now lives in middle-income countries (for instance China, where CO<sub>2</sub> emissions per capita now exceed European levels). So development can no longer be understood as growth of national economies (except for the poorest countries, mostly in Sub-Saharan Africa), but must be redefined as the betterment of the situation of specific groups.

Secondly, while 350 ppm CO<sub>2</sub> is seen as a long-term safe atmospheric concentration, the current level exceeds 400 ppm and is increasing rapidly. To have a good chance of keeping climate change below the threshold of 2°C by limiting concentrations to 450 ppm (up from the pre-industrial 280 ppm, which already implies accepting significant damages), humankind must not add more than 700 billion tons of CO<sub>2</sub> to the atmosphere, on top of the 1,500 billion tons of CO<sub>2</sub> emitted since 1850. These figures indicate the radical and rapid change required from the heaviest emitters, which are, in this order, PR China, the United States, the European Union, Japan and Russia.

Fifteen percent of the world population have successfully completed the transition from an agrarian to an industrial (and now post-industrial) society. In the course of the process they have exhausted the capacity of global CO<sub>2</sub> sinks, overburdened the global nitrogen cycle and, worst of all, accelerated the loss of biodiversity by a factor of 100.

Currently 60% of the world's population are undergoing the same transition from agricultural to industrial societies, so far mainly following the Northern development trajectory. This also implies an accelerated loss of biodiversity (100 times the natural rate at the moment) and ecosystem services, in particular in the South. On top of this comes the overburdened nitrogen cycle, the limits to phosphorus availability and the impacts of peak oil on the current oil-dependent pattern of agricultural production. Spangenberg said, "If we do not manage a turnaround soon, then forget about post-2015 new Millennium Goals or Sustainability Goals. Continuing this trend will lead to the abortion of development due to a lack of physical inputs and the increasing frequency of disasters wreaking havoc on vulnerable countries. It means degrowth by disaster, and it is the more probable the later we begin to change course."

Degrowth by design offers development opportunities without entering into overconsumption, and for reducing it for the affluent countries. However, this will not be possible without massive efforts towards social justice, to the redistribution of income and assets, and thus consumption opportunities in and between countries. Only by getting "the rich and the dirty" under control can a convergence towards sustainability emerge. So far, however, global negotiations have failed to stand to the challenge, maybe in part because they are usually meetings of different fractions of the global consumer class rather than a representation of the majority of the world's people, their needs and demands. Thus, strengthening democracy is the third pillar of sustainable development, besides the two already defined as the basic principles in the Brundtland Report, i.e. overcoming poverty and respecting limits to resource consumption.

The resource consumption of affluent countries cannot be globalized because this would be environmentally and socially unsustainable and thus pose a risk for peace. Redistribution of wealth and assets within and between countries is the only sustainable alternative and allows for human development without undermining the ecosystem service upon which humankind depends.

"It is only in the backwards countries of the world that increased production is still an important objective; in those most advanced, what is needed is better distribution." (John Steward Mills (1857), Principles of Political Economy, Book IV)

Panel

**Dr. Joachim H. Spangenberg** Senior Scientist, Helmholtz Centre for Environment Research and Chair, Economic and Fiscal Policy Commission, Friends of the Earth, Germany

Moderation

**Stefan Rostock** Team Leader - Education for Sustainable Development, Germanwatch, Bonn, Germany

## Green Economy — A New Economic Miracle?

*Hosted by Federal Ministry of Education and Research*

### Introduction

The United Nations Environment Programme defines a green economy as one that improves human well-being and social equity while significantly reducing environmental risks and ecological scarcities. But can this vision be made into a reality or is the notion of a green economy nothing more than an invention by policy-makers to obscure the fact that they have run out of ideas in the face of today's global challenges?

### Summary of the Key Results

Economic growth is necessary for less developed nations such as India and Vietnam to improve their standard of living. But the goal should be for economic development that focuses on quality and not quantity. Wilfried Kraus of Germany's Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF) said he prefers the term "sustainable economy" that also includes social aspects. He said there are already many technical solutions for sustainable development but that society lacks the will to use them. Panelist Rudi Kurz said that is due in part to the higher costs for consumers.

Distributing the costs of sustainability among individuals must be backed and accepted by society. Too little attention is paid to these social components. A central question for Kurz is the type of lifestyle we want. Fewer resources must be used if the economy is to grow sustainably and existing resources must be better distributed. The panel agreed that the example of the energy turnaround in Germany serves as a test of the population's acceptance of the sustainability concept. Kraus noted the importance of concrete examples to explain to people how sustainability works and how it will benefit them. The media's task is to create points of reference in people's daily lives and explain the correlations.

According to Daniela Büchel of the REWE Group, sustainability is already a significant factor of competitiveness for some businesses. It's about the entire production chain. Collaboration with emerging and developing countries is an important part of this. At present, the concept of sustainable production is primarily limited to market niches and doesn't have the same reach as conventional, wide-spread products such as palm oil. Büchel said that including them requires sector-wide initiatives, along with consumers who place value on sustainable products.

For Andreas Löschel, consumer responsibility is a key issue. In his view, international climate negotiations have nearly always taken only production processes into account. Only now are people trying to establish consumer-based approaches to climate policy as well.

The workshop discussion also focused on financing. The use of sustainable technologies often fails due to a lack of financing options, especially in developing countries. To remedy this, a financial sector interested in sustainability is needed.

### Conclusion

Given the global need for development, economic growth continues to be necessary. The point is to make that growth sustainable. The panelists' discussion with the audience confirmed this. Growth and sustainability need not be mutually exclusive. There is a global market for sustainable products, from which developing and emerging economies around the world can also benefit. A member of the audience pointed out that sustainable production is also a question of efficiency and cost savings. It would be wrong to focus solely on economic growth. Instead, a social dialogue must take place that also focuses on the opportunities offered by new technologies.

Altogether it became clear that the idea of a Green Economy has the potential to be a "second economic miracle". That requires social and environmental standards and a level global playing field. Creating these is a long-term political and social undertaking. Countries, such as Germany, that benefit economically from globalization are responsible for initiating such a process.

### Panel

**Dr. Daniela Büchel** Head of Corporate Responsibility, Corporate Marketing and Public Affairs, REWE Group, Cologne, Germany

**Wilfried Kraus** Deputy Director General, Directorate Sustainability, Climate, Energy, Federal Ministry of Education and Research, Bonn Germany

**Prof. Rudi Kurz** Professor of Economics, Former Dean of the Business School at Pforzheim University, Germany

**Prof. Andreas Löschel** Head of the Department "Environmental and Resource Economics, Environmental Management" at the Centre for European Economic Research (ZEW) and Professor of Economics at the University of Heidelberg, Germany

### Moderation

**Monika Seynsche** Journalist, Deutschlandfunk, Cologne, Germany

## Health Innovations: From Motorcycle Pharmacies to Open-Source Medical Software

Hosted by Development Policy Forum of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für International Zusammenarbeit (GIZ)

Healthy and strong people are key contributors to economic growth. Too often, however, health care in developing countries is quite poor. Sometimes even the most basic necessities are lacking. Getting knowledge and medicines to the poorest of the poor doesn't have to be difficult. Creative solutions are needed. Often, very simple ideas deliver good outcomes for the disadvantaged.

The two panelists, Solveig Haupt, a global health consultant, and Alvin Marcelo, director of the University of the Philippines' National Telehealth Centre, described the need for constant innovation and creative solutions. In a nutshell, adequate medical care isn't possible without a good dose of imagination.

Ideas that seem inconceivable in the Western world are saving lives elsewhere. For example, motorcycle pharmacies are reaching the most remote villages in southern Africa, health camps are spreading important campaigns in India. In Brazil, solar-powered hearing aids are being produced by the hearing impaired. And in Kazakhstan, e-learning opportunities are being used to train midwives. Modern technology makes many things possible as well: laboratory results via SMS, tele-education via mobile phone, protection against counterfeit medicines via mobile apps.

To illustrate the complex nature of this topic to the audience, the panelists and editorial team of Digital Development Debates, an online magazine on development policy topics published by the workshop host, chose an entertaining method. They adapted the popular television quiz format of "Who wants to be a millionaire?", turning it into "Who wants to be a health innovator?" A problem was posed to the audience, which then could choose from four possible answers and had to explain the decision. The two panelists then revealed the correct answer and presented a corresponding successful project. In this way they described five case studies. Among the questions were:

- How do you deliver medicines and health education to rural areas in Africa in a reliable, safe, cost-effective and quick manner?
- Imagine you are in a health facility and needed an essential medicine. Unfortunately, that drug is out of stock. What can you do?
- How do you find a profitable way of providing health center and village households with energy for cooling vaccines?

To find out more about Digital Development Debates, please visit <http://www.digital-development-debates.org/>



Panel

**Solveig Haupt** Consultant on Global Health, Berlin, Germany

**Alvin Marcelo** Director, University of the Philippines' National Telehealth Centre, Manila, Philippines

Moderation

**Eva-Maria Verfuerrth** Freelance Journalist and PR Consultant, Frankfurt, Germany

## Global Sustainability Goals – The Way Forward in Shaping Transformation Towards a More Equitable, Just and Sustainable World?

Hosted by Global Policy Forum, terre des hommes and Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

The panelists presented and discussed the findings of the Civil Society Reflection Group on Global Development Perspectives (<http://www.reflectiongroup.org>) and its proposal for a Framework of Universal Sustainability Goals as Part of a Post-2015 Agenda.

Jens Martens said that the debate about a Post-2015 Agenda and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) offers an opportunity to re-address holistic concepts of prosperity and progress in society. But what might an integrated system of Global Sustainability Goals look like? What are the principles and normative foundations of a Post-2015 Agenda? What lessons can be learned from the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) experience? And how could Universal Sustainability Goals be embedded in a rights-based approach to development and a system of fair burden-sharing?

Hubert Schillinger pointed out that it would not be enough to simply invent another list of development goals. "A new set of goals should be grounded in an analysis of the root causes of the present crises," he said. A framework of Universal Sustainability Goals should encompass four elements: a political declaration; a program for structural transformation; a set of Universal Sustainability Goals; and a set of mechanisms to monitor and review progress towards the goals. Its normative foundations should be based on eight internationally agreed principles, including the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities. The new framework of goals should lead to a process of decoupling well-being from resource extraction and consumption. The program for structural transformation must include progressive fiscal policy and new regulatory frameworks for global markets.

Danuta Sacher added that goals are needed in order to steer politics, build negotiation power and motivate people. It would be imperative that Universal Sustainability Goals apply to all countries, including the rich ones. They should be universal in nature, but adapted to the specific situation of each country. "In a system of Universal Sustainability Goals human rights should be the point of departure," said Sacher. Moreover, they need to take into account the planetary boundaries. However, measures to achieve these goals can be different with respect to different countries. Touching on the recent report of the UN High-Level Panel on the Post-2015 Development Agenda, Sacher commended the panel's universal approach. However, she criticized that the panel refers to human rights only selectively, does not respect the planetary boundaries, and supports a questionable model of growth.



Barbara Adams emphasized that some of the Reflection Group's suggestions are reflected by the High-Level Panel report, particularly with regard to its reference to sustainability. However, with regard to the implementation of Universal Sustainability Goals, there is a governance gap in the face of current power relations. Therefore, there is a need for a different approach to global partnerships. She particularly criticized the High-level Panels' overreliance on partnerships with the corporate sector. Additional challenges in this regard are the disproportionate voices in global politics, which some countries possess, as well as the increasing role played by philanthropic individuals and organizations, which lack accountability. "Universal Sustainability Goals must take into account policies of redistribution and resource access," concluded Adams. "In this context, everyone has to adapt, and everyone has the responsibility to change."

### Panel

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**Danuta Sacher** Chair of the Executive Board, terre des hommes, Osnabrück, Germany

**Hubert Schillinger** Coordinator, Dialogue on Globalization Program, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Berlin, Germany

### Moderation

**Jens Martens** Director, Global Policy Forum, Bonn, Germany



## Professor Avram Noam Chomsky

### A Roadmap to a Just World – People Reanimating Democracy

Transcript of Audio Recording



I'd like to comment on topics that I think should regularly be on the front pages but are not - and in many crucial cases are scarcely mentioned at all or are presented in ways that seem to me deceptive because they're framed almost reflexively in terms of doctrines of the powerful.

In these comments I'll focus primarily on the United States for several reasons: One, it's the most important country in terms of its power and influence. Second, it's the most advanced - not in its inherent character, but in the sense that because of its power, other societies tend to move in that direction. The third reason is just that I know it better. But I think what I say generalizes much more widely - at least to my knowledge, obviously there are some variations. So I'll be concerned then with tendencies in American society and what they portend for the world, given American power.

American power is diminishing, as it has been in fact since its peak in 1945, but it's still incomparable. And it's dangerous. Obama's remarkable global terror campaign and the limited, pathetic reaction to it in the West is one shocking example. And it is a campaign of international terrorism - by far the most extreme in the world. Those who harbor any doubts on that should read the report issued by Stanford University and New York University, and actually I'll return to even more serious examples than international terrorism.

### **The "Really Existing Capitalist Democracy"**

According to received doctrine, we live in capitalist democracies, which are the best possible system, despite some flaws. There's been an interesting debate over the years about the relation between capitalism and democracy, for example, are they even compatible? I won't be pursuing this because I'd like to discuss a different system - what we could call the "really existing capitalist democracy", RECD for short, pronounced "wrecked" by accident. To begin with, how does RECD compare with democracy? Well that depends on what we mean by "democracy". There are several versions of this. One, there is a kind of received version. It's soaring rhetoric of the Obama variety, patriotic speeches, what children are taught in school, and so on. In the U.S. version, it's government "of, by and for the people". And it's quite easy to compare that with RECD.

In the United States, one of the main topics of academic political science is the study of attitudes and policy and their correlation. The study of attitudes is reasonably easy in the United States: heavily-pollled society, pretty serious and accurate polls, and policy you can see, and you can compare them. And the results are interesting. In the work that's essentially the gold standard in the field, it's concluded that for roughly

70% of the population - the lower 70% on the wealth/income scale - they have no influence on policy whatsoever. They're effectively disenfranchised. As you move up the wealth/income ladder, you get a little bit more influence on policy. When you get to the top, which is maybe a tenth of one percent, people essentially get what they want, i.e. they determine the policy. So the proper term for that is not democracy; it's plutocracy.

### **Policy Throughout is Almost the Opposite of Public Opinion**

Inquiries of this kind turn out to be dangerous stuff because they can tell people too much about the nature of the society in which they live. So fortunately, Congress has banned funding for them, so we won't have to worry about them in the future.

These characteristics of RECD show up all the time. So the major domestic issue in the United States for the public is jobs. Polls show that very clearly. For the very wealthy and the financial institutions, the major issue is the deficit. Well, what about policy? There's now a sequester in the United States, a sharp cutback in funds. Is that because of jobs or is it because of the deficit? Well, the deficit.

Europe, incidentally, is much worse - so outlandish that even The Wall Street Journal has been appalled by the disappearance of democracy in Europe. A couple of weeks ago it had an article which concluded that "the French, the Spanish, the Irish, the Dutch, Portuguese, Greeks, Slovenians, Slovaks and Cypriots have to varying degrees voted against the currency bloc's economic model since the crisis began three years ago. Yet economic policies have changed little in response to one electoral defeat after another. The left has replaced the right; the right has ousted the left. Even the center-right trounced Communists (in Cyprus) - but the economic policies have essentially remained the same: governments will continue to cut spending and raise taxes." It doesn't matter what people think and "national governments must follow macro-economic directives set by the European Commission". Elections are close to meaningless, very much as in Third World countries that are ruled by the international financial institutions. That's what Europe has chosen to become. It doesn't have to.

Returning to the United States, where the situation is not quite that bad, there's the same disparity between public opinion and policy on a very wide range of issues. Take for example the issue of minimum wage. The one view is that the minimum wage ought to be indexed to the cost of living and high enough to prevent falling below the poverty line. Eighty percent of the public support that and forty percent of the wealthy. What's the minimum wage? Going down, way below these levels. It's the same with laws that facilitate union activity: strongly

supported by the public; opposed by the very wealthy - disappearing. The same is true on national healthcare. The U.S., as you may know, has a health system which is an international scandal, it has twice the per capita costs of other OECD countries and relatively poor outcomes. The only privatized, pretty much unregulated system. The public doesn't like it. They've been calling for national healthcare, public options, for years, but the financial institutions think it's fine, so it stays: stasis. In fact, if the United States had a healthcare system like comparable countries there wouldn't be any deficit. The famous deficit would be erased, which doesn't matter that much anyway.

One of the most interesting cases has to do with taxes. For 35 years there have been polls on 'what do you think taxes ought to be?' Large majorities have held that the corporations and the wealthy should pay higher taxes. They've steadily been going down through this period.

On and on, the policy throughout is almost the opposite of public opinion, which is a typical property of RECD.

#### **The U.S. One-Party State**

In the past, the United States has sometimes, kind of sardonically, been described as a one-party state: the business party with two factions called Democrats and Republicans. That's no longer true. It's still a one-party state, the business party. But it only has one faction. The faction is moderate Republicans, who are now called Democrats. There are virtually no moderate Republicans in what's called the Republican Party and virtually no liberal Democrats in what's called the Democratic [sic] Party. It's basically a party of what would be moderate Republicans and similarly, Richard Nixon would be way at the left of the political spectrum today. Eisenhower would be in outer space.

There is still something called the Republican Party, but it long ago abandoned any pretence of being a normal parliamentary party. It's in lock-step service to the very rich and the corporate sector and has a catechism that everyone has to chant in unison, kind of like the old Communist Party. The distinguished conservative commentator, one of the most respected - Norman Ornstein - describes today's Republican Party as, in his words, "a radical insurgency - ideologically extreme, scornful of facts and compromise, dismissive of its political opposition" - a serious danger to the society, as he points out.

In short, Really Existing Capitalist Democracy is very remote from the soaring rhetoric about democracy. But there is another version of democracy. Actually it's the standard doctrine of progressive, contemporary democratic theory. So I'll give some illustrative quotes from leading figures - incidentally not figures

on the right. These are all good Woodrow Wilson-FDR-Kennedy liberals, mainstream ones in fact. So according to this version of democracy, "the public are ignorant and meddling outsiders. They have to be put in their place. Decisions must be in the hands of an intelligent minority of responsible men, who have to be protected from the trampling and roar of the bewildered herd". The herd has a function, as it's called. They're supposed to lend their weight every few years, to a choice among the responsible men. But apart from that, their function is to be "spectators, not participants in action" - and it's for their own good. Because as the founder of liberal political science pointed out, we should not succumb to "democratic dogmatism about people being the best judges of their own interest". They're not. We're the best judges, so it would be irresponsible to let them make choices just as it would be irresponsible to let a three-year-old run into the street. Attitudes and opinions therefore have to be controlled for the benefit of those you are controlling. It's necessary to "regiment their minds". It's necessary also to discipline the institutions responsible for the "indoctrination of the young." All quotes, incidentally. And if we can do this, we might be able to get back to the good old days when "Truman had been able to govern the country with the cooperation of a relatively small number of Wall Street lawyers and bankers." This is all from icons of the liberal establishment, the leading progressive democratic theorists. Some of you may recognize some of the quotes.

#### **The "Rabble" Has Been Terrifying for Hundreds of Years**

The roots of these attitudes go back quite far. They go back to the first stirrings of modern democracy. The first were in England in the 17th Century. As you know, later in the United States. And they persist in fundamental ways. The first democratic revolution was England in the 1640s. There was a civil war between king and parliament. But the gentry, the people who called themselves "the men of best quality", were appalled by the rising popular forces that were beginning to appear on the public arena. They didn't want to support either king or parliament. Quote their pamphlets, they didn't want to be ruled by "knights and gentlemen, who do but oppress us, but we want to be governed by countrymen like ourselves, who know the people's sores". That's a pretty terrifying sight. Now the rabble has been a pretty terrifying sight ever since. Actually it was long before. It remained so a century after the British democratic revolution. The founders of the American republic had pretty much the same view about the rabble. So they determined that "power must be in the hands of the wealth of the nation, the more responsible set of men. Those who have sympathy for property owners and their rights", and of course for slave owners at the time. In general, men who understand that a fundamental task of government



is "to protect the minority of the opulent from the majority". Those are quotes from James Madison, the main framer - this was in the Constitutional Convention, which is much more revealing than the Federalist Papers which people read. The Federalist Papers were basically a propaganda effort to try to get the public to go along with the system. But the debates in the Constitutional Convention are much more revealing. And in fact the constitutional system was created on that basis. I don't have time to go through it, but it basically adhered to the principle which was enunciated simply by John Jay, the president of the Continental Congress, then first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and as he put it, "those who own the country ought to govern it". That's the primary doctrine of RECD to the present.

There've been many popular struggles since - and they've won many victories. The masters, however, do not relent. The more freedom is won, the more intense are the efforts to redirect the society to a proper course. And the 20th Century progressive democratic theory that I've just sampled is not very different from the RECD that has been achieved, apart from the question of: Which responsible men should rule? Should it be bankers

or intellectual elites? Or for that matter should it be the Central Committee in a different version of similar doctrines?

Well, another important feature of RECD is that the public must be kept in the dark about what is happening to them. The "herd" must remain "bewildered". The reasons were explained lucidly by the professor of the science of government at Harvard - that's the official name - another respected liberal figure, Samuel Huntington. As he pointed out, "power remains strong when it remains in the dark. Exposed to sunlight, it begins to evaporate". Bradley Manning is facing a life in prison for failure to comprehend this scientific principle. Now Edward Snowden as well. And it works pretty well. If you take a look at polls, it reveals how well it works. So for example, recent polls pretty consistently reveal that Republicans are preferred to Democrats on most issues and crucially on the issues in which the public opposes the policies of the Republicans and favors the policies of the Democrats. One striking example of this is that majorities say that they favor the Republicans on tax policy, while the same majorities oppose those policies. This runs across the board. This is even true of the far right, the Tea Party types. This goes along with an

astonishing level of contempt for government. Favorable opinions about Congress are literally in the single digits. The rest of the government as well. It's all declining sharply.

Results such as these, which are pretty consistent, illustrate demoralization of the public of a kind that's unusual, although there are examples - the late Weimar Republic comes to mind. The tasks of ensuring that the rabble keep to their function as bewildered spectators, takes many forms. The simplest form is simply to restrict entry into the political system. Iran just had an election, as you know. And it was rightly criticized on the grounds that even to participate, you had to be vetted by the guardian council of clerics. In the United States, you don't have to be vetted by clerics, but rather you have to be vetted by concentrations of private capital. Unless you pass their filter, you don't enter the political system - with very rare exceptions.

#### **Deluding the Masses**

There are many mechanisms, too familiar to review, but that's not safe enough either. There are major institutions that are specifically dedicated to undermining authentic democracy. One of them is called the public relations industry. A huge industry, it was in fact developed on the principle that it's necessary to regiment the minds of men, much as an army regiments its soldiers - I was actually quoting from one of its leading figures before.

The role of the PR industry in elections is explicitly to undermine the school-child version of democracy. What you learn in school is that democracies are based on informed voters making rational decisions. All you have to do is take a look at an electoral campaign run by the PR industry and see that the purpose is to create uninformed voters who will make irrational decisions. For the PR industry that's a very easy transition from their primary function. Their primary function is commercial advertising. Commercial advertising is designed to undermine markets. If you took an economics course you learned that markets are based on informed consumers making rational choices. If you turn on the TV set, you see that ads are designed to create irrational, uninformed consumers making irrational choices. The whole purpose is to undermine markets in the technical sense.

They're well aware of it, incidentally. So for example, after Obama's election in 2008, a couple of months later the advertising industry had its annual conference. Every year they award a prize for the best marketing campaign of the year. That year they awarded it to Obama. He beat out Apple computer, did an even better job of deluding the public - or his PR agents did. If you want to hear some of it, turn on the television today and listen to the soaring rhetoric at the G-8 Summit in Belfast. It's standard.



There was interesting commentary on this in the business press, primarily The London Financial Times, which had a long article, interviewing executives about what they thought about the election. And they were quite euphoric about this. They said this gives them a new model for how to delude the public. The Obama model could replace the Reagan model, which worked pretty well for a while.

Turning to the economy, the core of the economy today is financial institutions. They've vastly expanded since the 1970s, along with a parallel development - accelerated shift of production abroad. There have also been critical changes in the character of financial institutions.

If you go back to the 1960s, banks were banks. If you had some money, you put it in the bank to lend it to somebody to buy a house or start a business, or whatever. Now that's a very marginal aspect of financial institutions today. They're mostly devoted to intricate, exotic manipulations with markets. And they're huge. In the United States, financial institutions, big banks mostly, had 40% of corporate profit in 2007. That was on the eve of the financial crisis, for which they were largely responsible. After the crisis, a number of professional economists - Nobel laureate Robert Solow, Harvard's Benjamin Friedman - wrote articles in which they pointed out that economists haven't done much study of the impact of the financial institutions on the economy. Which is kind of remarkable, considering its scale. But after the crisis they took a look and they both concluded that probably the impact of the financial institutions on the economy is negative. Actually there are some who are much more outspoken than that. The most respected financial correspondent in the English-speaking world is Martin Wolf of the Financial Times. He writes that the "out-of-control financial sector is eating out the modern market economy from the inside, just as the larva of the spider wasp eats out the host in which it has been laid". By "the market economy" he means the productive economy.

There's a recent issue of the main business weekly, Bloomberg Business Week, which reported a study of the IMF that found that the largest banks make no profit. What they earn, according to the IMF analysis, traces to the government insurance policy, the so-called too-big-to-fail policy. There is a widely publicized bailout, but that's the least of it. There's a whole series of other devices by which the government insurance policy aids the big banks: cheap credit and many other things. And according to the IMF at least, that's the totality of their profit. The editors of the journal say this is crucial to understanding why the big banks present such a threat to the global economy - and to the people of the country, of course.



After the crash, there was the first serious attention by professional economists to what's called systemic risk. They knew it existed but it wasn't much a topic of investigation. 'Systemic risk' means the risk that if a transaction fails, the whole system may collapse. That's what's called an externality in economic theory. It's a footnote. And it's one of the fundamental flaws of market systems, a well-known, inherent flaw, is externalities. Every transaction has impacts on others which just aren't taken into account in a market transaction. Systemic risk is a big one. And there are much more serious illustrations than that. I'll come back to it.

What about the productive economy under RECD? Here there's a mantra too. The mantra is based on entrepreneurial initiative and consumer choice in a free market. There are agreements established called free-trade agreements, which are based on the mantra. That's all mythology.

The reality is that there is massive state intervention in the productive economy and the free-trade agreements are anything but free-trade agreements. That should be obvious. Just to take one example: The information technology (IT) revolution, which is driving the economy, that was based on decades of work in effectively the state sector - hard, costly, creative work substantially in the state sector, no consumer choice at all, there was entrepreneurial initiative but it was largely limited to getting government grants or bailouts or procurement. Except by some economists, that's underestimated but a very significant factor in corporate profit. If you can't sell something, hand it over the government. They'll buy it.

After a long period - decades in fact - of hard, creative work, the primary research and development, the results are handed over to private enterprise for commercialization and profit.

That's Steve Jobs and Bill Gates and so on. It's not quite that simple of course. But that's a core part of the picture. The system goes way back to the origins of industrial economies, but it's dramatically true since WWII that this ought to be the core of the study of the productive economy.

Another central aspect of RECD is concentration of capital. In just the past 20 years in the United States, the share of profits of the two hundred largest enterprises has very sharply risen, probably the impact of the Internet, it seems. These tendencies towards oligopoly also undermine the mantra, of course. Interesting topics but I won't pursue them any further.

#### Pretty Grim Prospects Under RECD

Instead, I'd like to turn to another question. What are the prospects for the future under RECD? There's an answer. They're pretty grim. It's no secret that there are a number of dark shadows that hover over every topic that we discuss and there are two that are particularly ominous, so I'll keep to those, though there are others. One is environmental catastrophe. The other is nuclear war. Both of which of course threaten the prospects for decent survival and not in the remote future.

I won't say very much about the first, environmental catastrophe. That should be obvious. Certainly the scale of the danger should be obvious to anyone with eyes open, anyone who is literate, particularly those who read scientific journals. Every issue of a technical journal virtually has more dire warnings than the last one.

There are various reactions to this around the world. There are some who seek to act decisively to prevent possible catastrophe. At the other extreme, major efforts are underway to accelerate the danger. Leading the effort to intensify the likely disaster is the richest and most powerful country in world history, with incomparable advantages and the most prominent example of RECD - the one that others are striving towards.

Leading the efforts to preserve conditions in which our immediate descendants might have a decent life, are the so-called "primitive" societies: First Nations in Canada, Aboriginal societies in Australia, tribal societies and others like them. The countries that have large and influential indigenous populations are well in the lead in the effort to "defend the Earth". That's their phrase. The countries that have driven indigenous populations to extinction or extreme marginalization are racing forward enthusiastically towards destruction. This is one of the major features of contemporary history. One of those things that ought to be on front pages. So take Ecuador, which has a large indigenous population. It's seeking aid from the



rich countries to allow it to keep its substantial hydrocarbon reserves underground, which is where they ought to be. Now meanwhile, the U.S. and Canada are enthusiastically seeking to burn every drop of fossil fuel, including the most dangerous kind - Canadian tar sands - and to do so as quickly and fully as possible - without a side glance on what the world might look like after this extravagant commitment to self-destruction. Actually, every issue of the daily papers suffices to illustrate this lunacy. And lunacy is the right word for it. It's exactly the opposite of what rationality would demand, unless it's the skewed rationality of RECD.

Well, there have been massive corporate campaigns to implant and safeguard the lunacy. But despite them, there's still a real problem in American society. The public is still too committed to scientific rationality. One of the many divergences between policy and opinion is that the American public is close to the global norm in concern about the environment and calling for actions to prevent the catastrophe and that's a pretty high level. Meanwhile, bipartisan policy is dedicated to 'bringing it on',



in a phrase that George W. Bush made famous in the case of Iraq. Fortunately, the corporate sector is riding to the rescue to deal with this problem. There is a corporate funded organization - the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC). It designs legislation for states. No need to comment on what kind of legislation. They've got a lot of clout and money behind them. So the programs tend to get instituted. Right now they're instituting a new program to try to overcome the excessive rationality of the public. It's a program of instruction for K-12 (kindergarten to 12th grade in schools). Its publicity says that the idea is to improve critical faculties - I'd certainly be in favor of that - by balanced teaching. 'Balanced teaching' means that if a sixth grade class learned something about what's happening to the climate, they have to be presented with material on climate change denial so that they have balanced teaching and can develop their critical faculties. Maybe that'll help overcome the failure of massive corporate propaganda campaigns to make the population ignorant and irrational enough to safeguard short-term profit for the rich. It's pointedly the goal and several states have already accepted it.

Well, it's worth remembering, without pursuing it that these are deep-seated institutional properties of RECD. They're not easy to uproot. All of this is apart from the institutional necessity to maximize short-term profit while ignoring an externality that's vastly more serious even than systemic risk. For systemic risk, the market failure - the culprits - can run to the powerful nanny state that they foster with cap in hand and they'll be bailed out, as we've just observed again and will in the future. In the case of destruction of the environment, the conditions for decent existence, there's no guardian angel around - nobody to run to with cap in hand. For that reason alone, the prospects for decent survival under RECD are quite dim.

#### Security Does Not Have a High Priority

Let's turn to the other shadow: nuclear war. It's a threat that's been with us for 70 years. It still is. In some ways it's growing. One of the reasons for it is that under RECD, the rights and needs of the general population are a minor matter. That extends to security. There is another prevailing mantra, particularly in the academic professions, claiming that governments seek to protect national security. Anyone who has studied international relations theory has heard that. That's mostly mythology. The governments seek to extend power and domination and to benefit their primary domestic constituencies - in the U.S., primarily the corporate sector. The consequence is that security does not have a high priority. We see that all the time. Right now in fact. Take say Obama's operation to murder Osama Bin Laden, prime suspect for the 9/11 attack. Obama made an important speech on national security last May 23rd. It was widely covered. There was one crucial paragraph in the speech that was ignored in the coverage. Obama hailed the operation, took pride in it - an operation which incidentally is another step at dismantling the foundations of Anglo-American law, back to the Magna Carta, namely the presumption of innocence. But that's by now so familiar, it's not even necessary to talk about it. But there's more to it. Obama did hail the operation but he added to it that it "cannot be the norm". The reason is that "the risks were immense". The Navy SEALs who carried out the murder might have been embroiled in an extended firefight, but even though by luck that didn't happen, "the cost to our relationship with Pakistan - and the backlash of the Pakistani public over the encroachment on their territory", the aggression in other words, "was so severe that we're just now beginning to rebuild this important partnership".

It's more than that. Let's add a couple of details. The SEALs were under orders to fight their way out if they were apprehended. They would not have been left to their fate if they had been, in Obama's words, been "embroiled in an extended firefight". The full force of the U.S. military would have been employed

to extricate them. Pakistan has a powerful military. It's well-trained, highly protective of state sovereignty. Of course, it has nuclear weapons. And leading Pakistani specialists on nuclear policy and issues are quite concerned by the exposure of the nuclear weapons system to jihadi elements. It could have escalated to a nuclear war. And in fact it came pretty close. While the SEALs were still inside the Bin Laden compound, the Pakistani chief of staff, General Kayani, was informed of the invasion and he ordered his staff in his words to "confront any unidentified aircraft". He assumed it was probably coming from India. Meanwhile in Kabul, General David Petraeus, head of the Central Command, ordered "U.S. warplanes to respond if Pakistanis scrambled their fighter jets". It was that close. Going back to Obama, "by luck" it didn't happen. But the risk was faced without noticeable concern, without even reporting in fact.

#### Every Innocent Killed Creates Ten New Enemies

There's a lot more to say about that operation and its immense cost to Pakistan, but instead of that let's look more closely at the concern for security more generally. Beginning with security from terror, and then turning to the much more important question of security from instant destruction by nuclear weapons.

As I mentioned, Obama's now conducting the world's greatest international terrorist campaign - the drones and special forces campaign. It's also a terror-generating campaign. The common understanding at the highest level [is] that these actions generate potential terrorists. I'll quote General Stanley McChrystal, Petraeus' predecessor. He says that "for every innocent person you kill", and there are plenty of them, "you create ten new enemies".



Take the marathon bombing in Boston a couple of months ago, that you all read about. You probably didn't read about the fact that two days after the marathon bombing there was a drone bombing in Yemen. Usually we don't happen to hear much about drone bombings. They just go on - just straight terror operations which the media aren't interested in because we don't care about international terrorism as long as the victims are somebody else. But this one we happened to know about by accident. There was a young man from the village that was attacked who was in the United States and he happened to testify before Congress. He testified about it. He said that for several years, the jihadi elements in Yemen had been trying to turn the village against Americans, get them to hate Americans. But the villagers didn't accept it because the only thing they knew about the United States was what he told them. And he liked the United States. So he was telling them it was a great place. So the jihadi efforts didn't work. Then he said one drone attack has turned the entire village into people who hate America and want to destroy it. They killed a man who everybody knew and they could have easily apprehended if they'd wanted. But in our international terror campaigns we don't worry about that and we don't worry about security.

One of the striking examples was the invasion of Iraq. U.S. and British intelligence agencies informed their governments that the invasion of Iraq was likely to lead to an increase in terrorism. They didn't care. In fact, it did. Terrorism increased by a factor of seven the first year after the Iraqi invasion, according to government statistics. Right now the government is defending the massive surveillance operation. That's on the front pages. The defense is on grounds that we have to do it to apprehend terrorists.

If there were a free press - an authentic free press - the headlines would be ridiculing this claim on the grounds that policy is designed in such a way that it amplifies the terrorist risk. But you can't find that, which is one of innumerable indications of how far we are from anything that might be called a free press.

#### Russian Disarmament Offers Rejected

Let's turn to the more serious problem: instant destruction by nuclear weapons. That's never been a high concern for state authorities. There are many striking examples. Actually, we know a lot about it because the United States is an unusually free and open society and there's plenty of internal documents that are released. So we can find out about it if we like.

Let's go back to 1950. In 1950, U.S. security was just overwhelming. There'd never been anything like it in human history. There was one potential danger: ICBMs with hydrogen bomb warheads. They didn't exist, but they were going to exist sooner

or later. The Russians knew that they were way behind in military technology. They offered the U.S. a treaty to ban the development of ICBMs with hydrogen bomb warheads. That would have been a terrific contribution to U.S. security. There is one major history of nuclear weapons policy written by McGeorge Bundy, National Security Advisor for Kennedy and Johnson. In his study he has a couple of casual sentences on this. He said that he was unable to find even a staff paper discussing this. Here's a possibility to save the country from total disaster and there wasn't even a paper discussing it. No one cared. Forget it, we'll go on to the important things.

A couple of years later, in 1952, Stalin made a public offer, which was pretty remarkable, to permit unification of Germany with internationally supervised free elections, in which the Communists would certainly lose, on one condition - that Germany be demilitarized. That's hardly a minor issue for the Russians. Germany alone had practically destroyed them several times in the century. Germany militarized and part of a hostile Western alliance is a major threat. That was the offer.

The offer was public. It also of course would have led to an end to the official reason for NATO. It was dismissed with ridicule. Couldn't be true. There were a few people who took it seriously - James Warburg, a respected international commentator, but he was just dismissed with ridicule. Today, scholars are looking back at it, especially with the Russian archives opening up. And they're discovering that in fact it was apparently serious. But nobody could pay attention to it because it didn't accord with policy imperatives - vast production of threat of war.

Let's go on a couple of years to the late '50s, when Khrushchev took over. He realized that Russia was way behind economically and that it could not compete with the United States in military technology and hope to carry out economic development, which he was hoping to do. So he offered a sharp mutual cutback in offensive weapons. The Eisenhower administration kind of dismissed it. The Kennedy administration listened. They considered the possibility and they rejected it. Khrushchev went on to introduce a sharp unilateral reduction of offensive weapons. The Kennedy administration observed that and decided to expand offensive military capacity - not just reject it, but expand it. It was already way ahead.

That was one reason why Khrushchev placed missiles in Cuba in 1962 to try to redress the balance slightly. That led to what historian Arthur Schlesinger - Kennedy's advisor - called "the most dangerous moment in world history" - the Cuban missile crisis. Actually there was another reason for it: the Kennedy administration was carrying out a major terrorist operation



against Cuba. Massive terrorism. It's the kind of terrorism that the West doesn't care about because somebody else is the victim. So it didn't get reported, but it was large-scale. Furthermore, the terror operation - it was called Operation Mongoose - had a plan. It was to culminate in an American invasion in October 1962. The Russians and the Cubans may not have known all the details, but it's likely that they knew this much. That was another reason for placing defensive missiles in Cuba.

Then came very tense weeks as you know. They culminated on October 26th. At that time, B-52s armed with nuclear weapons were ready to attack Moscow. The military instructions permitted crews to launch nuclear war without central control. It was decentralized command. Kennedy himself was leaning towards military action to eliminate the missiles from Cuba. His own, subjective estimate of the probability of nuclear war was between a third and a half. That would essentially have wiped out the Northern Hemisphere, according to President Eisenhower.

At that point, on October 26th, the letter came from Khrushchev to Kennedy offering to end the crisis. How? By withdrawal of Russian missiles from Cuba in return for withdrawal of U.S. missiles from Turkey. Kennedy in fact didn't even know there were missiles in Turkey. But he was informed of that by his advisors. One of the reasons he didn't know is that they were obsolete and they were being withdrawn anyway. They were being replaced with far more lethal invulnerable Polaris submarines. So that was the offer: the Russians withdraw missiles from Cuba; the U.S. publicly withdraw obsolete missiles that it's already withdrawing from Turkey, which of course are a much greater threat to Russia than the missiles were in Cuba.

Kennedy refused. That's probably the most horrendous decision in human history, in my opinion. He was taking a huge risk of destroying the world in order to establish a principle: the principle is that we have the right to threaten anyone with destruction anyway we like, but it's a unilateral right. And no one may threaten us, even to try to deter a planned invasion. Much worse than this is the lesson that has been taken away - that Kennedy is praised for his cool courage under pressure. That's the standard version today.

The threats continued. Ten years later, Henry Kissinger called a nuclear alert. 1973. The purpose was to warn the Russians not to intervene in the Israel-Arab conflict. What had happened was that Russia and the United States had agreed to institute a ceasefire. But Kissinger had privately informed Israel that they didn't have to pay any attention to it; they could keep going. Kissinger didn't want the Russians to interfere so he called a nuclear alert.

Going on ten years, Ronald Reagan's in office. His administration decided to probe Russian defenses by simulating air and naval attacks - air attacks into Russia and naval attacks on its border. Naturally this caused considerable alarm in Russia, which unlike the United States is quite vulnerable and had repeatedly been invaded and virtually destroyed. That led to a major war scare in 1983. We have newly released archives that tell us how dangerous it was - much more dangerous than historians had assumed. There's a current CIA study that just came out. It's entitled "The War Scare Was for Real". It was close to nuclear war. It concludes that U.S. intelligence underestimated the threat of a Russian preventative strike, nuclear strike, fearing that the U.S. was attacking them. The most recent issue of *The Journal of Strategic Studies* - one of the main journals - writes that this almost became a prelude to a preventative nuclear strike. And it continues. I won't go through details, but the Bin Laden assassination is a recent one.



#### **They Exalted Over the Glorious Sight of Massive Floods**

There are now three new threats. I'll try to be brief, but let me mention three cases that are on the front pages right now. North Korea, Iran, China. They're worth looking at. North Korea has been issuing wild, dangerous threats. That's attributed to the lunacy of their leaders. It could be argued that it's the most dangerous, craziest government in the world, and the worst government. It's probably true. But if we want to reduce the threats instead of march blindly in unison, there are a few things to consider. One of them is that the current crisis began with U.S.-South Korean war games, which included for the first time ever a simulation of a preemptive attack in an all-out war scenario against North Korea. Part of these exercises were simulated nuclear bombings on the borders of North Korea. That brings up some memories for the North Korean leadership. For example, they can remember that 60 years ago there was a superpower that virtually leveled the entire country and when there was nothing left to bomb, the United States turned to bombing dams. Some of you may recall that you could get the death penalty for that at Nuremberg. It's a war crime. Even if Western intellectuals and the media choose to ignore the documents, the North Korean leadership can read public documents, the official Air Force reports of the time, which are worth reading. I encourage you to read them. They exulted over the glorious sight of massive floods "that scooped clear 27 miles of valley below", devastated 75% of the controlled water supply for North Korea's rice production, sent the commissars scurrying to the press and radio centers to blare to the world the most severe, hate-filled harangues to come from the Communist propaganda mill in the three years of warfare. To the communists, the smashing of the dams meant primarily the destruction of their chief sustenance: rice. Westerners can little conceive the awesome meaning which the loss of this staple food commodity has for Asians: starvation and slow death. Hence the show of rage, the flare of violent tempers and the threats of reprisals when bombs fell on five irrigation dams.

Mostly quotes. Like other potential targets, the crazed North Korean leaders can also read high-level documents which are public, declassified, which outline U.S. strategic doctrine. One of the most important is a study by Clinton's strategic command, STRATCOM. It's about the role of nuclear weapons in the post-Cold War era. Its central conclusions are: U.S. must retain the right of first strike, even against non-nuclear states; furthermore, nuclear weapons must always be available, at the ready, because they "cast a shadow over any crisis or conflict". They frighten adversaries. So they're constantly being used, just as if you're using a gun, going into a store pointing a gun at the store owner. You don't fire it, but you're using the gun. STRATCOM goes on to say planners should not be too rational in determining what the opponent values the most. All of it has to be targeted. "It hurts to portray ourselves as too fully rational and cool-headed. That the United States may become irrational and vindictive if its vital interests are attacked should be part of the national persona that we project." It's beneficial for our strategic posture "if some elements appear to be potentially out-of-control". That's not Richard Nixon or George W. Bush; it's Bill Clinton.

Again, Western intellectuals and media choose not to look, but potential targets don't have that luxury. There's also a recent history that the North Korean leaders know quite well. I'm not going to review it because of lack of time. But it's very revealing. I'll just quote mainstream U.S. scholarship. North Korea has been playing tit for tat - reciprocating whenever Washington cooperates, retaliating whenever Washington reneges. Undoubtedly it's a horrible place. But the record does suggest directions that would reduce the threat of war if that were the intention, certainly not military maneuvers and simulated nuclear bombing.

Let me turn to the "gravest threat to world peace" - those are Obama's words, dutifully repeated in the press: Iran's nuclear program. It raises a couple of questions: Who thinks it's the gravest threat? What is the threat? How can you deal with it, whatever it is?

'Who thinks it's a threat?' is easy to answer. It's a Western obsession. The U.S. and its allies say it's the gravest threat and not the rest of the world, not the non-aligned countries, not the Arab states. The Arab populations don't like Iran but they don't regard it as much of a threat. They regard the U.S. as the threat. In Iraq and Egypt, for example, the U.S. is regarded as the major threat they face. It's not hard to understand why. What is the threat? We know the answer from the highest level: the U.S. intelligence and the Pentagon provide estimates to Congress every year. You can read them. The Global Security

Analysis - they of course review this. And they say the main threat of a Iranian nuclear program - if they're developing weapons, they don't know. But they say if they're developing weapons, they would be part of their deterrent strategy. The U.S. can't accept that. A state that claims the right to use force and violence anywhere and whenever it wants, cannot accept a deterrent. So they're a threat. That's the threat.

So how do you deal with the threat, whatever it is? Actually, there are ways. I'm short of time so I won't go through details but there's one very striking one: We've just passed an opportunity last December. There was to be an international conference under the auspices of the non-proliferation treaty, UN auspices, in Helsinki to deal with moves to establish a nuclear weapons-free zone in the Middle East. That has overwhelming international support - non-aligned countries; it's been led by the Arab states, Egypt particularly, for decades. Overwhelming support. If it could be carried forward it would certainly mitigate the threat. It might eliminate it. Everyone was waiting to see whether Iran would agree to attend.

In early November, Iran agreed to attend. A couple of days later, Obama canceled the conference. No conference. The European Parliament passed a resolution calling for it to continue. The Arab states said they were going to proceed anyway, but it can't be done. So we have to live with the gravest threat to world peace. And we possibly have to march on to war which in fact is being predicted.

The population could do something about it if they knew anything about it. But here, the free press enters. In the United States there has literally not been a single word about this anywhere near the mainstream. You can tell me about Europe.

The last potential confrontation is China. It's an interesting one, but time is short so I won't go on.

#### **Privatization Is Destroying the Commons**

The last comment I'd like to make goes in a somewhat different direction. I mentioned the Magna Carta. That's the foundations of modern law. We will soon be commemorating the 800th anniversary. We won't be celebrating it - more likely interring what little is left of its bones after the flesh has been picked off by Bush and Obama and their colleagues in Europe. And Europe is involved clearly.

But there is another part of Magna Carta which has been forgotten. It had two components. The one is the Charter of Liberties which is being dismantled. The other was called the Charter of the Forests. That called for protection of the commons from the depredations of authority. This is England of course.

The commons were the traditional source of sustenance, of food and fuel and welfare as well. They were nurtured and sustained for centuries by traditional societies collectively. They have been steadily dismantled under the capitalist principle that everything has to be privately owned, which brought with it the perverse doctrine of - what is called the tragedy of the commons - a doctrine which holds that collective possessions will be despoiled so therefore everything has to be privately owned. The merest glance at the world shows that the opposite is true. It's privatization that is destroying the commons. That's why the indigenous populations of the world are in the lead in trying to save Magna Carta from final destruction by its inheritors. And they're joined by others. Take say the demonstrators in Gezi Park in trying to block the bulldozers in Taksim Square. They're trying to save the last part of the commons in Istanbul from the wrecking ball of commercial destruction. This is a kind of a microcosm of the general defense of the commons. It's one part of a global uprising against the violent neo-liberal assault on the population of the world. Europe is suffering severely from it right now. The uprisings have registered some major successes. The most dramatic are Latin America. In this millennium it has largely freed itself from the lethal grip of Western domination for the first time in 500 years. Other things are happening too. The general picture is pretty grim, I think. But there are shafts of light. As always through history, there are two trajectories. One leads towards oppression and destruction. The other leads towards freedom and justice. And as always - to adapt Martin Luther King's famous phrase - there are ways to bend the arc of the moral universe towards justice and freedom - and by now even towards survival.

Question from conference moderator

You have been very critical of the press. What would you like the press to do?

Chomsky

It's very simple. I'd like the press to tell the truth about important things.



**Prof. Avram Noam Chomsky** Linguist, Philosopher and Political Critic, Professor (Emeritus) Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, United States

You can watch the video of Professor Chomsky's presentation at <http://bit.ly/livhwrj> or listen to the audio track at <http://bit.ly/lbcXMmi>.





Tuesday, 18 June 2013

Plenary Session

Keynote and Discussion

Workshops

The 2013 Bobs Awards Ceremony

## Plenary Session

**Global Governance: Blueprint for a Sustainable World Economy***Hosted by Deutsche Welle*

"Optimism, if not indeed utopian idealism, is reflected in the title of the panel discussion," said Monika Jones in her introduction to the session. The questions facing the morning's four podium guests concerned major issues facing the entire world today. How can global governance help to implement the aims of sustainable development, social justice, environmental protection and democratic participation? Given their contrasting objectives, is an alliance between social movements and major global economic players even possible? What role do the media have in this context and what position will they take in the course of their own reorientation?

The first to attempt to answer the question of who or what is defining the term global governance was Aart de Geus, Chairman and CEO of the Bertelsmann Foundation. "In terms of global governance, we see three big challenges," he said. "Let's start with the environment. We all live on one Earth, but we are consuming as if we had 1.5 Earths and it is getting worse instead of better. Then, there's the problem of demographics. The world's population growth is occurring in developing countries, where people are living longer and leaving the land to live in cities. And

a third difficulty to be overcome is inequality. While it's true that the percentage of extreme poverty is dropping, there is still an enormous gap between rich and poor all over the world."

However, he saw no global government on the horizon to tackle these issues and instead predicted that "grassroots" movements in societies worldwide would begin to deal with them.

**Cross-Border Consultation and Cooperation are Necessary**

Asked how societal movements in individual countries can address international scourges, such as the illegal slaughter of endangered species like African rhinoceroses, South Africa's former Environment Minister Valli Moosa replied, "For me global governance is really about promoting the rule of law. All over the world, in all jurisdictions, the rule of law exists primarily to protect the weak against abuse by the powerful. In the case of rhinos, the global aim is to protect the species through a global governance instrument known as the Convention for Biological Diversity."

He pointed out, though, that even this relatively uncontroversial example of how global governance is already working, is

hardly a complete success. "The United States is not a signatory to the convention. Yet nature and the global ecosystem do not recognize any political boundaries," said Moosa.

### International Competition Prevents Multi-National Cooperation

Given the fact that governments in various countries are pursuing sometimes diametrically opposing goals, Dr. Hans-Joachim Preuss, Managing Director of Germany's agency for international cooperation (GIZ) was asked if it is feasible for nations to work together to achieve global governance targets. "Not only are there differing interests between countries, there are also pressures from the media, academia and domestic politics, as well. But what we have not mentioned yet is business. International companies play a very big role when we're talking about maintaining economic sustainability," Preuss said.

Governance without government is a concept that Preuss insists is feasible. "First, the governance must be based on some accepted authority," he said. "Second, to be effective, global governance must be able to respond to the needs of its constituencies. And third, legitimacy must be assured to convince those governed that it is authorized. But, so far, I don't believe that the UN or other international conventions have established these conditions."

### Tweets from the Audience

An audience member tweeted a question specifically for Mohan Munasinghe, Professor of Sustainable Development at the University of Manchester, asking his opinion of a possible Doha agreement on climate change. "I don't think that climate change should be addressed in isolation," replied Munasinghe. "We should bend the curve of development to address climate change at the same time as we look to solve the issue of poverty. Climate change, as such, is so far removed from the ordinary person's understanding that it is difficult to mobilize support."

Wrapping up the hour-long discussion, Munasinghe compared the world's current situation with that of the Titanic after striking the iceberg. "Up on the top deck, the elite may be drinking champagne and eating caviar, but as the ship sinks, the rich and the poor will all end up drowning," he said. "We need to make the rich aware that they have a stake in ensuring that the system is changed to prevent the whole world from going under."



### Panel

**Aart De Geus** Chairman and CEO, Bertelsmann-Stiftung, Gütersloh, Germany

**Valli Moosa** Former Environmental Affairs and Tourism Minister of South Africa and Deputy Executive Chairman Lereko Investments (Pty) Ltd., Johannesburg, South Africa

**Prof. Mohan Munasinghe** Chairman, Munasinghe Institute for Development, Colombo, Sri Lanka and Professor of Sustainable Development, University of Manchester, United Kingdom

**Dr. Hans-Joachim Preuss** Managing Director, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), Bonn / Eschborn, Germany

### Moderation

**Monika Jones** TV Anchor, Deutsche Welle, Berlin, Germany

## Dr Guido Westerwelle

### Keynote Speech and Discussion

Excerpts From Speech – Check Against Delivery



"Fast-paced technological developments have given globalisation huge impetus," said German Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle. Along with the force of changing demographics, societal changes are taking place that not even autocrats can ignore. "People in emerging societies suffering under autocratic systems realise that they are being denied equal participation and that life can be different - because the increasing interconnectedness of the world is not a one-way street," he said.

Young people especially want to "take their destiny into their own hands". The possibility to share life in real time has changed the world. "Only free societies give rise to the creativity that is needed to succeed culturally, intellectually, politically and above all economically and socially in a globalised era."

When demonstrations take place, "these are a sign that a civil society is maturing," Westerwelle said in reference to ongoing popular protests in Turkey. He noted that people "shouldn't be worried when confronted with images of demonstrations", saying it was much more worrying when no news came out of a country and no demonstrations took place. "It is healthy when people's concerns rise to the surface. It signals their desire to be part of a values-based community. That goes far beyond political idealism."

Referring to the role of the media, Westerwelle said that unfortunately "simplification is one of the side effects of the immense competition that has also emerged between traditional media and new media". Westerwelle pointed out that the "technical revolution" over the past few decades has led above all to an increase in the speed of news reporting, adding that "three-minute statements" cannot explain the world. According to Westerwelle, the world is becoming more complicated and more confusing and needs "more nuanced approaches".

"Just because we see more doesn't mean we see the world more clearly," he said. And the more unclear the world becomes, the greater the need for reliable, objective reporting.

"We are experiencing a globalisation of values," said Westerwelle. Calling freedom of the press the "twin sibling" of freedom of speech, he emphasised that "the two belong inseparably together".

Noting the growing proportions of young people in many countries around the world, along with people's strong desire for prosperity, equality and opportunity, he pointed to major shifts shaping political and economic structures now, and especially in the years to come. The BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) and the Next Eleven (Bangladesh, Egypt,



Indonesia, Iran, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Turkey, South Korea, Viet Nam) are quickly striding towards having more influence in global politics, he said. Africa, for years considered a continent characterised by conflict, is on its way to becoming the "continent of opportunities". There are now more middle-class people in China than there are residents of the United States, Westerwelle noted.

Westerwelle also used his appearance at the Global Media Forum as a chance to congratulate Germany's international broadcaster on its 60th anniversary. "Deutsche Welle has made a great contribution to conveying cultures and values in the past decades." He also expressed his gratitude and appreciation to Erik Bettermann for his many years of service as Director General and welcomed his successor, Peter Limbourg.

Following his presentation on globalisation, democracy and the communication of values, Westerwelle engaged in a lively discussion with members of the audience, fielding questions from the floor on topics as diverse as arms exports to Mozambique, German-Azerbaijani relations, and human rights offences and discrimination against homosexuals in Russia and Ukraine.

**Dr Guido Westerwelle** German Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs





# Workshops



## Beyond GDP: Inclusive Measures of Economic Progress

Hosted by United Nations University

When gross domestic product (GDP) was first developed in the 1950s, it was only meant to be a measure of economic production. Yet it has been used to evaluate not only economic progress but also human well-being. GDP is an insufficient and misleading indicator of both, as it only focuses on short-term economic production and does not reflect the state of a nation's natural environment, long-term sustainable growth or inequality. The panelists discussed the need to shift from a focus on economic growth to one on economic progress.

### The Inclusive Wealth Index: Sustainable Growth for the Well-Being of Society

"GDP is not a measure of well-being. We are living under the false assumption that we will be fine as long as GDP increases," said Anantha Duraiappah. A nation could deplete all of their natural resources and still display positive GDP growth; however, this growth would come at the expense of the environment, human well-being and future sustainability. New metrics for measuring wealth are urgently needed. In response to this need, the Inclusive Wealth Report released in 2012 by the International Human Dimensions Programme on Global Environmental Change (UNU-IHDP) in collaboration with the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), introduced a new economic index: the Inclusive Wealth Index (IWI). The IWI takes a more holistic approach to calculating a nation's wealth by taking into account natural capital (e.g. forests, fossil fuels), produced capital (e.g. machinery, infrastructure) and human capital (e.g. education). The IWI of 20 countries was assessed by the report, representing 56% of world population and 72% of world GDP. "The report found that while all countries showed positive GDP growth, 19 of the 20 countries are depleting their natural capital, signaling a real physical impact of GDP growth," stated Pablo Muñoz. By performing a more comprehensive analysis of a nation's wealth, the IWI tells us if economic growth is sustainable in the long-term and whether this growth is at the expense of other resources.

### Inclusive Growth Research: Capturing the Dimensions of Human Development

Tony Addison addressed the challenges and opportunities facing inclusive growth research. He identified the need for better metrics to capture the many dimensions of human development as one of the core challenges of inclusive growth research. To illustrate the limited scope of current metrics, Addison used the example of a low-income African woman whose function of childcare is essential to human progress and development, yet her time and effort is not accounted for in current economic measures. Research needs to address how to better measure the inputs of those on the lower end of development and develop better metrics for measuring the concentration of

wealth in society. Addison also suggested that inclusive wealth research needs to move beyond the goal of poverty reduction to the more ambitious goal of promoting equality.

### Economics of Land Degradation: Managing Resources for Sustainability

"The sustainable management of land is the basis for development and for fighting poverty," stated Mark Schauer. Without managing our natural resources we will not be able to ensure that our national policies are sustainable over time. Schauer emphasized the need for indicators such as the IWI to prove to decision-makers that it is worth investing in natural capital as a way of reinvesting in wealth. He also remarked that if we are to successfully adopt new ways of thinking about a nation's wealth, there needs to be stronger partnerships and communication between science, politics and the private sector.

### An Appeal to the Media

Towards the end of the workshop the panelists were asked what role the media should play in promoting inclusive growth. In response, Duraiappah implored the media to, "Give GDP a rest. Give economic growth a rest. There is a dialogue on growth and a dialogue on sustainable development and they are talking past each other. Actually they are one. This has to be emphasized by the media."

### Panel

**Prof. Tony Addison** Chief Economist / Deputy Director, United Nations University World Institute for Development Economics Research, Helsinki, Finland

**Prof. Anantha Duraiappah** Executive Director, International Human Dimensions Programme on Global Environmental Change and Report Director of the Inclusive Wealth Report, Bonn, Germany

**Dr. Pablo Muñoz** Academic Officer, International Human Dimensions Programme on Global Environmental Change and Science Director of the Inclusive Wealth Report, Bonn, Germany

**Mark Schauer** Senior Advisor, Economics of Land Degradation Secretariat, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), Bonn, Germany

### Moderation

**Dr. Gero Schliess** Senior Correspondent, Deutsche Welle, Washington, D.C., United States

## Mobile For Development – Is Scale What Matters?

Hosted by *FrontlineSMS*

The panel focused on the promises and challenges of using mobile phones to assist communications in development projects. Mobile phones are increasingly ubiquitous worldwide. More than 3.2 billion people have a mobile device - nearly half of the world's population. Nearly every handset has a text-messaging capability, meaning that Short Message Service (SMS) represents the largest two-way digital communications platform in the world. All told, mobiles allow for global communications reach unprecedented in human history.

That said, deploying a broad mobile communications project comes with a significant set of challenges, including a need for understanding local context and infrastructure, gender inequalities, designing for sustainability, security risks, and other key factors. The panel of experts addressed some of these challenges by describing a variety of development projects using mobile phones.

Caroline Sugg from BBC Media Action opened the discussion by describing a maternal health intervention in India. Initial research indicated that nearly 82% of the population had access to a mobile phone - more people than had access to TV or radio. The intervention focused on providing community health workers with a series of illustrated cards, and asking respondents to type answers to quiz questions into a mobile device. While the program is just beginning, they have seen more than 93,000 unique users in the first ten months - a promising sign that the information is valuable to the community.

Grace Githaiga, a PhD candidate and Associate with the Kenya ICT Action Network, discussed ethical issues with mobile money platforms. Focusing on M-Pesa, one of the world's most popular mobile cash transfer services, Githaiga outlined the benefits of the program, including the ability to pay bills, purchase insurance, and buy goods. She also noted that mobile money platforms pose a number of ethical challenges, including problems with mistaken transfers, increased potential for fraud compared to physical exchange of money, and the potential security risk to personal privacy and banking details.

Eliza Anyangwe, content manager for the Guardian Global Development Professionals Network, shared the challenges of growing a project to scale that she has learned from mobile development experts around the world. There are many pilot initiatives that focus on proving that mobile initiatives work. While successful, it is often difficult to scale these initiatives, which function as interventions, rather than sustainable business ideas. Further, organizations distort the local market by being risk-averse and banking on what works best in a project report, rather than local context. However, Anyangwe also

pointed out that scale may not always be the goal - perhaps we should not always expect what works in one village in India, for example, to work across the entire country. The discussion of sustainability and scale, then, may become a harmful distraction.

Ben Taylor, founder of Daraja in Tanzania, closed the session by discussing the specifics of a difficult mobile intervention working to address non-functional water points at a rural community in Tanzania. In essence, community members were asked to send a text to a central line and report broken water points to the local government. The hype around the project was high, but the results were limited and disappointing, with only 53 text messages received. In hindsight, a number of issues derailed the project. First, there was limited mobile service in the communities that were attempting to report broken water points. Second, men largely controlled access to mobile phones, and were less likely to report breaks in the water supply. Finally, trust played a major role in limiting feedback, as community members were concerned that reporting broken water points would increase tensions with the local government, and were not willing to risk damaging that relationship. Use of technology, then, requires thinking about gender issues, cultural norms, political context, infrastructure, and a variety of other issues that might limit data collection results.

### Panel

**Caroline Sugg** Head, Advisory & Policy Team, BBC Media Action, London, United Kingdom

**Grace Githaiga** Researcher with the Media, Empowerment and Democracy in East Africa Research Program and Ph.D. Candidate, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, Kenya

**Eliza Anyangwe** Senior Content Co-ordinator, The Guardian Global Development Professionals Network, London, United Kingdom

**Ben Taylor** Founder and Former Director, Daraja, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

### Moderation

**Trevor Knoblich** Project Manager, FrontlineSMS, Washington, D.C., United States

## Freedom of Information – The Role of Transparency in Economic and Social Development

Hosted by Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung / fesmedia Africa

The panel explored the role of freedom of information in the social and economic development of African countries in general and the extractive industries in particular. It discussed questions of transparency, good governance and explored approaches of improving access to information on different levels.

Mukelani Dimba introduced the right to information as a fundamental leverage right that facilitates access to other developmental rights (socio-economic rights). While the 21st century has been declared the African century by some, freedom of information is the prerequisite for a people's effective participation in the political, social and economic affairs of their countries and directly benefits socioeconomic development.

Anne Mayher further highlighted how the right to information is particularly important in developing countries for the extractive industries. People need to be informed about the natural resource industry, the use and distribution of its profits, about disposessions and compensation schemes, about the application - or non-compliance - of labor and environmental standards and the potential impact of agreements before they enter into them (on a community level for instance).

Seember Nyager clarified how the right to information is crucial for good governance in general, considering that governments provide public services or goods on behalf of their citizens with public funds. Consequently, citizens have the right to know about public investment, infrastructure and public building plans, about the guidelines and targets of public service providers and the policies of numerous other crucial sectors such as health, education, social services and labor markets. Such information affects their lives and with it they can demand change and effectuate improvement with regard to distributive justice and questions of service delivery.

Without access to information citizens often feel disconnected from their governments and their decisions, explained Henry Maina. Eleven of 55 African countries have right to information laws, which are crucial so that citizens have legal grounds to demand information. In an effort to create an African platform for joint action that would improve the state of access to information on the African continent, the African Platform on Access to Information (APAI) was formed and the APAI declaration was launched at a continental conference in Cape Town in September 2011. The APAI declaration was endorsed by the African Commission of Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR), which also moved a resolution to endorse the 28th of September as Right to Information Day.



People require publicly held information in order to be knowledgeable about the way their countries are run, about their own rights and to enable them to participate in shaping policies and politics. Right to information laws are crucial to ensure this, but they have to be tested and used. Often citizens do not see how the right to information affects their daily life. Once they are aware how the right to information directly links to gaining access to land, education, health services or clean and drinkable water, they start demanding information. "And that is how you mobilize people," said Mukelani Dimba. Freedom of information advocates and media and human rights activists can help highlight that crucial connection.

### Panel

**Mukelani Dimba** Executive Director, Open Democracy Advice Center, Cape Town, South Africa

**Anne Mayher** Coordinator, International Alliance on Natural Resources in Africa, Johannesburg, South Africa

**Seember Nyager** Procurement Program Coordinator, Public and Private Development Centre, Abuja, Nigeria

**Henry Maina** Director, ARTICLE 19 Eastern Africa, Nairobi, Kenya

### Moderation

**Sophie Haikali** Programme Coordinator, fesmedia Africa, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Windhoek, Namibia

## Changing Development – The "Developing Country D" Campaign and the BRICS Countries

Hosted by Eine Welt Netz NRW/ SÜDWIND e. V.

Natural laws can't be breached, so the dominant model of development is reaching its limits. What should development achieve and by what means? That's a question faced all over the world. The wealthy delude themselves that they are entitled to all they have, when in reality their wealth is largely based on exploiting humankind and nature. For many years, a regional organization in Germany called "Eine Welt Netz" (One World Network) has campaigned in the state of North-Rhine Westphalia (NRW) to shift people's perception of prosperity and growth. The campaign is called "Entwicklungsland D" ("Developing country D"). Representatives of the network introduced the campaign at the beginning of the workshop, which ignited a lively debate on its use of clichéd depictions of people from the countries of the South.

Daniela Peulen talked about civic engagement and sustainable development based on her experiences working in German development cooperation in Cameroon and development education in Germany. In Cameroon, the work of non-governmental organizations and journalists takes place within the framework of financial constraints, she said, alongside tough competition, relatively low capacity building and long-term strategic planning. Apart from serving as critical observers and auxiliaries to government programs, the role of grassroots resources for community-based and participatory development strategies at the local level has proven itself in the field, even if local administrations remain far from using all these potentials.

The educational work of non-governmental organizations in Germany must also adapt to limited financial parameters (mostly short-term project financing; long-term planning is seldom possible). At present, discussions are being held about the impact of political awareness-raising, which is measurable only to a degree. Notable success has been determined over the long-term.

### The Influence of BRICS on Global Governance

Pedro Morazán talked about the increasing importance of Brazil, Russia, India and China (BRIC) as emerging economies with increasing power to influence the institutions of global governance. He noted that these countries, together with South Africa, formed a "soft coalition", that has a strong impact on international development cooperation structures through South-South cooperation (SSC).

Altogether, these BRICS countries have their own ideas about SSC and global development goals, emphasizing that they differ from North-South cooperation. Although the strategies of the various BRICS countries are not always congruent, they consistently insist that they do not want to buy into the "Western-dominated" bodies. The fact of the matter is that over the last 10 - 15 years, the BRICS countries have had a strong influence on low-income

countries (LICs) through trade, direct foreign investment, lending and development financing. It's also a fact that in relation to the rich OECD countries, the BRICS have also gained influence.

Yet this new economic supremacy has no corresponding manifestation in the institutions of global governance and in the formulation of global development goals. For instance, BRIC countries demand more IMF and World Bank voting rights from the OECD. They want more influence in the United Nations Security Council and don't want to obligate themselves to OECD bodies, such as the Development Assistance Committee (DAC). Presumably they will continue to exert a strong influence on the post-2015 process.

The "Developing country D" poster campaign presented by Eine Welt Netz - which aims to motivate people to think about consumption and a sustainable lifestyle - triggered a controversial discussion because it uses stereotypical imagery of North-South relations. Some participants called it insulting and counterproductive. In the course of the discussion, participants from Zambia complained about the lack of reports in the German media about Chinese companies buying up large regions of agricultural land in Africa, saying that German NGOs have an obligation to pay more attention to the fierce competition for resources.

This detail led to a final question. When globalization began spreading the model of economic growth across the planet, a rapidly accelerating process of resource over-exploitation entered into the equation. There has been a dramatic increase in global competition for resources. Given the fact that there are no longer enough resources for everyone, will the civilization process be reversed, giving rise to (even) more violence within and between countries?

In addition to mostly breaking news coverage, such as factory collapses in Bangladesh, flood disasters, etc, it is the duty of NGOs and the media to provide background information and continuously raise people's awareness of their own role and options for action for a sustainable future.

### Panel

**Daniela Peulen** Head of the "Education Meets Development" Project, Eine Welt Netz NRW, Münster, Germany

**Dr. Pedro Morazan** Researcher, SÜDWIND Institute for Economics and Ecumenism, Siegburg, Germany

### Moderation

**Manfred Belle** Sector Coordinator Public Relations, Eine Welt Netz NRW, Münster, Germany

## Tigers on Air – New Players in Developing Media Markets

Hosted by DW Akademie

The BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China) are increasingly doing business with developing countries. China is among the strongest and most vital investors. Observers around the world are split when analyzing the motives and effects of China's foreign policies. So one leading question of the panel was, 'What might be the long-term consequences of these attempts on a global scale for media support?' The situation of emerging states' engagement as development agents in poor countries is far from homogenous and oftentimes a policy mix of foreign diplomacy, economic growth and challenging the 'traditional' players in development cooperation. China, for example, has often been referred to as a "rogue donor," spending money regardless of the consequences. The lack of environmental safety, labor issues and questions regarding ownership of the investments are just a few of the problems perceived.

What is true about the West's knowledge about the economic associations between developing and emerging countries can also be said about the context of media cooperation. Few facts are present and Yu-Shan Wu was one of the first researchers who systematically approached China's investment in African media markets. She drew an initial picture of the status quo. Her findings tell of the impressive growth of China's investments in African media markets in recent years. But this growth unveils neither the motives behind nor the success of such policy.

Mark Kaigwa provided perspectives of young African entrepreneurs, who he believes are progressive and long for proper business opportunities, not only in their own countries. His message was clear: we have to look at each case of domestic and foreign investment and cooperation individually and base our opinions on the facts. Unfortunately, the situation oftentimes seems unclear from an external point of view and facts remain undisclosed.

The session agreed that cultural exchange was one of the positive aspects. China and Africa initially learned about each other solely through Western media, but today want to shape images via their own broadcast productions, Kaigwa said. Wu added that Chinese investments were mainly about public diplomacy both abroad and domestically. Still facing severe problems at home, the Chinese public also wanted to understand why investing abroad was reasonable and important. She also stressed that while observers fear that China could curtail critical issues, the opinions among the African public seemed to be more sophisticated. "China is heavily invested in South Africa, but the South African engagement in the Chinese media is probably more successful than vice versa."

There are other players actively trying to build an alternative to Western views and to establish unique perspectives. The



most prominent example is Al Jazeera. As Aboushagor reported, Qatar had played an essential role in the Libyan revolution by making huge investments in media and was still providing training. "I am not sure which media model the Gulf States are trying to export to North Africa." It has become clear that the post-rebellion societies are still struggling for the right decisions to open up and reshape society, institutions and the economy. In order to succeed, Tunisia needed the revolution to become "more concrete" – that is to be able to express its values and discuss important issues in the general public. Therefore, "we have to realize dignity and freedom," Khaeri analyzed.

The panelists expressed general worries about foreign powers who try to influence public dialogue abroad but called upon the audience to avoid prejudice towards cooperation between emerging and developing countries as long as there was respect for diversity and freedom. "There are tigers on air, but also dragons," summarized Kaigwa, referring to the session title. "But one cannot necessarily assume that they are predators towards freedom of opinion and expression."

### Panel

**Yu-Shan Wu** Researcher, Global Powers and Africa Programme, South African Institute of International Affairs, Johannesburg, South Africa

**Ridha Kazdaghli** International Relations Consultant to the Government of Tunisia

**Khaeri Aboushagor** Media Training and Development Coordinator, Libyan Centre for Democracy and Human Rights, Benghazi, Libya

**Mark Kaigwa** Consultant, Strategist and African Ambassador for the Sandbox Network, Nairobi, Kenya

### Moderation

**Patrick Leusch** Head of Division, International Cooperation, DW Akademie, Bonn, Germany

## Realizing Financial Inclusion: The Importance of Microfinance for Economic Empowerment

*Hosted by Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development and Sparkassenstiftung für internationale Kooperation*

Some 2.7 billion people do not have access to formal financial services. They have no bank account, are excluded from formal money transfers, savings and insurance products, and have no access to loans to expand their businesses. Policy makers around the world, such as the G20 leaders, are committed to improving access to finance. They recognize the importance of financial inclusion for poverty alleviation and economic development.

How can financial inclusion support development? Which are the challenges and what evidence is there concerning the positive impact of microfinance? What efforts are being taken to provide microfinance services in a responsible way?

Microfinance has recently been criticized for being too focused on commercial interests. The concept of microfinance has changed over the past few decades. Many microfinance institutions generate profits or at least cover their own costs. They pursue both commercial and social objectives. Microfinance is neither good nor bad; it is a tool. The workshop discussed how this tool can be employed to promote development.

Antonique Koning opened the floor by stating that financial inclusion helps people to build assets, smooth consumption, manage their risks and to substantially reduce stress – this is the message of the microfinance revolution. However, there is also bad news – about overheated markets leading people into over-indebtedness. Careful studies show a somewhat mixed influence of microfinance: loans have a positive impact on micro enterprises, whereas the possibility to save is beneficial for poor households.

Anna Nakawunde noted that without financial inclusion, the poor stay poor. However, financial inclusion and financial literacy have to go hand-in-hand. That is why the institution she heads, Uganda Finance Trust, actively supports financial literacy measures for its clients. Marilyn Manila explained that CARD follows a holistic approach – the money it earns is reinvested into the institution, helping clients to move up. CARD also provides social safety nets by offering micro insurance, low cost health services and financial literacy measures. Niclaus Bergmann explained that the main bottleneck for successful microfinance is not the lack of funding, but instead the lack of knowledge. Financial institutions have to balance profitability and social orientation. Efficiency is the key while reaching out to clients. Marius Kahl commented that financial inclusion is just one element in the fight against poverty, but that it is an important one. That is why the German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development supports responsible finance and encourages financial inclusion by strengthening standards, financial literacy and fostering (self) regulation.



Questions from the audience revolved around how to practically implement client protection and how to overcome lack of trust in the financial industry. Kahl described the ministry's support for regulation, Manila and Nakawunde underscored the importance of financial education taking place at center meetings or being embedded in other events (e.g. at schools).

### Results:

- Microfinance is not just credit, but also savings – in particular for the (very) poor
- Financial institutions need to strike a balance between financial sustainability and a social mission
- The media have an important role to play when it comes to financial literacy

### Panel

**Niclaus Bergmann** Managing Director, Savings Banks Foundation for International Cooperation, Bonn, Germany

**Marius Kahl** Desk Officer for Financial Systems Development, Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, Bonn, Germany

**Marilyn M. Manila** International Group Director, CARD Mutually Reinforcing Institutions, San Pablo City, Philippines

**Anna Nakawunde** CEO, Uganda Finance Trust, Kampala, Uganda

### Moderation

**Antonique Koning** Microfinance Specialist, Donors and Investors, Consultative Group to Assist the Poor (CGAP), Paris, France

## Keeping an Eye on the Boom: Investigative Journalists in Emerging Economies

Hosted by Deutsche Welle

Criticizing government and business is generally frowned upon in many emerging economies. In this workshop, journalists from China and Nigeria discussed how they draw public attention to economic wrongdoings in their countries.

In September 2008, a scandal broke out in China that rocked the nation. 300,000 babies fell ill due to tainted milk powder. Companies had mixed melamine - a substance which is toxic to humans - into their milk products to boost protein content. This came as no surprise to journalist Qing Zhou. Several years earlier he had written a book pointing to the lack of food security in his country. Executives knew about the results of his research, he says. They understood the gravity of the situation and that a milk-powder scandal would ensue. The government's sole reaction to Qing Zhou was that his book might get him thrown into jail. Now the author lives in exile in Munich, Germany.

Toyosi Ogunseye, a journalist from Nigeria, told the audience about a research coup she pulled off in Lagos last year. She revealed that the production process in a steel factory had been polluting the environment and causing incidents of cancer among local residents. After the story was published, the factory was shut down and the affected residents were given compensation for their pain and suffering. Getting to that point wasn't easy, said Ogunseye. At the time of her research, politicians held shares in the company, and its contribution to the country's economic growth was widely welcomed. But that argument didn't hold for Ogunseye, who said she thinks economic growth should benefit the people. But if instead of benefiting they die, she asked, who profits from it then?

Responding to a question from the floor, Ogunseye said that her greatest success wasn't the closing of the factory, but the fact that she had raised people's awareness that the factory was making them sick. Her independent newspaper, "The Sunday Punch", even paid for medical tests. She remarked, however, that such support for investigative journalism was the exception in Nigeria. Most media are controlled by the government, she said. That's why the law on free access to information, which is only a few years old, is of little use in her opinion. You can have a thousand and one laws on press freedom, Ogunseye said, but without a democratic environment in which these laws can be applied, they are useless. Ogunseye noted the same for the democratic institutions in her country. The Nigerian environmental authority should have followed up on the complaints that residents living near the plant had been filing for years. But ultimately, the journalist took on that task - and had to endure many attempts by the company to bribe her.

The factory story had a major impact. Chinese journalist Qing

Zhou, however, can only dream of gaining such exposure. His book on China's abuses in the food industry was published, albeit heavily censored, but bookstores tend to keep it hidden, for instance by stocking it in the section on building materials. Fortunately the book can be bought in Hong Kong, he said, where the Chinese government has less influence. Qing commented that in China it is particularly difficult for journalists to take on the role as the fourth power of the state, especially when it comes to economic wrongdoings because the government is intent on protecting economic interests. He said that his research was only possible because of his good relations with industry informants and authorities.

Moderator Mirjam Gehrke asked whether cases like these are typical for journalists in emerging economies. In response, Gavin Rees from the Dart Centre Europe said that it is often harder for journalists to cope with the personal trauma caused by irresponsible business behavior that they are confronted with than the difficulty of getting past powerful interest groups. As an example he pointed to the devastation caused by collapsing textile factories in South East Asia, which cost many people their lives.

Nigerian Ogunseye expressed her fear that in many African countries, too, the media would have little impact as the fourth estate and hardly be able to help drive economic progress forward. She said that journalists were losing their credibility because governments made targeted efforts to discredit them. If government and businesses behaved responsibly and took people's complaints seriously, then journalists could write about that, she said. But if not, what should they do then?

Panel

**Gavin Rees** Director, Dart Centre Europe, London, United Kingdom

**Qing Zhou** Journalist and Author, Munich, Germany

**Toyosi Ogunseye** Editor, The Sunday Punch, Lagos, Nigeria

Moderation

**Mirjam Gehrke** Senior Editor, German Service, Deutsche Welle, Bonn, Germany

## Green Transformation and the Future of Growth

Hosted by German Development Institute / Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)

What must be done to build a sustainable path to the future without destroying our livelihood? Various green transformation concepts have called for inclusive green growth (World Bank, 2012), green growth and development (OECD, 2012), a green economy (UNEP, 2011) or even a great transformation and a social contract for sustainability (WBGU, 2011).

Dirk Messner, Director of the German Development Institute (DIE), pointed out that today green investments are growing, mindsets are shifting and that innovative technologies are already available. All the elements we need for a green transformation are in place, he said. This was not the case one or two decades ago. The energy transition in Germany ("Energiewende") is an example of how a transformation towards a green economy can be done, stated UNEP Director Achim Steiner. In 2012, Germany's gross electricity consumption was already 22.9 percent green. OECD Environment Director Simon Upton said he sees positive signals for market transformations following from the public policy choices made in the past.

The panel emphasized the change of mindset that is necessary to speed up the process of transformation towards renewable energy sources, with Upton stating that "we cannot go on like this. We have to be much more resource efficient. And we need to solve the climate problem." The panelists agreed that there is not enough consensus between the different organizations, reports and even concepts that consider green growth on how to deal with the deterioration of environmental systems. Often, the right implementation is lacking. According to SDN Chief Economist Marianne Fay, we also need to think more about supporting those strongly affected by environmental changes. The World Bank report "Inclusive Green Growth: The Pathway to Sustainable Development" puts forward two key messages, Fay added. First, green growth is necessary for sustainable development and second, there are several challenges on the path to successful sustainable development: the willingness for complex political reforms, a change of behavior and a change of the investment profile in green innovations.

Another question dealt with was the role of green growth against the background of the financial crisis in Europe. Achim Steiner sees the green idea not dying because of the crisis. Instead, green growth facilitates new markets, new products, new jobs and also more competitive advantages in the global market. According to Simon Upton there will always be some governments that hand out fossil fuel subsidies, which have two effects: energy efficiency is not high on the agenda and renewable energy sources will not be competitive. The panel agreed on the importance of incentive schemes and framework conditions, especially tax and subsidy policies, to make energy transformations more attractive.



Processes need to be sped up. "The pace of change is far too slow against the backdrop of a population that will increase by another two billion in 40 years," argued Steiner. We now need the imperative and the confidence to act. In fact, as Dirk Messner pointed out, mindsets already have been shifting, but behavior and action lag behind. We need to identify win-win situations and as Simon Upton remarked, we should also observe more closely what is happening at local levels, within cities for instance.

The panel concluded by summarizing the most important factors: Mindsets about green growth need to change and have begun to change. The existing business and growth models will not work any longer, but many studies have already demonstrated that there are different and innovative proposals that show how to translate great ideas into action and that combine economic growth and sustainability. The technologies are already in place but need to be used efficiently to speed up the pace of progress.

Panel

**Marianne Fay** Chief Economist, Sustainable Development Network of the World Bank, Washington, D.C., United States

**Achim Steiner** (via live video from Nairobi) UN Under-Secretary-General and Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme, Nairobi, Kenya

**Simon Upton** Environment Director, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Paris, France

Moderation

**Prof. Dirk Messner** Director, German Development Institute / Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE), Bonn, Germany

## Reform of the UN and the World Economy

*Hosted by United Nations Conference on Trade and Development*

The workshop discussed the effectiveness of international governance systems, particularly the United Nations, in dealing with the increasingly inter-related issues of sustainable economic, social and environmental development. The key questions debated by the panel and the ensuing discussion were: What has been the role of the UN system in global economic governance in recent decades? Has the organization been effective in contributing to a constructive global dialogue on the development challenges? How does the UN system deal with the development aspirations in the global South? Confronted with the current crises, is the world economy at a crossroads or are we merely encountering more potholes than usual? What can the UN system do in dealing with the recent crisis, what new visions and answers can it offer, and how has the UN system adapted to respond to this challenge?

Regarding the first two questions, in the introductory observations of the panelists and the following discussion, it was pointed out that the development of the economic and global governance systems have seen some major turns. The post-war era of reconstruction in Europe and the achievement of political sovereignty of many developing countries were characterized by a strong role of the development state, placing particular emphasis on the creation or improvement of physical infrastructure and the meeting of essential and basic consumer demands. Economic growth translated into increasing incomes of virtually all parts of the population, because of a largely just income distribution.

The oil crises in the 1970s, the increasing resource limits to growth and the concomitant economic crises of over-production triggered a swing toward neo-liberalism, driving back the role of a proactive development state and emphasizing the allocative efficiency of international goods, services and capital markets. Global financial markets significantly increased their importance, putting their stamp on the real economy and leading to much more short-term focused profitability pressure. Governments reduced corporate taxes and incurred significant public debt to maintain the level of social expenses and investment. Later this increased the pressure to sell public assets and reduce social expenses. All in all this created a gradually increasing gap between the rich and poor in developed countries, provoking lukewarm mass purchasing power and skyrocketing liquidity of the rich in the financial sector looking for lucrative investment. What followed was a ballooning financial sector, which had lost touch with the real economy.

In parallel, in the last two decades, the global predominance of the key industrialized countries eroded and notably the



BRIC countries became powerhouses of economic growth and global demand. In recent years, a certain share of the revenues from economic development, in particular from enhanced commodity extraction and trade, have been used to improve the living conditions of large parts of the population, notably in South America and East Asia. For the time being, however, the BRIC countries are not yet in a position to rebalance global economic demand, growth and trade.

### **The Discussion Emphasized the Following Points:**

- Throughout history, international institutions have been only as strong as the great powers of the moment allowed them to be.
- Since the 1990s, a new regime of global governance has emerged built upon economic rule-making by bankers and financial markets. The real/material part of the economy and the interests of citizens and workers have been more and more dominated by the interests and tools used by the finance sector.
- We are living in a time of confusion about the purpose and durability of international institutions. Globalization of the economy, global environmental and social challenges all require more coherent international approaches and collaboration. Yet, although the UN is the most universal and trusted international organization globally, many of its efforts remain piecemeal. In the words of one participant, "treading water is not a solution if the tide is taking the UN out to sea."

On the importance and implications of the recent financial crisis, panelists and several participants pointed out that the crisis was a new turning point for large parts of the world economy and its governance system. The current three-pronged crisis of the banking system, public finances and the real econ-

omy inhibits economic and employment growth in the face of mounting public and private debt. A disproportionate amount of public resources are being used to bail out banks and their investors, while on the government revenue side, tax income suffers from economic stagnation or decline, and a drive by large transnational companies to 'optimize' their tax bills.

At the same time, the global environmental crisis, in particular the apocalyptic implications of global warming, requires a re-thinking of the growth paradigm and mankind's co-existence with nature. It is becoming more and more evident that the economic, financial, climate and food crisis are closely interconnected and have a mutually reinforcing character. Therefore they need to be dealt with in a holistic way. The dangers their synergistic impacts create should be at the center of attention of UN debate and activities.

According to Jürgen Wiemann, the competitive advantage of the UN is that it is the most universal, inclusive, democratic and trustworthy multilateral governance body. It is often also highlighted that the UN's multilateral and multidisciplinary thinking and research, at its best, is more balanced and comprehensive than that of the prevailing economic doctrine of market fundamentalism. The desperate need for a strategic reorientation requires a renewed emphasis on analysis and research, making better use of the UN's competitive edge in producing and nurturing world-class thinkers on critical global issues and combining knowledge with political punch.

In conclusion, several speakers in the audience highlighted that one of the key challenges for the UN seemed to be that the organization had become too bureaucratic, its machinery too slow and that one mostly only saw state-centric talk-shows that discredited leadership for meaningful change. Some speakers also saw too much emphasis on win-win opportunities and voluntary partnership approaches and related inspirational anecdotes. Faced with the current crises trends, such approaches carried the risk of self-deception and public disillusionment.

Panel

**Dr. Jean Feyder** Former Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Luxembourg to the United Nations and World Trade Organization, Geneva, Switzerland

**Dr. Jürgen Wiemann** Economist, Associate Fellow, German Development Institute / Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE), Bonn, Germany

Moderation

**Dr. Ulrich Hoffmann** Senior Trade Policy Advisor to the Director of the International Trade Division, Secretariat of the UN Conference on Trade and Development, Geneva, Switzerland

## Water in a Changing World of Growth Opportunities

*Hosted by United Nations Office to Support the International Decade for Action: Water for Life 2005-2015 / UN-Water Decade Programme on Advocacy and Communications*

The session aimed at demonstrating that there are innovative policy, technology and business solutions to foster opportunities in water management and to grow economic opportunities in relation to water.

Over the last 20 years, much has been achieved – more than 660 million people have been lifted out of poverty and significant strides have been made towards reaching the Millennium Development Goals. Between 1990 and 2010, more than two billion people gained access to safe drinking water, enabling the international community to meet the MDG safe water target ahead of 2015. Despite these gains, however, huge hurdles remain for the world to meet challenges where water is integrally involved. Progress is just not moving fast enough. New approaches are needed to deal with water challenges. The new approach of the World Bank includes three aspects: a) Gain political attention at the highest levels; b) Think differently about the private sector; and c) Pursue innovation aggressively.

It is also important to move from women as targets to empowered actors to insure effectiveness and sustainability, particularly in regard to women in rural areas of the developing world, who to date still form the majority of the extremely poor, but at the same time have huge potential to further development. Women all over the world use their intrinsic ability for social bonding to form networks to address common challenges. In water-stressed regions there are costs and benefits to any options and trade-offs that need to be confronted. Technology may not be the only solution (organic agriculture, adapted seeds) to water problems under drought. It's important to consider that it may be a social issue of how responsibilities are defined and how countries formulate strategies to be prepared to deal with extreme conditions.

The media need to question some of these approaches. Particularly in controversial cases, such as the construction of dams, like in Ghana, and forced resettlement. There are some issues, however, that media do not cover, which raises the question of why. For example there is the case of water pollution/drinking water quality in Iraq or in the case of transboundary rivers, such as the Nile. For local reporters, stories like these may be too dangerous and too public. Even if the media try to be objective and use professional standards, they need to be (financially) independent to live up to these standards. Media can also help governments to be more responsive to water problems and the needs of citizens and so scale up good practices, promoting greater visibility of water on the political agenda.

In the case of water, the role of the organizations in the UN system and of the International Water Conventions is of paramount



importance to deal with potential upstream and downstream conflicts in transboundary basins. For the organizations in the UN system to more effectively perform their role as advisers and mediators, it is important that they build trust. Finally, the question was raised and discussed whether the UN is responsive, effective and efficient enough regarding the needs of citizens vis à vis governments.

### Panel

**Jaehyang So** Manager, Water and Sanitation Program, World Bank, Washington, D.C., United States

**Alice Bouman-Dentener** President, Women for Water Partnership, The Hague, Netherlands

**Victor M. Castillo** Scientific Affairs Officer, United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification Secretariat, Bonn, Germany

**Toyosi Ogunseye** Editor, The Sunday Punch, Ogun State, Nigeria

**Monika Hoegen** Journalist, Brussels, Belgium and Cologne, Germany

### Moderation

**Josefina Maestu** Coordinator of the UN-Water Decade Programme on Advocacy and Communication, and Director of the United Nations Office to Support the International Decade for Action 'Water for Life' 2005 - 2015, Zaragoza, Spain

# Gender Equitable Economic Development

Hosted by UN Women National Committee Germany

In an increasingly globalized and interconnected world, utilizing all social and economic assets is crucial for success. Yet, despite progress, women continue to face discrimination, marginalization and exclusion. Empowering women to participate fully in economic life across all sectors and throughout all levels of economic activity is essential to building strong economies, achieving internationally-agreed goals for development, sustainability and human rights and improving quality of life for women and men.

The workshop focused on the "Women's Empowerment Principles" developed by UN Women and UN Global Compact, and how the empowerment of women could contribute to more successful economic development of companies. Furthermore it considered how Women's Empowerment Principles could be implemented in the business context. Four panelists from different backgrounds engaged the audience in a very lively discussion on how to empower women as part of sustainable economic development.

Karin Nordmeyer stated in her opening remarks that women's economic empowerment is a prerequisite for sustainable development. Achieving it requires sound public policies, a holistic approach and long-term commitment. Gender-specific perspectives must be integrated at the design stage of policy and programming. Women must have more equitable access to assets and services; infrastructure programs should be designed to benefit the poor - both men and women - and employment opportunities must be improved while increasing recognition of women's vast unpaid work. Innovative approaches and partnerships include increased dialogue among development actors, improved coordination among donors, and support for women organizing at the national and global level.

Elke Holst pointed out that, in view of demographic change, more women need to be drawn to the labor market. This means that the workplace has to be more attractive for women. Not only family friendliness is important. Equal chances to achieve top-level jobs in a company and equal pay for men and women are also becoming increasingly competitive factors. Although many companies want more women in leadership positions, the reality "strikes back." Company culture and gender stereotypes often undermine women's chances of entering higher positions. Today's big challenge is changing the culture and overcoming traditional gender stereotypes, which assign different characteristics and abilities to men and women.

Britt Gustawsson presented a personal view on women's career development. Besides the constraints in company policies and public awareness, women should not abstain from

pursuing their career goals. She encouraged young professionals to use their talents and knowledge and to network with businesswomen in order to overcome difficulties they may encounter.

Jürgen Janssen summarized the Women's Empowerment Principles. Gender equality is an important issue on the post-2015 agenda, as stated in the report of the Global Compact to the UN General Secretary as well in the report of the high level panels. The Women's Empowerment Principles aim to improve the prospects for women seeking qualified work and are relevant to companies with regard to human resource development and diversity as a competitive advantage and skills shortage. Nevertheless, only three companies have signed off so far. The reason for this might be the fact that many human rights aspects are covered by other strategies and resolutions. Therefore, campaigning for Women's Empowerment Principles poses a big challenge.

The presentations by the four panelists focused on the discrimination of women, mainly in the European labor market due to policy decisions and discriminatory behavior. The statements revealed the differences between the situation for women in Africa and Europe and the need for appropriate strategies. This led to very lively debate. The discussion focused on the demands of women's organizations regarding a change in mindset and business policy in the private sector. Nevertheless, women's own contribution is crucial to development.

Panel

**Britt Gustawsson** Head of Risk Management and Legal, Balli Group plc, London, United Kingdom

**Dr. Elke Holst** Senior Economist and Research Director Gender Studies, German Institute for Economic Research, Berlin, Germany

**Dr. Jürgen Janssen** Coordinator and Network Representative, German Global Compact Network, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), Berlin, Germany

**Karin Nordmeyer** President, UN Women National Committee Germany, Bonn, Germany

Moderation

**Dr. Bettina Burkart** Equality Officer, Deutsche Welle, Bonn, Germany

## "Leadership for Global Responsibility": Co-Creating a Value-Based Approach for a Sustainable Future

Hosted by Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ)

In the 21st century, the world is becoming increasingly aware of a series of urgent, global and systemic problems threatening the stability of vital ecological, social and economic systems. There is a need for responsible global leadership capable of transforming collective intention into collaborative action. At all levels, we need responsible leaders with a highly self-reflective attitude, advanced leadership competencies and strong motivation to take action in international networks of diverse stakeholders.

The workshop sought to address these needs, starting with a short introduction to the topic of "Leadership for Global Responsibility" and its embedment in the work conducted by the German agency for international cooperation (GIZ) work in this field, e.g. the Climate Leadership Plus Program (CL+). GIZ programs like CL+ apply a dynamic "Leadership Competency Framework" in support of individual development paths. It focuses on competence development in three key domains of leadership within international diversity:

**Cooperation:** To address the global dimension of today's challenges in a multi-polar and interdependent world, leaders must be able to develop solutions collaboratively in international, cross-sectoral and non-hierarchical networks.

**Transformation:** Incremental change management and reactive quick fixes fail to sufficiently address the fundamental challenges of our times. Leaders must be able to initiate and facilitate deep structural and cultural changes at the individual, organizational and systemic level.

**Innovative Action:** Responses to transformational challenges cannot be derived from the routines, management books and mental frameworks of the past. Leaders need the ability to develop profound innovation and the sensitivity, determination and perseverance to engage in innovative action in environments of inertia, blockades and a lack of support.

Leadership experiences were shared within small groups and participants exchanged views on the questions: "What is the most important thing about leadership for me personally and professionally?", "What are my experiences with the topic "leadership development" so far?" and subsequently shared their ideas with the entire group. Discussions were driven by statements such as: "There is attention to the leaders' values and the institutions' objectives, that a leader has to consider"; "You can be a technical expert, but when you are not an expert of yourself, you won't be able to make the change"; "Encourage our kids to take over active responsibility and not blindly hand over responsibility to national leaders."

Stories were told by professionals and students, e.g. about volunteer work for a "Childline," where it is important to listen without judging; in student organizations, where they feel motivated by a confident, safe environment and where people can grow by being appreciated. A Nigerian participant offered a metaphor: "Do you want to know what the problem is? Come and have a look. And when you look, you look in a mirror."

GIZ's ToolBox was presented and linked to GIZ's online collaboration, the leadershipLAB (<http://bit.ly/1bcjOS6>), where the ToolBox can be downloaded by registered participants. The ToolBox provides a collection of practical tools and resources for people to use in their own leadership work.

The leadershipLAB is a place to discuss, share and blog on topics related to global challenges, leadership development, transformational scenarios and social innovation worldwide. Conference participants interested in registering may send an inquiry to: [Susanna.Albrecht@giz.de](mailto:Susanna.Albrecht@giz.de).

### Panel

**Agi S.Cakradirana** Deputy Programme Manager, IDBP/Interim Director YRE Hivos Regional Office Southeast Asia, Indonesia

**Mohan Dhamotharan** Freelance Consultant, Heidelberg, Germany

**Pramita H.Budihardjo** Project Coordinator at Mercy Corps Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia

**Alfred Kowo** Chief Executive Officer, Kach Infraprojects, South Africa

**Melinda Swift** Director of Sustainable Resource Management in the Gauteng Province Department of Agriculture and Rural Development, South Africa

**Brigitta Villaronga** Head of the Leadership Development Group, Academy for International Cooperation, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), Bonn, Germany

### Moderation

**Klaus Althoff** Programme Director, Climate Leadership Plus – Leadership for Global Responsibility, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), Bonn, Germany

## Emerging Asian Markets – Challenges for the Media

*Hosted by Deutsche Welle*

The media industry in Asia has seen tremendous growth in TV channels, films, newspapers, radio stations and other forms of media over the last decade. With the sector poised to double in size by 2017, there are still big challenges - primarily the impact of economic factors on independent media organizations. Studies show that they play an even bigger role than political pressure. The majority of media organizations in Asia consider the economic climate and market conditions to be the major challenges to the editorial independence and business advancement of their media outlets. It is widely believed that only those who understand market forces and their audiences can successfully diversify revenue streams to defend editorial independence and ensure the sustained quality of objective media content.

The panel focused on the challenges in various markets and explored different models and solutions with media personalities from Bangladesh, India, Indonesia and Pakistan. At the beginning of the workshop, the panelists described the market situation and their company's role in their respective countries.

Rudy Tanoesoedibjo gave an overview of the Indonesian market where the average monthly income has grown by 37 percent in four years and where monthly spending reflects the same percentage. In the bigger cities, 94 percent of households consume television every day at an average of five hours a day, compared to the Internet at 29 percent, radio at 25 percent or newspapers at 13 percent. As the TV market penetration of total Indonesian households is still at only 59 percent, Tanoesoedibjo sees a significant possibility for TV growth in his country. India has a TV market penetration of 62 percent and, like Indonesia, is also a country with a lot of growth potential. India is meeting this challenge with a complete shift from analogue to digital systems. Ravi Mansukhani pointed out that India's government is very assertive in this regard and plans to digitize India by the end of 2014.

Sadiq Lakhani introduced the Pakistani market situation where more than 1,600 cable operators broadcast in urban and rural areas. These operators have also recently started to shift to digital transmission. Besides the challenging environment of the growing Asian media industry, Lakhani added that media professionals in Pakistan are very much threatened by groups of extremists. Especially in urban and border areas, media professionals live under constant risk of bomb attacks.

Abdus Salam from Bangladesh talked about why freedom of speech is so important. He said that the press is very controlled in Bangladesh and that media companies are afraid of being shut down by the government if they don't stick to the rules. Salam is however hopeful that one day Bangladesh will

be a country with free media, adding that opinions cannot be stopped. In Bangladesh, television remains the most popular medium at 64 percent, followed by radio at 39 percent and newspapers at 27 percent.

The audience addressed questions regarding new media and new platforms. The panelists see a bright future, here. Tanoesoedibjo from Indonesia spoke of MNC's launch of TV anywhere and anytime in July 2013. He sees great potential here and feels confident that customers will watch his channels even more than the average of five hours per day. Many Asian countries, however, still need to develop the infrastructure for watching TV on phones or tablets. In India, 4G is just now being launched. In Bangladesh, 3G was recently launched and will be soon be available in Pakistan.

The workshop showed that Asian residents mainly use television, followed by Internet and radio and that there is huge potential for growth in media in Asian countries like Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Indonesia. But media professionals in Pakistan and Bangladesh also need to deal with political pressure and overcome this potential obstacle to growth.

### Panel

**Rudy Tanoesoedibjo** President Director, Wisma Indovision, Jakarta, Indonesia

**Ravi Chandur Mansukhani** Managing Director, Indusind Media & Communication Ltd., Mumbai, India

**Mohamed Abdus Salam** Chairman and CEO, Ekushey TV, Dhaka, Bangladesh

**Sadiq Sadruddin Lakhani** Director General, MPC Group, Karachi, Pakistan

### Moderation

**Esther Blank** Representative, Deutsche Welle, Sydney, Australia

## Turning a Crisis into an Opportunity: Humanizing the Economy

*Hosted by Pressenza International Press Agency*

Today's global economic system, which values money and monetary growth above all else, is at odds with the values of affection, friendship, education, health and security. These are the values cherished by us human beings. For the most part the media are controlled by vested interests that benefit from this unjust situation. Hence they fail the public by promoting the mantras of private banks - subsequently repeated by governments - as if they were the absolute truth.

Nevertheless, people around the world are experimenting with new economic forms in huge numbers, from small-scale cooperatives through to the principles of "gift culture" and non-profit banking. There are also larger scale reforms being undertaken by progressive governments, such as Bolivia, which is predicted to experience the largest growth in South America in 2013.

Instead of just focusing on the crisis in the European Union and violent street protests in Greece, the media should also report on these alternative economic forms if they are to give a balanced view of the economic crisis. Such movements show the trends and innovations that will lead to the eventual economic revolution that will come as a result of the human necessity to build a peaceful, diverse and inclusive world which respects the environment and puts money in its rightful role: a means to exchange goods and services. Concepts such as growth and usury do not fit with the humanist economic paradigms of the future.

This workshop explored some of these themes and gave panelists the opportunity to present some of the alternatives to a monetary growth-based economic model which has been failing the world's population for centuries. The event aimed at creating an image of a possible future economic model based on human values by presenting different examples already in practice in many places around the world.

David Andersson from the Occupy movement in New York presented ideas of the "commons," an ancient concept touched upon by Noam Chomsky in his keynote speech on the first day of the Global Media Forum. The commons economy is what is common to all people in a community. Normally, our economic system takes what is common, enacts legislation to bring it into public ownership, manages it badly, and then eventually privatizes it, leaving all the profits to go into the hands of a wealthy minority. "We have many examples of gift economies in our world today, such as community gardens or free and open-source software (FOSS), where no money is paid for the creation and maintenance of this resource but instead people contribute time and talent and get recognition and respect, as

well as shared access to the resources. It sometimes confounds economists, who think that rational self-interest in a cash economy is the only way to create value," Andersson said.

Daniela Caldaroni from Italy presented the ideas of the JAK bank, an interest-free banking model that has been operating in Sweden and Denmark for decades and is now taking shape in Italy. The need for a means to exchange goods and services is required in any economic system, so a system to administer this means of exchange is also required unless we are to return to the days of stashing money under our mattresses. Caldaroni's presentation questioned who benefits from an interest-generating system: the bankers or the customers? She also explained how the interest-generating system creates inflation. In the interest-free banking model, banking decisions are made by the bank's clients and not by an unelected board who serve the interests of shareholders.

Roberto Blueh, an entrepreneur from Chile, talked about the IT business he set up with his partner ten years ago. It has developed and expanded without ever needing a bank loan and all business decisions have been inspired by the philosophy of New Humanism and its proposal to treat others as you yourself would like to be treated. "People in positions of power must, in addition to their professional skills, include a level of development in their personal lives such that their decisions and relationships are the best for the company as a whole," said Blueh. "Usually mistreatment and abuse have more to do with personal problems than with work ones. The more power one holds, the more essential it becomes to prioritize personal development, balance and sanity."

Finally, Guillermo Sullings, an Argentine economist, gave a frame to the current economic crisis, exposing three factors driving the system to its final explosion: the concentration of wealth into fewer and fewer hands; the myth of limitless growth; and the way that profit is made the central value in economics. "Clearly this system is not sustainable in environmental terms. It is not sustainable in social terms. It is not sustainable politically or economically."

Looking for a way out of this crisis Sullings noted, "Today there are signs that many human beings, and especially the younger generations, share a new sensibility, an aspiration for a better world, and, more importantly, live already with new values. We think this is a good historical moment to encourage the expansion of those changes already nesting in the human heart, through a powerful ideal: that of a Universal Human Nation, in which borders begin to disappear in order to articulate global policies that progressively reduce inequality, end violence

and the depredation of the planet, and especially that enable people to reconnect with their spirit and fly above alienating materialism."

An animated discussion with the audience followed in which many of those who attended were clearly inspired by the utopian vision presented in the workshop. Many comments and questions repeatedly mentioned the theme of "spirituality" and the role of religions. The panelists agreed that a new economic system based on human values instead of monetary values will be an expression of solidarity among people and of the simple spirituality found in the principle of treating others as you would like to be treated.

The conclusion drawn from the workshop is that the theme of "values" in economics is a key issue that more and more people are starting to question in light of the global economic crisis. The global economic system is not fit for the purposes of humanity given the fact that the majority of the world population suffers from poverty. In this light, there is a need for the world's economists and thinkers to develop a new model based around the value of human life: no human being should go without education, no human being should die of hunger, of war, or from being unable to afford life-saving medical treatment. The economy should be driven by these indicators and not by abstract concepts of interest and profit.

The workshop showed that there are demonstrative examples in the world indicating how a new economic model can be built.

#### Panel

**David Andersson** Director, NYC Chapter, Humanist Party, New York City, United States

**Daniela Caldaroni** Teacher and Vice-President of Jak Italia Bank Committee, Turin, Italy

**Dr. Guillermo Sullings** Chairman, Pangea Foundation, Buenos Aires, Argentina

**Roberto W. Blueh** Industrial Engineer and Managing Partner, Alfacom Engineering, Santiago, Chile

#### Moderation

**Tony Robinson** Co-Director, Pressenza International Press Agency, Budapest, Hungary



## More Economic Freedom – More Freedom of the Media?

Hosted by Friedrich–Naumann–Stiftung für die Freiheit

The aim of the panel was to discuss in an international context the relationship between the economic order and the media system. Some of the lead questions were: What are the pre-conditions and criteria for a free press? Is it possible to agree on benchmarks? Associated with this query is the discussion of a regulatory system, which does not lead to censorship but safeguards journalistic standards and, at the same time, media diversity. Finally, the panel discussed the correlations between economic freedom and political freedom – and their repercussions on media freedom.

At the outset, the panelists defined a set of criteria of free media. Among these were: the absence of censorship, the absence of violence – or the threat of violence – against journalists, independence from dominant political and economic powers as well as diversity and, finally, ease to enter the (media) market for new players. Anti-monopoly rules and watchdogs were deemed important instruments to safeguard – or to promote – media pluralism. But laws alone are not sufficient, as in some parts of the world the rule of law is not respected. In these environments, an active role of civil society is essential.

The panel agreed that there is a correlation between economic freedom and political freedom (and also media freedom). "Economic freedom is a necessity for media freedom, but it is not a sufficient condition," said Ali Salman from Pakistan. The international rankings on press freedom consider a range of factors. Among them is also violence against journalists (e.g. Pakistan, Philippines). On the other hand, some countries enjoy a high ranking regarding economic freedom (e.g. Singapore), but have a low ranking regarding press freedom.

"A free economy will help the media because the main income is advertisements. This source of income helps make the media independent," argued Eduardo Enriquez from Nicaragua.

Much evidence shows that press freedom is an important component of good governance. At the same time, good governance is an important condition for sustainable development strategy. So, all arguments put together, it is safe to say that free media promote economic development.



Panel

**Eduardo Enríquez** Managing Editor, La Prensa, Managua, Nicaragua

**Oleg Khomenok** Senior Media Advisor, Internews Network, Ukraine

**Ayman Mhanna** Executive Director, Skeyes Center for Media and Cultural Freedom, Beirut, Lebanon

**Ali Salman** Founder and Director, Policy Research Institute of Market Economy, Islamabad, Pakistan

**Marites Danguilan Vitug** Author and Journalist, Editor of [www.rappler.com](http://www.rappler.com) and President of the Journalism for Nation Building Foundation, Manila, Philippines

Moderation

**Dr. Ronald Meinardus** Regional Director Middle East and North Africa, Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom, Cairo, Egypt

## Commodities and Foreign Investors – Protecting the Rights of Communities and Preventing Conflict (the Chad Example)

*Hosted by Bonn International Center for Conversion*

The workshop on commodities and foreign investors dealt with the risks imposed on local communities in the international resource economy, exemplified by the case of petroleum production in Chad. Chadian oil exploration at the beginning of the millennium led to the World Bank financing a model project, which propagated economic and social development for the country's poor Doba region and Chad's overall population. In 2008, the World Bank had to admit the failure of its project and withdrew from the international oil consortium for petrol production in Chad. Despite achieving oil revenues of more than \$9 billion in U.S. dollars, today Chad is ranked 184 out of 186 on the UN's Human Development Index, lower than before oil production started in 2003. Why was the promise of development through oil wealth doomed to fail? How have the ten years of oil extraction negatively influenced conflict dynamics in the country, on the state and local levels? If the extraction of natural resources is linked to an increase in conflict - and it is more often than not - how can the ramifications of resource exploitation in conflict regions be better understood by conflict studies? And last, but not least, what role can the media play in informing consumers in the North of their responsibilities and about possible remedies?

Korinna Horta sketched the main elements of the World Bank's model project in Chad. As a "political risk insurance," the World Bank's support was crucial for the Chad-Cameroon pipeline project, which came to life with an investment total of U.S. \$7 billion. The participation of the World Bank helped to attract other funders and served to legitimate some of the world's largest oil companies, which were thus able to present themselves as part of a 'development project.' When the World Bank pulled out in 2008, it argued that "the project was textbook perfect - except for failures in every link of the chain." From the very beginning, Chadian civil society organizations had pointed out the lack of working institutions in the country, which was ignored by the international community.

Delphine Djiraibe called the decade of oil exploitation in Chad "ten years of tears." The Chadian capital N'Djaména is now one of the most expensive cities worldwide although the country's population remains among the poorest. Due to the "oil money" and its unequal distribution, there is a risk that Chad could fall back into violent conflict once again.

Fabian Selge argued that insecure regions could be monitored, with the help of satellite imaging, for tracking spatial impacts of oil exploitation. He presented "a distant view perspective with zoom-in function."

Journalist Martin Zint pointed out the risks his colleagues in Chad face in their daily work. In May 2013, for example, three journalists were arbitrarily arrested for "threatening the public order." One of them, DW journalist Eric Topona, fell seriously ill in prison. As the common appeal by the international participants of the Global Media Forum in favor of Topona's immediate release showed, the media can play an important role in raising awareness for detainees.

In conclusion, it can be said, that "even the best intentions can lead to a miserable outcome." Although it has to be pointed out that the original design of the so-called model project was even worse than it is now. The World Bank's internal control mechanisms and the constant civil society pressure led to this positive impact. The Chad example shows that international public pressure via media attention can make a difference.

Finally, the panel participants gave the following recommendations as 'lessons learned':

- A moratorium is needed in the beginning - "Don't let things be pushed!"
- "Communication helps" - Even authoritarian governments do not like to be blamed and shamed.
- Geospatial intelligence can be a tool for assistance, e.g. for more transparency.
- "When oil is produced, conflicts will increase! Put conditions in place beforehand."

Panel

**Delphine Djiraibé** Co-Founder, Chadian Association for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights, N'Djaména, Chad

**Dr. Korinna Horta** International Finance, Human Rights and Environment Campaigner, Urgewald, Washington, D.C., United States and Lisbon, Portugal

**Fabian Selg** Freelance Researcher Associated to BICC, Bonn, Germany

**Martin Zint** Journalist, Mühlthal, Germany

Moderation

**Lena Guesnet** Researcher, Bonn International Center for Conversion, Bonn, Germany

## The Female Economic Factor: How Women's Access to Savings and Loans Fosters Development and Growth

Hosted by CARE Deutschland-Luxemburg e.V.

In 1991, CARE project manager Moira Eknes developed a model to encourage rural women to create community savings groups in Niger. These Village Savings and Loan Associations (VSLAs) proved to be a very successful way of providing capital for small economic activities and to strengthen the communities' resilience to external impacts such as illness or droughts. The model has been replicated by other organizations and today, more than 7.5 million people worldwide participate in VSLAs. It is not limited to women's participation, but they tend to be particularly attracted to these joint savings activities and have proven to invest their capital in very smart ways.

The panel was opened by the moderator, Naisula Lesuuda, who recently had the chance to visit a Village Savings and Loan Association in Kenya. In her introductory statement, Lesuuda highlighted the misconceptions regarding the microfinance branch. In this context she referred to Sachin Vankalas, who provided the audience with a deeper understanding of the microfinance sector. Under the larger umbrella of microfinance, there exist different models (micro credit, micro insurance, micro savings) which help to make financial inclusion of poor and marginalized people a reality. He stressed that micro credits provide financial services to poor people who do not have any access to financial services. Lenders in this case are called microfinance institutions. Although the branch grew over the years, the industry is relatively small. There are two motives for investing in microfinance institutions; besides the benefit of interest rates, investors also seek to contribute to development and inclusion of poorer communities.

After this overview, Hugh Allen presented the concept of Village Savings and Loan Associations and touched upon their strengths and benefits. He emphasized that VSLAs are based on self-reliance as members only use their own financial resources. The groups are independent, self-managed and self-capitalized. 82% of the participants are women, the average return on savings comprises almost 36% and the average three-year increase in capitalization is 80%. The success of VSLAs has a deep impact on the group member's personalities and position in the community. As senior microfinance advisor for CARE, Maude Massu seeks to link VSLAs with the formal financial sector. There are different reasons why members of savings groups request this linkage: Security concerns, as group members are reluctant to keep big amounts of cash at home. In addition, some people may require larger loans for their projects. Members of the VSLAs make the first step and approach the banks to ask for advice or services but according to Massu, the banks may not have the right product or do not have the answer to address the needs of clients. That is where CARE comes into play. Massu sees it as a major task to support the

linkage between the formal and informal financial sector. She mentioned the huge potential of group members to invest in their businesses, especially by providing the opportunity for national growth. To implement the linkage between VSLAs and the formal sector, CARE piloted eight initiatives in five countries. The pilots were implemented in Kenya, Uganda, Malawi, Rwanda and Tanzania. In her presentation, Massu presented the example of connecting savings groups to a commercial bank in Uganda. In this case CARE has linked 400 hundred VSLAs with Barclays, where they deposited almost \$120,000 in 2012. Before actually bringing the groups and the bank together, CARE trained both sides to prevent saving groups from potential harm.

### Discussion/Conclusions

Questions arose about the model of savings in different cultural contexts, e.g. Islamic countries where charging interests are not common and about the inclusion of men. Hugh Allen explained that in some countries, the model works without interest rates but the idea is still valued: People see the benefits; participants are accepted by the community for their economic contribution and what matters is the amount of extra cash that people have at the end of the year. As for the backlash for men, agencies introducing savings groups to a community should be aware of the social balance. It might have been a political choice at first to target women in particular, but today, female participation is driven by demand. Over the course of the years, in many countries, one could see a rise in male participation in savings groups as they began to see the value of it.

Microfinance has been expected to single-handedly eradicate poverty. All panelists agreed that this has been a flaw in the discussions and one of the reasons for the disillusionment with microcredit. All services under the umbrella of microfinance (such as credit, savings, insurance, etc.) are a first step to financial inclusion, but not a blueprint to solve all problems.

### Panel

**Hugh Allen** Founder, VSL Associates, Solingen, Germany

**Maude Massu** Senior Microfinance Advisor, CARE International, London, United Kingdom

**Sachin S. Vankalas** Operations Officer, LuxFLAG, Luxembourg

### Moderation

**Naisula Lesuuda** Senator and Former TV Journalist, Kenyan Senate, Nairobi, Kenya

## Asia's Growing Media Industry: Economic Challenges and Freedom of Expression

Hosted by Deutsche Welle

The workshop focused on the fast-growing economies of South and Southeast Asia. This economic growth also has a deep impact on developments in the field of media. Thus one can observe a massive transformation in the media sector – partly due to economic changes, but also because of political changes and liberalization of media control.

Though it seems as if political controls have been shaken off or at least loosened, censorship and violence against journalists still occur in many places. Besides facing political pressure, there is also mounting economic pressure on media enterprises. The workshop aimed at exploring how media managers from Bangladesh, India, Myanmar and Pakistan deal with the political and economic pressure while defending their editorial independence.

At the beginning of the workshop, the panelists described the political and legal framework for media in their countries. Fakhira Najib pointed out that Pakistan has a vibrant and growth-oriented media landscape, which is regulated by the Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) established in 2002. This authority has clear guidelines under which the media can operate very freely. In India, the media have always enjoyed almost complete freedom. But today's situation is a result of development and evolution during the last two decades in which public service broadcasters, such as Doordarshan, lost their monopoly to satellite and cable TV channels. In Tripurari Sharan's opinion this has actually led to "the pathology of excessive choice." Win Naing pointed out that thanks to the new democratic government in Myanmar, the media scene has totally changed and freedom of expression can be exercised. In Bangladesh, censorship has been on the rise over the last two to three years. As Syeda Jana explained, social media activists and bloggers are often under attack through political parties and extremist groups.

Fakhira Najib from Pakistan said that due to the nature of her radio station's content, which focuses on topics related to health, education, science and general knowledge, there was never any attempt at censorship. In India, Sharan added, there's no censorship but there is a regulatory framework. As India is a diverse nation with many different ethnic and religious groups, there are certain sensibilities, which should be respected by the media. That's why regulation is necessary. Naing said that the same sensibilities, with regards to local culture and tradition, also apply to Myanmar. Regulation is thus not only necessary for news and current affairs programs, but also for entertainment, like foreign movies, etc.

He added that there is a responsibility to provide reliable and balanced news and thus certain restrictions need to be followed. One couldn't call it self-censorship but certainly there is some sort of (editorial) control. Sharan agreed that self-regulation is absolutely necessary but he wouldn't call it self-censorship. In Pakistan, Najib added, there certainly is editorial control and sometimes reports won't be broadcast because they are considered unsuitable. The same principle is applied in Bangladesh, said Jana. There are international rules and regulations which need to be followed, and there has to be editorial control. But she also acknowledged that there is self-censorship in the sense that editors avoid reporting about specific topics – mostly related to religion and politics – in order to avoid harassment or worse.

Besides political and legal influences, there is often also economic pressure. As Jana pointed out, the influence of financial powers, investors and advertisers on media in Bangladesh is very strong. Thus they often use the threat of withholding advertising in order to force the removal of critical or objectionable content. Najib from Pakistan has never experienced such an influence on her content. In India, Sharan said, economic influence is also marginal but there is the phenomenon of "paid news." Political parties pay for coverage on media networks in order to influence voters.

The discussion showed that the media situation in South and South East Asia is as diverse as its political and geographical landscape. Though there has been significant development in the freedom of the press, oppression and censorship still occur. Yet in general there is a trend toward abolishing official censorship and allowing the media to regulate itself. Economic challenges apparently play a minor role in this process.

Panel

**Syeda Gulshan Ferdous Jana** Head of Alliances, Somewherein.net, Dhaka, Bangladesh

**Win Naing** General Manager, Content, Shwe Than Lwin Media Co. (SkyNet), Yangon, Myanmar

**Fakhira Najib** Managing Director, Power Radio FM - 99 Network, Islamabad, Pakistan

**Tripurari Sharan** Director General, Doordarshan, New Delhi, India

Moderation

**Tobias Grote-Beverborg** Distribution Executive, Deutsche Welle, Bonn, Germany

## The BOBs Awards – Deutsche Welle Honors International Online Activists



Every year, Deutsche Welle holds an international competition for outstanding online activism in several categories and languages. The competition was brought to life in 2004 with the goal of advancing and enriching an open discourse on free speech through digital media. In 2013, more than 4,200 websites and online projects in 14 different languages were submitted from around the world. The nominees reflected the diverse possibilities within the blogosphere to stand up for freedom of speech and make abuse transparent.

The 15-member international jury narrowed the field to 364 in advance. Jury members included Hu Yong of China and Arash Abadpour, whose website is one of the most-read blogs in Persian.

Over the years, The BOBs Awards have become a significant, sought-after honor among the online community. This year's "Best Blog Award" went to 48-year-old Chinese social critic, Li Chengpeng, who said, "Telling the ugly truth is especially difficult for authors in China." Li Chengpeng is one of China's best-known bloggers, authors and social critics. He's very popular among young people, with more than seven million followers on micro-blogging site SinaWeibo. His blog, Lichengpeng, has had more than 300 million hits.

"Water melting from an iceberg flows towards the sea despite many obstacles standing in its way," he said. "There's a lot of

power in civil society. I'd suggest the government cooperate with civil society groups instead of tainting us with baseless allegations."

### A Role Model for the Younger Generation

Explaining the jury's decision, jury member Hu Young said that Li Chengpeng "carries out investigative reports, for example, by traveling in 2008 to the earthquake region in Sichuan Province to report on the poor construction materials that had been used on the school that had collapsed. He's a role model for the younger generation, demonstrating how one can commit oneself to China's future." Li Chengpeng shows young people in China to be aware of the country's censors, and he gives them the courage to take a more active and open role in the political process. While promoting his book, "The Whole World Knows," in 2012, the government banned him from public speaking. Out of solidarity, visitors to his "silent readings" wore respiratory masks, as he himself did.

### Every Little Initiative is Important

The winner in the "Best Social Activism" category was the initiative 475 ([www.facebook.com/475LeFilm](http://www.facebook.com/475LeFilm)), which deals with the fate of female victims of rape. The number refers to Article 475 of the Moroccan penal code that allows rapists to evade criminal charges by marrying their victims. The story of Amina, who committed suicide in 2012 at the age of 16, is the focus of a film called "475" and an associated social media campaign



on Facebook and Flickr. The jury said that, "the project shows that even small initiatives are important in stopping violence against women and rape." Houda Lamqaddam accepted the award on behalf of the youth initiative.

In the category of "Best Innovation", Deutsche Welle awarded first place to the online service FreeWeibo ([www.freeweibo.com](http://www.freeweibo.com)) of China. It offers censorship-free access to SinaWeibo.com, one of the country's most popular social networks. "In China, censorship is completely normal and a daily occurrence," said jury member Hu Yong. "Accounts and messages can be deleted without the people who wrote them ever knowing about it. FreeWeibo gives users a way to see the deleted posts and find out what is being censored."

Winner of the BOBs "Most Creative & Original" Award was Me & My Shadow, an English-language site that shows Internet users in an entertaining way what kinds of personal information they are revealing when they are online and gives simple tips on ways they can change their behavior to protect their privacy. The project is produced by the Tactical Technology Collective (Tactical Tech), an international association that shares information on digital issues with human rights groups around the world.

#### Exceptional Help in Bangladesh

For the "Global Media Forum Award", Deutsche Welle honored the "Infoladies" from Bangladesh ([www.pallitathya.org.bd/](http://www.pallitathya.org.bd/)

infolady). They are young women who travel by bicycle to remote villages that are cut off from the Internet. Equipped with smartphones and solar-powered laptops, the "Infoladies" are backed by a network of experts to help villagers find answers to their questions about health, farming and development.

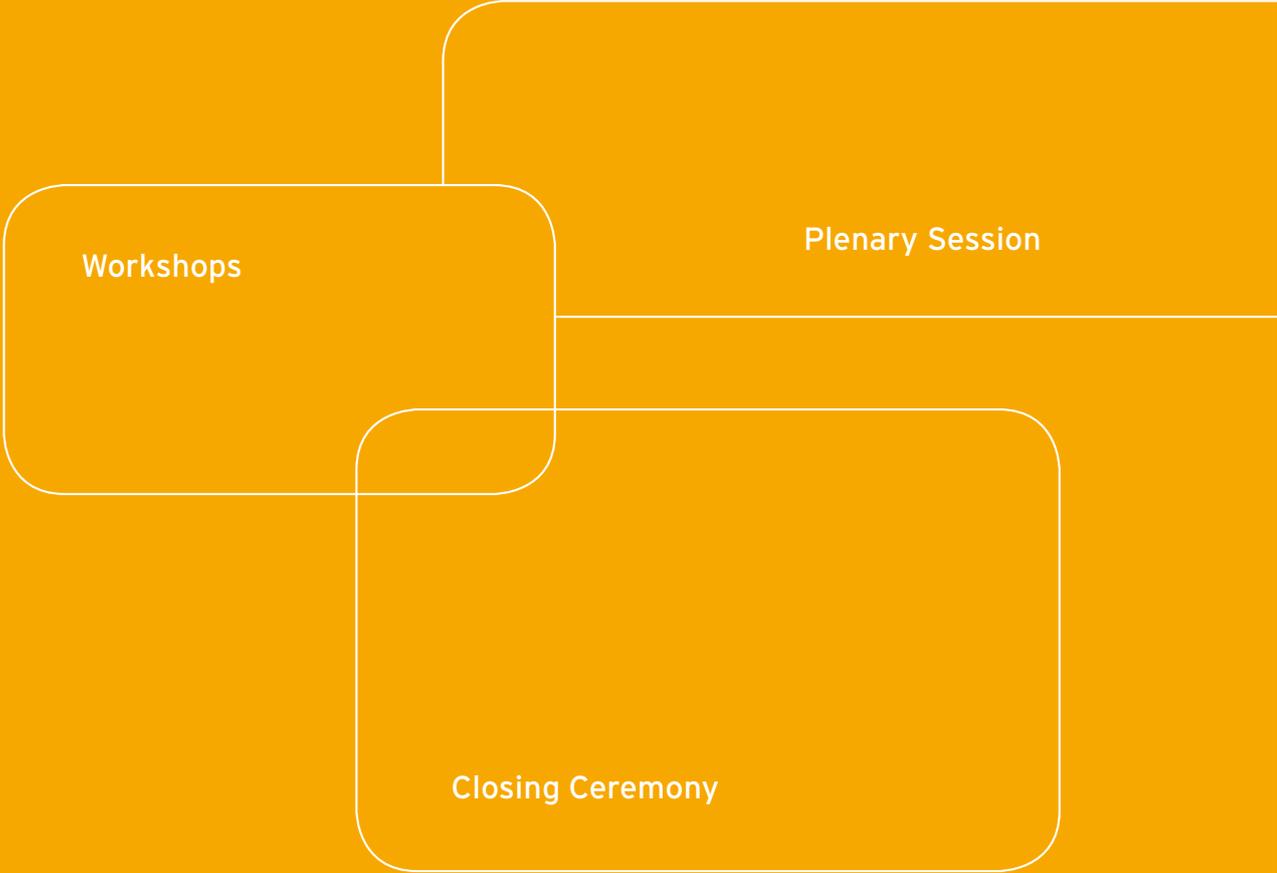
The "Reporters Without Borders Award" went to Fabbi Kouassi ([www.fabbikouassi.wordpress.com](http://www.fabbikouassi.wordpress.com)) of Togo, West Africa. DW awards this prize in cooperation with human rights organization Reporters Without Borders. Fabbi Kouassi is a journalist and human rights activist. In her blog she reports on the dangerous situation journalists face in her country and police violence against journalists. The jury noted that the blog symbolizes freedom of speech in Africa, where it's often overlooked. "We often talk about the problems in China and Iran, but neglect those in Africa, where fear of police brutality and repression can be a part of everyday life," the jury noted.

#### Best German-Language Blog

Alongside the jury's picks, this year the online community submitted around 95,000 votes for their BOBs Awards favorites. The blog [www.publikative.org](http://www.publikative.org) was chosen as best German-language blog. The project focuses on right-wing extremism in Germany. Other sites selected by popular vote are listed at the competition website, [www.thebobs.com](http://www.thebobs.com).

...the ...

Wednesday, 19 June 2013



Workshops

Plenary Session

Closing Ceremony

## Plenary Session

## Changing Economic Values — Green Economy, CSR and Human Rights

*Hosted by Deutsche Welle*

All people who own a mobile phone are "probably all guilty of slave labor." With this provocative introduction the workshop got underway, a panel discussion that delved into the nature and viability of corporate social responsibility (CSR) in the face of an economic atmosphere more and more characterized by an unbounded desire for growth and profit - at all costs?

Dirk Schattschneider, of the German Development Ministry, gave a keynote address in which he laid out the framework for sustainable development. One must take into account the social and environmental consequences of production, he noted, and via this sense of awareness evaluate the necessity and limits of economic activity. This appraisal is not simply up to the government, however; if we ultimately fail to take responsibility ourselves and confer responsibility on the companies that drive economic production, we will in effect defeat the very purpose for which we so vigorously fight. "Government = altruistic = good: This is neither an equation, nor an inequality. It is simply nonsense. Just like the assumption that the private sector is always evil."

### Sustainability as a Guiding Principle

Schattschneider made it clear that the German government was intent on furthering economic growth, and that it supported investments made by German companies in developing and emerging countries, for this is a unique way for them to contribute to sustainable development. By enhancing the circumstances of production in those countries through on-the-ground training and the transfer of technologies, German enterprises can work toward the goal of making "sustainability the guiding principle of their work." This is the essence of CSR, the combination of economic aims with overarching social and environmental concerns, the latter of which must be met in order for economic production to continue and for development to proceed.

An example that illustrates the consequences of neglecting CSR was brought up by John Morrison, concerning the April collapse of the Savar factory building in Bangladesh that killed 1,129 workers and injured some 2,500 others, the deadliest structural failure in recent history. "Many European companies source from Bangladesh. Why? Because it's cheap. Why is it cheap? Because costs are cut. What happens when costs are cut? Buildings fall down and kill people. This is not sustainable, and it's not ethical." Governments and the civil population must work together to prevent such catastrophes, he implored.

### Highlighting the Human Element

Reiner Hengstmann of PUMA picked up on that thought by saying the human cost of production is often ignored in our

modern world. He described the focus on environmental concerns as a "low-hanging fruit," explaining that it's easy to measure the water one uses or the waste produced or the carbon footprint. "But when it comes to the human being, the face behind our products," recognition of the impact of production remains lacking.

Ibrahim Abouleish, founder and chairman of the SEKEM Group, a company founded on the principles of sustainability 36 years ago, said that the "four dimensions of life" must be incorporated into every company: "economy, ecology, culture, and human rights."

"Economic growth has become uneconomic growth," said an emphatic Jakob von Uexkull, founder of the World Future Council, pointing out that the quality of life in the industrialized world has declined over the past four decades. With production swelling to absurdity, at the expense of nature itself and the world's resources, von Uexkull posed the question as to why the world has been creating debts much faster than it has been creating wealth. According to him, it lies in the practice of the externalization of costs: growth, in essence, hasn't been adequately paid for. "In future, we can't live at the expense of nature and future generations anywhere."

### The Role of Regulation

Should CSR be mandatory? Can a sense of social responsibility be regulated? Who could enforce such rules? "We need some radical shifts," said John Morrison, adding that he thought regulation wasn't enough. Von Uexkull brought up two examples of regulatory bodies that already exist: the International Labor Organization and the World Trade Organization. The former has no binding force, the latter does, but its teeth aren't sharp enough, said Morrison. "At the end of the day it's all about enforcement ... But dream on. Actually, the real shift will come with radical transparency." Morrison said journalism and the media had a key role to play in regulation - perhaps more fundamental than any regulatory body could play.

"Make sure that you don't make politics sound dirty," said von Uexkull, in conclusion. "Expose dirty politicians, but also report on the good work, the important work, that is being done there. Remember that in ancient Greece, if you were involved in politics, you were known as a politis. If you refused to get involved in politics, you were known as an idiot. It's very important to honor those people who engage politically; Thomas Friedman once said, 'The more boring it is, the more important it is.' Your job is to make the important sound not boring, but exciting."



### Enhancing Education

An audience member from Bonn raised a question regarding the role of education in shaping global economic values and policies - one of many thought-provoking queries from the audience which couldn't be addressed due to lack of time - to which Reiner Hengstmann of PUMA responded: "We haven't reflected here on the consumer. Everyone in every city wants sales, sales, sales. How do you get the message of sustainability across to the consumer? The consumer is not willing to pay the true cost of the product. This is the role of education and the media."

"The consumer ultimately doesn't rule," said von Uexkull. "It's all up to education. People may want impossible things. And it's up to the media to explain what is possible and what is not." "If one is to pursue sustainable development," Abouleish said, "it begins with education and innovation. "We want to develop the personalities of young people, to help them understand the holistic view of sustainable development, that they themselves can be activists and change the world around them."

The panel moderator, Amrita Cheema, had the last word: "Mahatma Gandhi once said: 'There's enough for the need of everybody in the world, but not enough for the greed.' ... The need to change economic values is very fundamental. Everyone has a role to play."

### Panel

**Dirk Schattschneider** Director General for Planning and Communication, Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, Berlin, Germany

**Prof. Ibrahim A. Abouleish** Founder and Chairman, SEKEM Group, Cairo, Egypt

**Dr. Reiner Hengstmann** Global Director, PUMA Safe Supply Chain and Member of the Board, World Cat Ltd., Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam

**John Morrison** Executive Director, Institute for Human Rights and Business, London, United Kingdom

**Jakob von Uexkull** Founder of the World Future Council and the Right Livelihood Award, London, United Kingdom

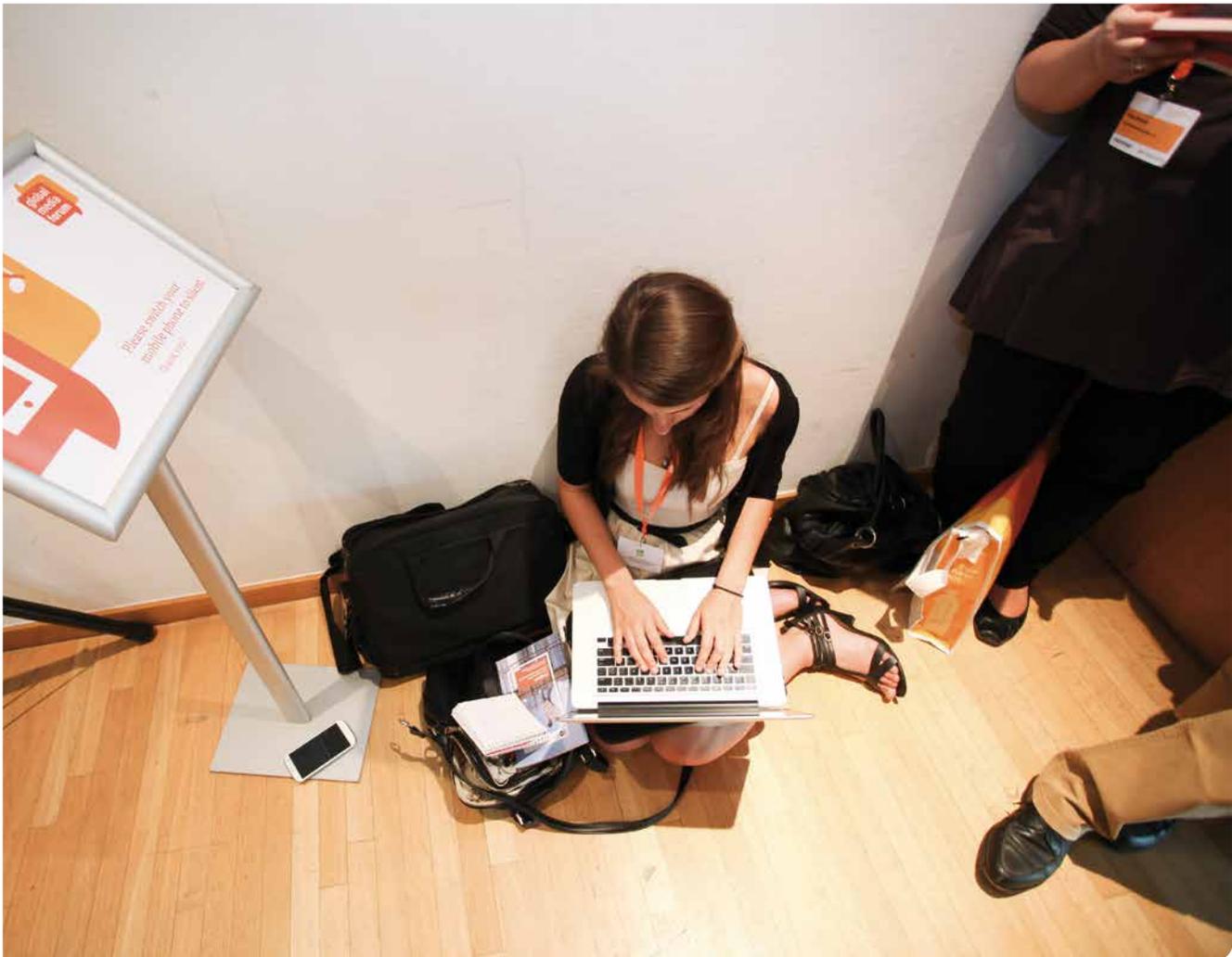
### Moderation

**Dr. Amrita Cheema** Anchor and Journalist, DW, Berlin, Germany





# Workshops



## Religion and Economy – Do We Need New Global Economic Ethics?

Hosted by International Institute for Religious Freedom and World Council of Churches

As the economy becomes more and more globalized, mistakes, mismanagement, misuse, corruption and crime have affected the whole world, creating poverty for many. Overall ethical and just economic standards are needed to regain public trust and protect the poor. Because many people in the world practice religion and the major religions have a long history of moral discourse, this is a topic of immediacy for global religious leaders. Which ideas can they contribute and what practical experiences have they encountered in local communities?

Three authorities on ethics and economics from three continents and representing the two largest world religions discussed how economics, media, ethics and religions can cooperate towards the common good. They outlined the intellectual and the religious discussions within their denominations and beyond. They also illustrated their principles in the area of helping the poor, especially underprivileged women and children, as well as in the area of banking, specifically microfinance and Islamic banking.

Athena Peralta worked for the Philippines' National Economic and Development Authority and is presently a special consultant for the World Council of Churches. She stated that religious organizations have at least dual roles to play. Firstly, challenging the prevailing culture of greed and overconsumption and secondly, advocating not only a new global economic ethic but also an international financial and regulatory regime founded on shared societal values such as justice, inclusiveness and guarding creation.

Ranjeet Gupta, from India, studied theology and banking, worked as a top banker for seven years, and is currently a research associate at the University of Cambridge's Transforming Business project. He explained why there is a revival of interest in the Bible as a source for economic ethics. The Old Testament provides laws establishing just economic systems so that the poor were integrated into society, for example through the Jubilee, where land rights were reverted, debts cancelled, and slaves set free. The ethics of Jesus inspired, for example, William Wilberforce and William Carey to work toward abolishing slavery and suttee (wife suicide), setting new economic paradigms. They, in turn, inspired a whole generation of Indian reformers, from Rammohan Roy to Mohandas Gandhi.

Omar Salah is an attorney and world-renowned expert on Islamic banking who has research experience in Malaysia, Dubai, South Africa and Australia. He teaches at Tilburg University in the Netherlands. He said that Islamic finance is similar to conventional finance, except that it operates in accordance with the following principles of Islamic law: (i) parties are not



allowed to invest in immoral industries (such as drugs, gambling, armaments, and pornography); (ii) the payment and receipt of 'riba' (interest) is forbidden; and (iii) 'gharar' ('uncertainty') should be avoided as much as possible. Salah concluded that the present economic crisis would have been less serious had the entire financial system been designed in accordance with Islamic law. But, he added, Islamic financial transactions carry risks of their own and it will probably be a while yet before it is clear what exactly these risks are.

The discussion included journalists from at least 30 countries and demonstrated that finance experts of the world religions and the media should have much more interaction. Much of the discussion revolved around the question of how ethical principles and centuries-old religious experience could become part of the everyday financial discussion in the media.

### Panel

**Athena Peralta** Consultant, Poverty, Wealth and Ecology Project of the World Council of Churches, Manila, Philippines

**Ranjeet Gupta** Research Associate, Transforming Business Project, University of Cambridge, United Kingdom

**Omar Salah** Attorney at Law, De Brauw Blackstone Westbroek, Amsterdam, and Researcher/Lecturer at Tilburg University, The Netherlands

### Moderation

**Prof. Thomas Schirrmacher** Director, International Institute for Religious Freedom, Bonn, Germany and Distinguished Professor of International Development, Meghalaya, India

## Green Tech in Practice – How to Make Solar Energy Affordable

Hosted by Deutsche Investitions- und Entwicklungsgesellschaft mbH (DEG)

In many countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, only a small proportion of the population has access to the national electricity grid. State-owned utility companies lack the production capacity and grid infrastructure needed to forge ahead with large-scale expansion of the power grid. "Green economy" with off-grid solar power systems that provide a sustainable, decentralized energy supply, represents a useful solution. It not only improves living conditions, but at the same time it fosters economic development in rural areas. It is therefore important to bring affordable systems, combined with flexible payment methods, to the market.

What can private investors do to support the distribution of affordable solar systems? What role can development finance institutions play in this context – for instance by promoting development and distribution of such systems? How can these systems be made affordable for the local population? What can be done to ensure that they are properly installed and maintained? Are such investments profitable for customers and companies in the long-term? And how does an improved energy supply affect the economic strength of rural areas?

The workshop reviewed these questions by looking at the German company Mobisol GmbH as an example. Mobisol develops and distributes solar home systems in combination with an innovative payment system. The role of the borrower was outlined from the point of view of DEG, the development finance institution that provided the project with funds through the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development's develoPPP.de program.

In his introduction, Bruno Wenn, Chairman of DEG's Management Board, explained the importance of affordable solar technology to developing and emerging-market countries. According to Wenn, high costs and a lack of know-how and finance are the main obstacles. These, however, could be overcome if the private sector offered sustainable and affordable solutions, if governments created corresponding framework conditions for the use of renewable energies and for private sector participation - and if development finance institutions like DEG were willing to make the necessary long-term financing available.

In his practice-oriented presentation, Thomas Gottschalk, founder and managing director of Mobisol GmbH, described how the local population is able to benefit from mobile solar systems. Mobisol offers a reliable, sustainable and notably affordable off-grid energy supply in Tanzania and Mozambique. What makes it so special is that customers pay low monthly installments using a mobile payment system via SMS.



The presentation was followed by reactions from German and foreign media. Peter Seidel from Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, a regional newspaper published in Cologne, Germany, reported on his experiences from a German point of view. He underlined that the solar technology implemented must be compatible with local customs. South-African journalist Alani Janeke from Landbou.com, a web portal for agribusiness, pointed out that affordable solar technology should not only benefit private households and small commercial establishments, but also smallholders.

The workshop ended with a lively debate with the audience, which included journalists from many African countries. The unanimous opinion was that an affordable energy supply is vital for the development of the continent. Consequently, the most frequently question asked by people from countries where Mobisol is not yet operating was: When will Mobisol's solar panels be available in these countries?

### Panel

**Bruno Wenn** Chairman of the Management Board, Deutsche Investitions- und Entwicklungsgesellschaft mbH, Cologne, Germany

**Thomas Gottschalk** General Manager, Mobisol GmbH, Berlin, Germany

**Alani Janeke** Journalist, Landbou.com/Landbouweekblad, Pretoria, South Africa

**Peter Seidel** Journalist, Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, Germany

### Moderation

**Monika Hoegen** Journalist, Brussels, Belgium and Cologne, Germany

## Enterprises Meet Universities – What Can Business Do for Education and Vice Versa?

*Hosted by German Academic Exchange Service*

### Introduction

The competitiveness of the global economy is increasingly dependent on the availability of sufficiently and appropriately qualified employees. In many developing and emerging countries there are considerable differences between the capabilities of university graduates and the qualifications sought after by industry. The lack of practical experience implies that university graduates are unable to find adequate employment opportunities. Economic development is hampered by a brain drain on the one hand and the employment of imported specialists on the other hand. Therefore, interaction between higher education institutions and enterprises is required.

What are the key competences required by the economy? What practical input and knowledge can enterprises give universities to improve the study and working opportunities of the students? These questions were discussed with representatives of both sides – enterprises and universities.

### Conclusions

With more than 60 people in attendance, a lively discussion evolved along with intensive panelist-audience interaction during the 90-minute workshop. Some of the main conclusions of the discussion and notable remarks by the various speakers included:

- Intercultural understanding is very important for today's working life.
- Universities and companies work differently, but collaboration/cooperation is a win-win situation for both sides and benefits society as a whole.
- Universities of Applied Sciences try to educate for a global market. The university has to prepare the students for the market of the future using methods like applied research, applied learning and applied teaching within cooperation projects.
- Changes in the university system take a lot of time and this time is needed to achieve satisfactory results. The culture/method of running a university has to change. Are universities open enough to accept influence from the business sector or do they fear the potential influence of companies?
- Contact with business people is important for students as a source of inspiration and as role models.
- Business people bring "real life" to the classroom. The early contact during their studies facilitates transmission after university.
- Placements and internships in companies are very important for students. However, it is important that they are given the possibility to learn something and not simply used as cheap workers.

- The teaching staff at universities should be in a continuous learning process.
- Higher education is important for all aspects of sustainability.
- Through the collaboration between universities and business partners, students learn skills that are needed for the labor market.
- There is also a risk of overloading the higher education system with too many expectations.
- Universities do not have to fear the influence of companies if the final say about the curriculum stays with the universities.

Various topics were addressed during the stimulating discussion. The question regarding who influences whom remains open and of course it isn't possible to find a recipe for a better educational system in a 90-minute workshop. Still, many interesting aspects were considered.

### Statements

"In the end, it is society that benefits from the cooperation between universities and companies." – Victoria Galan Muros

"Reality is much better than what media presents about certain African countries and this affects investments." – Peter Koch

"German companies like the idea of hiring academics with critical thinking skills – this is needed for business and for innovation." – Prof. Jürgen Bode

"Is higher education something like a supply chain management program?" – Armin Himmelrath

### Panel

**Prof. Jürgen Bode** Professor for International Management, Bonn-Rhein-Sieg University of Applied Sciences, Rheinbach, Germany

**Victoria Galán Muros** International Project Manager, Science-to-Business-Marketing Research Center, Münster, Germany

**Thi Thanh Tam Nguyen** General Director, Hanoi IEC Co. Ltd., Hanoi, Vietnam

**Peter Koch** Visiting Associate, XCOM Africa GmbH, Willich, Germany

### Moderation

**Armin Himmelrath** Author, Freelance Journalist and Radio Host, Cologne, Germany

## The Fight Against Food Waste: Everybody's Responsibility From Farm to Fork

*Hosted by Germany's Federal Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Consumer Protection*

Food waste happens everywhere: in the agricultural sector, industry, wholesale trade, bakeries, supermarkets and - last but not least - in private households. It has serious ecological and economic consequences, impacting food prices and the global food situation.

The workshop focused on possible strategies against food waste and discussed the type of framework required to enhance consumer awareness.

"The food chain is so globalized," according to Tristram Stuart, "that you have to start at different points." As a matter of priority he called for action in agricultural production and in the food trade and economy, pointing out that the British campaign against food waste has been quite successful. "We all live on the same planet. Everybody should be involved," he stated. For Wolfgang Jamann, it is important to think about the various links between what is done in Germany and other industrialized countries and what happens in developing countries. He said that, "Throwing away food is not directly affecting the hunger situation globally." Furthermore, he pointed out that reduction of food waste might, for example, indirectly improve the ecological footprint.

The trade representatives also feel challenged. "It doesn't make sense to shift the problem from the supermarket to the customer," according to Martin Brüning. German discount supermarket chain Penny, he said, "sells 99 percent of the food that is in the store. Most of the rest we give to the food banks." He also pointed out that for the food trade, sustainability and reduction of food waste is an issue throughout the entire food chain. The German ministry for food, agriculture and consumer protection has started a publicity campaign called "Too good for the bin." Maria Schinke said, "We want to raise consumer awareness – but we are also working with all the other partners in the food chain."

Why is food waste a problem at all? In groups, the participants discussed this question and named keywords like energy consumption, waste of resources or the permanent availability of goods in the supermarket. Participants agreed that consumers should change their behavior and the industry should help them by raising consumer awareness for the food waste issue. There was broad agreement that changes in legislation might not be the best way to achieve the necessary changes. Public awareness might - at least for the time being - best be achieved by information measures.



Panel

**Martin Brüning** Managing Director, Head of Corporate Communications, REWE Group, Cologne, Germany

**Dr. Wolfgang Jamann** Secretary General, Chief Executive of the Board, Deutsche Welthungerhilfe e.V., Bonn, Germany

**Dr. Maria Schinke** Senior Officer, Federal Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Consumer Protection, Bonn, Germany

**Tristram Stuart** Author and Campaigner, Feeding the 5000, London, United Kingdom

Moderation

**Dr. Margareta Büning-Fesel** Executive Director, aid infodienst, Bonn, Germany

## Green Revolution or Pure Nightmare? Germany's 'Energiewende'

Hosted by Deutsche Welle

It's a revolutionary target – Germany plans to meet 80 percent of its electricity needs with wind, sun and other renewable energy sources by 2050. This high-level panel debated Germany's "Energiewende" (energy transition) – the country's biggest infrastructure project since 1945. Among the aspects they addressed was the question: Is Germany's green revolution a role model for other countries or could it turn into a nightmare of exploding costs for German citizens?

### Energy Transition Challenges

Claudia Kemfert from the German Institute for Economic Research (DIW) said that despite 42 percent of all investments in renewable energies coming from citizens rather than big companies, the energy revolution is still under real threat. The German government provided the wrong incentives for a real green revolution favoring fossil fuels, such as coal, she said. "We had thought that CO2 prices would solve the problem – but the fact is they don't," Kemfert said. That is why coal power still dominates Germany's energy mix, she added.

Kemfert, who was recently appointed shadow environment minister in the state of Hesse, warned that Germany had to be weaned off its reliance on coal. "Investments into coal power plants are still too cheap. But when new coal power plants are built today, we will be tied to them for the next 40-60 years until they are paid off," Kemfert said. She admitted that fossil fuels are still needed for the transition phase, but she hopes to see more gas rather than coal as it is less polluting. Though solar power already provides 60 percent of Germany's electricity needs on a sunny day, gas is still needed for cloudy and windless days, Kemfert said.

### "Dash for Gas"

British environmental journalist Fiona Harvey from The Guardian newspaper did not agree with Kemfert. "Gas is not a low-carbon fuel," said the London-based expert on climate change issues. Harvey warned that Britain's "dash for gas" may turn into a big problem in the future when gas prices, which tumbled temporarily due to new extraction methods, such as shell gas, rise. According to Harvey, Britain needs an energy transition that increases the percentage of renewable energies from a current 5 percent of the overall energy mix. In Germany, renewables account for more than 25 percent. Relying on only one type of fuel is not a good idea, said Harvey, making the case for a green revolution where neither sun nor wind cost anything at all. She said she hoped Germany becomes a role model, proving to other countries that a green revolution is possible.



### New Coal Power Plants

Moderator Michaela Kűfner's question about whether Germany was intentionally headed for coal was answered with an emphatic "no" by Franzjosef Schafhausen of Germany's environment ministry. He admitted that new coal power plants are being built in some places, such as the 1,100-Megawatt Datteln IV plant in North Rhine-Westphalia in western Germany. But at the same time, he emphasized that Germany's energy transition policy meant that "no company is prepared to make new investments in coal at the moment." Schafhausen, who chairs the ministry's department for the energy transition, would like to see the carbon trading system reactivated, hoping to put a higher price on CO2 and thus making coal even less attractive for big companies.

### Panel

**Prof. Claudia Kemfert** Professor of Energy Economics and Sustainability at the Hertie School of Governance and Head of the Department Energy, Transportation, Environment at the German Institute of Economic Research, Berlin, Germany

**Fiona Harvey** Environment Correspondent, The Guardian, London, United Kingdom

**Franzjosef Schafhausen** Head of Section, Transformation of the Energy System, Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety, Germany

### Moderation

**Michaela Kűfner** Journalist and TV Host, Deutsche Welle, Berlin, Germany

## Powering Up Smallholder Farmers: How Disadvantaged Farmers are Driving a Revolution

*Hosted by Fairtrade International*

### Introduction

Seventy percent of the world's food is produced by 500 million smallholder farmers, yet they comprise half of the world's hungriest people. Many are trapped in a cycle of poverty exacerbated by decades of price volatility, inaccessibility to finance, increasing input costs and the effects of climate change. But when they are able to sell their products on fairer terms and access the means to build their businesses sustainably, smallholders can and will transform their communities. Smallholder organizations themselves can be the key agents for food security, rural economic development and trade relations that lift communities out of poverty.

In this workshop, the fair trade and sustainable forestry movements shared examples of smallholders building thriving businesses, improving environmental stewardship and creating inspiring, community-wide changes. They argued that by addressing the power imbalances that hold smallholders back, farmers can and will drive down hunger and build prosperity for millions of people around the globe.

A recent study, published by Fairtrade International on the eve of the G8 summit, highlighted the importance of smallholder farmers in feeding the global population. Many of the benefits of global trade never reach those actually producing the foods we rely on. See "Powering up Smallholder Farmers to Make Food Fair" (<http://bit.ly/1hmROPG>).

In most global trade, roughly ten percent goes back to the producer and a big portion goes to the retailer; this is not sustainable for the producers who need to invest to create a sustainable supply chain. Klaus Kruse contends that by organizing businesses in the global North as cooperatives and working with democratic smallholder farmer organizations in the global South, the benefits can flow more freely. The major aim of his organization, Ethiquable, is to sell products from the South and provide a channel where producers can enjoy greater access and more benefits from their sales. Kruse has seen how Fairtrade makes it possible for small farmers to improve their small businesses rather than just surviving day to day.

Silvia Campos highlighted the growing importance of smallholders in the banana trade, which is dominated by large plantations. Around the world, 70 million metric tons of bananas are produced. Only 17 million of them are traded/exported, primarily from Costa Rica, Colombia, Ecuador, Western Africa and others. Seventy percent of the volumes traded are in the hands of five transnational companies. There is huge pressure on retailers to keep banana prices low, and this pressure and the costs get handed down to producers. By investing in the



small businesses formed by smallholder producer organizations, small farmers are catching up to plantations to make banana production make sense in their communities.

Angeline Gough is the smallholder support manager at the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC). While smallholders are dramatically underrepresented in the global timber trade, it is proven that smallholders take better care of their local environment. FSC created a separate label to highlight timber products from smallholders to tell their stories and provide direct-market access for smallholders. In a tropical forest, like in Brazil, there are many agro-forestry revenue streams that can benefit communities. Responsibly managed forests not only provide timber products, but also provide eco-system services, sustenance, foods and cultural value.

Martin Schueller worked through an independent research organization to study the impacts of fair trade in a number of products across a number of organizations. The research conducted continues to show the benefits in communities that go beyond the producer organizations to the entire community, including roads and better infrastructure. Benefits also include aspects such as higher self-esteem and greater say in the terms of trade; smallholders begin to think of themselves as businessmen and businesswomen instead of simply farmers.

### Q&A

**What is the role of women in the value chain as promoted by your organization?**

**Campos:** Work in the banana fields is hard and heavy work, but you will often see women working in packing facilities and administration. Trade unions in Latin America have a special

section to promote women at every level of banana companies. Women are playing an increasing role in banana areas.

**Freund:** There are many examples, especially in coffee, where large cooperatives are headed by women. It's less direct intervention as much as inspirational examples. As women take on greater roles, they serve as an example for promoting gender equality.

**Schueller:** Fairtrade does a lot to promote gender equity, but overall, women are not the majority of producers. So before we try to promote women as much as we can, there are limits to what an organization can do, and priorities have to be made. For example, in certain countries of Africa, only men can own land, so the only way to create change is to see government change. So we reach the limits of Fairtrade's influence.

**There is a big problem with GDP measurements – the focus on GDP in many economies does not register the contributions of small farmers. How do we get appropriate response to get farmers access to finance?**

**Kruse:** It's a question of the numbers of people who are affected. If you have 10,000 small farmers banded together, that makes a much bigger impact than ten companies employing 150 people. In Ecuador or Brazil, companies destroy the environment and it contributes to the GDP, but if you have indigenous people managing the resource because they live there, it becomes a responsible option.

**People complain that the government forgets the small farmer because they feel the government thinks big business represents more money...**

**Freund:** There are many situations in which we don't consider external costs. The value is purely on the market – but unless we begin to consider the full impact on a system, we're going to continue having problems.

**Gough:** We need to find other ways to demonstrate the value of local economies, and GDP is not one of them. But you see examples of that, i.e. you see a development bank looking to invest in small producers, but it ends up being a mismatch.

**Can you find smallholder forest products on the market?**

**Gough:** You won't see a product with the logo on it, but we do certify these groups to sell as FSC, which brings greater value back to them.



**Is there a project to certify other products that are collected from an agro-forestry area?**

**Gough:** One example is from Nepal where they are organic and FSC-certified for wild harvested essential oils and it's all integrated because they live in the area and take care of it. But you wouldn't be able to find out or see if they are FSC-certified.

**Schueller:** It's difficult to promote and certify it because the volumes are not very big, so it may not pay off to develop a standard. Costs do need to cover the costs of setting up a standard. There have been projects in Fairtrade, and we are still looking at that, but I don't think it will go quickly.

Panel

**Klaus Kruse** CEO, Ethiquable, Berlin, Germany

**Silvia Campos** Global Product Manager for Bananas, Fairtrade International, Bonn, Germany

**Angeline Gough** Smallholder Support Manager, Forest Stewardship Council, Bonn, Germany

**Martin Schueller** Development Policies Officer, TransFair e.V., Cologne, Germany

Moderation

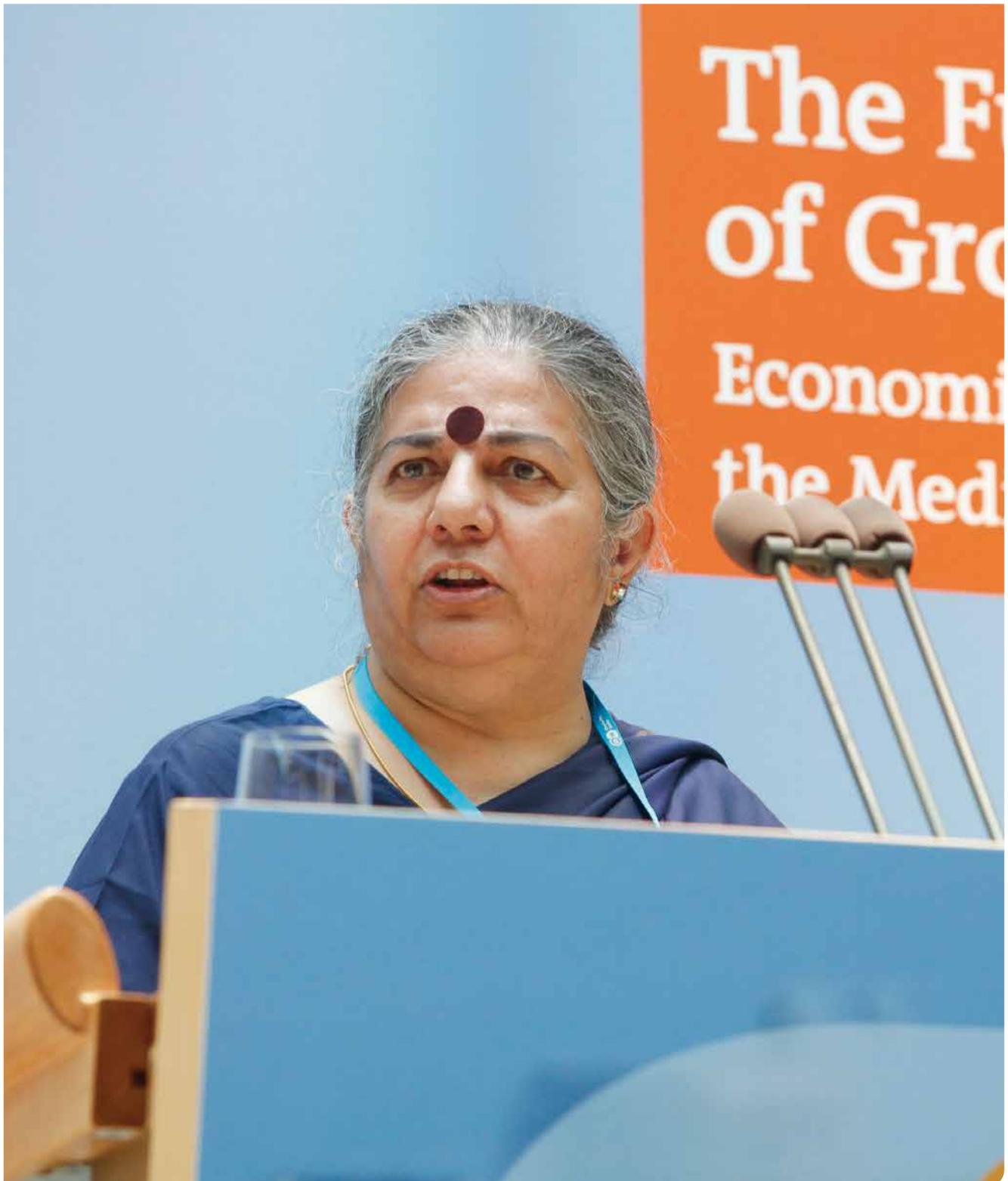
**Kyle Freund** Communications Liaison Manager, Fairtrade International, Bonn, Germany



## Dr. Vandana Shiva

### Keynote Speech: Values for a Globalized World

Full Transcript of Audio Recording



My home is in my heart and in my mind because I come from the Himalaya. Forty years ago, ordinary peasant women came out and told the world something the world had forgotten; that somehow forests were connected to water. Because the market value of timber (and it was a German forester, who set up the system for the British in India on how to exploit forests), forests were just that much square foot of timber. They were timber mines. In 1972 we had a horrible flood and the women came out and said: These trees protect us. They prevent the landslides. They prevent the flooding. They give us food. They give us fodder. They are our mothers and you can't cut them.

They created one of the most amazing movements that became my university of ecology. I did a Ph.D. in the foundations of quantum theory in Canada, but my real Ph.D. is with women who never went to school as professors. They came out and said we're going to hug the trees and you'll have to kill us before you kill the trees.

It took ten years for the government to realize that what they were saying was true. When the floods came in '78, the government was putting out more money for flood relief than they were getting out of timber revenues. After that, a logging ban was put in the catchments of the Ganges and the Yamuna - the area where I come from.

#### **No Limitless Growth on a Limited Planet**

The forest was saved from logging, but the frenzy of globalization - of speed, of building super-highways in the fragile Himalayas, dams, saying that electricity was the biggest produce of the mountains, not the water of the rivers - it has created a situation that across the mountains in my region we have landslides. And when the first rain came this year four days ago, all of that rubble came down, filled the rivers.

Literally, the dams and the roads have stolen the ecological space from the rivers and when there's no space in the riverbed, obviously it's going to flood. When instead of space for water all you have is landmass and mud, rocks and boulders, the rivers will find their way. A hundred people have died until last night. I haven't seen a disaster like this. Our farm is under one foot of water. Agriculture is going to be devastated this year. Why? Because we're still carrying such an outmoded idea of the Earth and the economy.

I'm sure during the conference that people have reminded us about the fact that both ecology and economy come from the same root: oikos, our home. We don't treat our planetary home as our home; we treat it as just raw material, dead, inert. We couldn't have had the rise of mechanistic science without declaring nature as dead. She wasn't living.

We've had the opportunity to relearn that the Earth is living through the Gaia hypothesis and yet an economy gone rogue - I've watched elephants that have gone rogue, they leave the herd and just destroy - an economy has gone rogue under globalization, because it's no more grounded in the ecological limits of the planet. It's no more grounded in the human rights and human dignity of the last child, the last woman, the last person.

We've come up with this strange idea of limitless growth on a limited planet. It's ecologically false; it's physically false; it's biologically false; and it's socially unjust. There's a very ancient text from India that reminds us: if you take more than you need, you are stealing. Because some other being, some other person, all the future generations have a right to those resources.

#### **The Consequences of Greed and Objectification**

So an economy of greed must be based on theft. And sadly, greed has been made the only value of our times. We are witnessing what it is costing us. We are witnessing how ecosystem after ecosystem is under collapse. We are witnessing how societies are on such a fragile edge that in Turkey it takes the protection of one park to create a crisis - in Egypt the bread, a vegetable vendor in Tunisia. And we forget: Syria - it didn't start as a religious conflict; it was a protest by farmers around the drought.

But we've learned how to create silos. The economy sits in a little box insulated from everything else, but when you allow greed to be a virtue rather than a negative trait, it doesn't just reward the bankers. It doesn't just reward the CEOs. It does all that but it changes the minds. It changes society. So economic values are social values. Economic values are ecological values. Values of exploitation of the Earth end up destroying ecology.

Values that everything is an object - everything is a commodity to be controlled, dominated, exploited - is what has transformed India from one of the safest places in the world for women and children till a few years ago to the capital of rape. Through December and January you would have heard the rape stories. They continue. They haven't stopped. Because if that's the values that seep through our heads, then that's the behavior it creates.

We've learned how to turn everything into an externality and some of the biggest externalities are in the way we produce and distribute food. If we did an honest analysis of the real cost of industrial agriculture, the real cost of poisons in our food, the real cost of GMOs, the real cost of monopolies on seed through patents, we wouldn't be able to afford the system that's

destroying the planet, wiping out farmers. And farming is still the most significant livelihood on the planet, and in my view the most significant livelihood for the future.

#### Who Holds Patents on Life?

At the Navdanya (<http://www.navdanya.org/>) farm at any point in time we have 20 to 25 international interns: Ph.D.s in mathematics, MBAs, people from Wall Street and from the information technology sector coming to learn organic farming because that's where they want their future to be. After all, how long can you bet on the global casino and feel rewarded and think you're living a meaningful life?

The laws of globalization and the values for globalization were not set through democracy. They were not set through dialogue. They were not set through multilateralism. A text was prepared. It was called the Dunkel Draft Text because Dunkel was the Director-General of the GATT (we called it the DDT). In it is an intellectual property treaty. Monsanto is on record saying 'We wrote this treaty to own seeds and create patents on life.' The agriculture agreement was written by the Cargill vice-president, deputized to represent to the United States. So I

say they should be called Monsanto Treaties and Cargill Treaties. They shouldn't be called "intellectual property rights", "trade-related", "agriculture agreement." There's nothing about agriculture in the agriculture agreement; it's just market grab. And how do you grab markets? With 400 billion dollars of subsidies! If that was added into the cost of farming, local would be cheaper, not the globalized dumping.

Two-hundred-and-seventy-thousand farmers' lives have been taken with seed monopolies in cotton in India. Ninety-five percent of the cotton is now owned and controlled by Monsanto and they collect royalties. Those royalties are paid by farmers through their very lives - 270,000 farm suicides concentrated largely in the cotton belt. So what we try and do is build alternatives. When I heard about the idea of patenting life, I said that's a bit crazy, because life creates itself, that's why it's life. It's not a machine, it's not like microphones that someone had to assemble from outside. Seed has evolved over millennia and there's a very famous case that has just taken place in the U.S.

At the end of it, what is a genetically modified organism (GMO)? It's basically shooting a gene – largely a toxic gene – into the



cells of an existing plant. The plant has evolved over millennia - the soya bean came to the world from eastern Asia - but Monsanto has a patent. They sued a farmer who bought soya bean in the open market and planted the seeds on his farm - a very famous case called *Monsanto vs. Bowman* ([http://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/12pdf/11-796\\_c07d.pdf](http://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/12pdf/11-796_c07d.pdf)). The courts ruled that Monsanto has created that seed and has owned that seed. So I've created the slogan saying GMO now must mean "God Move Over."

### Reconnecting to the Sacred

Now whatever is your version of creation and whatever is your understanding of a god or goddesses, we can't afford unemployment of the divine. Somehow we have to reconnect the sacred to our everyday values, because that's where limits come from. But not only do limits come from there; our understanding of potential comes from there. Last night I was releasing the book of the Karmapa. I won't go into the details about the Karmapa and who he is, but you know there's a Dalai Lama and then there's a young Karmapa. He's 26 years old, brilliant. He's just written a book called, "The Heart is Noble". It's the ultimate text for social transformation in our

times. Here's a spiritual leader talking about how the current food system creates hunger; how our view of the Earth as dead matter creates the ecological crisis; how the idea of gender identities and other cultural identities being fixed is at the root of so much violence.

So we need values that shift from the idea of mechanistic reductionism as the foundation of science to the new foundations of the emerging sciences, the quantum theory on which I worked, non-separability, non-locality. We know the world is interconnected. All the new sciences of agro-ecology - from domination to equality and the respect for all human beings and all beings, from exploitation creating a pseudo-competition. Why are the shirts we buy so cheap? I don't buy shirts, I only wear hand-woven saris. But why are the shirts so cheap? Because the farmers who grew the cotton were killed through debt. This was taken then to Bangladesh and China and then the women get burned in fires. Then you get cheap clothing, just like you get cheap food, because the costs have not been internalized.



### Understanding Interconnections

So we need to start talking the truth about costs, and we can only talk the truth about costs if we understand the interconnections, if we understand at a systems level what the food system is, what the clothing system is, what the financial system is. Without that deeper understanding we will not be able to address the problem of a billion people hungry.

On World Food Day, which was dedicated to food waste, the FAO released [a report] saying that bad food is costing the world 4.3 trillion dollars through obesity. It's not food. I think we need to separate. You know, we have labeling, we have nutrition labeling. In the U.S. they're fighting GMO labeling, in India we have it, you here have it. In most democracies we have labeling. The country that prides itself on being the biggest, highest, largest democracy can't afford food labeling! But I think we need a new labeling of 'food' and 'non-food', because so much of what's being eaten is not worthy of being eaten. High-fructose corn syrup isn't a sugar.

They're faking dal. You know we live on dal. They're now creating an iDal, thinking if you can have an iPhone, an iPad, then you can have an iDal.

Now of course they're trying to fake the seed. But seed is that which renews on its own. Bija, that's the Hindi and Sanskrit word for it. Ja is life, bija – that from which life arises on its own forever and ever and ever, on its own. It doesn't need Monsanto's GMC, toxic genes, BT, herbicide resistance.

I started seed-saving and started Navdanya with just a very humble love for the seed, you know. We've just got to protect every seed that we find, just save them! There are 3,000 varieties of the 200,000 varieties of rice we used to have. But as time passed we realized that by encouraging farmers to use their native seeds, they were actually producing more. They were producing more food. When we count commodities as food then all you get is monocultures of commodities. Only 10% of the corn and soya grown in the world is feeding people. The rest is driving cars and torturing animals. I don't like to call it animal feed because cows wanted grass. That's why they're called herbivores! They definitely weren't carnivores and they didn't want that mad-cow diet where cows were being ground up to feed cows - dead animals.

### How Media Can Help Shift Mindsets

We've received a lot of incomplete phrases in this period of globalization, and you from the media will have to do some work to complete them. For example, India, which has been around for 10,000 years, is called 'an emerging country.' We did not emerge after 1995!



We are repeatedly told that "intensification" will feed the world, but they never clarify: intensification of what? Intensification of fossil fuels actually creates a very inefficient system; ten units are put in to get one unit out. Ecological systems use one unit to produce two units of food. That's the way we can double the production of food without harming the planet. We've done it in Navdanya and we said yield per acre only measures the commodity production of something that goes off anonymously on container ships and its only value is the weight.

But food becomes us. So it should be more than weight we measure: it should be taste (it should taste good); it should be nutrition; it should be quality. All those values have disappeared, not just in food but in other matters too. So instead of yield per acre - which only measures that which leaves the ecosystem, leaves the land, leaves the community, gets traded globally - we measure health per acre, nutrition per acre. When we intensify biodiversity rather than fossil fuels and toxics, we actually get more nutrition per acre. This is going to be the new breakthrough in issues of food security.

Of course that reductionist mind carries on. We've just had to launch a campaign recently. Mr. Gates has emerged as the biggest philanthropist in agriculture. He's pushing the green revolution in Africa and suddenly we find that he wants genetically modified bananas for Indian women so that they don't die in childbirth because of anemia and iron deficiency. I did very quick calculations. Banana is very good, but it produces only .44mg of iron. Other foods and other crops and other biodiversity give you 56 or 68. So we are taking something six-thousand percent less efficient - maybe doubling it, even tripling it - it will still have very little iron and then saying this is going to be the iron source in India. Of course then aid agencies will join in and that will be in the diet and before you know it: GMO bananas. So we said, 'No GMO bananas, sorry. Thank you. Women have the knowledge. We have the biodiversity. We are going to grow the richest foods in every kitchen garden. We're going to cook the best of foods in every kitchen. And our knowledge and our diversity can't be brushed aside as if it doesn't exist. Our heads are not empty, the land is not empty.' We've had Terra Madre replaced by Terra Nullius once before. Now is the time for Terra Madre to be at the central value of what it means to be human.

It's only if we realize we are Earth's citizens that we can be fully human. Human rights are a derivative of the rights of the Earth. I think that change is happening so fast, it's so wide, which is why out of the blue an Occupy movement can be created of the 1% vs. the 99%. Of course a surveillance system is being built to try and make sure that the 99% doesn't have its way. But a 1% rule has never lasted. It must be 100% participation - not just of every human being but every species on this planet. That's the Earth democracy we need to create.

**Dr. Vandana Shiva** Physicist, Philosopher and Environmental Activist, Recipient of the Right Livelihood Award, Member of the World Future Council and the Club of Rome, Dehradun, India

You can watch the video of Dr. Shiva's presentation at <http://bit.ly/IvSWWO> or listen to the audio track at <http://bit.ly/11EfQ5x>.

## Closing Speech

# Erik Bettermann, Director General of Deutsche Welle



Ladies and Gentlemen,  
Dear Guests,  
Dear Friends,

Vandana Shiva's speech marks the end of this year's Global Media Forum. She has given us important food for thought to take home with us.

A year ago we could not have foreseen how timely the topic of this forum would be, but obviously we hit a central nerve. More than 2,500 participants from well over a hundred countries came to Bonn to discuss economics, growth, values and the role that media play.

Many competent, highly respected people shared their different standpoints and ideas for action in regard to this very central issue of globalization. I'll name just a few on behalf of all those who spoke: Vandana Shiva, Avram Noam Chomsky and German foreign minister Guido Westerwelle. Throughout the workshops and plenary discussions, they all gave convincing arguments supporting their points of view.

All of this shows us how important it is to consider a variety of opinions and to try to reach a consensus. It shows how important it is to develop an internationally binding set of values - to enable a sustainable economy for the sake of the world, and for the sake of future generations.

Creating such a set of binding values takes us to the question of fundamental human rights, which expressly guarantees the right to free speech and freedom of opinion. Right now, the Turkish government is oppressing that universal human right. In Chad, a Deutsche Welle correspondent and the secretary general of the Chadian journalists' association has been detained for weeks on very flimsy grounds. Just yesterday I found out that he has fallen seriously ill in prison. He was imprisoned along with two other journalists. They and I would be truly grateful if the Global Media Forum would direct a petition to the government of Chad calling for their immediate release.

If you'll allow me, we'd like to stream it. If you support this idea, may I invite you to please stand up.

Thank you so much - not on my behalf, and not on behalf of Deutsche Welle and one of our correspondents; It is a symbol that we stand together in solidarity. The freedom of journalism and the freedom of media is one of the worldwide human rights. Thank you so much.

**Ladies and Gentlemen,**

It is an integral part of democratic, civic social debate to sometimes argue vehemently about existential matters. The media play an essential part in how those arguments are distributed. The established media, and social media alike, bear a large responsibility. Together the two are an increasingly stronger force.

Social media channels have an ever more important role in shaping people's personal opinions, and in turn, in the formation of public opinion. As we heard throughout the conference, we often underestimate the importance of people as key drivers of change. And for that they must be well informed. Social media combine information and participation – transcending borders and spanning cultures and languages.

That will be the focus of next year's Global Media Forum. The title in 2014 will be: "Challenges for the Media – From Information to Participation". I warmly welcome you to join us again here at the World Conference Center in Bonn from June 30th to July 2nd, 2014.

**Ladies and Gentlemen,**

Over the past 60 years, Deutsche Welle, Germany's international broadcaster, has made many friends and partnerships on every continent. Many of them were our guests here in Bonn for the last three days. Together we celebrated our anniversary: six decades of Germany's international broadcaster in dialogue with the world. It was important to us to show to you our respect and how much we value our relationship with you. I would like to thank you for the great collaboration and good friendship you have given us over the years - and have shown us especially over the last three days. I am very glad that you could be our guests in our anniversary year.

I would prefer to name everyone now, but 2,553 participants are too many names. So I will mention only a few who have contributed to the success of this Global Media Forum in the panels and discussions. I've already spoke about the speakers, but there were many more who helped organize the panel discussions.



On behalf of all of you, I want to name: Giannina Segnini, Trainer at the International Academy of Journalism and Head of Investigative Research at "La Nacion", San José, Costa Rica; Gilberto Marcos Antonio Rodrigues, Professor of International Relations, Federal University of ABC, São Paulo, Brazil; Vasu Gounden, Founder and Executive Director, African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes, in Durban, South Africa; Mallika Joseph, Executive Director, Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, Colombo, Sri Lanka; Tripurari Sharan, Director General of Doordarshan, New Delhi, India; and last but not least, my friends from Wartburg College in Iowa in the United States, I thank Dr. Penni Pier, on behalf of all of them, the chair of the communication arts department responsible for the education and training of the coming generation in the United States.

I named those people to demonstrate that everyone here over the last three days came from all parts of the world. That is wonderful and I hope that all of you enjoyed it.

**Ladies and Gentlemen,**

A conference like this wouldn't be possible without the many people who work so hard to prepare and organize it. I would like to thank everyone who had a part in making the conference such a success. On behalf of all of them, I'd like to thank Conny Czymoch, who guided us through the conference in a very charming way.

I would also like to thank all the organizations who partnered with us to arrange the 50 interesting and diverse workshops that form the backbone of the conference.

The Forum wouldn't be possible without our co-hosts – the Foundation for International Dialogue of the Sparkasse (savings

bank) in Bonn – and without the support of the Federal Foreign Office, the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), the European Regional Development Fund, the German state of North Rhine-Westphalia, the North Rhine-Westphalian Foundation for Environment and Development and the City of Bonn. My gratitude goes to each of you.

I would like to close on a personal note. This is the last time I will be speaking to the Global Media Forum in my role as Director General of Deutsche Welle. My term ends on September 30th. After that, Peter Limbourg will take over as head of Deutsche Welle.

Year after year, I always looked forward to the Global Media Forum. In a way, I count myself as one of the fathers of this conference. I remember quite well that six years ago we wanted to establish a "media Davos" on the Rhine - like Davos' World Economic Forum, we wanted to do it here as a media forum in Bonn. With your help and interest, we have succeeded. For me it is a symbol of what makes working at Deutsche Welle - and what makes working in international media in general - so incredibly fascinating. It enables inspiring encounters with people from different places, backgrounds and cultures - and their different views and perspectives.

Every year we spend these three days bringing intercultural dialogue to life. Friendships have formed here – and they have grown. My dear friends from around the world, I can assure you: I will miss you.

**Thank you!**

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# From Information to Participation Challenges for the Media

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