

**Mitigating Religious and Ethnic Conflict: Meeting the
Challenge of Coexistence: Living in Integrated Communities
2006 Clinton Global Initiative Annual Meeting
September 20, 2006**

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MALE SPEAKER: At this time, please welcome our working chair facilitator, Robert Denali(ph).

ROBERT DENALI: Welcome back, again. I'm not going to say anything now, but Jono, who is going to explain the process for you this one time so that you don't have to go through it every time very briefly what's going to be happening over the next hour and a half, and then welcome our the panelists. Thank you.

JONO: Thanks, Rob. I want to say America Speaks is honored to be back involved with the Clinton Global Initiative. This is a very exciting and unique conference. The excitement is evident. The uniqueness is your participation. So let me tell you how that's going to work. We're going to have six sessions of the next two days, two this afternoon, two tomorrow morning, two tomorrow afternoon. Each of those sessions will follow the same format. We will start with a 30 minute dialogue between the distinguished panelists and moderator. After 30 minutes, we're then going to pose a question to the room, and you will have as much time as the panel had to discuss that question. So you'll have 30 minutes at your table to have a conversation.

We're going to do live interactive here. While you are having that conversation, there is an experienced

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facilitator who is sitting at each table. The facilitator will facilitate. We'd like all of you to be able to get your voice into the room. In addition to facilitating, they are going to capture live what you are discussing. All your ideas and thoughts will be fed back to a group sitting in the back of the room as you talk. In that group we'll be organizing your conversation into themes.

After your discussion, the panel will come back up and we will feed back what you were talking about live. Not what one person said in the form of a question, but a theme of the conversations across the entire room. Also, while the first 30 minute conversation is going on, you have some paper and pen at your table. If you have a question about what's being discussed, write it down, slide it over to your facilitator. They will then take those questions, and when you have your discussion, the panel will be given those questions that you identified, and they will get their choice of what seemed to them like an intriguing or interesting question. When they come back after their break, your conversation, they will speak to a couple of those questions that most interested them.

After that, Rob will then come up and he will present to the entire room at the same time the themes that you just discussed at your table, and the panel will have an

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opportunity to respond to what you discussed. That's basically the format. I think, those of you who were here last year, there are some very stimulating and interesting conversations that take place on the stage. And I also have to say some of the conversations that took place at the tables, people reported them as as interesting and as informative as the panel conversations.

So we need you to roll up your sleeves. No free lunch. You had your lunch. Now, you've got to roll up your sleeves and participate. We really need your ideas about what can we actually do about the topics at hand. So enjoy and participate and speak up.

ROB: Thank you, and we'll begin right away. Please welcome our panelists, first of all, John Battle, member of Parliament, United Kingdom; Farooq Kathwari, Chairman, President and CEO of the Ethan Allan Interiors, Inc., Dominique Strauss-Kahn, member of Parliament and former Minister, France. And please give a welcome to this afternoon's moderator, Mary Robinson, of Realizing Rights, the Ethical Globalization Initiative.

MARY ROBINSON: Thank you. I must say it is a pleasure to be back and to be invited to moderate two sessions of this Clinton Foundation annual getting together to discuss really serious issues. I think we have an

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excellent panel this afternoon to look at how we are confronting difference, and in particular, how Muslim communities feel or don't feel that they're being integrated and what role are they playing in integrating themselves in Western societies. And I've been looking around when I was sitting at the table over there, and we really do have a very eminent room. We have former Prime Ministers, we have Ministers, we have senior representatives of faith communities, we have very well known activists and really a number of friends of mine who cause trouble in different parts of the world. So I think we can really have a good discussion. Because let's face it and we know it, particularly in recent years, particularly since the terrible attacks in this country of what we now call 9/11, this has become one of the key challenges. And it's different in different countries. And that's why I think we really have a very good panel here.

And I am going to invite them, first of all, to speak a little bit about how the situation is in their country and then we can make some comparisons and get deeper into the subject and you can start thinking of the kind of questions you will wish to put to them. I'd like to start with John Battle. As you heard, he is a member of Parliament. He is actually a member for Leeds West, which his quite

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significant. And he tells me that a few months before 9/11, he was invited by Prime Minister Blair to play a particular role in how Britain was coping in this particular context.

I have to say, John and I have known each other for a long time. When I was UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, he used to come regularly to Geneva and had a great commitment, a deep commitment, a faith-based, deep commitment to the values of human rights. So John, I think my question to you really is, how do you sum up the situation currently in Britain? And don't be too long about it, but do give us the essence of it.

JOHN BATTLE: Thank you, Mary. And thank you for inviting me. I think how to sum up Britain, most of you know what's on the news. I was working with the prime minister to relate to all the faith communities nationally at local and national level before 9/11 here. Then I think one of the greatest changes in my life was the fact that in July 7, 2005, there were bombs in London. Two weeks later I was rung by the home secretary at four in the morning who said, John, get back to at least your own neighborhood where you live. The terror bombers that have blown up London are your neighbors. And what I learned from that was that the global is local.

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In Britain, 60 million people, 1.5 million Muslims, 18,000 mosques. In my neighborhood, in the terror streets where I am, the global is local. The tensions, conflicts of the world are in my neighborhood. So with more work to do in our neighborhoods than we have perhaps at the UN in the first instance. And that's what I've learned from that, which meant that we were to work very hard to ensure that tensions weren't heightened between communities, and wonderfully, they weren't.

When I was invited home, a quick, short story, I was told that my neighborhood had been evacuated because the bomb factory had been found in one of the houses in the streets thereby. Four hundred families had five minutes notice, get out of your terrorist house. This is the inner city area of streets, rows of houses with the washing across before you get to the Council estates and then out to life beyond the ring road in suburbia. And in those streets people were told get out now five minutes. The Council [inaudible] at a sports center to give them cups of coffee and a little place to go to.

I went to the sport center. There were only 40 people there. Where were the other 450? I went back to the streets in the immediate neighborhood. People had taken in their neighbors across ethnic, religious, cultural, racial

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divides without a word, some of whom didn't even know each other before. So we just went around knocking on the doors and asking are you okay. There were no tensions, no kickback in our neighborhood, those terrible revelations. I would have to say now though, the global tensions are impacting increasingly locally.

A final story, some years ago, my constituency, 18-percent are Muslim. We form mosques mainly from families from Pakistan that came. Their grandparents came to work in the textile mills. Their parents worked in the local shops. They have fathers in the next generation who worked as taxi drivers. The next generation are quite well educated through the high schools, but feel a terrible sense of dislocation. But they don't fit into the modern life of urban leads. The youth of today is not for them, with the culture downtown. And how do they fit in? That sense of dislocation.

There was a [inaudible] over the mosque, one of the local mosques, only a tiny mosque. They wanted to build a minaret and wanted to have the call to prayer sounded from the tower. And they came to me and said, John Battle, we know that you go to Christ the King Catholic Church on a Sunday and the bell goes at 11:00 for the mass. Why can't we have a minaret in the call to prayer [inaudible] in our neighborhood. And I immediately as a coward thought, oh, my

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God, we're going to have the [inaudible] those that are for it, those that aren't; imagine five times a day. I tell them that the clocks are different in England and we don't have sunrise at 6 in the morning and at 6 at night. It could be 3 a.m. in the morning, it could be 10:00 at night when the sun sets in the summer. So we have to have a public meeting to consider planning permission.

I was in a room of two, nearly 300 people, and I was at a table at the front on my own, and the room was divided, the Muslim community on one side, others on the other. Before I even opened the meeting, a man leapt to his feet and said, I want you to tell these people over here, I want you to tell them that you are a minister of the government and you are a member of Parliament, and by law Britain is a Christian country. So we want no [inaudible] or any of that nonsense around here.

There was a faint applause in the room, and I'm starting to panic, where is this conversation going. And then I thought this word [inaudible] that's right right. The word is [inaudible]. And I said, [inaudible], it's not a Yorkshire word as that, is it? It's not my language. Does anybody know what this word is so we know what we're talking about? And a young man put his hand up. And that young Muslim came to the front and he said, I'm going to tell you

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what life is like living in modern [inaudible] now, because I'm 19. He said, the rivers flows through the middle of it, and I think I'm in there in the middle of winter. When the world is dark and the river is full of rubbish and trolleys and tires and prams, and I'm buried in the dark of that, I think I'm going to die and I think I'm the cause of the world's problems. But there are other moments in the spring when I think, I'm not the cause of the problems, but as the river bubbles brightly down from the [inaudible] and it's clean, I'm a super surfer going at 100 miles an hour. And I'm the answer to the world's problems.

And he said, well, after realizing my life is when I get out of bed in the morning, when I go to bed at night, I have to pause five times a day and realize I have to relate to a greater reality than myself. I'm not the cause of all the problems. I'm not the solution to all the problems of the world. There is a great reality than me. I thought it was a wonderful description of prayer. The man at the back leapt to his feet and he said, "Shut up, shut up. I want none of this nonsense. Just because we live in a Christian country doesn't mean to say we've got to be into God and prayer and all of that rubbish. We shouldn't even mention it."

I simply say, I learned from that that that's the context. And if young people particularly feel -- there is a

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great philosopher/sociologist in my city called [inaudible]
Bauman(?) --

MARY ROBINSON: This is your last point now.

[APPLAUSE]

JOHN BATTLE: ... and he says, as he criticizes globalization and the forces of globalization, he says that the new politics and economics of techno-managerialism have crushed out, and he sends our awareness of the spirit and spirituality, and that leads to profound disconnection and disenfranchisement. And because of that, there is no language now in which we can even talk about those matters. That's why I think young Muslims in my neighborhood experienced.

MARY ROBINSON: Thank you, John. I think that was very valuable.

[APPLAUSE]

I now turn to Farooq Kathwari. We know each other also from the past. Farooq was introduced for his day job, which is a very distinguished day job as Chairman and President and CEO of Ethan Allan Interiors. But he also has a number of other ways in which he gives back, I would say. He is Chairman of Refugees International. He is a Trustee of the World Conference Religions for Peace. And he tells me that he is also currently a Co-Chair of the American Muslim

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Task Force, which is looking both at issues of integration and policies.

So again, Farooq, if you could sort of give the essence of where you see the situation here in the United States. People probably think they are more familiar with it in this audience, but are they?

FAROOQ KATHWARI: Well, thank you, and thank you for your comments. Speaking after a member of Parliament is not easy. I for the last six or seven months have had this opportunity of co-chairing this task force called the American Muslim Task Force, established by the Chicago Council for Foreign Relations. At first I said, I should not be doing it. There are lots of other people. But then it came to the fact that most of the time the people who are doing it were generally more of the religious leaders. And I felt it was important that somebody from other aspects of society should come forward and be involved.

Now, in America, what we have learned is that we have anywhere between four to six million Muslims, which is a sizeable community. American Muslims fall into different categories, somewhat different than what you have in the UK. We have an indigenous Muslim community. Most of them converts to Islam. Their issues are somewhat different than the immigrants who have come here from many, many countries. And

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immigrants issues are also different in the sense of their somewhat being concerned, I'll talk briefly about it; and then with the third one, which is a second generation of the children of immigrants.

Now, post-9/11, most American Muslims were somewhat invisible. They were part of the society. They lived and did their work. And after -- I'm talking pre-911. Post-911 things have changed. And what we hear is the fact that there has been some more of stereotyping. Interestingly, it has not affected the indigenous American Muslims. It has affected more the first generation immigrants, because most of them came from societies that were somewhat more, you might say, dictatorial [inaudible] to escape that, and for them they started seeing as sort of a sense of what they experienced what they had left; that's what we hear. The children somehow are much more integrated and less concerned because they have not come from those regions.

Now, American Muslims, fortunately are part of a society which is a land of immigrants. And the strength of American has been this diversity. And American Muslims are part of that diversity. And American Muslims want to integrate; they want to live. And their concerns, of course, is this question of the majority being stereotyped because of perhaps [inaudible] of expressions of a few people who you

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might say are somewhat more on the extreme elements. And that is a concern over here, because American Muslims actually also happen to be, unlike I think the UK and France, to be economically at better than the median levels of income in the United States.

Now, look at me. I came at the age of 20 from Kashmir. I ended up in New York; went to Brooklyn; worked during the day; went to school at night. And today I am the Chairman of a very classic -- you may not know it -- a very classic American company. On top of it, I am a Chairman of the National Retail Federation, which is the largest federation in the world, and every CEO of every major retailer is in that, and I'm chairing it. I think only in America, or I would say, it's more probable in America than anywhere else.

So from that point of view, the American Muslims feel much more part of the society. They are integrated with the society. And yes, of course, there are some elements who have been somewhat impacted after post-911, and I think it's extremely, extremely important, especially in America, that there be much greater efforts of understanding about Muslims in the greater society, because it would be a big, big mistake of alienating Muslims here, because if Muslims cannot

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live in America or cannot be accepted in America, the chances are they will not be accepted anywhere else.

MARY ROBINSON: Thank you.

[APPLAUSE]

Again, I think a very valuable - and we will have another round. We'll come back. But I think it's very valuable that we have the opportunity to hear Dominique Strauss-Kahn. He is very well known, I think, to this audience as a former Minister for Finance and still am currently an MP. But I think of more interest in a way for this discussion, you were the mayor and you are still very much involved in one of the suburban cities which has addressed some of these problems, and this is a little symbolic of it. So, you have the floor.

DOMINIQUE STRAUSS-KAHN: Thank you. [inaudible]. And as far as I understood, the French situation is both different from the UK and from the US. What we have in France is a situation where for more than a century we tried to experience a sort of model of society where integration is at the basis of the principle. In this society, the biggest idea is that there is nothing between the citizen and the state. So any kind of community will be [inaudible] as a minor problem and will not be accepted.

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Of course, the question is that this model doesn't work as well as it did before. When we experienced very important waves of immigration at the beginning of the 20th century coming from Poland, Italy, Spain and so on. The integration worked very well. So you can have two reasons to look at that. The first one is to say it was very well because there were questions. So it was not very difficult to integrate them. And the second reason -- which is probably true. And the second reason is that a lot of effort has been done at this time to make it possible for those people to integrate the population.

Now, we are in a completely different situation. There is about 4 million, 3 or 4 million of Muslims in France. So that's almost twice as big as in the UK. And most of them are there since the '70s. And during the 70's and the 80's, we really had, I won't say no problem, but we didn't have a lot of problems with the question of religion and the question of the Muslim community. It began during the '90's and it's very strong now. But so you have a hint, which gives you the idea that maybe it's not because they are Muslim that it's difficult to integrate them today, because if it were so, in the '70s it would have appeared, but because we have a special social problem and income problem and integration problem in the labor market for this part of

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the population. And that's the difference with the United States.

You said as an average the Muslim population is over or at least at the average income and over the average income in the U.S. It's obviously not the case in my country. And as you said, I served as a [inaudible] and now as an MP for a constituency which is 10 kilometers North from Paris, which is very well known as being the kind of symbol of the [inaudible] area where I would say we've got about 25-percent of the population coming from either North Africa or Sub-Saharan Africa, 25-percent of this population being Muslim.

The problem we have, it's my own experience, is that the problem doesn't come from the fact they are Muslim. It comes from the fact they are poor. And the riots we had for instance in November, you probably have seen on TV were riots not linked at all with the fact that it was a kind of ethnic or religious question. But the fact that because of a special kind of government policy, we had a reaction after use, and this reaction after use includes the use of the [inaudible] areas and the use of the [inaudible] for social reasons are mostly composed by children that are born in France, but coming from immigrated parents.

So my point is that, of course, it would be idiot to say that the Muslim question doesn't exist in France at all.

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I won't say that. But a large part of what is seen as a Muslim question is in fact the question of income and integration on the labor market and in this society.

MARY ROBINSON: Thank you. I'm going to put three brief questions to each of you. We're under a clock. And then of course, we will have another round when the tables have thought about some questions to put.

John, you talked about the local, the neighbor, and the shock of it being UK citizens who are willing to commit acts. If you could say one thing that you think would help in Britain at the moment, what would it be?

JOHN BATTLE: That we take more seriously that a community building in urban neighborhoods where most of the people live means that we've got to get out more and introduce ourselves and work with our neighbors. Our neighbors, we don't choose in poorer, inner city neighbors who are neighbors are, and people can't choose to move in or out. The neighbors are the people, in a sense, that are given to you with whom, whether you like it or not, you should try and build community.

One practical story. An old man was sat on a terror street recently in the summer. I went and talked to him and said, are you all right, Albert. And he is 87, and he has lived in [inaudible] all his life in this terror street. And

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his street now is multicultural, multiracial. Are you all right, Albert? And he said, I'm all right, he said, but I've lived here 87 years and now I don't know where I am. And I said, why? He said, because they knocked the buildings down, and opposite the factory is gone. I said, well the buildings have a life. They come and go. But what about the people? Are you worried about your neighbors? And he said, oh, no, they're good, and I talked to them. But I worry about the youngsters. I said, why do you worry about the youngsters. When the walk past me on the street now, I said, they've got their wires in their ears and they seem to live in a planet called the Internet, and they don't talk to me. So I don't know what's going on.

And I think can we get beyond the technology and back to talking to people at a very local level? It's not rocket science. But building community means making an effort locally.

MARY ROBINSON: So end of the iPod.

Farooq, you spoke about the stereotyping. And you were speaking in the wider context of Muslims here in the United States. I was quite shocked recently when I was taking part in an eminent jurist panel in Washington, D.C., and we had a senior representative of the American Arab community. And one of the things that he was very strong

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about was that a very significant percentage of that community is Christian, and yet there is a complete stereotyping. Maybe you'd breakdown some of the -- tell us some of the things that really irritate that Muslim community in that broad sense, and particular, sectors of it.

FAROOQ KATHWARI: You are right. And in fact, not only that, I was yesterday talking to one of my associates who was a Hispanic, and she said, every time she is in the airport they think she is an Arab. So it is broader, because she looks like somebody from the Middle East.

I think this question of the stereotyping is a major issue. And I think in that respect the media has a tremendous opportunity and a responsibility of helping change that. Because, as we know, the media spends a lot of time on negatives. And there should be a lot of effort on a proactive basis, because hope is not a method. Just hope that it's going to happen is not going to happen. I think it's a tremendous opportunity, responsibility of leadership that the media today plays such an important role that there is an understanding that the Muslims are everyday people, that they are integrated. And there are some, I'm talking in the United States, who may be less integrated, but they are not just Muslims. There are a lot of African Americans who have a lot of troubles. There are Hispanics who have troubles,

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because, as you rightly said, they are economically not well off.

So I think from that perspective this question -- like for instance -- and we understand it. It's understandable. And I'm concerned about the young people. When I came from areas we came from, we somewhat expected government to be rough-handed, to have our telephones tapped. In fact, when I was younger in Kashmir, I had an intelligence fellow who used to follow me so much because I was a student leader and he used to stay outside of my house. And one day my mother said, let the poor fellow come and sit in the kitchen and give him a cup of tea. So [inaudible] life.

But our children are not used to that. They are concerned about it, and it bothers them because they are Americans to the fullest extent; and to be questioned their loyalty, to be questioned to me that is the biggest issue. I am concerned about our young people who have grown up here, who don't know anything else, who have also understood that they can be an American yet be a Muslim. And that to me is an issue.

MARY ROBINSON: Thank you. And that I think leads to an interesting difference that you made, Dominique, with the situation in France. You emphasized, first of all, that unlike in the United States, the Muslim population generally

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is at the low levels of income and high unemployment. That was the real issue. I think I'd have to put it to you, do [inaudible] in the ghettos of Paris and the suburbs of wider cities, do they feel truly French, even if they been--

DOMINIQUE STRAUSS-KAHN: The problem is the black population is exactly the same as the one concerning those coming from North Africa. It's a question of being rejected. They feel French. They say we are French. And when a very well known politician told them, if you don't like to be in France you just have to go back, they just answered, go back [inaudible]; we're French. So they feel French. The question is, exactly what has been said before, they don't want to be integrated. They are integrated. But they don't want to be at the low end of the society.

So to solve the question, it's very easy. You just have to make them rich. [laughter]

MARY ROBINSON: If I could put it to you -- but look at the high youth unemployment --

DOMINIQUE STRAUSS-KAHN: Which means alleviate poverty in a country like mine is the major tool you may use to fight against any kind of [inaudible] in Islam, for instance. But this is true also for alleviating poverty in the country in the south, because the real solution that we have is to avoid this kind of connection between the [inaudible], as you've

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said, John, and our city is only a very little part of the youth who say, okay, I'm in connection with the Middle East. And the reason why I'm reacting is because of what's happened in the Middle East. Most of them just don't care. They're wearing Nikes and t-shirts, coming from China; they're living as everybody, just they're living with little money. And I'm really convinced, that not 100 percent of the question that at least 80 percent of the question could be, so in a country like mine -- maybe it's a special case; you know Frenchmen always want to be unique. So I'm not quite sure [inaudible]. But even if it is, in this country, in my country, the main problem to solve is an economic and social problem.

MARY ROBINSON: I'm going to put one last question very briefly to you, and we have minutes to deal with it. I think each of you has more or less indicated that the situation is actually getting worse. The tensions are being affected by what's happening at the international level. So again, a quick [inaudible], what is it that could happen at the international level which would help the local neighbor, the integration?

JOHN BATTLE: I think in British context, I tend to say my neighborhood and the questions of the relationship between India and Pakistan, Kashmir, looms much, much larger than the questions of Iraq and Palestine, though they mesh

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together. And I would focus on young people and say it's their sense of powerlessness that they can't alter the circumstances or the politics or the politicians. So engaging them is I think the key issue. And perhaps I suggest to our Prime Minister, we've had interfaith dialogue in Britain for 30 years, and good and worthy people, well intentioned, and I don't want to denigrate their efforts at all if all the faith communities get together for tea and [inaudible] and keep together. But what we need to do is have young people engaged in that dialogue, drop the dialogue to under 25, because young people live more globally, more internationally. They've got the iPod and the connections with the internet. So get the discussion among young people going much, much quicker.

MARY ROBINSON: Thank you. Farooq?

FAROOQ KATHWARI: Well, I would mention something internationally, and I'll also mention something what we can do locally here. Internationally and you and I were the minority opinion that was about the Iraq situation around that time. We had part of our meetings and we felt it was very dangerous to do what was done. I think that has created this international situation has created an issue because there is a perception that this attack on Iraq and placing of troops, non-Muslim troops is being perceived as I would not

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go to the extent of saying a crusade, but similar to that. And that permeates through different levels of societies. And I think we've got to be very careful and be very sensitive. And that is why because of that sensitive nature -- it's so sensitive that even when His Holiness, the Pope says something, it just gets overblown, because we are living in that environment. So I think internationally, the world needs to think through these issues and to diffuse it and solve some of these core problems and move on. Because, let's face it, as a leader, and I run an enterprise, my biggest concern and challenge is to make sure that I don't have conflicts in my enterprise. But I cannot develop our enterprise with conflicts. The world cannot develop, no country can develop if the leadership is all spending their time on conflicts.

Domestically, I think we have a responsibility, first as American Muslims. I think American Muslims, especially now, the second generation, even the immigrants, must get involved in American local institutions and politics. That's what America is. Ethan Allan is almost in every community in America, and I've traveled almost everywhere. America's strength is the local communities, schools, institutions, townhouses, villages. So my advice for Muslims is get involved at that level. Don't try to only look at Washington.

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MARY ROBINSON: Thank you. I'll move now to Dominique, because I mustn't discriminate against France under any circumstances.

DOMINIQUE STRAUSS-KAHN: I have 30 seconds left. I think that the link between the problem we may have domestically and [inaudible] question can be diminished if we're able to show altogether another phase of this one. And the point is that on TV and in the newspaper, any kind of reports, when you see something concerning Islam or Muslim it's always a bad thing. So what we have to do, and that's very important I think, is to promote lives, example, to show people, to use people, to put them on a very prominent position, political position, but also on TV, on business and so on, to show that there is another phase of Islam. It's the face of 90-percent or maybe more than 90-percent of the Muslims. And it's not this face which is known, but the other face.

If we go only this way, then at the end of the day, it may be very conflicting. So I think the best course to take now is for Muslims of course there [inaudible], but also the other part of the world is to show that Islam is something different than what is generally shown on TV and news.

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MARY ROBINSON: Thank you. We're beautifully just out of time, as I understand. I think now you have to do some work and think up some questions. You'll explain.

MALE SPEAKER: I think the explanation was already done. The first thing I'd like to ask is for all of you that are standing there, please find seats. I see a table here with empty seats. We'd love to have you participate in the discussion. So those of you who can, please move in. Now, it's up to you. We'll have about 20 minutes, maybe a little bit more, and please stay in the room as much as you can, because otherwise we lose time.

The obvious question to address is what can be done at a local level to improve relations between Muslim and non-Muslim communities. I think the international angle obviously is one that you may want to discuss and always keep in the back of your minds if you have ideas about what you or other participants can do. Please make that also the topic of your discussion and enjoy it. Thank you.

[END RECORDING - PART 1]

[START RECORDING - PART 2]

MARY ROBINSON: I'm very reluctant to break in such animated and vigorous and dynamic conversation, but you have posed some very good questions to the panel, so you've

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certain done your part of the work. If we can have a little quiet in the room, I'm actually going to put some of those questions – I can't put all of them, but I'm very impressed by the quality of them. We do need a little bit a quiet so that we can hear about the question as I put it and then the answers.

Now look here [laughter] – that's better. I declare, I think it's the Irish at that table over there. Okay, we're not ready for the questions. The first question I'm going to put to you, Dominique. It is as follows.

In France, is there a connection between Muslim disenfranchisement and anti-Semitism?

DOMINIQUE STRAUSS-KAHN: I wouldn't say France is an anti-Semitic country, but there are anti-Semites in France, of course. There has been a rise in anti-Semitism during the last years. There is no real connection, but it is the same kind of reaction when you have a country where growth is not very high, where [inaudible] is growing, where – more or less for good or bad reasons – people don't have any kind of confidence in the future, which is the [inaudible] of the French society today. Part of the population may react in this kind of a racist attitude. It can come towards the Jews or towards the Muslims. So there is no connection, I mean, there is no real group trying to link the two, but the roots

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of this reaction have probably the same sort on one side and another side.

MARY ROBINSON: Thank you. I think I would maybe like to share this question between Farooq and John. Would Arab-Israeli peace, or more broadly a new and more accepted US Middle East policy take the sting out of local conflicts between Muslim communities and the Western societies in which they live? Farooq, would you take that first?

FAROOQ KATHWARI: Is this a question of whether there will be a resolution, or of whether the United States will just be perceived as somewhat more of a fair interlocutor? Which one of the two?

MARY ROBINSON: I think is kind of maybe seeing both as linked.

FAROOQ KATHWARI: I think that, obviously, you have to start with a concept of being perceived as reasonably fair, because people do understand that you cannot be completely and totally objective in this. That will help, but I also believe that not being a person who has origins from, say, the Middle East and Muslim, let's face it that 70 or 80-percent of the Muslims don't live in the Middle East; they live elsewhere. They live in Indonesia, Malaysia, India, Pakistan and elsewhere. It is, to me, unfortunate that that little area of Palestine and Israel, because of

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this non-resolution, has created this almost clash of civilizations. It should not be. I think there should be an honorable of resolving it. It should be honorable and it should be done as rapidly as possible. It is impacting, unfortunately, just the total relationships all over the world. I think it should be done peacefully, it should be honorable, and it should be a feasible solution because if it is not feasible, it's not going to work. It's got to be feasible for all. So, yes, I think it is very, very important because the proportions of that conflict are much greater than the number of people or the area involved. It would have a tremendous impact, I think. Yet, having said this, there is also an element, a fringe element, in all religions. There is a fringe element in Muslims who believe that the only way is their way. They will not stop thinking that way, but they will get less [inaudible] if this is resolved.

MARY ROBINSON: Thank you. John?

JOHN BATTLE: Yes, I think the answer is clearly yes. If the politicians at the highest level internationally – not only America, but Britain, Europe and the rest of the world – work harder, put more imagination, practical energy and effort into resolving that problem, it will make a difference.

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I think one of the reasons is the conflict on war internationally. In the last 10 or 20 years, it is on our television screens within minutes. The crisis in Lebanon over the [inaudible] had a massive impact because people saw the violence every night, the violence on both sides. So that does see it through the body politic, so the communications media has made a difference to the view of it. I would add one other thing, and that is that I'll mention in my neighborhood people are primarily from Pakistan, so Kashmir has always been the problem. Conflicts everywhere – the terra bombers from Leeds had DVDs not about the Middle East; they had DVDs about Chetnia [misspelled?], which is interesting because most when they are in school would not have known where it was or how to spell it. It is interesting how the conflicts compound. Having said that, if the politicians internationally should be focusing more at the international level of resolving the conflict, there is more that can be done locally. The tensions and the conflicts are in our [inaudible]. Again, when there was the crisis of India and Pakistan in the winter with the earthquake, two men walk down my street – and have done for 23 years – on opposite sides of the street and have never spoken. One is from India and one is from Pakistan. They don't speak because they are rowing about Kashmir, which they

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blame on me, because the labor government separated Pakistan and India and 1948 before I was born, so I'm to blame and they don't speak to me either. [Laughter] We go to the paper shop where we bump into each other. In the winter, these two men are coming down the street, one with an arm around the other. I go into the middle of the street and I say, "My God, what's going on? Has there been an act of intermarriage or an act of God? Why are you together?" One guy said, "I saw a truck from India on the tele taking blankets and tents into Kashmir and, therefore, we've decided to call the war off in our street because we live here now." I thought, well thank God I never got [inaudible] Annan's home telephone number because we can do more locally than we think.

MARY ROBINSON: [Laughter] Thank you, John. I think for this next question, I'm going to invite each of you to comment briefly. The United States, France and the United Kingdom present three very different models of integration. The US is the melting pot; the UK is multiculturalism; France is assimilation. Which works best? Dominique, I'll give you a chance to plug for France.

DOMINIQUE STRAUSS-KAHN: I won't. [Laughter] I think in the past it worked best because during the whole 20th century, or at least most of the 20th century, we hadn't any kind of problem of communities and discrimination. But I

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have to say that during the last decade, it didn't work that well. I don't think that the model is at stake, but the model needs a lot of money to be fueled for a lot of reasons, political reasons, economic reason, choices of society, and this money has not been put on the table. So today, it doesn't work that well and that's probably the reason why. Part of the politicians in my country, maybe the right-wing politicians, are looking overseas and trying to import either the US or the UK model, probably more the US model.

MARY ROBINSON: And which would you go for yourself?

DOMINIQUE STRAUSS-KAHN: I think I will stay with the French.

MARY ROBINSON: Wow, [laughter] that's French thinking.

[Applause]

Farroq, which is the best model?

FAROOQ KATHWARI: Well, I have chosen America. I would not go to France. [Laughter] I'll tell you why. I think the French especially, and most probably the English also, they have an issue. They have an issue, whether you like it or not, that they have people that are coming from the outside, and they are going to be looked upon as outsiders. In America, we are all outsiders. I have spoken to people and young people of all different religions and

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nationalities. I said, Look, in America, if you are creating discrimination, most of the time it is your own attitude. If you don't think of it that way, pretty soon nobody looks at you differently. America has that opportunity because we are the land of immigrants, this diversity is our strength and this is, of course, very, very unique. There is nowhere else in the world that we can have this. Of course, Post-11 that strength is being diluted and we've got to be careful.

MARY ROBINSON: Thank you. John?

JOHN BATTLE: I think that, to be deadly honest, in Britain the pattern has been overwritten and oversold. There are real questions about multiculturalism now. In Yorkshire, the word tolerance isn't actually an active virtue of going out and loving your neighbor; it means, "Well, I live opposite them and they live opposite me and perhaps they'll move away before I do, but in the meantime, we don't need to speak." [Laughter] So I'm not convinced it's the dynamism of community.

Another example is someone on the television. Trevor Phillips, of our council, looks at race relations and is a Black person himself who has campaigned for multiculturalism all his life. He was saying that perhaps the happy story is over and we're to be more serious. Someone responded to him and said, "Yes, well, in the 16th

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century when people didn't like living in Britain, they were called the Puritans and dissenters who didn't like either the Catholics or the Protestant reformers. They were told the best thing to do is clear off to America." So the view was that if you don't like living here, go somewhere else. Someone that rang into a phoning program said they got the impression that America was full now, so we'd have to deal with it in our own neighborhoods.

[Laughter]

The only other point I'd make in on the language. There is a lot of talk about how everyone must learn English. I remember being at the back of mosque and were the mosques and the imams the cause of all the problems? I was convinced they weren't when a young man who stood at the back said, "Well, the imam speaks Urdu, but I've been here for three generations and I don't speak Urdu now. The Holy Koran is in Arabic and I don't speak Arabic, so if he was telling me to be a terra [misspelled?] bomber, I wouldn't have a clue what he was saying." So there are issues as well about language, but I think at the end we have to be more honest in Britain and say, "This glowing notion that we've got it right is not true. We've really got to work much harder in our neighborhoods."

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MARY ROBINSON: Thank you. Dominique, you wanted to come back briefly?

DOMINIQUE STRAUSS-KAHN: Just a small comment that you're right. We have a special issue, which is that we are culture of immigration now and that we're not really accustomed it. So we have this problem to solve, but we have also another problem to solve, which is another issue we have, which is American policy. Part of the problem, as has been said, could be, if not solved, at least better if we had a solution in the Middle East. Seen as a European, I don't want to involve my British friend in this story, but seen as a Frenchman, part of the problem which goes on in the Middle East is linked partly to the policy, at least from this administration. The problem we have is certainly a problem that comes from France itself, but not only from France.

MARY ROBINSON: Thank you. We've again reached our zeroes in very good order. There were other very good questions that I would like to have put, but I do sense coming through is that we haven't really got a perfect system in any area and that we really have a lot work on if we're going to be more successful in really living together and respecting one another and making everybody feel included. So what do we do now?

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MALE SPEAKER: What I'm going to do is just summarize what you've just said, so I hope I'll be somewhat faithful. I won't be able to convey the richness of the discussion, but we have people here who've been collating what you've been saying, the table facilitators, and this will serve as the starting point for the last round of questions. We're going to put the conclusions on the screens.

First, here are some themes that have emerged. The importance of engaging youth – I think that was already said in a dialogue about interethnic and interfaith understanding. The role of the state in trying to take a more active role in the school system to develop understanding of different cultures and different faiths. The problem with over generalizing and stereotyping Muslim communities. Some of the people said that they thought that even the title of this session speaking about Muslim communities – we have to be clear about the plural that was used, that there is not just one Muslim community; there should be as much diversity in understanding the diversity of the Muslim communities. Another theme was the importance for people of different faiths to rally around common causes, which was a theme that we discussed at length last year, whether it is hunger, whether it's poverty, whether it's AIDS and trying to find ways in which people of different faiths could come together

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to work on similar issues. Finally, a theme again that was touched upon in the panel discussion is the role the media has to play in trying to break down some of the stereotypes and, in fact, ceasing to play the negative role it tends too often play.

We have just some quotes or ideas that came out that we wanted to highlight. The first one is that most of the time people spend their time saying what's wrong or what's right with the Muslim world, rather than listening to them and appreciating what they have to say and, as we say, celebrating the Muslim culture.

The second point is making citizenship easier to obtain. That is easier said than done these days, but, again, is something that people at the tables wanted to emphasize.

Finally, the need to encourage, I would say, a more critical view on both sides of a shared history, the shared history of colonialism. Some people in this room I've spoken to in the past have spoken also about the importance of Israelis and Palestinians, Arabs and Israelis, talking frankly, candidly about their own pasts and their perspective as a way of breaking some of the barriers and some of the stereotypes.

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So those are some of the ideas and are, again, just a partial view of what you've been discussing and it could serve as a launching pad for the final round. Thank you.

MARY ROBINSON: Thank you. You've heard these points and some ways of summarizing some of the discussion. Maybe taking that point about Muslim communities, about diversities of communities – we've touched on it I think, but is there anything that any of you would like to add? I'd let you sort of volunteer a little bit at this stage. I think we particularly mentioned it in the context of Arab-Americans and how it is not understood that they perceive of themselves as an Arab-American community and as being more Christian than Muslim as it happens and, again, of different generations and so on. Then you spoke about the wider and the higher income level in the United States, et cetera. I think there is a tendency just to broadly stereotype in a rather superficial way.

FAROOQ KATHWARI: I was asked last year to join an advisory board at the Duke University in the studying of Islam or something of that nature. So I went there and we had a meeting and I said, "You're setting up an Islamic center? If you were to think the same about setting up a Christian center, how would you set it up; how would you put Christians from Scandinavia and South America and Congo and

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God knows where else and think of them as one?" Somehow, with Muslims there is that thinking that somehow all Muslims are one. They are not. Like in America, forgetting the fact of the Muslims being from North Africa to Southeast Asia and Europe and everywhere else; there are a lot of different perspectives, a lot of different perspectives. I think it is tremendously important to understand that stereotyping and saying that maybe all Muslims think alike is like saying that all the Christians think alike.

MARY ROBINSON: Thank you. I must say that thinking of the island of Ireland and Christians in the northern part, in particular, I think you've made a very valid point. I'd like to come to another issue that has been raised for us. That is that last year we spoke of about the need for the faith communities to dial out more and, of course, they do. Has that kind of become more difficult with the cartoon controversy, with the reaction to what the pope said recently? John?

JOHN BATTLE: Probably, but I think that, again, there is a sense in which we're at a level of valuable, but superficial interaction. We nudge people together and it's usually those that want to get engaged. I think I just echoed that the divisions within individual faith traditions tend to be larger than between faith traditions. On the

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street there isn't war between the different faith traditions, but the real tension is sometimes even within different traditions. So we should be aware of the plurality. I think that to deepen the conversation, two things need to happen. One is that it needs not assumed to be, if I said, an elite academic discussion because sometimes they can go on and what is happening on the street is so distant from that that there is no connection. What has been mediated by the media at street level can very, very different from rather worthy and intense conversations that take place elsewhere. So bridging that gap is absolutely vital and the media has a role to play in that. But I think, generally, that getting people to meet face-to-face is perhaps why I mentioned the iPod example. We can't avoid people meeting people as human beings, spending a bit of time together, so that we patiently build up stronger relations of trust that enable people to then start to explore differences with some confidence that it won't destroy the relationship. I think that is the real challenge that we face.

MARY ROBINSON: Isn't there also a very strong gender to mention to the discussions between faith leaders? I've attended some discussions where I'm one of three women in a room with 150 men representing various – Dominique, I think you wanted to come in here.

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DOMINIQUE STRAUSS-KAHN: I would just make a comment on what you said about a gender difference, but before the city you were talking about before, Sasal [misspelled?], is a city where, as I said before, 25-percent of the population is a Muslim population and 20-percent is a Jewish population, which is the highest proportion in any French city. The rest might be some Christian probably. So the links between the two communities are rather good. Why? Just because the different elected people, namely the [inaudible], are acting day after day at the street level – as you said, that is absolutely right – to organize different kinds of manifestations like arts contests, sports, it can be anything, where those communities are together. During the last riot in November, in this city, almost nothing happened, contrary to what happened just across the street in other cities. I totally agree with what John said about the necessity to bring something at the street level.

Then it comes to the question of when you organize something, having some Jews, some Christians, some Muslims and maybe some other people who believe in nothing, but what about women? My experience, which is very interesting to this point of view, I think, is that the Muslims coming from North Africa will be only men, but the Muslims coming from Black Africa will be both men and women. It is totally

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different. The way they take into account the female gender in the Muslim community that is a Black community is totally different from the way they consider it in a North African community.

MARY ROBINSON: Could I also put this to you? You talked about the poverty and the sense of resentment and anger rising out of that, but France has not been very successful in creating a good context for youth employment.

DOMINIQUE STRAUSS-KAHN: You mean during the last years?

MARY ROBINSON: Yeah.

DOMINIQUE STRAUSS-KAHN: You're right, that is the reason why. That is the reason of the demonstrations we had all during this year that peaked in March. Because of this failure about the youth unemployment, we had this huge demonstration and people coming from the suburbs because the unemployment rate, of course, is higher in the suburbs than in the rich city. So when you see on TV those demonstrations, you see a lot of people Black or coming from the Middle East or coming from North Africa. You may say too rapidly, "Oh, that's an ethnic problem." It's not an ethnic problem; it's just a problem because you have huge youth unemployment.

MARY ROBINSON: John, you wanted to comment?

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JOHN BATTLE: I think the question of gender is, again, not the template. I tend to agree with Dominique that there is economic exclusion going on, social exclusion, political power exclusion, but there is a cultural question as well. I think the gender question cuts right across. I'm tempted to say that sometimes we shout at some of the Muslim traditions and say, "Where are the women?" I'd have to say that within my own particular religious tradition, it should be the same question as well. My experience at the local level is that the community is built up by women when the men are pushed out of the way. We had a community center once. The men took it over and turned it into a club where they were drinking and ended up fighting and everybody cleared off and it was shut down by the police. Then the women came back and rebuilt it. There was a wonderful moment when someone asked what did the world religion mean? Someone explained that religio [misspelled?] meant "bind together." A woman stood up and said, "Yeah? And when everyone is injured, who binds up the wounded and who binds the community back together?" So the message is a bit larger really than just within the faith dimension. Dare I say, to my shame, about men getting out of the way and creating a space for the women to get on with the job they're doing anyway?

[Applause]

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MARY ROBINSON: I think, John, it is wider, but it is true also that all of the faiths have been very patriarchal and still are, so that sends its own messages. Farroq, it didn't come up in the questions, but I would like to ask you because you have particular experience here, what is the role of business in trying to promote better relations? Is business taking up its responsibility?

FAROOQ KATHWARI: Post-9/11 – while I do not have personal experiences, but having talked to people and I'm talking to qualified young Muslims, professionals, they see an undercurrent of concern, if not suspicion, because of this overall umbrella that has been created by the media and the whole environment that we have. As we started by saying, this element of the post-9/11 is suspicion has got to take place; it's human nature. I think that needs to be understood. I think that it is great that we are having these kinds of discussions because more of these should take place, and they should take place not only by the religious leaders meeting each other. There is a lot of interfaith dialogue by the religious leaders meeting each other and most of them actually all agree with each other. What I would like to suggest is that some of these radicals meet together, of all of religions, that we somehow get them together and get them more involved because they don't participate in those

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meetings because they believe that what they are saying is absolutely right and what others are saying is wrong. So I think that that needs to be. But they've got to be involved not by force, but ways have to be sought to get them involved with each other, because then they will understand – if that is possible— because right now, most of the religious leaders who meet generally think alike. Going back on the question of religion, religions have the best distribution network. I'm not talking about from a business point of view. They have the best distribution network in the world; they are where the people are. So that is why I think Donna Maclouty [misspelled?], she and her husband and I were a part of this world conference for Religions for Peace and we were in Kyoto a few weeks back. There were 500 religious leaders of all different denominations that came there. The subject was that they have the best distribution system in the world, and they better use that to talk of peace and harmony, rather than using it to talk about disharmony and conflict. That is a great opportunity.

MARY ROBINSON: As a matter of interest, how many in that large gathering were women; what percentage roughly?

FAROOQ KATHWARI: I would tell you this that actually, there were about 500 and I would say that there

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must have been about 30 or 35-percent women. It was a large gathering of women.

MARY ROBINSON: I would say that is probably larger than in some instances. I should actually mention that there are a number of us that are involved in a new initiative of bringing women leaders together in a Women Leaders Intercultural Forum, which will be launched in about a week's time at Columbia University here. It is kind of interesting. It is interregional and there are a number of Muslim women from different parts of the world, women from Latin America, from this country, Canada and various parts of Europe. It is also intergenerational, listening to young women and mentoring young women's voices. But it is very much on these kinds of issues. We start under a rubric of human security, but the proposition for most of us, as women leaders, when we talk to other women in different regions, we have far more in common than what divides. We are fighting the same kinds of barriers and discrimination and violence and lack of economic empowerment and so on. So I do think that that gender perspective is going to be increasingly important and that women themselves will have to come out.

I think – where we've got about one second left – that we're out of time again. [Laughter] I really would like

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to thank the three of you for being really very good
panelists.

[Applause]

MALE SPEAKER: Mr. Crooke and Mr. Drewell, would you
please meet our moderator?

MARY ROBINSON: I now have to say goodbye to these
three and meet the next panelists.

MALE SPEAKER: We're not quite done yet because we
have one other thing that's coming. What we're going to do
now between all of the session is we're going to have a
presentation of commitments that have been made for this
session of CGI. We're really fortunate in who we have to
present these commitments over the next two days. She was a
permanent representative of the United States of the United
Nations. She was the first woman Secretary of State. She
was at the forefront, I have to say, at all meetings of the
US government, in terms of pushing for the US to be involved
to stop the violence in the Balkans. She participated in CGI
last year. Last but not least, she is the author of a book
about the role of religion in US foreign policy called *The
Mighty and the Almighty*. Given that we are now talking about
mitigating religious and ethnic conflict, if Madeline
Albright didn't exist, we'd have to invent her. I want to
ask you to please welcome Madeline Albright to the podium.

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[Applause]

MADELINE ALBRIGHT: Thank you very much. I'm so delighted to be here with all of you. I think this is a very exciting session, and I am very pleased to have been asked to do the commitments because this is really a can-do activity. Could I call Gail and Alfred Engleberg to come up to the stage?

I think what is so exciting about the Clinton Global Initiative that we've seen is that people actually commit to do something. Let me talk about this. The commitment is to create a cadre of religious leaders in Jerusalem to lead dialogue between and within the city's Jewish, Christian and Muslim communities. The value of it is \$350,000. What is going to happen is that the Engleberg Foundation will support the Mosaica Association, the Adams Centers and the Foundation for Reconciliation in the Middle East as they run their programs of interreligious dialogue.

The foundation is providing partial funding for three specific projects. A three-year education leadership program for high school teachers and principles in Jerusalem. The second point is a program to train 16 Jewish, Muslim and Christian facilitators with a course that integrates religious study, group dynamics and conflict resolution. The third part is compiling a special collection of religious

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texts including teacher guides and study questions appropriate for interreligious study. All four partners hope that the Engleberg commitment will lead to better intercommunal relations in Jerusalem. I think, in just listening to the panel discussion, that is very clear that education work, working with younger people and getting various texts together is absolutely essential, and these kinds of programs will definitely help in equipping people on the issues of tolerance and pluralism among the various constituencies. So thank you very, very much.

[Applause]

Thank you. Now if I could ask Janet Wallack to come up? Janet is a very good friend and a truly remarkable person for everything. This is a very interesting and important commitment; the Seeds of Peace is involved in this. The commitment is to launch the John P. Wallack Institute of Conflict Resolution to offer a year-long comprehensive, conflict-resolution training program to Israeli and Palestinian youth. The value of it is \$1.2 million over 16 months and over \$600,000 has already been raised.

I have to say, I'm a little prejudiced. Seeds of Peace is one of the most remarkable organizations that I have heard of or even participated in in various ways, so for this additional aspect of it to happen, what is going to happen is

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that Seeds of Peace is going to provide advanced negotiation and mediation training to university-aged Israelis and Palestinians who are alumni of the Seeds' other leadership programs, which include a summer camp in Maine and the organization's Center for Coexistence in Jerusalem. Seeds will develop a curriculum and establish dialogue workshops that cover human rights, gender issues, religion and democracy. The program participants will do outreach work and use the Seeds communication technology to expand their reach as mediators. The global impact of this, I think, is also essential. The new institute is going to help to really create a generation of Israeli and Palestinian youth leaders who will be able to lead their communities towards peace. Again, the discussions that we've heard would indicate how important that is. Also, outreach and partnering projects are going to allow for the Conflict Resolution program to have an impact across the region and other areas of conflict.

The new institute is being named after John Wallack, who is the founder of Seeds of Peace. He was truly a remarkable person and a very, very close friend. Janet has been able to carry on his work in a remarkable way, as I said, through a very difficult loss. Janet, I really salute you and congratulate you.

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I travel around a lot, clearly, and somebody will come up and say, "I'm a Seed." I'm this or that kind of a Seed. It's just remarkable, so congratulations to you.

[Applause]

JANET WALLACK: We just got a commitment today from PalTel to help us with video conferencing on the Palestinian side, with the idea that there will be an Israeli partner. I hope we can do that and I thank you all.

[Applause]

MADLINE ALBRIGHT: I'd now like to invite Alan Slifka up to the stage. This is very exciting. This is a project that is sponsored by the Alan B. Slifka Foundation and the idea is to host a series of high-level meetings to get powerful individuals from different sectors to help create cohesive, peaceful and shared societies. The value of it is \$100,000 for the first year. It is also, I think, a very great addition to all this work because the Alan B. Slifka Foundation will host dialogues for acknowledged leaders in different fields to discuss how to use macro-level forces including public policy pronouncements and economic strategies to promote peace and tolerance. The participants will commit themselves and their constituencies to establishing high-level agencies that will address coexistence in their nations and communities.

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The success of a first meeting is going to set the stage for additional meetings with more focused audiences, for example, donors, business leaders in a particular industry or IGO leaders. So I think that this is essentially a very important aspect of it. I think the global aspect to this is, to-date, a lot of the conflict resolution work that has taken place is at the grassroots or micro level. Obviously, that is absolutely essential, but the foundation also believes that it is important to address the macro level in order for leaders to be engaged to build tolerant and shared societies. This is a very important, I think, initiative by the Slifka Foundation and I think it is absolutely a clear need. So thank you very, very much and congratulations.

ALAN B. SLIFKA: I'd like to say a word because what we're trying to do is new, novel and I think innovative. I'm trying to transform the notion of coexistence – living together – and respecting difference as a positive value, which political and social and business leaders can embrace, rather than looking at conflict and conflict resolution, mitigating conflict. It's always been framed as a negative and I think that if we can get the world leaders, if we can get every country to have a minister of coexistence of social cohesion, that if there is a place and an address in every

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country to make difference acceptable, than we would have a world that would be safe for difference. I think we have to reframe the issue and get it to be a positive value, the way the environment was a positive value 50 years ago when we started putting the environment as something that we should all get behind. So that's what we're trying to do. Thank you.

MADLINE ALBRIGHT: That's very exciting. Thank you very much.

[Applause]

Now if I could invite Lee Wallack to come to the stage. This is a very interesting commitment. Lee is with the Interfaith Environmental Council and they are the organization involved. The point of this is to transform 2,000 religious institutions into environmentally friendly sanctuaries by expanding the Green Sanctuaries Program. They are working on raising \$550,000 in the first year for a three-year project. I think it is very interesting because it really is tapping into the idea that we are all responsible for God's planet. The IEC is going to build on its comprehensive Green Sanctuaries Program, which is currently running a pilot program in 16 religious facilities in Los Angeles, and expand the programs for closely related component projects throughout the United States.

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The four projects help religious facilities to install solar panels to improve energy efficiency and water conservation and to educate grade-school-aged congregates about green homes and communities, and to provide congregates with a comprehensive green resource guide. All the projects encourage congregates to implement sustainable practices in their own home and businesses. What is also interesting about this is a reduction in energy use and costs of 25-percent at 2,000 religious institutions is going to save an estimated \$3,257,328.00 and reduce CO2 emissions by 32,573 tons. I think this is a very interesting and imaginative project that does two things at the same time and really does tap into the idea that we are the stewards of God's planet. I think it is a very interesting commitment. Thank you very, very much.

[Applause]

Thank you all very much. I do think this is a very exciting part of the Clinton Global Initiative. It puts us all into it and really answers the "What can I do?" So thank you all very much.

[Applause]

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