DEUTSCHE WELLE
GLOBAL MEDIA
FORUM

HUMAN RIGHTS IN A GLOBALIZED WORLD

CHALLENGES FOR THE MEDIA

DOCUMENTATION 2011

CONTENTS

Conference Day 3

FOREWORD

Looking back on this year's Global Media Forum I am tempted to say that it was the right topic at the right time. Discussing human rights in a globalized world against the backdrop of the Arab Spring made us not only even more aware of the relevance of the topic we had chosen; surely it led to our debates being even more intense. Furthermore, I am certain that our conference sent out an encouraging signal to all those who were – and still are – fighting for their rights.

The media play an important role when it comes to claiming human rights. And here I'm not differentiating between traditional, long-established programming and content from publishing houses and, for instance, the growing field of citizen journalism we are witnessing in social networks. If news on the self-immolation of a young man in the Tunisian town of Sidi Bouzid hadn't been spread by media outlets and social networks, things might have ended completely differently. Social media also played a major role when it came to organizing protests without interference by local authorities.

The feedback we received regarding the 2011 Deutsche Welle Global Media Forum has raised my hopes that our conference has encouraged people worldwide to claim their rights. Eighty-four percent of those who took part in our survey said that their participation taught them things which will be useful for their commitment to human rights. Seventy-five percent added that they will integrate the insights and information they garnered from the conference in their work.

For us such feedback is an incentive for next year's conference, entitled "Culture. Education. Media – Shaping a Sustainable World". We at Deutsche Welle are convinced that education and culture are key to keeping our planet livable and developing it sustainably. In this context we intend to examine in particular the role and responsibility of the media with their images and messages. How can media contribute constructively to cultural diversity? How can they serve to enhance awareness of the essential importance of education for sustainable development? Can media themselves carry out educational activities? Do they serve as a role model for presenting and conveying educational content?

In more than 50 seminars, panel discussions and workshops, the conference will concentrate on topics such as "The right to education – education for all", "Promoting and preserving cultural diversity", "Political culture and intercultural dialogue" and "Sustainability in education". I look forward to seeing you in Bonn from June 25 to 27, 2012, to explore these and many other relevant questions.

Bonn, December 2011
Erik Bettermann
Director General, Deutsche Welle


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ESSAY ON THE CONFERENCE THEME

BY UDO MARQUARDT

"Publicity is the very soul of justice"

The adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations General Assembly on December 10th, 1948 was driven largely by the massive violations of human rights during World War II. The Declaration established that every human being has rights – not because they are citizens of a particular nation but because they are human beings. The United Nations postulates that simply being human bestows on every person a number of inalienable rights.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights reflects the experience of a globally fought war in which millions of people were tortured, killed, raped and robbed of their dignity.

Since the adoption of the Declaration, the world has changed massively. Business, politics, environment and communication have grown increasingly closer. It's a process affecting individual people, societies, institutions and states that we call globalization. How does globalization affect human rights? Because of their universal acceptance, human rights on the one hand can set a kind of minimum legal standard for the globalization process. But globalization also seems to put human rights in jeopardy if, for example, it increases poverty and the exploitation of people.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights reflects the experience of a globally fought war in which millions of people were tortured, killed, raped and robbed of their dignity. That should never happen again any-

where. Regardless of citizenship, gender, color of skin, religion or age, every person has rights that no other person and no state can take away or deny them. In response to the war and Holocaust experienced by the human race, the inalienable rights of every person were formulated and enshrined. Although that poses new challenges to globalization, human rights and globalization belong together from the outset.

Members of the media have a central role in asserting and guarding human rights in a globalized world. They can accompany the process informatively and critically. But they are themselves part of it.

The founding of Amnesty International serves as an example of the special importance of the media to human rights. In 1961, the British barrister, Peter Benenson, read several newspaper articles about human rights violations in Portugal. Two students were arrested there for raising their glasses in a pub in a toast to freedom. At that time, it was forbidden in Portugal to mention the word freedom and the students were sentenced to seven years in prison. This prompted Benenson to publish an article about the events in Portugal in which he called on readers to write letters to the Portuguese government demanding the release of the students. This newspaper article is now regarded as the founding document of the human rights organization, Amnesty International.

Torture and rape take place in the dark, out of sight. It is the task of the media to dispel the darkness by informing the public about human rights violations.

The story makes evident how important the media can be to the observance and assertion of human rights. Torture and rape take place in the dark, out of sight. It is the task of the media to dispel the darkness by informing the public about human rights violations. It is the only way to stop them. But that can only happen if there is freedom to report. Hence "freedom of opinion and expression" is a human right (Article 19 of the Declaration). Moreover, the type of reporting can violate human rights, for example, by denying certain rights to people or by violating their dignity.

The classic human rights of the so-called first generation of human rights are the civic liberty rights to resist the state[1]. To honor these rights, the state must abstain from certain actions, i.e. it must not torture, not disadvantage anyone by legislation, etc. The states play a major role with regards to human rights. Human rights ensure that the individual human being is always at the center – not the state, law or politics. On the one hand, the states are the ones who can guarantee the assertion of human rights. On the other hand, they can also put them in jeopardy.

The role of the states in globalization must be scrutinized. What are their responsibilities? Does globalization ease or add to them?

Globalization once again raises the question as to the role of states with respect to human rights. Doesn't globalization mean that the role of states is becoming smaller, aren't borders disappearing? The issue of states raises a range of questions. Who ensures that the states observe human rights? The international community has created several institutions for that purpose, such as the European Court of Human Rights and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), but most of them are relatively powerless. There is potential danger in the fact that many states may pass their own responsibilities off to these organizations and no longer see themselves as accountable for ensuring the observance of human rights or prosecute breaches of them. That is especially precarious because precisely these states furnish the supposedly responsible institutions with less than adequate powers and funding. The role of the states in globalization must be scrutinized. What are their responsibilities? Does globalization ease or add to them? That touches on a number of further questions, such as the so-called humanitarian interventions to protect human rights.

The significance and number of transnationally operating corporations is growing constantly – the power of which must not be underestimated.

But globalization also brings new players into action. Firstly, there are the international corporations. They are increasingly beyond the control of individual

[1] The second generation of human rights includes participation and solidarity rights of individuals or groups such as the right to assemble and to express opinion, as well as economic and cultural rights, e.g. the rights to work, food and education. The third generation includes the rights to development, peace, food, intact environment, own language and an equitable share of natural and cultural treasures.

From left to right: Thorbjørn Jagland, Secretary Genereral of the Council of Europe; Angelica Schwall-Düren, Minister for Federal Affairs, Europe and the Media, State of North Rhine-Westphalia; Erik Bettermann, Director General of Deutsche Welle.

states. Labor, goods and money streams pay no heed to territorial borders. The significance and number of transnationally operating corporations is growing constantly – the power of which must not be underestimated. For example, it can damage liberty with inhumane work-ing conditions, child labor or the ruthless destruction of the environment and hence the fundamentals of life. The question as to whether and how such power is controllable raises explosive legal and economic issues. The fact that a lot have been left unresolved was demonstrated recently by the environmentally disastrous Deepwater Horizon oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico. It made plain for all to see that not even the world's mightiest nation was able to wield decisive influence on an international corporation (BP). Ultimately decisive was the public pressure from consumers that forced BP to take action. The images of pelicans perishing in oil probably had more effect than Barack Obama – which throws telling light on the responsibility of the media.

Another globalization-driven phenomenon is mass tourism. It enables more and more people to experience other nations and cultures. That has a positive, enlightening effect, with increasing respect for others – and that is at the core of human rights. But mass tourism also promotes sex tourism, sexual exploitation of children and destruction of the environment.

Non-governmental organizations represent another group of players getting involved, increasingly ready to intervene and help. They participate in political and social decision-making and are being listened to increasingly both nationally and internationally.

The media have a guardian role. That implies that they report independently and truthfully. But media also have an economic purpose. They aim to make money with news.

Not to be forgotten is that the media itself is an international phenomenon. The possibilities to disseminate news globally in real time with television, radio and the Internet give the media a whole new responsibility for human rights. The modern possibilities to disseminate news make it increasingly difficult to suppress in-

formation – which is precisely what states that violate human rights try to do. It is certainly no coincidence that states like China practice censorship. But although it may still be possible to suppress an item of news in one's own country, it is almost impossible these days to keep it from reaching the world at large. The media have a guardian role. That presupposes that they report independently and truthfully. But media also have an economic purpose: to make money with news. There's absolutely no question that a new video by the American pop artist, Lady Gaga, attracts more viewers than the execution of an unknown dissident in China. The challenge to the media is to shoulder their guardian role.

Vis a vis all these players is always the individual person whose rights are at stake. Just because there is a special emphasis on the rights of women and children does not mean that they have special rights[2]. From a legal point of view, the sentence that "women's rights are human rights" is a tautology. Rather, the formulation of the rights of women and children demonstrates that they suffer violations frequently. Demographic development is a not to be an underestimated factor likely to influence human rights. The world population is constantly growing. It is expected to exceed seven billion in 2011. The UN projects more than nine billion in 2050.

In relation to economic, social and cultural human rights, the question of distribution justice will exert massive pressure.

The trend poses enormous explosive power. In the short or long term it will cause clashes over distribution. In relation to economic, social and cultural human rights, the question of justice with regards to distribution will exert massive pressure. Is it fair that the largest share of all goods necessary to life (water, food, energy) is consumed by a minority of the countries throughout Europe and North America?

Years of declining populations in these well-off countries coupled with increasing populations in Africa and Asia is creating new migration pressure driven by economic need, expulsions, ethnic conflicts and war. This calls for crisis prevention and intervention, which not only relies on the observation of human rights, but is also carried out with the most stringent enforcement of these rights.

[2] On December 18th, 1979 the UN General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child was adopted on November 20th, 1989.

We should fear a global breakdown of solidarity. It can be counteracted at least partially by reporting that keeps a special focus on the things that matter to all humanity, emphasizing that people everywhere are being affected.

An aspect that must be discussed in connection with globalization is the universality of human rights. Are human rights dependent on culture or religion and hence valid only for adherents of particular cultures or religions? Or are they valid for every human being, regardless of their faith or culture?

If human rights are universal, they are valid for every individual simply because they are a human being, not because they are male or female, of a certain age or a certain skin color, Christian, Moslem or Buddhist, living in Europe, Asia or Africa. Universal applicability entitles any person to claim human rights for themselves and it is necessary for everyone to respect human rights.

That is precisely where the problem lies. Human rights are not per se universal. They are claimed to be, but can only be realized if all people recognize them. That happens, for example, when a state joins the United Nations. Membership implies recognition of human rights and their implementation in one's own jurisdiction.

The claim of universality means that anyone can claim human rights for themselves, but it also implies that everyone must recognize human rights.

But even if all states formally recognized human rights, that wouldn't mean by a long shot that they are universally valid – they would actually have to be applied. In practice, however, torture takes place and death sentences are passed in many states that have signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. There is a wide gap between reality and state actions and posturing. It is the job of the media to keep the public aware of this gap until it might one day disappear.

The definition of universality of human rights is also fraught. Could there be a certain cultural or religious claim behind it, more specifically a Western-Christian one? It's not a suspicion one needs to hold, but a certain level of mistrust is understandable after the suffering inflicted by colonialism in Africa, for example. Aren't human rights just another Western attempt at colonization? Doesn't it aim at undermining the cultures, customs and religious convictions of others? This objection is too short-sighted. More often than not it is just a rhetorical device to block demands for human rights. After all, one of the consequences of human rights is the curbing of power. And many

Dunja Mijatović, OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media; Moorten Kjerum, Director of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights.

powerful people disagree with this culture of human rights. And no one who is tortured, who is under threat of being stoned or who is imprisoned for years without trial will maintain that they have to accept the way they are being treated because it is inherent to their culture. The same applies to so-called damaging cultural practices such as forced marriage or mutilation of girls' genitals.

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A totally different area is the issue of human rights in Islam. There are quite a number of conflicts between Sharia law and human rights:

- Religious freedom
- Equality of women (exclusion from public office, etc.)
- Brutal physical punishment such as flogging or the hacking off of limbs

That is why Moslems wrote an Islamic declaration of human rights of their own. Recognizing it would mean abandonment of the universality of human rights, because then there would be at least two sets of them: one for Christians, or the West, and the one for Islamic states. However, closer scrutiny reveals that the positions are quite varied on the Islamic side. Whereas some reject the non-Islamic human rights, others regard them as good Islamic practice. Staying in public (not just purely academic) dialogue about this is one of the essential challenges to the media.

The 18/19th century British jurist, philosopher and social reformer, Jeremy Bentham, coined the phrase, "Publicity is the very soul of justice".

This is especially true with regard to human rights. They can only be asserted if the public is informed about every violation. Instances of torture and rape occur in dark cellars. And these crimes can only be prosecuted and prevented if this darkness is dispelled. Precisely that is the task of the media: Making human rights violations public knowledge so as to bring about justice.

Just as media can expose human rights violations, they can also cover them up: simply by not running a news item or by interest-driven or even deliberate falsification of facts.

The fact that the media is so crucial to the assertion of human rights has led to media representatives themselves becoming victims of human rights violations. Disagreeable journalists disappear or are silenced. Media freedom is curtailed by censorship, the closure of newspapers, radio and TV broadcasters. Access to the Internet is restricted. The media and its representatives must be protected – by other governments and journalists free to express themselves. Here, too, "publicity is the very soul of justice".

Finally, the work of the media must also be scrutinized critically. Just as the media can expose human rights violations, it can also cover them up: simply by not running a news item or by interest-driven or even deliberate falsification of facts. Just as with the curtailment of free expression, the job of the free media is to create counter-publicity.

One of the biggest chances for human rights in the globalized world is the fact that the dissemination of modern, globalized news via television and the Internet can create this counter-publicity better than ever before.

CONFERENCE DAY 1

OPENING SPEECH

Erik Bettermann, Director General of Deutsche Welle

Ladies and Gentlemen,
To those of you I had the pleasure of seeing yesterday evening, "good morning". And to those of you who just arrived this morning, allow me to extend to you a warm welcome to Bonn. And to all of you, welcome to this year's Deutsche Welle Global Media Forum.
This morning and yesterday I have already seen and spoken to many who are here for the fourth year in a row. It is becoming something like a family reunion!
The international, interdisciplinary and dialogical approach of this event has once again drawn well over a thousand participants from around 100 countries to this lovely city on the banks of the Rhine. I would like to thank each and every one of you for coming. I am confident that over the next three days we will have lively, in-depth and enriching discussions which will give us much food for thought – and for action – for a long time to come.

Ladies and Gentlemen,
While we are gathered here, people in Libya and Syria are fighting for their right to freedom and self-determination.
While we meet here, people are being subjected to torture in nearly a hundred countries.
While we are gathered here, women and children in Asia are producing cheap clothing under wretched conditions for retail stores in the West.
While we are gathered here, billions of people are struggling to survive with no access to clean water or sufficient food.
The media report on all these matters – but blind spots remain.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights contains 30 articles. We are still a long way off from universal respect for them. The same applies to the two key treaties that also comprise part of the International Bill of Human Rights – the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.
Globalization has given this added dimension. That is why an increasing number of national and international organizations are demanding that in the midst of globalization, the focus must be placed on people and their needs and rights. That provides much subject matter for the media – especially given the fact that the light and shadows of globalization can usually be found right on our doorstep.
As we begin the Deutsche Welle Global Media Forum, allow me to say in no uncertain terms: Human rights are indivisible! We must enforce them universally! And we may not play them off against one another!
At the same time we must objectively analyze the situation in different regions and countries of the world, applying to each a differentiated view and fair assess-

ment…..So that we do justice to those who honestly endeavor to improve the living conditions within their countries, at least in certain sectors. And so that we expose those who are preventing substantial progress in human rights issues, whether openly or subtly.
This poses a great challenge to the media. What role do they play in the context of human rights? How can they contribute to human rights implementation? These are questions you will discuss in-depth over the next few days.

Ladies and Gentlemen,
In Tunisia and Egypt, Libya, Syria and Yemen – tens of thousands of people stood up and fought for their rights with imposing courage. For me, 2011 is the year of human rights.
The media can be a powerful instrument in implementing human rights by serving as a bridge for information and as a tool toward insight. Social media – especially Facebook, Twitter and blogs – have created new impetus. They are the communicative driver and catalyst of civil campaigns and protest movements. Nowadays anyone can become a chronicler, creating transparency during events and in regions to which professional journalists have no access. This, for example, was the only way images from Syria were able to make their way to the media after the regime expelled all foreign correspondents from the country.
No matter how you weigh social media's role in the Arab Spring, governments and societies around the world must concern themselves with their potential – the same goes for those from traditional forms of media.
The digitization of communications has multiplied complexity and the possibility for manipulation. The Internet and social media are like Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. They harbor as much opportunity as they do danger.
Take for instance the events in Ivory Coast this past Spring. Facebook was used on the one hand to organize assistance and help save lives; on the other hand it was used by people to boast about brutal acts and to incite violence.
Web 2.0 has opened new windows to the world – with incalculable consequences for oppressors and the oppressed.
Activists upload films to YouTube depicting human rights violations – state authorities trace the digital tracks back to them.
Activists exchange information in online forums – writers paid by the state apparatus manipulate the discussion with targeted posts.
Activists publish secret government documents online – state cyber spies hack into the databases of NGO's.
In some nations, Web 2.0 has virtually become a job-generating engine for government-issue opinion making. Multi-platform propaganda requires a lot of manpower.
The question arises: What is the impact of Facebook for human rights? Are we forfeiting hard-won civil rights and liberties in the mid-term by blindly paying homage to the golden calf of social media? With the help of hundreds of millions of people, Facebook is becoming a digital Leviathan that spans the globe. Taken to an extreme the question is: Might this digital kraken present the world's greatest threat to human rights?
Near total transparency through a vast number of players – some of dubious identity – has its flip side. When there is information overload, the reliability of information tends to nosedive. That has obvious ramifications in an area as sensitive as human rights. The doors are wide open for slander, disinformation and manipulation.
Against this backdrop, there can be no talk of the sun setting on journalism. On the contrary:
Professional media are needed more than ever. Journalists in the age of Web 2.0 must be managers and analysts more than collectors of information. Flawless journalistic craftsmanship will remain essential for acceptance – and above all credibility. Professionalism and reliability – those are the public's expectations of journalistic scouts in the information jungle.

Ladies and Gentlemen,
To strengthen human rights around the world, we need concerted action. We all bear this responsibility – politicians and business leaders, academics and media professionals. It therefore gives me great pleasure that we will spend the next few days searching together for ways in which to better meet this responsibility with practical action.

With this in mind, I wish everyone here fruitful debate and inspiring conversation.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Thorbjørn Jagland,
Secretary General of the Council of Europe

Your Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
I should like to thank Deutsche Welle and Director General Bettermann for hosting this conference which addresses a crucially important topic for us all.

It is with very fond memories that I am back in Bonn.
During my younger years, I was Chairman of the Board of the Socialist International, and Willy Brandt was its President.
Willy always liked to make our formal meetings as short as possible so that we could go to his regular restaurant on the hill, overlooking the Rhine and talk and have a bottle or two of wine.
My discussions with Willy on democracy and human rights have stayed with me as truly fundamental.
He was always clear about one of the most important lessons of World War II: Accepting that human rights could be for some and not for all, the erosion of respect for humanity in general, and for the individual especially, eventually opened the door to the darkest chapter in European history.
So I say as Willy Brandt: Human rights must be for all, if not they are for none! Human rights are an absolute value for the individual and an absolute responsibility for society. That is my point of departure.

Ladies and Gentlemen,
Forty-seven years ago Bob Dylan's song "the times they are a-changin'" captured the sense of the changes in America and the dawn of the civil rights movement. The times were indeed changing, people stood up against old and unjust policies regarding the rights of the individual in a new way. It was time to change the times.
I think Dylan could have been singing the same song for us here today. The forces of globalization are changing the world, changing the power structures, and changing our perception of what it means to be an individual.

Globalization is a "movement" which has a profound impact on our societies, on our understanding of human rights and on the daily life of so many individuals all over the world.
How are we to understand the individual and his/her relation to society at a time when commonly accepted ideas and values are being questioned as pillars of society?
Is anything absolute anymore? Yes, human rights are!
I am proud to be heading an organization which has put something very absolute on paper – our human rights – and the way these rights should be protected and applied in Europe.
The European Convention on Human Rights adopted by the Council of Europe is the direct consequence of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
The declaration states that human rights are innate and unchangeable because they come from our human dignity and not as a result of political decisions. These rights are natural rights.

Freedom of speech is a timeless right because human dignity means that we can speak and write freely. We have freedom of speech because we are people.
That is also why human rights should not be subject to political power or pressure. Human rights are a safeguard against political power. They are a right of the minority to be protected by – and from – the majority.
Human rights have been the most transformative forces in changing the world. When people climbed the Berlin Wall they wanted freedom. When people in North Africa recently took to the streets they did the same. They wanted freedom. Freedom to speak.

Dear friends,
When Martin Luther challenged the Church in his protest against the use of indulgences he provoked a fundamental change of the societal structures of his time. Few could envisage the impact of his actions. But Luther's document could be printed and spread out all over Europe, unleashing the Reformation and eventually opening the space for religious freedom. The shaping of modern ideas of freedom of conscience and speech were to follow.
Since then freedom of speech has changed power structures fundamentally, time and time again. Democracies have been born and today the doors to the forces of globalization and information are being opened. With this comes more change.
It is true as Lenin once observed that sometimes decades can pass and nothing happens. And sometimes weeks can pass and decades happen.
Today we understand that the strongest force of globalization is in bringing a new sense of freedom and enlightenment for which the Internet is its symbol.
For hundreds of millions of people the Internet has brought the freedom to act and communicate across and beyond national borders.

Last year a poll for BBC World suggested that four in five people believe that access to the Internet is a fundamental right, and only a few weeks ago a UN report stated that access to the Internet should become a human right.
The Internet has become a space representing an unprecedented potential for freedom. Not only for the freedom of expression. It is now the main vehicle for democracy where people organize themselves and voice their opposition to government.
Unfortunately, for some the Internet has also become a tool of absolute freedom – freedom without responsibility. You can say whatever you want while protecting your full anonymity. In many countries, this has meant that the Internet is filled with hate speech, slur and dirt unknown in the history of free media.
Recently, a debate in the United Kingdom on the right of the press to publish a commonly known name of a person involved in a sex scandal, touched upon a very difficult line of balance between the right to privacy and the right to freedom of expression.
Where should we draw the line between what is private – and should remain so – and what is in the interest of the general public? And how do we draw the line when the Internet gives access to everyone and where no legal claim can be enforced?
Media provides education, entertainment, cultural and artistic expression. But I believe that the changes we have experienced over the last decades deem it necessary for the media to carefully consider their role as a provider of space for public debate.
We need a global instrument for this purpose, and I support the recent UN report's call for access to the Internet as a globally recognized human right. I agree and we should start in Europe!
But let us also be clear that the forces of the Internet should not be allowed to uncritically turn into the tyranny of the majority against the right of the minority. If so, the Internet turns from being a tool of spreading and enhancing human rights, to becoming a tool which undermines human rights.

Dear friends,
The French historian, Jacques Le Goff once said that Europe will never be a closed circuit. It is always changing, always in motion. It is this multitude of nations, cultures and people that constitutes our true identity.
Today, however, globalization is exposing us to diversity with an unprecedented speed and scope. The increasingly free movement of ideas, cultures and individuals is now confronting our identity with different, sometimes conflicting ideas, views, habits and customs.
Our societies are redefining their identities and this provide grounds for new tensions. And the main source is migration.
Recently, a report to the Council of Europe, prepared by a high-level group led by former German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer, looked into the challenges arising from the ever increasing multicultural composition of Europe. The report found that discrimination and intolerance were widespread.

As a remedy, the report, entitled "Living together: combining diversity and freedom in 21st-century Europe", recommends that European societies should embrace diversity. We must all obey the law, but no one should be "expected to renounce their faith, culture or identity". But we must also embrace our common values. Public statements which tend to build or reinforce public prejudice against members of any group – and particularly members of minorities, immigrants or people of recent migrant origin – should not be left unanswered.

We need courageous political leaders to balance and give direction in the debate. And we need a courageous press which can report and analyze the debate and provide understanding to the reader of the changes of society he or she lives in. This is why I say that the role of media is not only about the freedom of expression and the democratic practices. In our globalized world the media are an irreplaceable tool to foster solidarity.

The "globalization movement" is changing our times, but it has no aim of its own, it has no leader and it has no compassion. It is a raw non-human force that we and you, the media, must seek to steer in the right direction to make it a tool for solidarity between citizens. When our societies become more diverse we must not allow confrontation to become the main tool of understanding. We must build on our core values, and we must embrace diversity. The media play a key role in shaping such a culture.

The media acts as a historical watchdog providing through its scrutiny, checks and a balance to the exercise of authority which might otherwise turn authoritarian.

Today the media must provide checks and balance of globalization. Only then can we continue to push globalization in the right direction – a direction that is consistent with human rights. And only then can the media remain an essential democratic tool in our societies.

Dear friends,

We live in times when power increasingly lies with those whose narrative wins. In the new world of globalization the power of the fist is meeting its limits. That is why states compete increasingly for the minds of the people. In this competition, the narrative of human rights has more appeal than anything else. It has so because we all know the meaning of it.

That we recognize human rights as something absolute. Something about you and me and how we can live and exercise our lives in freedom and prosperity. We must not forget that when nationalism became the driving force in Europe it opened the doors for conflicts and wars. The solution was the move to internationalism. To institutions bringing the nation states together in co-operation based on a common set of values. Democracy, human rights and the rule of law. In a time of great changes, let us remember this. That human rights provide us with an anchor, a common understanding of what humanity is about. What is present now will later be past, wrote Bob Dylan. As the times are changing we face great opportunities for humanity, but these opportunities will not come about by themselves. The media must check and scrutinize globalization – making sure that human rights will remain present and for all. Or they will be for none. ■

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Morten Kjaerum,
Director of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights

Ladies and Gentlemen,
The Times They Are a-Changin'. This was the clear call from the civil rights movement in the 60s, as some of us may recall. But it applies equally well today as times have yet to change for very many people around the globe.

As Director of the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights, I'm here to talk about human rights in today's globalized world. I myself have been actively involved in human rights over the past 30 years, and looking back I can confirm, yes, times for fundamental rights have been changing. Thankfully, for the better, in the EU as well as globally, even though many challenges remain.
Before talking about globalization and human rights, and the challenges, I will start with an overview of the key milestones that have brought about this change. I will wind up by talking about media and human rights, as a foretaste of what promises to be a most interesting and stimulating conference.

So, what have been some of the key human rights milestones?

- In 1948 the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted in the wake of the atrocities of two world wars.
- Then in 1950 there was the Council of Europe's European Convention on Human Rights and the European Court of Human Rights three years later. So institutions were created and human rights became an important part of our foreign policy.
- After the end of the Cold War things took a new turn. In 1993, some 150 countries reaffirmed their commitment to the Universal Declaration at the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna. This is not by coincidence: After the Cold War, countries finally started to clean up their own backyard in parallel to assisting abroad. Let me illustrate this with a short story:
- Shortly after the Vienna conference, South Africa held its first democratic elections. In my previous job we collaborated with the Danish police

academy, training South African policemen. One evening over dinner in Cape Town, a Danish policeman asked an obvious question: why do we teach human rights to the South African police but not at home in Denmark? Shortly after, human rights became part of the curriculum in the general police training and has been ever since.

- This "coming home" of human rights is also reflected in the creation of national human rights institutions: in the 1990s there were only 5 such institutions, today there are over 100 worldwide! The establishment, four years ago, of a dedicated EU human rights institution, namely the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, was a logical next step.
- Looking again at the EU – two years ago the European Charter on Fundamental Rights became legally binding, and last year the EU created a specific Commissioner post for fundamental rights, and signed the Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities – the first international human rights treaty to be signed by the EU or by any regional body. So human rights truly were domesticated.
- The most recent development is that municipalities are increasingly integrating human rights in their work.

Ladies and Gentlemen,
How is all this linked to globalization?
Well, in the last 20 years, human rights have become a truly global language. This common language speaks volumes as it allows us to discuss the global human rights benchmarks that have been set and the challenges that globalization has brought. It has tied us much closer together in a web of human rights engaged people – just look at this audience. They have become truly universal.

So, concretely, what are the challenges?
Not all rights are moving at the same speed. Also, some groups are better protected than others, and some countries are more advanced than others. Let me give you some examples from within the EU from the human rights studies and surveys that the Agency conducted:

- In six EU countries, only 42% of Roma children attend primary school, compared to an EU average of 97.5%.
- Studies uncover shocking treatment of people with disabilities in care homes. And many countries deprive people with mental health problems from voting.
- No EU country provides full legal equality for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people.
- In detention centers for irregular migrants on the Greek-Turkish border my staff witnessed 144 people huddled together in one tiny room with no heating, one toilet and one cold shower during winter. Pregnant women and families with small children were held in such inhuman conditions often over weeks and months.
- Finally, the right to privacy and being master of the facts about yourself is being severely threatened by the aggressive collection of personal data about all of us, not forgetting of course, the challenge of eliminating racism, xenophobia, Islamophobia and anti-Semitism, the difficulties in access to justice and the right to a fair trial, the debate over data protection versus the fight against terrorism, human trafficking, and the list just grows.

That is also Europe today. So what can we do?
The EU has one of the most advanced human rights protections worldwide. Yet, as my examples have shown, laws alone are not enough if they merely exist. They must be implemented and be enforced properly. But even this is not enough. People need to be aware of their rights, which two-thirds of EU citizens are not, according to surveys. Clearly much work is needed here. My agency is already working to improve human rights awareness within the EU with the police, border guards, local authorities, and last, but certainly not least, with the media.

Which brings me to the media and the crucial role they have to play. The media act as our eyes and ears. Together with civil society organizations, the media are often watchdogs reporting on human rights violations, bringing to our attention abuses, digging out facts, and keeping us updated on the latest developments, often at their own personal risk. In turn, the Agency can keep you abreast of what's happening in the EU on fundamental rights. So you can report about the true extent of hate crime, of discrimination, and many of the other issues just listed.

Some argue that the media hold up a mirror to society. But if media want to reflect society fully, then the image should reflect today's multicultural and diverse

society. Currently this is not always the case in the EU. For example, research has shown that in news relating to minorities, minorities themselves are often not given a voice, while "experts" from the majority population are interviewed.

A proper and full reflection creates greater depth in reports, enhances reputation and builds credibility with listeners, viewers and readers – who increasingly also include diverse minorities. This can be most easily achieved with employing journalists from diverse backgrounds. Our work has shown that the media have in fact started addressing this. In Austria for example, where I currently live, some months ago the appearance of a new TV presenter hit the headlines – it was Austria's first black TV presenter ever. But shouldn't this just be normal?

Ladies and Gentlemen, I conclude:
The media are undoubtedly a strong force which can foster positive change in society. Seeing you here today signals that you appreciate how important human rights awareness is, and the challenges we face. With the Council of Europe and the European Broadcasting Union, the Agency has been working on practical tools to support media professionals to become even better equipped to report on diversity. We are also running a diversity workshop here tomorrow.

So in these ever changing times, let's not forget that when we have the freedom to choose, we have the freedom to change. ■

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Dunja Mijatović,
OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media

Ladies and Gentleman, Dear colleagues,
I feel very privileged and honored for being given this opportunity to address this important international event today. This year's topic is particularly relevant to me because it does not only address the question of human rights but it also tackles the question of media freedom and free expression as fundamental for the enjoyment of human rights and for the monitoring of our societies' adherence to those rights. Fighting for the right to speak freely, openly and without fear must remain or become the priority for governments. Not just for the so-called new or emerging democracies but also for old and established democracies.

With more and more people being connected to each other, be it through the Internet or mobile phone technology, the right to freedom of expression and particularly the right to unhindered and unfiltered information, have an even more crucial role to play in protecting and defending all other human rights worldwide than might have been the case only 20 years ago.

As free and independent media are essential to scrutinize and condemn human rights abuses, it is no surprise that the right to freedom of expression is one of the first rights to fall victim to oppressive regimes or abusive authorities. This, as we know, is equally valid for freedom of the press.

Nevertheless – we do not always appreciate the existence of these freedoms. Too often – particularly in established democracies – we take them for granted and only value their importance when they are tampered with by state interference and control. Too often it is the case that we only know how crucial these rights are and how determined we must fight for them once we are deprived of them. We should and must not forget that without free media, citizens won't be able to access information and, therefore, won't be able to exercise their right to vote in an effective manner. They – we – will not be able to take part in public decision-making. Without free media and the right to speak up we will not be able to point out wrongdoings by governments, individuals or businesses. We will not be able to hold those people we elected accountable and we are unlikely to see an increased sense of responsibility by those in power.

These structures, in their short-sightedness, do not understand that without the expression of ideas and opinions and the publication and distribution thereof in the media, no single society can and will develop and advance effectively, be it in the political, social, economic and maybe most importantly in the artistic and cultural sense. Media freedom and freedom of expression are the cornerstones of functioning, accountable and flexible democracies and are the driving force of social and cultural progress.

Sadly, one fact holds true: freedom of the media is questioned and challenged by many and everywhere. And it goes without saying that the indicators are not encouraging. We only have to look at the latest reports by media advocates like Reporters Without Borders, Freedom House, Article 19 or the Committee to Protect Journalists. I only have to look at my Office's work and experience: Today, in the 21st century, it is still very dangerous to be a journalist, a photographer, a member of the media, a family member of a journalist or even have lunch with a journalistic source. It takes a lot of courage and professional conviction to uncover, to report, to publish – so that all of us, here in this room, receive the news, are informed, get the bigger picture and can form our opinions. We could in fact ask ourselves why this is the case.

All the journalistic work should not be taken for granted. Each year journalists are murdered in the OSCE region and we call ourselves a club of democracies.

Let me give you one figure: Over the past five years, more than 30 journalists have been killed in the OSCE region. Equally alarming is the authorities' far-too-prevalent willingness to classify many of the murders as unrelated to the journalists' professional activities.

If murder is the most extreme form of censorship, it is not the only one being practiced. Indeed, journalists are often subject to other forms of violence, such as physical attacks, threats, imprisonment, psychological and administrative harassment.

What can we do to fight these attempts? I think that all of us have a role to play. We should not forget that the media are reporting to us, to you and me, and they deserve our protection. In fact, we owe them our protection.

This brings me to the unique role of my Office, which was created in 1997 as the world's only intergovernmental media-freedom "watchdog". It is my Office's duty to remind the 56 participating states to live up to the standards to uphold and foster media freedom that they agreed to as members of the OSCE.

Reminding the members of their commitments is not an easy task. I can testify that challenges for the media are brought to me on a daily basis. The opposition my work sometimes faces gives me, although very small, a glimpse of what individual journalists around the world are too often facing when simply doing their jobs.

As my job is not only to monitor, to warn and to wag my finger, but in a way also to be or to remain optimistic and to spread this optimism, I take the view that, despite all the challenges media freedom is exposed to today, we also see that the globalized world, our ever-growing connectivity, our technological advancement do offer new opportunities to bolster media freedom We already live in the digital age, a time in which we can create truly democratic cultures with participation by all members of the society. And in only a few years from now this participation will virtually include most of the world's citizens.

With new-media technologies, we can now access and consume whatever media we want, wherever, whenever and however. Therefore, we can really say that with the Internet, the right to seek, impart and receive information has been strengthened. But let us not be naïve. Access to and the use of global or regional information is of course subject to education, to media literacy and to multilingualism.

So, despite progress, some challenges and preconditions remain. And the first one is surely access to the Internet. Without this basic requirement, without the means to connect, without an affordable connection, the right to freedom of expression and freedom of the media becomes meaningless in the online world.

Secondly, it will not be enough to provide citizens, particularly in rural or less-developed parts of this world, with a connection and web-compatible devices. For consumers to become what we call "netizens" it is indispensable to understand the information first of all, and also to know how to critically assess, how to process and how to contextualize it. The technological advancement in order to reach out to all has to go hand-in-hand with education, with programs on media literacy and Internet literacy.

But it remains true that, in our globalized world where education, information, personal development, societal advancement and interaction, and participation in political decision making are to a great extent realized through the Internet, the right to access the web

becomes a cornerstone for the fundamental right to freedom of expression. The right to seek, receive and impart information not only includes the right to access but presupposes it.

The third challenge is to contest those governments who fear and distrust the openness brought along by the Internet. In an age of rapid technological change and convergence, archaic governmental controls over the media are increasingly unjust, indefensible and, ultimately, unsustainable.

These attempts to control the Internet are growing. We witness not only that more and more countries pass legislation aimed at regulating or controlling the web, we also see more and more governments trying to put the topic on the international agenda. While the latter is surely needed to keep the Internet open and global, there are fears by many that more political attention might lead to more regulation and therefore to a greater fragmentation or nationalization of the web.

In an attempt to get an idea of the state of affairs of how freedom of expression is regulated, my Office commissioned a first OSCE-wide study of laws and regulations related to freedom of expression and the free flow of information on the Internet. The study will assess how national Internet legislation and practices comply with existing OSCE media freedom commitments and relevant international standards.

I am happy to announce the first result of that study will be presented and discussed during one of the side events this afternoon here at this forum.

I also hope that more international organizations and media advocacy groups will continue embarking on similar projects so that together we can get a clear picture on where we stand. And from there we can see what we have to do to ensure that not only the Internet remains free but that more and more people can enjoy their right to speak freely and without fear on and through it.

There is a long way to go, as we know, and the bad news is that we will never reach the end. The good news, however, is that, if we all stay committed and more often remember the importance of a free and independent media and fight for it, we will be able to see some progress.

PLENARY SESSION 1

DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN RIGHTS – WHAT CAN THE MEDIA DO?

HOSTED BY DEUTSCHE WELLE

KEYNOTE SPEAKER
Hans-Jürgen Beerfeltz
State Secretary, Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, Germany

PANEL
Catarina de Albuquerque
Special Rapporteur on the human right to safe drinking water and sanitation, United Nations, New York

Ingrid Deltenre
Director General, European Broadcasting Union (EBU), Switzerland

Janis Karklidis
Assistant Director General of Communication and Information, UNESCO, France

Purna Sen
Head of Human Rights, Commonwealth Secretariat, U.K.

Jeffrey N. Trimble
Executive Director, Broadcasting Board of Governors, U.S.A.

MODERATION
Melinda Crane
TV anchor, host, media consultant, Deutsche Welle, Germany

Hans-Jürgen Beerfeltz

"Free media are the source and root of a living civil society," said Hans-Jürgen Beerfeltz, State Secretary of Germany's Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, "and a critical and watchful civil society is becoming a factor of paramount importance for good governance". In a keynote speech on the role of media in development and human rights, Beerfeltz described how human rights have become a "guiding principle" and "central criteria" of his ministry's development work, the core mission of which is poverty reduction. Germany recently restructured its development cooperation to work more closely with people rather than with governments by focusing on decentralized projects to promote civil society engagement and good governance, including media freedom. "It is the media together with civil society that brings human rights abuses out into the open and forces governments to honor their commitments to human rights."

Beerfeltz said the German cooperation and development ministry had recognized the importance of the media for peace, and is formulating a new media strategy. He outlined a range of media development support available from German institutions. Remarking on the role of new media and rising importance of citizen journalism, Beerfeltz said "they are a new dimension, not only in terms of communication but also in terms of individual liberty". But with the incredible amount and range of information available today, "free access to media and information alone is not enough". There is also a crucial need for media competence so people can determine what is important and differentiate between truth and fallacy. Highlighting projects for which it provides funding, many of which are carried out by DW-AKADEMIE, Beerfeltz also emphasized the importance of media training and education for journalists in developing countries. "Diverse and free media and active civil society are not only dependent on one another. They are also fundamental for the realization of human rights."

Media literacy, conventional vs. social media and journalist safety were just some of the other issues explored during the multifaceted panel discussion that followed. "There is no sustainable development without protection and implementation of human rights," said Purna Sen, Head of Human Rights at the Commonwealth Secretariat. Many of the panelists agreed with her plea to media producers to understand human rights,

Dr. Purna Sen

respect them when conducting their work and promote them beyond the service of providing information. In her opinion, the media must help fill the "accountability gap", actively "investigating shortfalls, explaining what commitments governments have made on the international stage and that people have the right to expect their governments to deliver".

Catarina de Albuquerque, the UN's Special Rapporteur on the human right to safe drinking water and sanitation, agreed, making an impassioned call for stronger awareness and understanding of human rights. She pleaded for journalists to tell the stories of the "silent suffering of billions of people" and to bring their stories to the forefront. Human rights, she said, are not about "mere goodwill or good ideas. We are talking about the law and if a government violates these rights which are included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and treaties, then they are breaching the law. There are legal consequences."

Catarina de Albuquerque

Ingrid Deltenre

Jānis Kārkliņš

Jeffrey N. Trimble

Ingrid Deltenre, Director General of the European Broadcasting Union (EBU), spoke about its efforts to impress on governments that free independent media are the cornerstone of democracy. "No confident democracy fears an independent media." The EBU also works collaboratively with its member broadcasters to lessen their economic burdens."

"The EBU strongly believes good quality journalism and free, independent media are the cornerstone of every democracy. You need media that serve the public and not some parts of government or other stakeholders." Deltenre noted that journalists are being detained, tortured, killed; they don't have protection, sometimes even of their own broadcasters. By providing training and workshops, the EBU is trying to establish

a framework of greater safety and independence of journalists as well as to raise editorial standards. "We speak up whenever we can." Economic independence of journalists was another key issue raised, panelists pointing out that without it there is great danger of non-independent reporting. Noting that most countries have dual media systems, funded by advertising or taxes, subsidies, license fees, or any combination thereof, Deltenre said: "Personally I think a combination of sources is best. That guarantees the highest degree of independence." The source with which you are financed does influence the way you work and impacts the way reporting is done.

Jānis Kārkliņš, Assistant Director General of Communication and Information of UNESCO, explained how his and other organizations can support both mainstream and social media.

- Create an environment allowing media to be free and editorially independent.
- Ensure that journalists, bloggers and citizens using social media networks can exercise their right to free speech safely and without hindrance.
- Training journalists but also government officials, law enforcement agents and militaries on issues related to freedom of expression and freedom of media.
- Training users in media literacy to enable them to navigate the deluge of information so that they "can distill what is right, what is wrong, which is correct and which is false".

"We're developing a theory of media and information literacy. This issue should be in the curriculum of every school. People must be able to assess good from bad information. People tend to rely on whatever source of information they have."

U.S. international broadcasting by its legislation is not charged with enhancing the image of the U.S., said Jeffrey Trimble, Executive Director of the U.S. Broadcasting Board of Governors. "That's not our job. Our job is to promote freedom and democracy around the world, in the long-term, big foreign policy interests of the United States. Our mandate is not to promote the policies of any given administration, it's to do good-quality journalism and to provide that oxygen of information that democracy and civil society needs to grow. We're charged with putting the story out there." He referred to a long tradition of U.S. international so-called surrogate broadcasting, surrogate home services for countries in environments where those media cannot exist.

"We continue to do it today in closed and repressive societies, e.g. Central Asia or other countries that deny freedom of expression or access to free media." Trimble emphasized the need for independent judiciaries to adjudicate disputes between journalists and governments, still lacking especially in post-Soviet countries.

Purna Sen argued that human rights is not simply about promoting your interests. It's about creating a world where everybody's dignity is protected through the promotion and respect of their rights. This is also a problem within the human rights field. "Understanding of the human rights message is absolutely essential and we have a long way to go."

From the floor, Frank Smyth of the Committee for the Protection of Journalists (CPJ) suggested to Jeffrey Trimble that U.S. government-funded broadcasters like to report about press freedom abuses in other countries, but not their own, particularly the U.S. military's practice of detaining journalists for weeks, months, years in the 2000's without charging them with a crime, and wanted to know why. Trimble replied that he doesn't know why that is the case and the Voice of America should cover that. "The richness of our society is about openness, it's exactly the problem stories that endorse our openness to talk about them."

In response to an Australian's suggestion that many media are skeptical of promoting human rights because they consider them political, Professor Sen replied that if the starting point is human rights and media are to promote development together, the media need their rights respected. "There's lots the media can do to promote human rights without being political."

HUMAN TRAFFICKING – STOPPING ONE OF THE WORST FORMS OF INTERNATIONAL CRIME

HOSTED BY DEUTSCHE WELLE

PANEL
Bärbel Uhl
Chairperson, EU Commission's Group of Experts to Combat Trafficking in Human Beings, Brussels

David Astley
Executive Chairman, The MEDIA Alliance, Singapore

Roberto Romano
Human rights educator, filmmaker and photographer, United States

Christopher Davis
Director, International Campaigns, The Body Shop, United Kingdom

Mosud Mannan
Ambassador of Bangladesh to Germany, Berlin

MODERATION
Conny Czymoch
Journalist, TV anchor, Germany

Bärbel Uhl began the session by describing the progress in defining, recognizing and ensuring the rights of victims of human trafficking. In the early 1990s, she said, human trafficking didn't really exist on the political agenda. Over the course of that decade, it gained political and media momentum. A breakthrough happened in 2000 when the international community adopted the first legally binding definition of human trafficking, the Palermo Protocol. At the time, anti-trafficking and human rights activists had hoped for an even more sweeping international treaty. Nonetheless, the broad Palermo definition of the crime of human trafficking includes not only victims of sexual slavery, but also exploited children forced to commit petty crimes, victims of human organ trafficking and trafficking within the agricultural industry. This paved the way towards improved assistance to victims of such crimes in the decade to follow. Uhl noted further progress in the form of a recently adopted EU directive on anti-trafficking that includes legally binding rights for trafficked persons. With many violations continuing, there is still much room for the media to play an important role, she said.

David Astley described EXIT, a campaign on music broadcaster MTV to end exploitation and trafficking conducted in Europe since 2004 and the Asian region since 2007, and the CNN Freedom Project, as good

examples of campaigns by international broadcasters. "But these sorts of campaigns are reaching only a very narrow target audience," he said. This is a good example of what he called "the digital divide". Although they raise awareness among those in a position to control human trafficking, "these sorts of campaigns do not widely reach the people most vulnerable to being trafficked". Local mass media are needed to reach those most at risk – TV where it is available, and radio, he said, is key in many Asian countries. "The one thing I think is most effective in reaching mass audiences is getting these messages scripted into drama and entertainment programs." He provided an example: In 2004 the BBC World Service Trust provided funding to a group of Cambodian producers to produce a soap opera called "A Taste of Life". With 100 episodes over three years, it became immensely popular. 83% of all Cambodians with access to television watched it regularly. Astley called it a vehicle for getting a message across on health issues, particularly HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention of discrimination against people living with HIV/AIDS. "It was tremendously successful and has now provided a model for people to do things similar."

As the "designated American" on the panel, Roberto Romano said he finds it "disheartening and extremely tragic to know that there are more slaves in the world today than when Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863. In the space of 150 years, by some estimates we now have 30 million slaves that co-inhabit this planet with us – some of them invisible, but all of them a stain on our moral character." Romano said that in the U.S., an estimated 17,000 people, including children, are trafficked annually. Romano has been a journalist and campaigner on these issues for close to two decades. Among his many achievements was the production of "Stolen Childhoods", the first feature documentary to be theatrically released in the United States that dealt with the topic of child labor around the world. The film was also downcycled to segments broadcast on CNN and ABC and became part of the cultural curriculum in every public school in the U.S. Producers at CNN have cited it as an influence to launch the Freedom Project. Another project was "Faces of Freedom", a touring photo exhibit about child carpet weavers in Pakistan and Nepal that evolved from his close cooperation with the GoodWeave (formerly RugMark) certification program. Romano noted the upcoming showing of the exhibition at Macy's in New York City in summer 2011 to coincide with the department store's launch of GoodWeave products. In partnering with large commercial entities in this way, "we take the window and we make that a window on the world where the problem exists and show them there is a solution," Romano said. Another example of his hand-in-hand filmmaking and advocacy work, Romano described how his recent feature-length documentary about the lives of migrant child laborers in America was screened in Washington DC for U.S. politicians. The event was covered by 22 networks and wire services. "Journalism or any other kind of media that doesn't get the word out is worthless."

Christopher Davis described how The Body Shop cosmetics company uses its girth, positioning and 50,000 employees on the ground to do good, not only by being ethical in its sourcing and manufacturing of its products, but also to generate awareness and positive action. He said that The Body Shop's "Stop Sex Trafficking of Children and Young People" campaign collected "6.3 million signatures in 50 countries calling for governments to take specific action," which had already effected concrete change in countries such as Malta, Malaysia, Portugal, South Africa and Switzerland. Davis said the company works with NGOs which bring their expertise to the partnership, while The Body Shop brings its knowledge and key brand power to reach customers.

Bangladeshi ambassador to Germany, Mosud Mannan, spoke about the advances being made in his country to improve the situation for migrant laborers who leave Bangladesh to work abroad. He said that ensuring protection of their rights also involves improving literacy, economic solvency, better education and social inclusion. Bangladesh has made progress in those areas, Mannan said. Since gaining independence in 1971, the country's literacy rate has risen from 26% to more than 60% now. Six public universities then have now blossomed into 84 public and private universities. With its large population of 162 million, it will be necessary to go forward slowly, but good progress was being made, he stated.

After these introductory remarks by the panelists, moderator Conny Czymoch posed direct questions and a lively discussion ensued. Bärbel Uhl said she was pleased to see that campaigns were shifting away from

focusing exclusively on sex-related human trafficking to now include the many other industries affected, such as food, chocolate and clothing. But there is a danger, she said, that "sometimes it can turn around, especially when it centers on sensationalism and focuses too much on sex, money and crime stories. Then you miss the point that trafficking should be covered and combated by our democratic institutions and human rights approaches." She noted the much-hyped example of an alleged spike in forced prostitution in the run-up to the 2006 World Cup football championship in Germany which turned out to be unfounded. There had been no increase in either prostitution or trafficking for sexual exploitation, but that this was now a phenomenon that generated headlines in conjunction with many major sport events.

Davis disagreed, saying that while the numbers may have been exaggerated, it would be dangerous to suggest that large sporting events do not have any impact on trafficking. Furthermore, treating hot topics such as sexual trafficking is precisely how to mobilize people to take action. With no intention of flippancy, he said that talking about supply chain issues, codes of conduct and ethics, is considered "boring" for the mass consumer and the media. "To be successful in campaigning on any issue, you've got to hit a hot topic and brand it in a way that customers can both engage with and act on."

As both a journalist and an activist, Romano bridged the gap between these two stances, saying that, "By focusing on one thing you exclude the constellation of troubles that are out there and we can't do that. The numbers are significant and it means that these people are sometimes in our own backyard and we may be blind to them. On the other hand, as a campaigner I have to tell you that you do need to focus the consumer's attention on a hot topic at a time and you need to be able to provide them remedy." Citing The Body Shop's "Stop Sex Trafficking" campaign as an example, he said "by engaging their customers as they do, The Body Shop gives them a built-in action kit, which means that not only are they responsible consumers, but they begin to become responsible political actors again. One of the things I fear when I look at labeling initiatives is that we go to a store, we buy something that says we've been good to the world, and we go home. We give up our political rights when we do so." Romano advocates both. "You need to be both an active, responsible consumer, but we are still citizens. You need to sit on both sides of this equation."

On the topic of the media using stereotypes, Uhl said that "after 15 years of really high international intervention against human trafficking, we should be beyond stereotypes." She said she would like to see more media coverage about what happens to trafficked persons after their story has appeared as breaking news: "Did they get residential rights, access to their files, did they receive compensation? These are the stories behind the big stories and I would like to see more coverage of them."

Christopher Davis said, "The issue of human trafficking is reaching a tipping point." Most companies are moving in the right direction, he noted, for example taking a good look at their supply chains, adhering to codes of conduct and working together with NGO's, "but when you're talking about a customer facing campaign – and this is a challenge for us all moving

forward – how do you engage customers to take that extra step in their consumer habits. We're not there yet. The media has a big role to play in that."
Probing further into the issue of a "digital divide", David Astley noted the importance of reaching through this messaging the people "on the other side". He said, "the real people who need the intervention of the media are the people who are vulnerable to being trafficked, who often don't know what trafficking is." He provided the example of many rural villages in developing countries in South East Asia in which parents are not necessarily aware that their sons and daughters are being lured into trafficking from which they can rarely escape, and if they do, are often not accepted back into their home villages.

Later in the discussion, an audience member pointed out the parents often have no other options. Astley agreed. Romano added that in his experience, "there's such a driving force of poverty, but they're so desperate that they hope against hope that their child will have a future."

Astley noted another BBC World Service Trust example in Cambodia, a feature film called "In the Dark", which dealt with such issues and was shown not only in provincial cinemas, but also on TV and in outdoor public locations in villages. "You've got to look at every possible way to get these messages across so the people most vulnerable to being trafficked know that it is happening and what the signs are. I would call for a multi-platform, multi-channel approach," he said.

Astley also advocated the use of radio. "Scripting into radio programs is very important because there is a lot of drama programs that are done in these countries where these themes could be built in."

Ambassador Mannan mentioned efforts in Bangladesh to use local-language radio and TV programming to ensure that people are getting proper information to take safety precautions regarding going to work abroad or sending family members to work abroad and ways to check the legitimacy of organizations in the receiving countries. "Media has a great role to play," he agreed, firstly to build awareness and "equally important, to politically motivate the decision-makers to work toward safeguarding especially those most vulnerable."

Romano pointed out that, "Media at its best is multi-directional. It is not linear. It doesn't speak to one particular group about one particular issue. A good story – and good journalism – should speak to politicians, to the public and to the people it is representing as well."

Discussion

Points made from the floor included a statement by Gavin Rees, the director of the DART Centre Europe, an organization devoted to journalism and trauma, in which he said that sex slavery is an ongoing emergency and that he would like to see more media coverage of the long-term effects and not just the sensationalist view.

An audience member from Bangladesh pointed out that blame is due not only on the supply side of the human trafficking coin, but must be focused on the demand side as well. He also raised the issue of statelessness as a problem resulting from human trafficking cases.

An investigative journalist from Romania brought up the topic of the Roma population in Europe, asking Bärbel Uhl what the EU is doing to raise awareness that, for example, half of the Roma community is trafficked. Uhl regretfully agreed that there is still a big flaw in EU anti-trafficking work not adequately including representatives of the Roma minority in negotiations and anti-trafficking forums.

A member of the audience associated with Radio 1812 – a global radio collaboration network so named in reference to International Migrants' Day on 18 December – asked the panelists for their thoughts on the usefulness of officially recognized commemoration dates, such as World Refugee Day (20 June) to heighten awareness and launch campaigns on important issues. In response, David Astley said they give the media an opportunity to report on some of these issues because quite often events are held in local communities to commemorate the day and usually it is "local news that media are most interested in. It gives them an opportunity to report on an issue that they perhaps would not be able otherwise do during the course of the normal news cycle." He and other panelists, however, agreed that such issues are important throughout all 365 days of the year. As Romano put it, "this is something we need to worry about on a continuum."

TEACH FOR ALL AND DHL – CREATE A MOVEMENT FOR BETTER EDUCATION WORLDWIDE

HOSTED BY DHL

PANEL
Patty Pina
Director of Global Partnerships, Teach for All, U.S.

Ralf Dürrwang
Vice President GoTeach, Deutsche Post DHL, Germany

Alvaro Henzler
CEO, EnsenaPeru, Peru

Toni Kroke
Fellow, Teach First Deutschland, Germany

MODERATION
Jan Lublinski
Journalist, trainer and consultant, Germany

The international debate on human rights sometimes neglects the focus on education, but education is a fundamental human right, as stated in Article 26 of The Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is key to the full development of the human personality and is intended to be free, compulsory and accessible to all on the basis of merit.

For many children across the world, access to education and the realization of their full potential sadly remains a distant hope. As a growing network of currently 19 national partner organizations in Europe, Asia, the Americas and the Middle East, dedicated to helping improve education in all parts of the world, Teach For All is one of the most dynamic organizations of its kind. Its mission of recruiting outstanding university graduates and young professionals from a range of disciplines to work for two years in schools located in areas with educational need has proven itself to be a highly effective model for the future. The Teach For All partner organizations are working to address the educational needs facing children growing up today, while building larger movements to promote the fundamental, systemic changes necessary to ensure educational opportunity over the long term. Patty Pina, Teach For All's director of global partnerships, noted that transformed by the classroom experience, the participants become inspired and informed to continue to reform education in their countries.

Teach For All accelerates the impact of the partner organizations by providing direct support services to them and by fostering a powerful network among them in order to maximize their scale, the effectiveness of their teachers and alumni, and organizational strength. Teach For All anticipates growing the network to more than 30 by 2013 based on growing demand from aspiring entrepreneurs.

Deutsche Post DHL, as a leading international logistics company and one of the largest global employers with around 470,000 employees in more than 220 countries and territories, has become the largest global partner in Teach For All. The Group addresses the challenge of improving the quality of education and educational systems with its educational program GoTeach.

Attendees of the workshop learned more about Teach For All's objectives and approach as well as Deutsche Post DHL's partnership with Teach For All. Aiming to foster equal opportunities through education, the workshop opened a forum for voices seldom heard. A film made by Teach First Deutschland fellow Toni Kronke described the hopes and ambitions of the children in his school in Germany. This connection between education, aspiration and opportunity was echoed by another presenter, Alvaro Henzler, CEO of Enseña Perú, the Teach For All partner organization in Peru. He described what motivated him to launch a teaching initiative in Peru: "I was in a mountain village, and I asked the child of a poor peasant what he wanted to become when he was grown-up. But the kid didn't understand what I meant."

Afterwards, the participants asked questions about Teach For All. Furthermore, Ralf Dürrwang, Vice President for Deutsche Post DHL's GoTeach program, explained more about the Group's support for the program to help socially disadvantaged young people. Deutsche Post DHL works closely together with the Teach For All national partner organizations in Germany, Peru, Chile, Argentina, India and Spain while also fuelling Teach For All's global network. The partnership not only involves financial donations, but also offers a volunteering element for Deutsche Post DHL employees, for example mentoring for teachers and individual career consulting, organizing school supply drives and the participation of DHL employees in school projects.

ISLAMIC MEDIA IN A SECULAR ENVIRONMENT

HOSTED BY KONRAD-ADENAUER-STIFTUNG (KAS)

PANEL

Wafeeq Khaled Ibrahim Al Natour
Journalist, media expert, researcher, political and media analyst, Director of Research and Media Consultant, BADAEL, Palestine

Semih Dündar Idiz
Columnist for Milliyet and Hurriyet Daily News, Turkey

Heba Raouf Ezzat
Assistant Lecturer, Faculty of Economics and Political Sciences, Cairo University and researcher, International Institute for Islamic Thought, Egypt

MODERATION

Daniel Gerlach
Editor-in-Chief, Zenith, Germany

In the Arab world, the media landscape varies greatly and the conflict between secular and Islamic forces has a considerable impact on the media. During this panel the participants analyzed the situation in their countries and reflected on social and political parameters shaping the media's work there.

Heba Raouf Ezzat began by questioning the term 'Islamic media' and sounded a note of caution in using it. She pointed out that in Egypt, Islamic media existed in the 1970s but were banned in the 1980s. While today there are several publications with Islamic content, Islamic media as such are few and lack a larger audience. Most TV channels with direct Islamic preaching content are funded by the Saudis whose understanding of Islam differs considerably from the moderate and more mainstream Egyptian model. Ezzat suggested that in regard to Egypt, "revolution and the media" would be a more timely title. In her view the media played a negative role during the revolution in early 2011, portraying the events in Tahrir square as riots aimed at ruining the country. It was mostly the media that triggered the discussion about Egypt's future. "On Tahrir square we did not talk much about secularism and Islam. Tahrir was about liberating our nation from a despotic regime, it was about coming together as Egyptians from different ideological, social and class backgrounds," said Ezzat. She attributed the fact that

the debate on the country's future then focused on Islamic tendencies as opposed to secularism purely to the media. Instead of pursuing an objective, balanced approach and playing a deliberative role in the process of discussing Egypt's future – particularly with regard to the constitution – the media polarized the situation, manipulated their audience and thus created a split in society. In her view, the media in Egypt lacks integrity, professionalism and fairness.

Semih Dündar Idiz described the media landscape in Turkey as vibrant and highly commercialized with all necessary elements. Media form part of news conglomerates which are owned by holding companies. "News is a commodity and circulation matters," he said. Holding companies also pursue other interests in the banking or energy world and this cross-ownership is reflected in the media: Selling newspapers is part of a large commercial enterprise. Idiz portrayed the Turkish society as divided along secular and Islamic lines. Even though there is no Islamic media as such, the media landscape is divided, with some media supporting secular and others Islamic values. This is reflected particularly in the way lifestyle and political issues are reported on. Islam as such, however, does not work as a commodity in Turkey. An openly ideological approach will not enhance circulation and thus not gain influence. Idiz stressed the fact that while the Turkish society is mostly conservative, there are elements of secularism in every part of it. Being the 17th largest economy in the world, according to the World Bank, Turkey's conservative citizens are also capital accumulators wanting to benefit from the advantages of life. In fact, Turkish society is so diverse and divided that the government has no choice but to democratize the country. In this context, moderate Islamists appear as defenders of a new democratic power. Idiz was asked whether the Turkish model could work for the Arab world. He replied that some elements from Turkey can certainly be emulated by other countries, the economic dimension being one important example. He also stressed the fact that Turkey is driven by its very own sociological reality and diversity that needs to be managed well.

Wafeeq Khaled Ibrahim Al Natour questioned that one can speak of a society at all in Palestine and stressed the fact that it is in no way homogeneous or secular because the political system is not secular. Instead, he preferred to speak of various completely separated societies and communities, spread between Gaza, the West bank, Israel and the Diaspora. He then concluded that without statehood, there can be no civil society. Instead, there are institutions, such as the Ministry for Religious Affairs, that intervene in every part of public life. For instance, it is compulsory for everyone to pass religion at school in order to gain access to university. Media outlets are politically affiliated in Palestine. There is no dialogue between secular and Muslim factions of society. Most debates are political, they center around the distribution of power and media are being used as tools in this debate. Accordingly, media

were used as propaganda tools, particularly in 2007 when they heavily incited violence, but they turned the opposite direction when the reconciliation process started, supporting the process. Both secular and Muslim media use anti-Israeli terminology in their dispute and they will promote the same solutions regarding Israel. But within Palestine, they contributed to creating a deeper and longer lasting division within society. They failed to tell the truth because they were used as propaganda tools. Al Natour stressed a huge need for promoting respect for human rights and reducing self-censorship. A culture of terror prevails in Palestine and journalists work under huge pressure. "If Palestinians received sufficient support, they might take the lead in giving an example of how moderate Islam and secular forces can work together in building a democratic political system," he said.

Discussion

During the discussion Heba Raouf Ezzat explained that social media, though not accessible to everyone, partly filled the gap of not having an independent news outlet in Egypt. Asked about the success of a Muslim Brotherhood TV and newspaper she said it will always have an ideological flavor and will not respond to the need for a balanced source of information covering issues of interest to mainstream Egyptians. Semih Dündar Idiz confirmed that some Turkish journalists are under huge pressure. Rumors about them being taken to court, forced to pay fines or having their news outlets closed down are facts and what is happening on this level is part of the divided debate in Turkey and comparable to a post-modern civil war. Asked why Turkish media do not expand more into the Arab world, Idiz explained that the Middle East is probably their new frontier and that the expansion would be business-driven, not ideologically motivated. He also pointed out that the Arab world might not yet be prepared to accept newspapers that touch on sensitive issues which are not yet openly discussed in their societies. The need to get definitions and terminologies right and to look at each country specifically was emphasized throughout.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF MUNICIPALITIES FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE ROLE OF LOCAL MEDIA

HOSTED BY HUMAN RIGHTS OFFICE, CITY OF NUREMBERG, GERMANY

PANEL
Joachim Hauck
Editorial Director, Nürnberger Nachrichten, Germany
Hans Hesselmann
President, European Coalition of Cities Against Racism (ECCAR), Germany
Susanne Stemmler
Editorial staff member, Nürnberger Zeitung, Germany

MODERATION
Martina Mittenhuber
Head of the Human Rights Office, City of Nuremberg, Germany

The panelists illustrated the importance of the universal human rights idea as a frame of reference for a tolerant and solidarity-based urban society with its two structural principles: combating discrimination and protection of the weakest and most vulnerable groups. Advice and intervention for victims of discriminatory statements or actions belong to core tasks of the human rights office. Some other concrete examples are the anti-discrimination stipulation for businesses which makes it unambiguously clear that in Nuremberg nobody must be discriminated against because of his or her ethnic origin or for other discriminatory reasons and nobody must be refused access to pubs, restaurants, discotheques and fitness studios.

The second example, the Code of Conduct for the Real Estate Sector, is a self-commitment signed last year by the major Nuremberg real estate companies. In this, they undertake to treat all their tenants, buyers and people looking for accommodation without prejudice and without any form of discrimination and in a spirit of tolerance and mutual respect.

Besides that, the most effective protection for human rights is achieved by firmly anchoring the human rights topic in all educational processes. The goal in Nuremberg is to systematically anchor human rights education on as many levels as possible, both in schools and non-school contexts. An important target group are the different municipal departments to be addressed by tailor-made programs.

Human rights protection requires strong networks, both between politics and civil society and networks of like-minded institutions. The European Coalition of Cities Against Racism (ECCAR) is one of these

extremely committed networks. To date, 104 municipalities from 22 European countries have joined ECCAR and have adopted the "Ten-Point Plan of Action Against Racism", which is the Coalition's central working program. It lists ten core fields of activity, including main areas where racism and discrimination are manifested most often, such as employment, housing and education. For each of these ten fields of activity, several concrete and practical suggestions for municipal action are made. The decision in which particular field any city must take measures, can, of course, only be made by the individual member cities.

The representatives of the media confessed that within the last decades, most German newspapers, and probably most other European ones, have made the same mistake as politics and society: Considering the topic of immigration mostly from a German point of view they made little contribution for immigrants. Instead of a holistic approach to the phenomenon of migration they often concentrated on migration as a problem for the host society. The challenge now for media to treat immigrants like any other fellow citizens – not to privilege them or ignore problems under the misguided sense of good intentions, but to respect and to defend their rights and interests, their religions and cultures. It is a responsibility of the media in a free and democratic state to support minorities.

Newspapers, radio and TV should always be a lobby for all those people who don't have a big lobby elsewhere. Regarding immigrants and their position in German society this means that editorial staff must convey more information and stories that support the understanding for immigrants. The more coverage there is on other cultures, habits and traditions, the less foreign and threatening they appear for the German public.

The correspondent for legal affairs at Nürnberger Zeitung explained that a local journalist has to walk a fine line when reporting cases involving different nationalities, beliefs and cultures. In each report a new decision must be made between the human rights of the offender or victims and the demand of the reader to be precisely informed.

The lively discussion covered questions on the costs of human rights activities: Aren't they too often left to volunteers? Another key question – whether the issues of multiculturalism and racism are above all a political subject – was strongly denied by the panelists. How to implement the processes in countries where human rights violations have recently been committed was unanimously answered as follows: By describing history openly, by combining a culture of remembrance with future prospects. ■

TRUE SECURITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN A GLOBALIZING WORLD

HOSTED BY GLOBAL PARTNERSHIP FOR THE PREVENTION OF ARMED CONFLICT (GPPAC)

PANEL

Mark Belinsky
Founder and Co-Director, Digital Democracy, U.S.A.

Altaf Ullah Khan
University of Peshawar, Pakistan

Víctor García Zapata
Servicios y Asesoría para la Paz (SERAPAZ), Mexico

MODERATION

Marte Hellema
Program Manager for Public Outreach, Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC), The Netherlands

In a similar fashion to other processes of globalization, the need for security is increasingly linking different places around the world. Challenges and threats that we are defending ourselves against – armed conflict, organized crime, terrorism, etc. – have globalized to such an extent that multi-actor and multi-strategy approaches have become indispensable. Examples are the trafficking of arms across borders, the drugs trade to finance wars, surges of refugees escaping violence.

The dominating means of dealing with these challenges stems from a traditional view of security that assumes that the relative peace that exists in the world today can only be maintained through military means – a focus which denies looking at the root causes of the issues at stake. People have become complacent about high defense and arms spending and accept the argumentation that security stems from militarization and traditional approaches of security.

Regrettably it seems that the breaches of human rights that are caused by such military measures are seen as an unfortunate side effect. Without looking for alternative options, individuals are sacrificed for the perceived common good. Civil society organizations trying to promote alternatives are not heard, their efforts are thwarted or dubbed unpatriotic with all the consequences this at times has.

The role of the media is essential in this process. The sensationalizing of military missions by the media and the overlooking of the human stories that are linked to such processes follow the same pattern and overshadow the ability to formulate alternatives to achieving peace and stability.

What is ultimately needed is recognition that current security measures will be ineffective in the long-term and that a radical rethink of what is meant by 'security' is long overdue. Traditional concepts of national security need to be complemented with emerging concepts of multi-dimensional and collective security that promote a shared and sustainable responsibility for managing these new threats and uphold principles of international law and human rights – and that do not treat human rights as a side issue.

The case of Mexico by Victor Garcia Zapata

The tragic situation in Mexico is caused by the war on drugs and organized crime, which is strengthened by corruption and the tortured relations with the U.S. Mexican civil society organizations are just starting to discuss alternatives to confront the situation, yet it is difficult living in a state of war, which has caused a militarization of all aspects of life. Checkpoints throughout the country, the constant domination of military spending throughout all government spending and the repression of human rights workers combine to make for a permanent state of fear.

Militarization is not just against organized crime, but also against human rights defenders who are standing up against mega-projects and joining in the battle for natural resources and traditional land ownership.

All of this is leading to a new discussion amongst civil society, including with media workers. Mexico is one of the most dangerous countries on the continent, and maybe the third most dangerous in the world for media people. Media do not know how to balance social responsibility and the safety of their workers in this situation.

Civil society has started to develop a national pact for peace with justice and dignity. A new initiative looks to develop alternative policies of security to replace the confrontational policies of the government. Yet this needs to include a shift in the media landscape, for

example increased media diversity and the elimination of the current monopoly held by a few companies.

The case of Pakistan by Altaf Ullah Khan
The state's idea of security impacts human rights and the role of the media. There is a social contract between people and their governments; they give up some freedoms for the assurance to remain safe. In many societies, concepts of human rights are foreign, especially those that are post-colonial. In Pakistan that is strongly grounded in history, different ethnicities and religions. National integrity and solidarity become part of the national identity. This is greatly formed from the hostile other, and in the case of Pakistan enhanced by the ideological frontiers the ruling elite sees beyond the geographical boundaries. Earlier this took shape through the natural grudge against the Indians, now it has been replaced with the war on terror.

It is not just the media and the government that are pressuring people to give up their rights. It is rooted in the social structures of Pakistan. Human rights are linked to empowerment and this therefore implies that the elite lose power. Conservative parts of society are against that, preferring to hold on to the status quo.

It is these same conservatives that have the power in the media. Pakistan has specific media laws which force the media to follow the government line and strengthen the discourse of national security. Moreover, the government is the biggest media advertiser, which in turn makes the media strongly dependent on finances from the government.

There is a change, however, of journalists protesting against the status quo. This change of heart in the media has been strongly influenced by international investment in the media, for example by the U.S. government. In addition, people are becoming restless for the truth. Also, social media has meant that people can verify what is being said by the media. In the end, what needs to be challenged are the concepts of national security that are standing in the way of human rights.

Security in digitalized world by Mark Belinsky
The weaponization of the Internet is an increasing topic of discussion. However, certain aspects of the digital world – including search engines – include a code that is democratic, in the sense that it is transparent, accountable and participatory. More and more we are deciding public discourse through these sorts of private companies. This begs the question on who is deciding the future of different public discourses, such as that on free speech.

This is a part of a broader conversation on whether the Internet should be seen as a tool for war and conflict or instead as a space for a transnational conversation. This makes clear the need to increase digital literacy, digital organizing and digital governance.

It is important to give people the tools to operate in the 21st century through digital means. There is a need to reconsider our relation to information and the online world. "Google before you tweet is the new think before you speak."

People need to understand the dangers of the Internet, where there are no international institutions to protect us. There are threats, like digital attacks, that we cannot defend ourselves against without the knowledge of how these technologies work. The other side of the coin is that a similar understanding of the digital world is necessary for human rights defenders to be able to protect themselves against using the Internet in a way that puts them at jeopardy.

The way in which Facebook was used in the Egyptian revolution is an example of how we are changing the way we relate ourselves to the world. Facebook is a space in which people attempt to use anonymous accounts where anonymity is not possible. It can be a powerful source for revolution, but can easily enough become a tool for repression.

Cell phones are also an extremely powerful tool for both uprising and suppression. This raises questions about who is in control? Who is accountable? Those providing the message or those providing the tools? There is a need to adjust concepts of human rights, e.g. what are the responsibilities of Facebook? What are the new realities of the availability of information and what are the rights that come along with that?

The potential to weaponize the Internet is definitely there, but the possibilities of protecting ourselves against that, especially through government efforts, are very limited. We need to put more effort into making the Internet safer.

HELPING JOURNALISTS FROM VIOLATING COUNTRIES TO IMPROVE COVERAGE OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL

HOSTED BY INSTITUTE FOR MEDIA AND GLOBAL GOVERNANCE, SWITZERLAND

PRESENTATION
Daniel Wermus
Co-Founder, Media21 Global Journalism Network, Switzerland

The Universal Periodical Review (UPR) is the most spectacular tool of the UN Human Rights Council, which is based in Geneva and was created in 2006 to replace the former Human Rights Commission. Every year, during three sessions, some 48 countries are examined by peer states for their human rights records and policies. This relatively soft internal process is also scrutinized by civil society, victims and experts who come to Geneva and give publicity to the numerous and various violations committed by these governments.

Human rights defenders often complain that despite their advocacy activities, there is not much talk about UPR reports and recommendations. To respond to this information gap, Media21 has organized 13 workshops during these sessions since 2006, where a total of 113 journalists from 47 countries under review were invited to cover the process, with interactive training on human rights and UPR. Among those countries under review were Burma, China, Egypt, Iran, Israel, Lebanon, Nepal, Palestine, Russia, Rwanda, Serbia and the U.S.

This has been a unique opportunity for experienced journalists from the most problematic countries to become familiarized with the challenges of human rights and governance, sharing their experiences with colleagues from other countries. Participating journalists had the opportunity to meet high-level experts, diplomats, businesspeople and NGO activists, including Wikileaks leader Julian Assange. Some of them were able to meet their nation's president, human rights minister, chief negotiator or the UN Rapporteur for their country.

Apart from the UPR, journalists have been exposed to issues such as general human rights principles and conventions, monitoring, non-state actors, impunity, transitional justice, peace and reconciliation, discrimination, torture, the right to health, business and human rights.

The combined training and coverage have impacted not only public opinion of the examined countries (through hundreds of stories published or broadcast), but also the media professionals and the process itself. According to feedback from Media21 fellows, the delegation of a country under review was often influenced by the presence of journalists of that country and could less easily hide or downplay embarrassing facts.

The participants of the Deutsche Welle Global Media Forum workshop discussed the role of the media (local and international), which are far more than channels of communication. They are a key element of civil society that need to be empowered to become effective. But the media themselves, both in the North and in the South, often remain reluctant to endorse their social responsibility and support the costs of sending a journalist to a UPR session. So far it has been impossible to raise a real commitment from the media business. Thus, the impact relies merely on the personal qualities and tenacity of individual journalists.

Similarly, not many human rights actors are ready to invest in a genuine and durable media strategy, which would also be promising for peace and reconciliation processes. Another problem is the follow-up. Once the journalists have been immersed in the global human rights mechanisms, which gives them a strong professional motivation, they need to be encouraged to keep on reporting on these issues and sometimes protected. This requires global, regional and national networks, which is far beyond the present capacities of Media21.

Another proposed solution is a system of distance training, which requires another type of organization, possibly with the collaboration of universities and schools of journalism. At national or regional level, fellow journalists could also create associations of 'Human Rights Journalists', to foster the coverage of touchy issues.

The Media21 Fellowship Programme on Media and Human Rights has been supported, amongst others, by the State of Geneva, Finland, Norway, Switzerland, The Netherlands, the United States, the Geneva Press Club, the World Organization against Torture and the International Federation of Human Rights. This support has generally been one-off and specifically designed for journalists from countries where cooperation programs or particular interests come into play. As for the Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights, which is an intergovernmental organization, the only possible cooperation was in kind – documentation and experts. Media21 is now in the process of restructuring toward an Institute for Media and Global Governance, which is meant to attract more lasting partnerships. ■

FREEDOM OF RELIGION AND BELIEF IN THE AGE OF FUNDAMENTALISM

HOSTED BY DEUTSCHE WELLE

PANEL

Somseen Chanawangsa
Lecturer and writer, Thailand

Abdullah Saeed
Sultan of Oman Professor of Arab and Islamic Studies & Director, National Centre of Excellence for Islamic Studies, Australia

MODERATION

Thomas Schirrmacher
Director of the International Institute for Religious Freedom, Germany

In their scriptures, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam all profess freedom of religion for everyone, but tradition sometimes stands in the way, especially in Islam. That will be one conclusion media people will have taken from the workshop. At its end they were urged to take the pitch for freedom of religion home with them into their work.

"I hope you as journalists take your chance to bring this back to your countries, whether you live under religious freedom or under restrictions such as we heard here about Indonesia. It is a very vital job you have to do in the media," said moderator Thomas Schirrmacher, who had presented the Christian view.

Responding to a question from the floor, Schirrmacher said: "When religious freedom is suppressed, the media always is involved. Where religious freedom is propagated, the media always is involved. In no country with restrictions do the media do the opposite. It's part of the discrimination that media bring stories of other religions and of course do not bring the positive ones. Freedom of press and freedom of religion go together in every country. Before you use violence against people you have to prepare the majority population with certain mindsets, only then will the population accept that you use violence."

As if he could have foreseen the flaws in our media, the Buddha, who lived in the fifth century BC, had this advice for his followers: "The Buddha never speaks what he knows to be untruthful and inaccurate, which by default is also unbeneficial; secondly the Buddha never pleases his audience simply by speaking what's welcome and agreeable to them; thirdly the Buddha never speaks what he knows is unbeneficial even though it's truthful and accurate; and finally, even though he speaks only what is truthful, accurate and beneficial, he chooses the right time to speak, no matter whether or not it's welcome or agreeable to his audience." This was one of many quotes provided by Somseen Chanawangsa, a Thai lecturer, writer and translator of Buddhist thought.

Abdullah Saeed, who teaches Islamic studies in Melbourne, Australia, said views on religious freedom diverge among Moslems, some supporting, some opposing it, but he sees movement towards general acceptance of Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states: "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance." "The declaration is very much Islamic in spirit, even though it actually mentions the freedom to change religion. That is what I'm interested in in this debate and there are plenty of Moslem scholars who are actually arguing for that," Saaed said.

Schirrmacher pointed out that Christianity has a long history of not giving religious freedom to others. In cases like the Protestant-Catholic tension in Northern Ireland, "you never really know are they fighting for religious reasons or for other reasons".

"Countries that really have religious freedom do not have it because it's in the constitution, because the courts assure it, but also because the majority religions want it."

Fundamentalism in the sense of overly strict literal interpretation of religious tenets, especially where such adherence is seen as the root cause of religious exclusivism, extremism, leading to intolerance, persecution and ultimately to violence, is incompatible with Buddhism, said Chanawangsa, who made a point of clarifying that he was presenting his personal views as someone who professed the early original form of Theravada Buddhism. "Violence in whatever form is unacceptable whether under the guise of religion or not. I'm sure this stance is shared by other Buddhists or perhaps followers of other religions as well. This kind of truth should be universal."

From the presentation of Thomas Schirrmacher:
Religious freedom is no longer seen as just a political or civil concept but something that inherently belongs to the Christian faith itself. And things like Northern Ireland happen but they no longer can claim that this is something that comes out of the Christian faith. "This is a platform, a point of view, where we can discuss with all people of other religions or no religion how we can live peacefully together. Even though Christianity is a mission-minded religion, Jesus himself was very strong that his followers should not force anyone to become Christians. Religious bodies that stick to religious freedom, which includes willingness not to punish people for believing something else,

and who are convinced that the state is not allowed to use any means to push people to have this or that religion, from my point of view per definition cannot be fundamentalists. Fundamentalists dangerous to the world have as their program number 1 by violence or misuse of the state to force the people who belong to their religion to live with religion in the very way they think this religion should be lived. That should be in the center of the whole debate of fundamentalism: the question are we, are you, willing to live peacefully together with adherents of other religions and world views in one country."

From the presentation of Abdullah Saeed:
The issue for Moslems is very much about apostasy, or ridda in Arabic, and the death penalty associated with it. A Moslem is not supposed to convert from Islam, if they do, there's a death penalty, and that's something in classical Islamic legal texts. Some Moslems want to maintain that. Very few Moslem majority countries still implement that death penalty, the vast majority have moved away from it. "But it is there, and Moslem scholars and thinkers have to deal with, debate, challenge and rethink it and move away from it, and that is happening right now as we speak."

Saaed named three main reasons for continuing restrictions on religious freedom in Moslem majority countries. One is the dominance of pre-modern Islamic ideas in legal and theological texts, which a good number of Moslems don't want to rethink. Another is the political situation in some very authoritarian majority Moslem countries, with people rising against that in a number of Arab countries. Governments seeking legitimacy often collaborate with the religious establishment. The third issue is cultural. There are a lot of anti-Western attitudes in a good number of Moslem societies rooted in the colonial period and so forth. There's a lot of fear in certain sections of Moslem communities about conversion from Islam, "that if we open things up we may have hordes of Christian missionaries coming in and actually converting Moslems to Christianity".

On Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Saaed named three major Moslem positions. One wants to maintain classical Islamic legal restrictions on religious freedom, for Moslems and non-Moslems; one wants to maintain the classical restrictions in a modified form; the 3rd trend says Article 18 is very

much Islamic in spirit, even though it mentions the freedom to change religion.

From the presentation of Somseen Chanawangsa:
A Buddhist's emancipation or deliverance depends on their own realization of truth, not on the benevolent grace of any external power as a reward for their obedient behavior. The Buddha even told his disciples to investigate him thoroughly and decide for themselves whether to accept him as a fully enlightened teacher. The Buddha advised his disciples to react calmly should followers of other religions criticize or blame the Buddha, his teaching or the monastic order, on the one hand, and also to be calm if followers of other religions praised the Buddha. It is natural for Buddhists to embrace freedom of religions and faiths of other people with different religions.

The status of Thailand's Buddhist king as prime patron of all religions is constitutionalized, but Buddhism is not a state religion. Buddhists themselves have opposed making it that "because they want to be fair, they wouldn't want to be perceived as discriminating against other religions". The great majority of Thai Buddhists have lived peacefully and harmoniously with followers of other religions and faiths for centuries.

Buddhism regards conflict or war as nothing but external manifestation of greed, hatred, ill will, violence and ignorance, born in the minds of men, a social but individual conflict on an enormous scale. "There is no society apart from individuals. There is no social conflict apart from individual conflict. If there is peace within individuals then society is peaceful. So in order to have a peaceful world we have to produce peace within individuals, providing them with social, economic, moral and spiritual security. This is Buddha's answer to social unrest and social conflicts. It is clear but enormously difficult to achieve. Yet unless it is achieved no amount of treaties and pacts on paper can produce real peace in the world."

Violence against non-Moslems in Indonesia
A participant from Jakarta related from the floor how Indonesian media usually refuse to report on religious violence, and when they do it's partisan pro-Moslem. In the last six years since President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono came to power, 430 Christian churches were attacked, some burned down. This February three men were killed when 20 male followers of the Ahmadiyya version of Islam were attacked in Western Java by a Moslem mob of 1,500. In the past three years there had been 183 attacks against Ahmadiyya members. Yet to the world at large President Yudhoyono was touting Indonesia as a moderate Moslem country promoting moderate Islam, while at home people were getting the feeling "that we are going to the Pakistani road". What were the panel's thoughts on this?
Noting that he had experience of and was interested in what was happening in Indonesia, Saaed recalled that in 1995 he met families there with several religions, something not happening in many countries. There was a history of Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam and Christianity coming together. "My problem with what's happening in Indonesia is that it looks like the state is not able to protect its citizens against this kind of violence. Maybe the president wants to be nice to all these groups; I don't know why he has to be so nice to these very violent groups. The state is not doing its job of protecting its citizens whether they are Ahmadis or somebody else; they're still citizens who should be protected and I'm very surprised that media took no interest in this particular issue. There should be pressure within and from the international community on the state to protect its citizens. At the end of the day the Indonesian constitution guarantees freedom of religion to its people." ■

FOOD VS. FUEL – THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN SECURING THE RIGHT TO FOOD

HOSTED BY DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE FOUNDATION (SEF) AND GERMANWATCH

PANEL

Thomas Deve
Southern Africa regional coordinator, United Nations Millennium Campaign, Zimbabwe

Bärbel Dieckmann
President, Welthungerhilfe, Germany

Uwe Fritsche
Scientist, Institue for Applied Ecology, Germany

Vineet C. Raswant
Senior Technical Advisor, International Fund for Agricultural Development, Italy

MODERATION

Klemens van de Sand
Board member, Germanwatch, member of the Advisory Board, Development and Peace Foundation, Germany

The introduction in Europe of E10 – a fuel blend with an ethanol content of up to 10 percent – has not only aroused widespread concerns among motorists about driveability and the possible risk of engine damage. It has also triggered a public debate about the competition between the production of food vs. the production of bio/agrofuels. Is our "hunger" for supposedly eco-friendly forms of energy jeopardizing the right to food? Or will the increased demand for biofuels create new prospects for rural regions? What is the role of the media in this context? These questions were the focus of attention at this workshop.

The political urgency of the topic was highlighted at the start of the workshop by its chair, Klemens van de Sand (Germanwatch/SEF), who pointed out that the conflict between the production of food and fuel now features on the G20 agenda. Indeed, ten international

organizations recently published a report urging the G20 countries to end their massive subsidies for biofuel feedstock production.

Political "steering" is key

Is the food vs. fuel conflict inevitable? Uwe Fritsche from the Institute for Applied Ecology in Darmstadt, Germany, called for a more nuanced approach. Key sustainability issues for biomass, he said, are direct and indirect land use change (LUC) and its climate impacts; biodiversity; air, water and soil quality and quantity impacts; food security; land rights; and rural income. In terms of the food price effects of increased bioenergy production, Fritsche anticipated negative impacts in the short term, but pointed to the prospect of longer-term positive impacts, for example through the generation of higher incomes for farmers. Distributive effects were a key issue though, with taxation and social transfers playing a key role in this context.

In order to avoid direct competition with food production, one option is to cultivate biomass feedstocks primarily on unused and degraded land. This could cover 5 to 10 percent of today's global energy demand. However, Fritsche pointed out that this is twice as costly as biomass feedstock cultivation on fertile soils, making it commercially non-viable at present. Political "steering" of biomass feedstock cultivation and political safeguards in international trade are therefore urgently needed in order to avoid negative impacts with regard to food security.

Land grabbing is a problem

Bärbel Dieckmann, President of the Bonn-based aid NGO, Welthungerhilfe, focused the workshop's attention on the negative effects of biofuels for developing regions. Two-thirds of the world's poor live in rural regions, said Dieckmann, and most of them are smallholders. Price increases for farm products resulting from rising demand for biofuels could create new opportunities for small farmers, but the higher food prices are unaffordable for the poor. Furthermore, the promotion of biofuels is encouraging the growing phenomenon of land grabbing and water grabbing which could lead to an even higher number of poor people. Dieckmann therefore called for the adoption of policy regimes, especially at the governmental level, for the regulation of land acquisition. Furthermore, in countries with press freedom, the media could contribute to a public debate on the issue. She finally voiced an urgent plea for the right to food to be respected, especially in view of the world's growing population.

Alternative energy crops: a new opportunity

There is a widespread perception that biofuels are leading to higher food prices, but instead of the wrong policies, biofuels themselves have been blamed, said Vineet Raswant from the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) in Rome. He particularly criticized the governmental subsidies to produce cereal-based feedstock, calling instead for the cultivation of alternative biofuel crops that can be grown on degraded land, in saline soils or dry areas. Raswant highlighted the potential role of biofuel production in the urgently needed development of rural regions, especially in generating incomes and opening up new markets but also in providing local energy supply. Policies which aim to safeguard food security by keeping producer prices low reinforce rural poverty. The subsidies paid to compensate for these low prices mainly benefit the major producers rather than smallholders.

The wrong economic policies and the lack of critical media

The economic policies of African countries are geared towards export-led growth and are not based on domestic demand, criticized Thomas Deve, Southern Africa regional coordinator for the United Nations Millennium Campaign. For example, in his home country Zimbabwe, smallholders shift their agriculture focus from staple foods to cash crops for export and dedicate large tracts of land to biofuels feedstock production. However, they remain poor and end up with serious deficits when it comes to food security. The situation is exacerbated by the major investments by foreign governments to produce food or energy crops for their respective countries at the expense of Africa's local populations.

Deve drew attention to the difficult situation of the media in Africa. Powerful politicians and big business work very hard to maintain access and control of media both in the public and private spheres, said the former journalist. Many sections of the media support the new innovations and the "modernization" of the economy, without any awareness of the negative impacts on society and the environment. Others actually had warned against the emergence of "enclave economies". Deve urged the media to constantly explore and report on the impacts of globalization on farmers and food security in Africa.

PRIDE AND PREJUDICE IN REPORTING ON HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS: WILL SOUTH AND NORTH EVER MEET?

HOSTED BY GLOBAL COOPERATION COUNCIL

PANEL

Pía Figueroa
Director, Latin America Bureau, Pressenza International Press Agency, Chile

Julio Godoy
Freelance writer on human rights, development and environment issues, Guatemala

Baher Kamal
Middle East and Arabic Service Director, IPS-Inter Press Service, Spain

Kalinga Seneviratne
Head of Research, Asian Media Information and Communication Centre (AMIC), Singapore

Usman Shehu
Journalist, Africa Program, Deutsche Welle, Germany

MODERATION

Ramesh Jaura
Executive President, Global Cooperation Council, Germany

Is reporting on human rights violations in a globalized world characterized by "objectivity"? Or are media both in the developing and industrialized countries confronted with prejudices? Does reality on the ground conform to letter and spirit of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "dignity and justice for all"?

Moderator Ramesh Jaura pointed out that mainstream and new media continue to be dominated by the North, which often reinforce prejudices about the countries of the South in that they do not provide the context of the news. While they take pride in their ability to report, comment and analyze developments around the world, thanks due to their access to most modern information and communication technologies, the media in the South reel under lack of such tools.

They are also subject to national traditions which influence the manner in which media in the South approach human rights issues in respective countries. Lack of Western democratic structures in several countries of the South poses additional challenges to the media, a situation which is neither overcome by globalization nor is often appreciated by the media in the North.

Pía Figueroa, director of international news agency Pressenza in Latin America, pointed out that today it is not the state-owned media corporations that form public opinion, but transnational media companies at the service of multinationals in diverse sectors such as banking, industry and the military.

In this context and in order to serve the media corporations that control the global information market, "journalistic objectivity" ends up ignoring inequality, unemployment, exploitation, racism, discrimination, intolerance and the day-to-day violence experienced by millions of human beings.

Human rights are completely emptied of meaning when they are used as an argument to justify the bombing and invasion of countries. The stance that each media house takes on the issue of human rights reveals their character and direction.

In Latin America, Figueroa said, people have elected governments opposed to these established powers, only to be rewarded by an opposition-controlled media manipulating the news and stirring discontent and violence. Such is the treatment that the media has given to the political process in Bolivia led by Aymara Evo Morales, where the opposition has not only shown its face in Congress but also in the vast majority of the country's newspapers and television channels whose content they control, and in which his policies of social inclusion and ethnic equality have been constantly vilified.

The same is true for Argentina, she added, where the power of the Clarin News Group impedes, through legal trickery, the implementation of the Broadcasting Act which is designed to allow access to mass communication by many currently excluded sectors.

Julio Godoy, a freelancer writing on human rights, development and environment issues, referred to the situation in Guatemala, which today enjoys better press than it has ever had. Freedom of speech, something undreamt of in the late 1970s and early 1980s, when journalists would be killed every day, is today taken for granted. Numerous newspapers and other media also give room to a variety of voices, though journalists may still be harassed.

Also, some subjects remain taboo – for instance, the involvement of leading economic and military personalities in illegal cocaine dealing, in money laundering, and in other forms of international organized crime. But still – compared to the climate of repression and self-censorship three decades ago, Guatemala is on the whole a country with freedom of speech.

And yet, this civil virtue might help to conceal the unchanged undemocratic, corrupt, brutal nature of Guatemalan society. Some 6,000 people are killed every year in the country. Related to its population, this crime rate makes Guatemala the most violent country in Latin America.

Women are a preferred target of crime. Every year, some one thousand women are killed, in what local activists have dubbed feminicide. Sexual violence against women and children occurs on a daily basis.

Furthermore, said Godoy, today's random violence is somehow worse than the political motivated sadism of the 1970s and 1980s. In those years, even if terror was palpable in everyday life, you knew who could be the

target of a hit squad. Even if you were a political activist, if you were cautious enough, you could survive.

Baher Kamal, Middle East and Arabic Service Director at IPS-Inter Press Service, described the changes underway in some of the Middle Eastern countries in the wake of the Arab Spring. Western democracies, which had for decades supported authoritarian regimes in the region, had taken considerable time to perceive what was happening in Egypt and Tunisia, for example. Support for anti-authoritarian movements in other countries of the region appeared to be conspicuous by its absence.

Another case in point was tolerance shown by Western democracies towards human rights violations by Israel but often a total lack of understanding for the difficult situation in which the Palestinians found themselves. This often left the impression that the Palestinians were being left in the lurch – also when it comes to their demand for an internationally recognized Palestinian state.

Kalinga Seneviratne, head of research at the Asian Media Information and Communication Centre (AMIC) in Singapore, cited Sri Lanka's tiff with the European Union over the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). An "influential section" of the European Parliament had been accused of collaborating with the LTTE rump as well as its overseas supporters, and providing them a platform to spread "false propaganda" against the Sri Lankan government.

As Sri Lankan EU Ambassador Ravinath Ariyasinghe told The Island newspaper on December 19, he had strongly protested in writing against the denial of his government's 'right of reply' at an "exchange of views on the post-conflict period in Sri Lanka" at the European Parliament on December 6.

He pointed out that in the over one-hour long discussion, of the 32 members of the European Parliament (MEPs) in the human rights sub-committee, only one had chosen to speak, and other than for a few comments by the European Commission, most of the time was given to a number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

In a letter to the chair of the sub-committee, Heidi Hautala, who was not present at the discussion, Ambassador Ariyasinghe noted that despite his being present and demanding Sri Lanka's 'right of reply', he had been denied that right by the presiding officer at the time.

The denial, he added, "leaves the unmistakable impression that the human rights sub-committee is not interested in having a reasoned and balanced discussion on Sri Lanka, but is merely content to allow itself [the European Parliament] to be used as a platform for LTTE apologists to discredit the government of Sri Lanka".

The EU mission in Sri Lanka did not respond to his request for a comment on the Sri Lankan Ambassador's remarks. However, a December 27 press release by the Embassy of Sri Lanka in Brussels said that EU had agreed to grant Sri Lanka the right of reply.

Sri Lanka had been peeved by the glaring double standards practiced by the Europeans in their battle against terror. Ever since Sri Lanka militarily defeated the LTTE – one of the most ruthless terror outfits in the world – in May 2009, there had been a witch hunt by the West, particularly the Europeans, against Sri Lanka on alleged war crimes, while covering up their own in places like Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan.

This witch hunt has been gathering momentum, with the bastion of free speech, the Oxford Union, giving in to pressure from LTTE supporters in the UK, and canceling a scheduled address by President Mahinda Rajapakse, after he had arrived in the UK to deliver it, said Seneviratne.

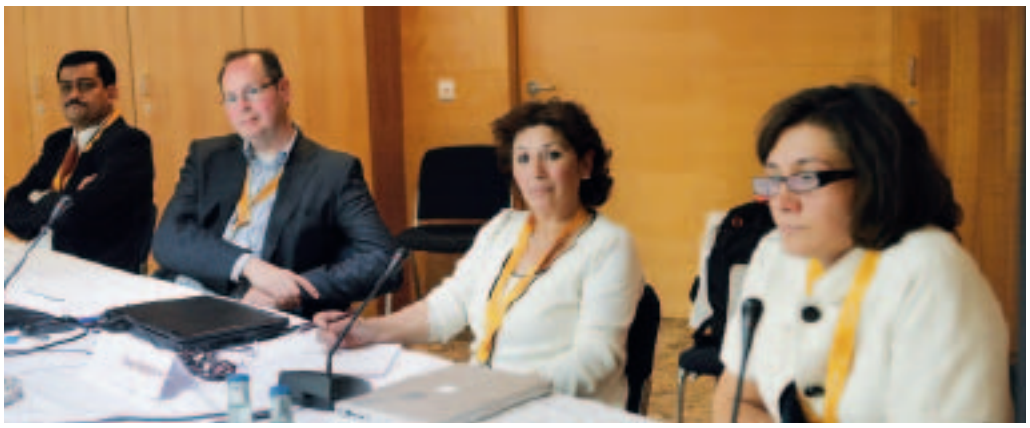
Usman Shehu from Nigeria, who works with the Deutsche Welle Africa program, pointed out that "pride and prejudice in reporting on human rights violations" played an important role not only in the news perceptions of the mainstream global media, but was also reflected in the national Nigerian media, as in local media in other African countries too. ■

A EUROPEAN HUMAN RIGHTS STRATEGY FOR A POST-WESTERN WORLD

HOSTED BY EUROPEAN COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

PANEL
Sihem Bensedrine
Editor-in-Chief, Kalima online magazine and Radio Kalima, Tunisia
Susi Dennison
Policy Fellow, European Council on Foreign Relations, UK
Jaideep Karnik
Head of Content and Localization, Editor, Naidunia, webdunia.com, India

MODERATION
Christian F. Trippe
Head, Studio Brussels, Deutsche Welle



This panel sought to explore how Europe can be effective in promoting its values in the current environment.

Participants agreed that Europe's model of democratic societies operating under a rule of law framework which protects human rights remains attractive but there are challenges in the world today to promote it.

The BRIC countries, and a further layer of lynchpin states are rising, many of which operate very different political systems and offer contrasting models. The financial crisis which started in the West has undermined for some Europe's claim to provide the best basis for economic growth. Europe's own image as a promoter of human rights and democracy has suffered. During the Arab Spring, EU states were well behind the curve

in recognizing the change that was underway, and close European ties with the dictatorships that were overthrown in Egypt and Tunisia have led many human rights defenders in the region to question whether the support European countries claim to offer for political reform is genuine. In addition, Europe's ability to turn a blind eye to human rights violations within its own borders – with regard to minority rights and migrants' rights in particular – have left it open to accusations of double standards.

The question, for the participants from India and from Tunisia, was not whether Europe's objective to promote its values in its foreign policy is right. For both of them human rights are universal, not Western values – and non-negotiable, with all states having a moral duty to uphold them. The question is rather how best to promote them.

From Tunisia, the sense is that the world is not yet post-Western as human rights defenders there feel the European stereotype of the Arab world weighing very strongly upon them. European policies, largely built after 9/11 have perceived North Africa as a source of danger – now there is a need to rebuild trust and confidence between the two continents. There is a sense that Europe perceives the Arab world as unable to genuinely be democratic because of their history, their culture: Europe must revisit this stereotype of the Arab world, and think about the position in which they left Arabic human rights defenders.

In addition to breaking down this stereotype, Europe needs to learn the lessons of the Arab Spring with regard to the way it functions in defining foreign policy. The EU's foreign policy is driven by different partners in different instances – trade and security always trump human rights; certain member states have different interests in relation to different third countries and there is currently no strategy for ensuring that promotion of human rights is dealt with in a consistent way. Since the Arab Spring, though the rhetoric is changing, there is little sign of a more strategic approach in Europe's engagement with either North Africa or any other part of the world. Though having a common foreign policy does not necessarily mean that the High Representative for CFSP speaks on behalf of Europe in all instances, it does mean developing and holding to a collective strategy in which the different states and institutions play their part according to their strengths and don't undermine one another. From an Indian perspective, Europe currently punches well below its weight in this sense.

Europe should not just use the word partnership, but should give meaning to it, seeing its neighboring countries not only as markets, but as countries with which it can co-operate in a range of ways. Throughout the revolutions in Egypt and Tunisia, the U.S. was perceived as a more genuine supporter than the EU was. Europe would be the first to benefit from successfully entrenched democracies in North Africa, so should play its part in helping to secure this.
With regard to how Europe spends money in third countries to support human rights the priorities should be taken from the civil society in the country in question as they best know the situation and what buttons to press. This would be a strategic approach that goes with the grain of openings in society. However it is critical that this programmatic work should always be backed up by political support for civil society's efforts, as enough money is only part of the story.

COMMUNITY MEDIA TO PROMOTE DIVERSITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS FOR MARGINALIZED COMMUNITIES

HOSTED BY SIGNIS, WORLD CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION FOR COMMUNICATION

PANEL

Steve Buckley
Expert in comparative media policy, law and regulation, former president of AMARC, UK

Ian Pringle
Communication specialist, Commonwealth of Learning, Canada

Brenda Burrell
Co-Founder and Technical Director, Kubatana.net, Head of Freedom Phone, Zimbabwe

Frank Smyth
Journalist security coordinator, Committee to Protect Journalists, U.S.A.

MODERATION

Alvito De Souza
Secretary General, SIGNIS, Belgium

"Those who do not have power over the stories that dominate their lives, power to retell them, rethink them, deconstruct them, joke about them and change them as times change, truly are powerless because they cannot think new thoughts." (Salman Rushdie, One Thousand Days in a Balloon)

The concept of community media is rooted in the desire and the need of people, especially marginalized communities, to communicate and express themselves. The UN defines community media as non-governmental, public interest radio stations and print media that are run by civil society institutions, organizations or associations, and any type of non-profit organization run by indigenous people for educational, informative, cultural or communal purposes. These media work for the development of different sectors of a territorial, ethno-linguistic or other community. They share their community's interests, challenges and concerns and seek to improve the quality of life of their community and to contribute to the well-being of it members.

And yet, despite the important role it can play in promoting communication and human rights, community media is often marginalized in international debates, the journalist community or the mainstream media.

The World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC) is one of the organizations that have been advocating for better recognition of community media. And things are slowly changing, according to its former president, Steve Buckley. In many parts of the world, governments have acknowledged the movement and opened their airwaves to community radios, and many UN institutions have been working with and supporting community media for years. Buckley underlines the role they can play in climate change or disaster management. In Haiti, for example, community radios, themselves affected by the earthquake, were helping to organize local aid and response, receive and spread information.

The Arab revolution is also an interesting example. A few years ago, a community radio station in Jordan was able to get around the absence of a radio license by broadcasting on the Internet. They used the platform to criticize the regime. This model has caught on and other forms of community media have emerged in Tunisia, Egypt, etc. This shows that the old constraints of licensing and regulations are transcended by the emergence of Internet and mobile phones. Community media, just like it did when it appeared in the Americas 60 years ago, is using the new technologies to communicate and advocate for human rights.

A great example of the creative use of new technologies for community development purposes is given by the Freedom Phone project. This initiative comes from Zimbabwe, a country with huge democracy and economy issues, where there are no licensed community radios because the government controls the spread of information. To get around this hurdle, Brenda Burrell has set up an Interactive Voice Response platform, where short information or edutainment programs are updated regularly, on the model of a radio station.

Freedom Phone is a very generic tool. You can use it to publish news not aired by the propaganda radios, or to share information about an epidemic that is concealed by the government. It also facilitates the participatory aspect that is sometimes lacking from other channels such as community radio. Freedom Phone allows you to work with SMS and interactive voice menus where the caller can choose the audio content. The caller can also leave a message which can be used for citizen reporting and because FP uses the phone network, the project can be run from any part of the country, in any language of the country.

The technical aspects of the project are quite straightforward. The content is produced on computers and recorded onto SIM cards, then spread through mobile phones. One important aspect of the project was to make it independent from the Internet. But the cost of the service for the callers is still very much a barrier, especially for the poorest. That is why Freedom Phone tries to develop programs that have a real informative, educational or entertainment value for the people of the community.

Helping communities in their struggle for the right to information and responding to the huge demand for learning about agriculture, health, and other subjects, is the mission of the Commonwealth of Learning. The organization focuses on open and distance learning using communication technology such as online learning. "Learning is the key to development," according to Ian Pringle, "but you need to use flexible education, out of the classrooms, to meet the UN Millennium Development Goals".

The Commonwealth of Learning's "Healthy Communities" project relies on community media as vehicles for learning about community health. Why? They use local languages and context and draw on local resources; they have a mandate to support social development; and they have the potential to be participatory. The project aims to train community media workers in technical, production and education aspects, to spread health information to local communities. Ideally, programs are also financed locally, which in reality is often difficult. The sustainability of the programs is one of the main challenges encountered.

But there are also success stories. In Malawi, a learning program about maternal and child health, "Bag of life", which combines a 30-minute radio program with face-to-face discussion in women's health groups, has had a significant impact. The program mixes women's own experiences with interventions from health experts. According to Ian Pringle, the key success factors of the program have been the collaboration between experts and community-based organizations, the participation in decision-making and content (the stories of the community become the basic content of programs), and combining learning material with small-group facilitation and discussions. "In the age of digitalization and globalization," he adds, "the importance of media at the local level and of the link between face-to-face interaction and media content is striking".

This face-to-face approach is efficient for mobilizing people to act for social and political change. But it also puts community media workers and local journalists on the frontline, sometimes with gruesome consequences. The Committee to Protect Journalists monitors press freedom worldwide. Its findings show that 9 out of 10 murdered journalists are local journalists. Most of them work in print, 20% work in radio, mostly community radio. Even more shocking, government officials (civilians and military) are responsible for 29% of the murders, as much as terrorists or resistance groups. The rate of impunity for the killers is as high as 89%. One of the reasons for this situation is that usually, community media is critical toward governments and local powers. Its role is to advocate for the rights of marginalized communities, to make their voices heard, and that can be a powerful tool for the implementation of human rights. The example of Tunisia, where the catalyst of the revolution was a man setting himself on fire in front of a local municipal building, again shows the power of word of mouth and local reporting. ■

CLOSED SOCIETIES AND ANTI-GLOBALIZATION TENDENCIES: EFFECTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS

PANEL

Johannes Gerschewski
Researcher, Social Science Research Center Berlin, Germany

Tae Keung Ha
President, Open Radio for North Korea, Republic of Korea

Karin Janz
Rural development consultant, Germany

Maja Liebing
Head, Asia Desk, Amnesty International Germany, Germany

MODERATION

Grahame Lucas
Head, South Asia Service, Deutsche Welle, Germany

If just one member of your family criticizes the North Korean government, your whole family could go to a prison camp never to return. There are 200,000 political prisoners and 40% of them die in camps. You can be publicly executed for talking about the price of rice on a mobile phone or listening to or passing around South Korean TV or radio content. Yet a 15-year-old middle class North Korean schoolgirl will ask you whether you think Brad Pitt or Keanu Reeves is the more handsome, having seen them in films shown at her school. These were impressions of North Korea presented by the four panelists. North Korea was practically the only closed society talked about, with only passing reference to Burma.

German rural development consultant, Karin Janz, worked in the country for five years, one of only about 50 foreigners she says are there at any given

time among the 24 million population. That makes her one of the most knowledgeable Germans about the country. A couple of days before her presentation (on 20 June) she heard from her successor there that "the picture in agriculture is not as bad as you might think". The harvest was fine but nobody could really assess the situation across the whole country.

Maja Liebing, who heads the Asia Desk of the German section of Amnesty International, said their food figures, gathered mainly by interviewing people who'd fled the country, suggest that a third of North Koreans don't get enough to eat and many suffer stunted growth as a consequence.

Noting that the planned economy has collapsed, Tae Keung Ha, who broadcasts radio into North Korea from South Korea, suggested the biggest fear of the Pyongyang government was information getting out about "how well they eat, the luxurious everyday lives" of the ruling Kim family. His organization's interviews with hundreds of North Koreans had found very large gaps between rich and poor. "Those close to the regime have a lot of money, many with savings of more than a million U.S. dollars."

Is North Korea stable? Tough call, replied Johannes Gerschewski, recalling that books and other predictions of the overthrow of its system have been proved wrong. Gerschewski argues that Pyongyang uses the six-nation talks about its nuclear capability as a bargaining lever and for that reason wants them to keep going indefinitely. "It's not so much that they want to reach an agreement in this, their main goal would be to just maintain the process because you can see how the six-party talks have been running for years and you can see some pattern in this. Normally you have these deals, they try to approach each other, get closer, having these light water reactors sometimes, then agreement on food aid, and then again interrupted and then they kind of blackmail again, or the other five parties try to get North Korea to the negotiating table again, and then it starts all over again somehow. It somehow stabilizes North Korea."

Could the increasing use of media spawn an uprising like in Burma, Tae was asked from the floor, and replied: "Burma is relatively speaking more open than North Korea." Even if some North Koreans revolted, no media could get the images. "Under Kim Jong Il's rule, regardless of how angry and upset they are, against the regime, I don't think they'd make a public revolt and uprising. Maybe the military can do that because they have guns." Another reason was that North Koreans had never experienced democracy. Moreover, people were fully stretched just making ends meet.

Janz noted that North Koreans can't judge their regime because they know nothing else. But she contends that increased use of mobile phones – there are about half a million in the country, which has had an on/off policy about them since 2003 – is increasing the exchange of information within. "I can call farms with mobiles. North Koreans can talk to each other about what's going on in remote places. 'Uprising' is thinking too far, but all the media we have – mobiles, DVDs or VCDs – are already a step forward and that's why the regime is so afraid of it."

From Karin Janz's presentation:
Her partly government funded organization, Welthungerhilfe, is the only German aid NGO in North Korea, the government staying out because of the human rights situation. But Welthungerhilfe sees a humanitarian mandate there, helping mainly with agriculture, natural resource management and water in development-oriented self-help projects.

Pyongyang has a middle class and North Korea "is different from what you'd expect. Society and everyday life are much more diverse than we might think here or even in South Korea." Working mainly in the countryside, she "traveled all over the country, stayed in villages, slept in farmhouses, had many opportunities to see and talk to people. Maybe as a surprise to you, I think North Koreans are extremely well educated, they are extremely friendly, they have humor, they like to flirt; I mean as a woman, as a lady, also it was for me sometimes easy because they say, 'oh yes, you are so beautiful', o.k. and then you can talk about other things."

Among the few occasions she could talk "without boundaries" were with "North Korean ladies swimming or in the sauna". People talked in codes or used opportunities, like in gardens or parks, or at receptions, where they cannot be wired so easily, never seriously in closed rooms. They talked very easily about subjects like improving harvests, building water pipes and so on, but government matters and personalities were taboo,

"because that can be very dangerous". "It's very difficult to say if my apartment or office was wired because you only know this when something has happened."

"To my surprise, many scientists from the universities or the research institutes with whom we cooperated were quite well informed about what's going on in the world," although they could not access the Internet. She was surprised how knowledgeable they were about renewable energy technologies.

The economy is not progressing because it's a planned one. Before North Korea, Janz spent 20 years in China where she saw development is possible if you turn away from a planned economy and give people more freedom. "I always told them about Chinese farmers increasing yields two to three-fold after reforms and opening and they were very surprised." It's difficult for journalists to get into the country to get a clear picture. "The aid organizations are the people who can move freely, and it's also a question of trust. After some years working there, many North Koreans even in the ministries and the government know me and trust me, so even I could do different things than other foreigners who are based there. It's such a small country and maybe there are 50 foreigners, so everybody knows me." A friendship medal she was given also opened many doors. "For journalists: the same person that could talk openly to me maybe would talk completely differently to you. It's a small community, and definitely they know what we are doing. All my colleagues had to report on me and my work daily and sometimes even joked about it – like Karin has a blue skirt today. My aim was also that they got the right information."

Welthungerhilfe's impression is that the food situation is not as bad as many sources report. Harvest figures are often talked down to attract food aid. Outside the collectives there is a lot of private farming on hills that doesn't appear in statistics. "We think that food distribution is not at all the right measure. We stopped it completely because I personally also think it makes people weaker if they get something as a gift. Instead we have this kind of dialogue and self-help orientation that we can really teach them how to have higher yields in the long run."

"They need our involvement and for me the main reason to work in North Korea was also to show them a window to the world and it's the only window we have because there are not many other foreigners working so closely with them. It is most important that we keep on dialoguing with them and that we show them how the world looks outside now. Every North Korean you will meet wants to have more information about the outside world. Maybe it's a basic human need."

From Maja Liebing's presentation:
Recent satellite imagery found some political prisoner camps have grown "very, very much" compared with previous images, "so we now estimate that there are about 200,000 people in at least six political prisoner camps. These are often people who try to flee from the country or who criticize the government, and this is something that also concerns China because Amnesty International also criticizes China for bringing people back to North Korea who fled the country. Under international law is a principle that no one should be brought back to their own country if they are at risk of torture or death. China sends them back knowing they'll be tortured or die because they are sent to political prisoner camps and in those camps we estimate that 40% of the people die there."

No human rights organizations are allowed in to do research, so for information Amnesty relies mainly on people who have fled. "We see that as a problem as well because it only offers us a certain view of the country." Health presents a grim picture, with health care not free despite the constitution's provision for it. Many people lack the money to buy things like medication on the black market.

"We of course see very large problems in the field of political and civil rights. We see that the people are not allowed to utter their own opinion and if they do, the consequences are very grim: the death penalty. We know at least 60 people were publicly executed last year, but those are only the people that are executed under the justice system; very many people go to political prison camps where the death rate is very, very high. There's also a high risk of being detained because of association. If someone in your family criticized the government, sometimes the whole family is brought to a political prison camp. So it's enough that maybe your uncle has criticized the government for you to be brought to a prison camp for the rest of your life."

From Tae Keung Ha's presentation:
Seoul based, he has correspondents inside North Korea close to the Chinese border who risk their lives reporting to his Open Radio on a Chinese mobile telephony service. The Chinese system is used because its signals can reach 10 km into North Korea, whereas the Egyptian Orascom system used in the North works only internally. Sometimes Tae's correspondents even provide clandestinely shot video, such as of public executions, which he passes on to the world at large. Using a transmitter outside South Korea and transmitters inside, Open Radio employs AM, FM and shortwave frequencies to broadcast news, educational and cultural content and personal greetings to the North; he calls it "one of the very few bridges between North and South". At most he'll reach 30% of North Koreans. In a case like the Northern shelling of a Southern island last November, in three days 1% of Northerners will know the truth, about 10% in a week and about 30% in a month. Most North Koreans will have believed the lie that the South attacked first because they don't get the truth.

Cassette players used for children's education are also AM radio capable and used widely to receive his broadcasts. His surveys of defectors in China and South Korea found 58% accessing cassette player radio, 46% color TVs, 21% videos, and 5% DVD players. Farmers are not interested in outside information because they're too busy trying to survive, working from morning to night. 50% to 65% of the population are poor, with no savings. The elite, intellectuals and students do want outside information. Most listening to foreign radio is at night or early morning because it has to be secret.

"If in North Korea you watch South Korean political or non-political movies, you're going to be punished. You'll be tried in 'people's courts' where even the lawyers criticize defendants." Recently people who spread South Korean movies to North Koreans were sentenced to public execution. "If you got caught filming this you would also be publicly executed or go to prison camp." Even the rice price in the market is treated as a state secret. Yet in the most closed society in the world South Korean movies and songs are spreading. North Koreans also like Hollywood-style violent movies. "Though they fear it, people laugh at the regime." There are now more than 20,000 defectors in the South, a rich source of information for his service.

Most people are without wages from factories where men are forced to go although they're not operating; wives earn the family income by going to markets to sell everything they can collect or make. All income is spent on food. "Paradise is South Korea, the second paradise is go to China to make money. Visas are very difficult to get, so most bribe border guards, and their prices are escalating year by year because border controls are getting more and more serious." Tae would like to visit the North, maybe under a new regime. His vision is to become a national media conglomerate after reunification.

From Johannes Gerschewski's presentation:
No one knows where the six-party talks are heading but it's very important to North Korea to keep them going because of what it can get out of them (see above), with a lot of very much needed food and energy aid at stake. "The problem with the other five parties is that they're very divided, with a lot of different interests. The Chinese have different interests than the South Koreans, the U.S. and the Russians, and then the Japanese intervene sometimes, so you see that it's a kind of a whole mixture of interests. I would say it's very hard to reach an agreement within these talks; it somehow stabilizes North Korea." The North claimed a nuclear test in 2006 which was not certain, and a confirmed one in 2009. They have plutonium, and might also have highly enriched uranium, but so far no rocket to deliver a weapon. Gerschewski says it's quite clear that 25-year-old Kim Jong Un, Kim Jong Il's third and youngest son, will succeed him and has already been given a major role controlling the military.

TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION AND SECURITY: PRICE AND PREJUDICES

HOSTED BY BONN INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR CONVERSION (BICC)

PANEL
Andrea Warnecke
Senior Researcher, BICC, Germany
Francesco Ragazzi
Assistant Professor, Institute of Political Science, Leiden University, The Netherlands
Jochen Hippler
Associate Professor/Researcher, Institute for Development and Peace, University Duisburg/Essen, Germany

MODERATION
Jerry Sommer
Journalist and BICC Research Associate, Germany

Andrea Warnecke on perceptions of migration in the media, among political actors and the general public

Warnecke began by pointing to the case of Libya and Frontex (the European Union agency for external border security), as part of the political intervention of the EU in this conflict. She mentioned the decision made by the EU ministers to send more Frontex officials into the regions to negotiate better cooperation on migration control with Tunis. She added that the refugee movements in the Mediterranean are almost exclusively discussed in the context of domestic security concerns and immediately perceived as posing a threat that has to be averted, hence leading to further walling-off and increased border control measures. Warnecke provided a brief sketch of the discourse on the securitization process based on the analytical framework of the Copenhagen School and the effects this process has on framing the EU discourse on migration and migration policy. The Amsterdam Treaty finally assigns stronger competences over asylum and immigration to the European level by creating a so-called area of freedom, security and justice, which needed to be defended against external threats including, in particular, irregular migration. In the wake of these developments and over the following years, the securitization of migration in the EU has become less contested by an increasing number of actors including the European Parliament, which accepted the security logic as imperative for dealing with migration. Summing up, Warnecke pointed out that especially in the case of so-called illegal immigration, securitization has gone so far that the security risk is widely perceived to be inherent in this kind of migration.

One the one hand, Warnecke suggested that the media could form a forum to discuss the many open questions and contradictions present, for example in the concept of a homogenous group identity. On the other, she commented that the media could make a more profound portrait of migration and the flight to the European Union, especially to take them as independent subjects or within their broader context.

Francesco Ragazzi on the meaning of the relation between security and the European border today and are we progressing towards a "fortress Europe"?

Ragazzi started off by mentioning the recent events in Egypt, Libya and Tunisia and the arrival of migrants in Malta and on the Italian islands of Lampedusa, Linosa, and Pantelleria. Due to these events, many European countries have pressurized Italy into making sure that these migrants are sent back. This in turn has incited activists and NGOs as well as media outlets to talk about the EU becoming a fortress; to comment on what is going on as actually being a war on migrants. Ragazzi remarked that many scholars and NGOs are right when they point to the fact that our free and democratic societies have blood on their hands when it comes to their borders. To exemplify this, he discussed the role of Frontex and the member states who generally use Frontex when it is an emergency and when they need extra support. Though the agency is independent, in practice it carries out the political will of the member states. He referred to the case of Libya and how Frontex operates in that field of conflict and arrived at the conclusion that Frontex would not be in charge, but rather the EU member states. But, as Ragazzi remarked, Frontex could indeed be violating the Geneva Convention on refugees as well as other texts, the Charter of Fundamental Rights and the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. He continued that the illegal migrants resulting from the Arab Spring whom the media have been talking about would represent a mere 0.02 percent of the migrants who need a visa. He pointed out the fact that there is a need for a new information system on a biometric basis, mentioning two current systems, the Eurodac system set in 2000, and the Schengen Information System, a database which was constructed in 1995, as well as different visa systems which are in use by the European countries.

Ragazzi concluded that, in his mind, the liberal economic and political system which we are living in is not about stopping or controlling people, but about making sure that the majority of the people can circulate. Circulation, he stressed, does not necessarily mean freedom, because circulation is increasingly constructed around the idea of surveillance.

Jochen Hippler on the question of whether there is a connection between migration and security and can migration be dangerous for Europe?

Hippler began by stating that most of the migrants from Arab countries naturally immigrate to other Arab states, not to European countries. Often they flee to survive. He cited the case of Afghanistan, where the majority of the migrants fled to Jordan or Syria. Hippler pointed out that there is, in fact, a connection between migration and security. Basically the migrants are located in the poor countries with a high density of migrants, not in Germany, Italy or elsewhere.

He gave a short introduction to international terrorism and noted that the Western states, especially Europe, only have zero to two deeds of terrorism per year. In his opinion, Europe should take home-grown threats by former migrants more seriously. Their radicalization,

their turn to violence, does not come from their roots, but would have been created by conditions in the societies they live in, which poses the question of their integration in society.

In Hippler's opinion there is no use for Frontex, the police or other services to solve the problem of immigration and security. He wants the governments of Europe to create a new criteria system which would antagonize migrants less. He pointed out that Europe should take the topics as such seriously, but should also keep in mind that the instrumentalization of arguments and the use of this kind of discourse is not specific to migration policy. In his opinion, there is no need for moral panic in the media. Some things which can be very small, like the threat of terrorism, get so charged symbolically that people in the European societies get overly excited and do things which they would not do without this moral panic. In this moral panic, the proportion of a danger, which may be real or not, is completely blown out of proportion. Hippler concluded by stating that Europe should deal with that in regard to its foreign policy, peace policy, and economic policy. ■

FINANCIAL MARKETS AND HUMAN RIGHTS: THE CASES OF TAX EVASION AND FOOD SPECULATION

HOSTED BY ATTAC

PANEL
Mike Nagler
Architect and member of the Attac coordination group, Germany

MODERATION
Markus Henn
Political scientist and member of World Economy, Ecology & Development (WEED), Germany

Various human rights are constantly being undermined by global financial markets – notably the right to development and the right to food. It is now generally acknowledged that a necessary precondition for development is a certain ability of the state to finance public infrastructure and services. However, the global financial system and the international banking industry offer ample opportunities to avoid and evade taxes. The sheer existence of tax havens is an invitation for capital flight as well as for tax planning by multinational companies. As a result, developing countries lose much more in potential tax revenue than they receive in development aid.
Estimates of illicit financial flows from developing countries range from $641-941 billion every year. Global tax losses amount to over a hundred billion dollars per year at a time when the global financial crisis has prompted severe cuts in state budgets around the world. States are coming under pressure. Debt forces states to shut down or privatize their social systems (allegations IMF / WB). This leads to cutting down the structures that also guarantee the basis for human rights. The G20 nations don't take honest action to end this injustice by agreeing on measures to end tax haven secrecy.

During the panel, the speakers explained how tax evasion, tax avoidance and tax havens as main characteristics of today's global financial markets a effect state policy and broaden the gap between rich and poor in the world. Some facts: More than the half of international bank credits and round about one-third of foreign direct investment goes through tax havens. More than 50% of the world trade goes on paper through tax havens (although they generate only 3% of global Gross Domestic Product, GDP). Eleven-and-a-half trillion U.S. dollars of private capital of super rich individuals (high-net worth individuals – HNWIs) were transferred into offshore centers (tax defraud of $250 billion every year). More than two million international business corporations and hundreds of thousands (perhaps millions) intransparent trusts and foundations were founded offshore. In Europe, the loss from fleeing capital is counted at 2–2.25% of European GDP. The percentage is much higher in developing countries.

Some facts on why tax havens cause poverty: Tax havens promote and benefit from tax avoidance, tax evasion and fleeing capital out of advanced and developing countries. One percent of the world's population owns more than 57 percent of the whole global property and uses tax havens to avoid taxation. For this the states lose around $255 billion every year (source: Tax Justice Network) – an amount that would be more than enough to reach the UN millennium development goal of halving the number of poor in the world by 2015.

Transnational corporations use cross-border tax avoidance to raise their profits and use an unfair advantage against local competitors. In the presentation it was also shown how transnational corporations use their power to influence governments to reduce taxes for bringing investors into the country. That leads to raised taxes for the working people and also causes reductions in public services in the social systems.

The second part of the panel focused on food speculation: Even more important for people is food and the right to food. Soaring food prices can cause hunger

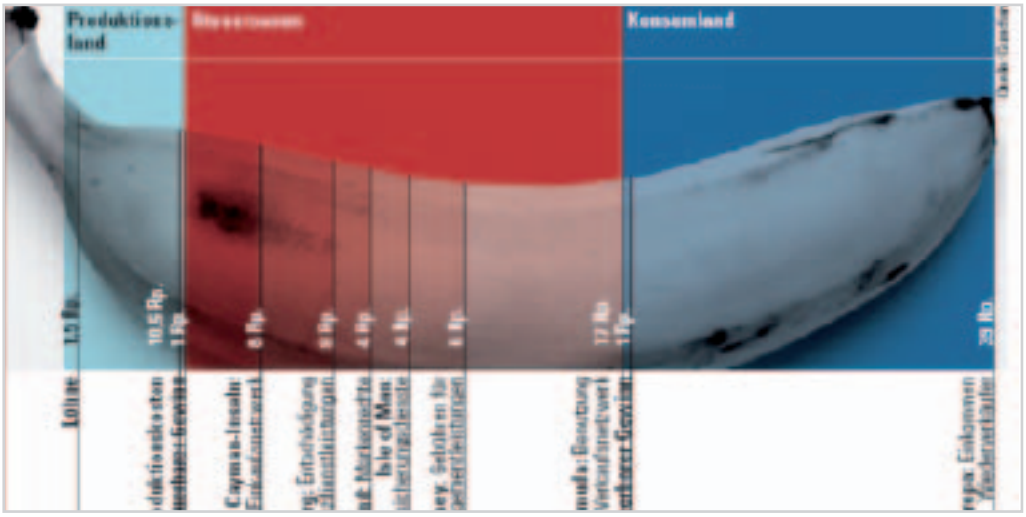


Figure 1: Who benefits from 1 Swiss franc that was spent on bananas? (producer country, tax haven, consumption country)

for millions of people and consequently enormous political repercussions. In 2007/2008, a price explosion in the markets for grain and other commodities caused malnutrition among an estimated 115 million people and triggered hunger revolts in various nations. The prices subsequently dropped, only to soar again three years later, surpassing previous highs by the end of 2010. A growing number of scientific studies come to the conclusion that financial speculation has contributed to the price spikes and thus to hunger.

This part of the panel examined the negative impacts of financial markets on human rights, focusing on the possibilities of domestic resource mobilization that would help the poorer countries to raise bitterly needed revenues and at the same time gain more fiscal independence. In addition, the group discussed how to prevent food from becoming a financial asset, serving investors' rather than people's interests.

You can find more information about this topic online at:
http://www.financialsecrecyindex.com/
http://www.taxjustice.net
http://www.weed-online.org
http://www.attac.de

Figure 2: 194 companies are registered in this building in Zug, Switzerland.

CONFERENCE DAY 2

KEYNOTE SPEECH: GLOBAL ENTERPRISES AND HUMAN RIGHTS

By Wolfgang Schüssel, Former Chancellor of Austria, Member of the Austrian Parliament, President of the Foreign Policy and United Nations Association of Austria

It is an honor for me to speak here in the former Bundestag at such an important global media conference.

Global governance and corporate responsibility were the most disputed issues during the last decade and with good reasons.

First of all, we never have experienced such a fast and rapidly changing world – technology, media, politics, industry, energy. Marshall McLuhan's expression came true, we are living in a global "village" although this village is more comparable with global megacities. What is covered by the media exists – what is not in the media does not exist in public opinion.

Secondly, we experienced an enormous rise in democracies and market economies during the last decades. In 1970, according to Freedom House, we had 45 free countries. In Europe, Greece, Portugal and Spain were under dictatorship at that time. The Soviet Union and the satellite countries seemed to persist for centuries. China was caught by Mao's Cultural Revolution and Latin America was mostly occupied by military regimes, etc.

Twenty years later everything changed. In 1990 Freedom House recognized 120 elected democracies. It seemed the beginning of a golden decade with open societies, market economies and democratic systems. Today we are a little bit more skeptical. Liberal democracies are still worldwide seen as the most legitimate form of government but legitimism is always conditioned with performance. The U.S. is not able and willing to address its long-term fiscal problems, Europe is occupied with ongoing debates on how to balance the European way of life – the welfare state with sustainable budget requirements.

We need a kind of a trias – a strong state, competitive companies and responsible societies. My first advice is that we need to stress the importance of institutions. Institutions matter. You cannot always count on moral consciences or on individual ethics. We need institutions. You can see that in the Arab countries. It is a very difficult, costly and long process to develop good governance. Institution-building is not easy. People sometimes dream of a world transcending politics, especially party politics. Karl Marx predicted the withering away of the state. The 19th century's anarchists tried to destroy the old structures. The revolution in 1968 tried to challenge and to question institutions. Some globalization critics intend to undermine the sovereignty of nations in some areas and replace it with a networked multitude. On the right side of the political spectrum you had in the "dot.com" boom of the 90s the prophets of the rise of the Internet declaring the independence of cyberspace. We have heard neo-liberal prophets saying that in the future market economies will somehow make governance irrelevant. My personal feeling is that we sometimes take the existence of government so much

for granted that we forget how important it is and how difficult to create.

Jeffrey Sachs wrote a good sentence: "Good governance is the product of economic success and a specific economic level". And he is right. Good governance is costly. In the United States the per capita spending on governance services is 17,000 U.S. dollars per year and citizen. Afghanistan for instance spends 19 U.S. dollars per year and capita. Good governance has therefore something to do with economic development.

Second point: There is a necessity for competitive and responsible companies. Big business is sometimes overrated in the media coverage – GDP worldwide is mostly produced by individuals, small and medium sized companies. And let us not forget that some big businesses are owned by states. But of course big companies are a symbol and a driving force – an engine to solve problems. For the first time the productivity growth of the agricultural sector worldwide is lower than the growth of the worldwide population. This is a very concerning situation. We need big investments and big technology to overcome these problems. There is a global quest for raw materials; a dependence of modern societies on energy is often neglecting the human rights situation in those countries producing oil, gas or raw materials. Autocratic systems are on the rise and the successes of semi-democratic systems and state sovereign funds are challenging our model of open societies.

During the last years a lot of initiatives were successfully developed – for example the ten principles of the United Nations Global Compact based on the United Nations Convention against Corruption, the International Labour Organization's Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work, The Rio Declaration on Environment and Development and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This is a very good point – these ten principals cover human rights, labor, environment and anticorruption. It is a kind of "Ten Commandments" which everybody should obey.

There are also good concrete examples. IKEA is carefully negotiating with their local companies. It is not easy to become a supplier of components for IKEA or Body Shop or IBM. If you survive a hundred years in a successful way (like IBM) this means something. It is easier to yield profits for several months or several years. But it is very difficult to survive in a very competitive environment for a hundred years. This requires a kind of corporate responsibility to your shareholders, employees and the public opinion.

On the other hand there are a lot of negative examples and I will mention some of them. We are very concerned about land grabbing – a terrible danger for countries and regions. Take Ethiopia for instance: Since 2008 the commodity prices rose enormously. According to a World Bank report, that was followed in 2009 by a significant rise in land grabbing in Ethiopia (80 million people and 85% farmers). In this one year, 45 million hectares were on the lease, a tenfold of the average of the decade before (mostly combined with child labor). A boy earns 80 cents per day. And this land grabbing by Chinese and Indian companies undermines the legitimate need of the people in this region.

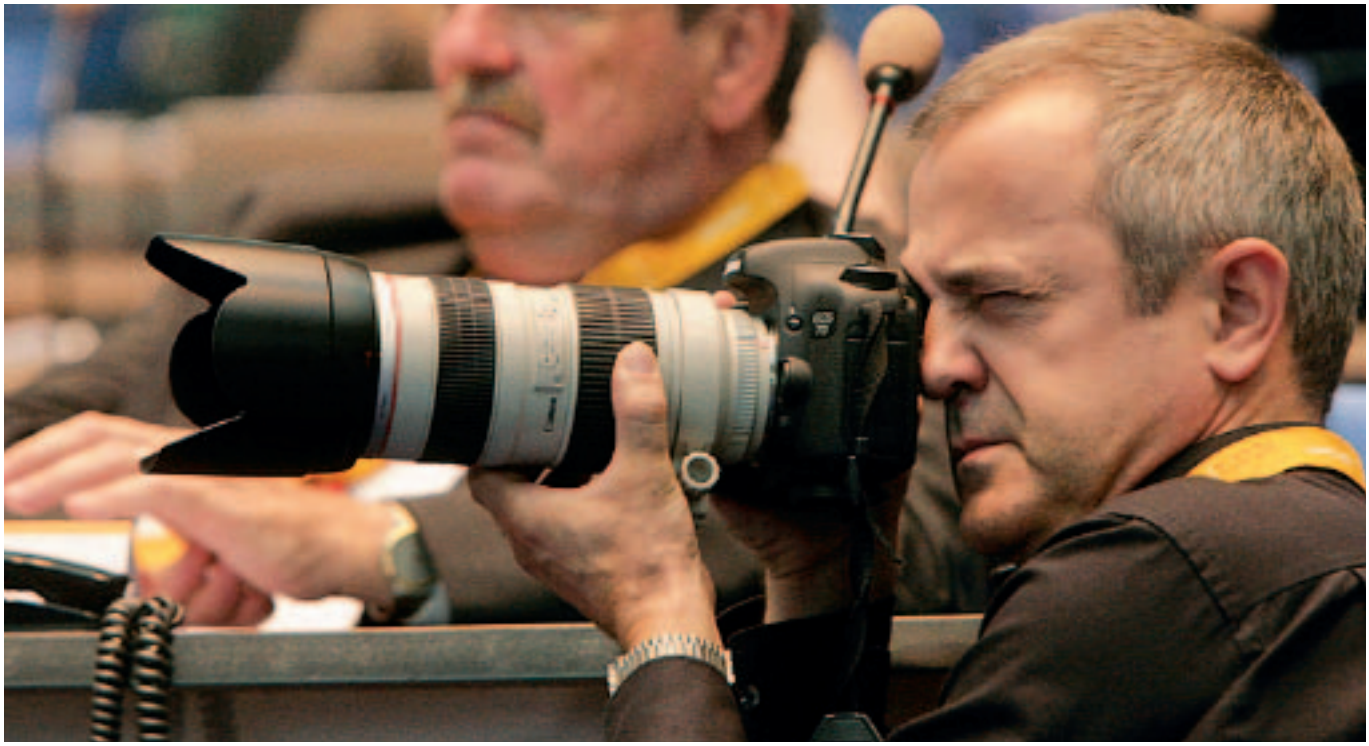
A second example is Argentina's tax battle with the global grain giants. The global grain giants ABCD - ADM, Punch, Cargill and Dreyfus are responsible for 90% of the global grain trade. They provide fertilizers for soy and dominate the processing industry for food and animal feed. The whole problem started in 1996 when the government approved the planting of genetically modified crops. Soy production exploded from 1 million hectares to 17 million hectares covering 60% of the productive land. These companies do not pay taxes anymore in Argentina. In the first years they started as a normal business, five years later they decided not only to export goods but also to export their profits. Now they are operating from tax havens: ADM from the U.S. tax haven Delaware. Punch moved to the tax free zone in Uruguay and is now located in the Bermudas. Cargill and Dreyfus operate from Switzerland. The government argued: "They are using Argentinean soil, they are producing with Argentinean machinery, with our workers, they use our services, our roads, our transport system, our ports – why do not we see anything of the gains in our country?" And they took a dramatic step, suspending all four big companies from their export register.

Third point: We need a responsible media scene and a courageous society. Today everything crosses borders: good ideas like democracy, human rights, best practices, the rule of law, information technologies – but also problems like drugs, crime, organized crime, laundered

money, weapons, terror. Globalization is the twilight of sovereignty and requires a good balance between a strong state which is able to enforce laws on its territory and an open and cohesive society able to impose accountability on politicians and companies.

We have to seek the appropriate measure. These are keywords in the relationship between state, society and corporate business. This balance must take into account state corporations and the individual, short term profits against long-term gains. The text of the Austrian or German Corporate Law is perfectly clear: Managers have to take into account the interests of shareholders, employees and the public. You cannot always count on the individual responsibility of managers. We need precise regulation. Nuclear safety standards cannot depend on the moral conscience of managers. The same argument is valid for a ban on forced child labor.

Media and societies have a completely new structure today. Consumers can also be producers, publishing information in the globally available Internet. So we have less control for information, more information available. In the past it was possible to export local problems to the global scene, letting them disappear. Today this is no longer possible – we must localize global problems. Our average citizens are confronted with big global problems – hunger, poverty, climate change, financial imbalances – and politicians and journalists have to explain and contribute to solutions. ■



PLENARY SESSION 2

GLOBAL ENTERPRISES AND HUMAN RIGHTS

HOSTED BY DEUTSCHE WELLE

KEYNOTE SPEAKER

Wolfgang Schüssel
Former Chancellor of Austria, Member of the Austrian Parliament,
President of the Foreign Policy and United Nations Association of Austria

PANEL

Markus Löning
Federal Government Commissioner for Human Rights Policy and Humanitarian Aid,
Federal Foreign Office, Germany

Mohan Munasinghe
Chairman, Munasinghe Institute for Development (MIND), Sri Lanka;
Professor of Sustainable Development, University of Manchester, UK

Alasdair Ross
Global Product Director, Economist Intelligence Unit, UK

Rainer Wend
Executive Vice President Public Policy and Responsibility, Deutsche Post DHL, Germany

MODERATION

Peter Craven
News anchor, political correspondent, presenter, DW-TV, Germany

Peter Craven

"Today everything crosses borders." Those were the words of former Austrian Chancellor Wolfgang Schüssel during his keynote address that set the tone for an excellent debate on the subject of 'Global Enterprises and Human Rights'. "But it is not just good things like democracy and human rights, best practices and the rule of law, science and technology, that are going global. Drugs, organized crime, illicit money, weapons and terror are also crossing borders."

Schüssel went on to cite two examples – land grabbing in Ethiopia and Argentina's tax battles with grain companies – to illustrate his contention that "globalization is the twilight of sovereignty". What to do? First, we must step up the beneficent interaction between the three parties in a triangle made up of strong, competitive companies, strong civic society, and a state sector that is responsible and itself strong enough to ensure that there is no accountability gap. Secondly, international organizations, like the UN, the EU, ASEAN and the African Union must play a more forceful role. In the final analysis though: "Good governance is the product of economic success." And, Wolfgang Schüssel implied, vice versa.

It was a view shared by Markus Löning – the German government's Human Rights Commissioner, who believes that enlightened German companies can actually be in the vanguard of the human rights movement. "Companies take their values with them when they do business abroad," he said, "and I believe that is good." With two provisos: "Not only should they stick to the standards set by the International Labour Organization: they must go beyond them. They must demand from their trading partners a commitment to the rule of law and an independent judiciary."

Professor Mohan Munasinghe says "Yes, but no!" This outspoken advocate of sustainable development – based in Sri Lanka and at Manchester University in the UK – sees the glass as half empty. Globalization has brought progress to some. But another result, says the professor, is "systematic crowding out". Broaden the definition of human rights to include the right to food, water, shelter and so on, and you will see, says Mohan Munasinghe, "that the poor end up living on land ravaged by environmental degradation." The rich twenty percent consume 85 percent of the planet's resources. High time, therefore, for enlightened self-interest in the form of Millennium Consumption Goals. The idea is that

Markus Löning

the rich will voluntarily reduce their consumption by 20 percent in order to "create more space for the poor to move out of poverty".

Alasdair Ross – Global Product Director at the Economist Intelligence Unit – also broke a lance for global business: "Globalized enterprises are overwhelmingly a motor and driver for economic development and growth and as such human rights." It is a great misunderstanding, he argued, to assume that companies are only motivated by financial considerations, competition and market trends: "A company's reputation is a huge concern and can so easily be damaged." That's why they are, perhaps contrary to expectation, so vulnerable to the kind of pressures that can be exerted

Prof. Mohan Munasinghe

Alasdair Ross

Dr. Rainer Wend

by new media: "An extraordinary spectacle that could change everything." Yes, Ross concedes, there is still a "digital divide" but it will he believes be overcome and translated into an "extraordinary power for digital democracy".

Rainer Wend is Executive Vice President for Public Policy and Responsibility at the world's largest logistics company, Deutsche Post DHL, also one of the world's largest employers. He provided interesting insights into the day-to-day linkage between turning a profit and trying to maintain high standards of corporate social responsibility. Both senior managers and local staff are trained in human rights awareness. And here, too, there is enlightened self-interest: what Wend called the "sweet spot". It comes when a company's constructive contribution to social processes and interaction leads to sustainable business environments and sustainable profits. He did however admit that although his company has its own code of conduct and subscribes to the UN catalogue of human rights guidelines, it is still in effect policing itself. And there are problems about applying human rights, "which are clearly universal and indivisible", in over 200 very different cultural and political contexts, including China and North Korea. In some countries, Wend indicated, Deutsche Post DHL has discussed pulling out because of qualms about human rights practices. However, he concluded, dialogue is more important than departure, and: "Our corporate policy will NOT be that we will only operate in democratic countries."

The debate concluded with many questions from the floor, especially from African speakers doubting that good intentions, codes of conduct and "quiet diplomacy" would be enough to curb some of the worst practices of global enterprises in that continent. "But what about the African governments? Why are they not doing their job?" Markus Löning retorted loudly. Also, Professor Munasinghe was asked how confident he was about his Millennium Consumption Goals being adopted. He responded by saying that while governments have been slow to take up the initiative, "there have been encouraging signs from companies, municipalities and communities who are saying 'we will do it!'" Another example – one of many at the Deutsche Welle Global Media Forum – of the emphasis on the "bottom up" approach. ■

PROMOTING PRESS FREEDOM IN AFRICA'S NEWEST COUNTRY, SOUTH SUDAN

HOSTED BY DW-AKADEMIE

PANEL

Josephine Achiro
Programs Manager, Radio Bakhita, South Sudan

Kerstin Müller
Member of the German Bundestag, Deputy Chairwoman of the Subcommittee for Civilian Crisis Prevention, Germany

Manuela Römer
Media trainer und project manager South Sudan, DW-AKADEMIE, Germany

MODERATION

Daniel Pelz
Coordinating editor, Africa Programs, Deutsche Welle, Germany

With only 18 days to go before South Sudan was set to join the league of independent nations, the panel focused on the state of press freedom and the situation of journalists in the area.

Before discussing the challenges faced by journalists, moderator Daniel Pelz (coordinating editor of Deutsche Welle's Africa Programs) touched on the general situation in South Sudan. He emphasized that there was a lot of enthusiasm, but also mentioned the many challenges facing the new nation. Almost 80 percent of the population live below the poverty line, more than half a million people returned from North Sudan and there is a number of armed conflicts that have claimed the lives of more than 1,500 people this year. But despite the grim reality, the mood in South Sudan was upbeat, according to Josephine Achiro, programs manager at Catholic station Radio Bakhita. "Emotionally, South Sudanese already feel that they live in an independent country." She mentioned health and education as key priorities for the new country as well as combating poverty. Kerstin Mueller, a Member of the German parliament and the foreign policy spokesperson of the Greens party, called on the international community to support the people of Southern Sudan by not only assisting social development, but also by promoting good governance and the rule of law.

Journalists under fire

Press freedom is a trying issue in South Sudan, according to Achiro. Her station, Radio Bakhita, has often

been in trouble with the authorities. Achiro narrated an incident where the station was raided by police and the director arrested, saying that Bakhita had broadcast stories that were too critical of the government. The security forces also insisted that the station should go off air several times. Manuela Römer, a project manager for South Sudan at DW-AKADEMIE, pointed out that even journalists from the government-run South Sudan Radio and TV Service have repeatedly come into conflict with the security forces. During a training workshop conducted by DW-AKADEMIE, journalists were arrested for taking vox pops on the campus of a university in Juba, but subsequently released on the order of the ministry of information.

No clear role of the media

According to Römer, there is a lack of consensus within the government on the role that the media should play in nation-building. In discussions with local journalists and government representatives, she'd noticed a lot of openness, Römer said. Various government members had acknowledged the need to have a free media in Southern Sudan, realizing that media had a part to play in nation-building through raising awareness about elections and educating people on the voting procedures, for example. Other government representatives tended to look at the media with skepticism, feeling that the government is often unjustly criticized by the media, Römer said.

Kerstin Müller told the audience that there could be a lack of understanding of the role of the media among members of the political elite. She explained that many leading figures in politics and society had a military background as rebel fighters in the century-old civil war, but no experience with democratic systems of governance. She particularly emphasized the need for training of the security forces in the fields of human rights in general and the role of the media in particular. Besides, she called for training of government officials, civil servants and other members of the administration at all levels in issues relating to statehood and nation-building.

Lack of media laws

One issue that poses great danger to the work of journalists and gives the government the chance to muzzle the press is the absence of media laws. Josephine Achiro alleged that two bills were drafted more than three years ago, but have not been passed by parliament up to this day. Therefore, journalists lack the legal basis to argue their case if they come into contact with security forces. She also argued that the financial situation of journalists in South Sudan was a big obstacle to the development of a free and unbiased media scene. According to her experience, most journalists receive only meager salaries or sometimes no money at all.

International involvement

Daniel Pelz went on to ask Kerstin Müller if the international community had applied enough pressure on the government of South Sudan to ensure that it promotes good governance and the rule of law, citing the rather positive attitude of many Western governments towards the authorities in Juba in the past. Various governments for instance had already recognized the new country before it even declared its independence. Müller replied that she was confident that foreign governments were doing their best, remembering the activities she'd witnessed during her last visit to Juba. She informed the audience that the new UN mission was determined to support reforms in Southern Sudan's security sector. These would include undertaking a new disarmament and demobilization drive among SPLA fighters. Manuela Römer pointed out that there was need for the international community to invest in the training of South Sudanese journalists. She predicted that internal conflicts could worsen inside South Sudan after independence and therefore urged foreign donors to support training of journalists that would enable them to cover these conflicts without causing further violence. "We need our politicians to be trained," Josephine Achiro added, pointing out that political leaders needed to be informed about the role of the media in democratic societies. She went on to explain that ministries or government departments in some cases refused to give information to journalists. Besides, she called for the establishment of a journalism school in South Sudan, explaining that no such formal training is now available there.

The role of international broadcasters

Asked by moderator Daniel Pelz if there was still a role for international broadcasters in independent South Sudan, Achiro maintained that they were playing an important role by training local journalists. However, she suggested that the frequencies of such trainings should be increased and the duration of the courses extended considerably. ■

PROMOTING DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE ARAB REGION

HOSTED BY FOUNDATION FOR THE FUTURE (FfF)

PANEL

Amal Basha
Chairperson, Sisters Arab Forum for Human Rights (SAF), Yemen

Andreu Claret
Executive Director, Anna Lindh Foundation, Egypt

Nabila Hamza
President, Foundation for the Future, Jordan

Barbara Wolf
Director, BMENA and Euromed Division, Federal Foreign Office, Germany

MODERATION

Monika Hoegen
Freelance journalist, Germany

The Foundation for the Future was honored to facilitate this workshop on promoting democracy and human rights in the Arab region and have the opportunity to advocate for a genuine understanding of the transformation process spreading in the Middle East and North Africa. Foundation board members Amal Basha and Andreu Claret, along with the foundation's president, Nabila Hamza, shared observations of the changing political realities in the region since the beginning of the year. The fourth panelist was Barbara Wolf, Director of the Broader Middle East and North Africa (BMENA) initiative and Euromed Division at the German ministry of foreign affairs.

Amal Basha and Andreu Claret gave appreciated presentations regarding media development in Yemen and Egypt respectively, with a specific focus on the necessity to voice the concerns and situations of marginalized groups – youth and women in particular. In both countries, media are being epitomized as 'change agents', which does not go without challenging the role that they can play in Arab societies.

Nabila Hamza reasserted the Foundation for the Future's commitment to supporting media freedom and media development in the BMENA region, citing several initiatives undertaken through the foundation's grant program in Lebanon, Palestine, Egypt and Yemen. In her concluding remarks, Hamza stated that "media are essential guarantors of democratic progress and governance. They are the tools of the peoples' and citizens' right to know, and of the enhancement of a culture of freedom of opinion and expression. They can be the relays of transparency and accountability, and participate in the balance of power." It is particularly important to underline this role in the new emerging political framework in the Middle East.

CYBER ATTACKS TARGETING HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

HOSTED BY DEUTSCHE WELLE

PANEL

Geraldine de Bastion
Consultant and project manager, newthinking communications, Germany

Linda Poppe
Coordinator, Survival International Germany

Markus Beckedahl
Blogger and co-founder, newthinking communications, Germany

Axel Voss
Member of the European Parliament, Germany

MODERATION

Ulrike Langer
Journalist, Germany

Hacking of commercial enterprises and governmental institutions is common nowadays, but more recently NGOs have also been experiencing such attacks with increasing frequency. During this lively discussion, Linda Poppe of Survival International stated that non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have to cope with Internet attacks on nearly a daily basis. She called the virtual attacks a "continuation of what we experience in the real world, too – that many NGOs are attacked because they take a stand for human rights". Survival International is an organization that campaigns for the rights of indigenous tribal peoples.

Refuse to be silenced

The panelists examined ways for NGOs to counter this new threat, discussing who the opponents are, the methods they use and the consequences of the digital intrusions. Poppe reported that the Survival International website had recently been hacked. Her organization decided to report the attack to the public "to show that we refuse to be silenced". There are many people, she continued, who "have a strong interest in boycotting our online presence and are prepared to invest resources to intercept information". NGOs should take this into account when they conduct their campaign work online, she advised. In terms of their information sources and whistleblowers, for example, one has to be aware "that the Web is not a safe place". NGOs shouldn't simply shrug it off, but instead find out whether other organizations have also been affected. They should seek consulting about the kind of attacks that can take place and how to counteract them. The Internet is "indispensable" for the work of NGOs, so it is incredibly important to protect their online activities. Poppe pointed out that she, however, doesn't rely on governmental support because the attacks often originate from government-affiliated sources.

Make it more of a habit to leave the cell phone at home

Markus Beckedahl, a blogger and co-founder of new-thinking communications, an agency for open-source strategies and digital culture in Berlin, advised NGOs around the world and especially in countries with repressive regimes to "place more value on IT security, use e-mail encryption, anonymized communication, and set up virtual private networks in developed countries to penetrate censorship infrastructures". Activists, he said, should also make it "more of a habit to leave their cell phones at home" because security agencies can otherwise create movement profiles of the owners. Beckedahl also warned NGOs and human rights activists against relying too heavily on Facebook. On the one hand it has many upsides, such as wide and quick distribution channels, but on the other hand it poses risks. In Arab countries, for instance, security authorities posted invitations to protests, only to later arrest protestors.

Axel Voss, a German member of the European Parliament, said that policy makers take digital attacks against human rights organizations "very seriously". "Every attack on an NGO is an attack on our societal way of life," he said. To counteract that, he added, European politicians were trying to create a "uniform legal framework". He called this a very important basis and moreover mentioned that NGOs receive strong financial support.

UNDERDOGS ON THE BRINK: INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND THE RACE FOR RESOURCES

HOSTED BY SOCIETY FOR THREATENED PEOPLES

PANEL

James Albert
India advisor, Society for Threatened Peoples, Germany

Nûno Isbosethsen
Journalist and human rights activist, Greenland

Obang Metho
Director, Anuak Justice Council (AJC); Founder and Executive Director, Solidarity Movement for a New Ethiopia (SMNE), Ethiopia

MODERATION

Hanno Schedler
Africa desk, Society for Threatened Peoples, Germany

The moderator opened the event by saying that there are 350 to 400 million indigenous peoples in the world, belonging to about 5,000 people in 75 countries. Many indigenous communities struggle for their survival. About 300 peoples in Indonesia for example are impacted by palm-oil plantations being constructed on their land. Indigenous peoples in Burma and Colombia are threatened with expulsion. In countries like Brazil and Ecuador the native Indians fight against deforestation and the mining of valuable minerals. In Canada indigenous peoples live in great poverty and among unsolved land rights disputes. The native peoples in Siberia are already affected by the consequences of climate change and fear the complete loss of their means of sustenance through the melting of the ice.

Some governments even deny that there are indigenous peoples in their countries. In order to fight for their rights, indigenous peoples increasingly organize to expose the exploitation of their lands. They are not sitting around to wait for others to fight for them to better the situation.

The experts on the panel reported on the challenges for indigenous peoples and what role the media should play to inform the public.

Nuno Isbosethsen is a journalist for KNR, the largest news station in Greenland. She wore the Greenlandic national clothes because it was Greenlandic National Day. She started by saying that there are only 57,000 people in Greenland; 88 percent of them are Inuit. Just

two years ago the Greenlandic language became the first language, before that it had always been Danish. Greenland is now moving towards independence. Due to climate change there is less snow in Greenland. There are a lot of resources in Greenland such as oil, uranium, gold and aluminum. How to deal with the potential wealth and whether it will attract many more immigrants is a big issue. Being a journalist in Greenland means covering all these issues, even if it is hard to work undercover because as a journalist one is well known. Nuno talked about the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, an important organization that represents the Inuit people. Only private persons use new media such as Facebook.

James Albert, India advisor for the Society for Threatened Peoples, has written extensively about the situation of ethnic and religious minorities as well as the effects of uranium mining on Adivasi communities. He started his presentation by saying that 8.35 percent of the population in India are Adivasi, indigenous peoples who originally inhabited the country for thousands of years. They were the first to protest against the British invaders. They were so stubborn in their fight that in 1874 the Forest Rights Act was passed, stating that the people can live from the forest and that it is their land. When independence came in 1947 the new Constitution foresaw the creation of scheduled tribal areas. But when minerals such as iron ore, bauxite and coal and later uranium were found in Adivasi areas, tribal land was stolen from the Adivasi despite existing laws that sought to protect them. The only way to fight for rights is to go to court: In 1987 government agencies in Gopalpur in Orissa state took over land without compensation for the Adivasi. The Adivasi protested against the expulsion. The case has now come to the Supreme Court whose judges called it a textbook case.

The dominant religion in India, Hinduism, states that the Adivasi are part of Hinduism, even though the Adivasi disagree. The representatives of modern industry, from banks to brokers, are high-cast Hindus. For them land is a commodity, you buy it cheap and sell it to some multinational corporation to produce something on it while polluting. The Adivasi are interwoven with the land.

India is a uranium-hungry country. Adivasi areas are used for uranium mining by government agencies. The parliament is not given any right to question since the whole topic is framed in national security terms.

Uranium is so cheap because the workers in the mines are not well paid and suffer from a lack of security measures. In the rainy season the tailing pond holding the mining waste flows over and the waste runs into the paddy fields; in summer the waste dries up and uranium fallout is taken by the wind into the villages. Many people get sick and children are born with deformities.

The Adivasi organization B.I.R.S.A (Bindrai Institute for Research, Study and Action) tries to educate the Adivasi and represents them in public. They work with the people, teaching them the newest laws of the constitution in evening classes, they are on the picket line of protests against injustice.

Obang Metho spoke about the situation of indigenous peoples in Ethiopia. He said that the race for natural resources by the wealthy and multinational companies is putting indigenous peoples on the brink. Indigenous peoples are humans like us. Most times, they are left out when it comes to education and cannot speak for themselves. The government regime exploits them. Finding natural resources on indigenous peoples' land is like finding a tumor in the human body. When their land is taken away from them their lives are taken from them.

In the case of Ethiopia there is a group called the Anuak in southwestern Ethiopia's Gambella region. In 1986 they were considered an endangered indigenous group. In 2003 the Ethiopian defense forces that were supposed to protect these citizens went from home to home, killing 425 people. No one has been brought to justice. Right after the massacre the Malaysian company Petronas moved in for oil exploration. The Anuak Justice Council was founded at that time. Metho stated that the Ethiopian government is an autocratic regime posing as a democratic one, dividing the people on the basis of ethnicity and leaving the indigenous peoples out of the decision-making. The race for natural resources, be it land grabbing in Ethiopia, a mineral in Congo, oil in Nigeria or Sudan, is done without consulting the local people. Ethiopia is known as a country that cannot feed itself. This year 13 million Ethiopians will survive on food that grew in Germany, Canada or the U.S., while the Ethiopian government gives away fertile land to India, Saudi Arabia, China or Turkey. There is no debate in the Ethiopian parliament about that. Sometimes the contracts of the land deals are no longer than five pages. Land grabs are in fact life grabs, taking away the dignity of the people who have lived on their land for centuries.

Metho called on the listeners in the room to give a voice to those who cannot speak up. The media should report that German taxpayers' money goes to an autocratic regime that colonizes its own people. Ethiopia is among the worst countries when it comes to Internet access, worse than Somalia, on the same scale as Cuba or Burma.

The moderator asked Obang Metho about the response of foreign governments to land grabs by the Ethiopian government. How does the German government for example react? Metho answered that the Ethiopian government knew how to speak the language of the rule of law, democracy, equality and justice. He told the story of the German minister for development co-operation visiting Ethiopia, being told by the Ethiopian government that everything was o.k. and then repeating the Ethiopian government's stance that everything was o.k. in Ethiopia. Metho said that the current government in Ethiopia is a puppet of the West and considered an ally of the West in the "war on terror". In 2005 the perpetrators of a government crackdown on Ethiopian citizens have not been brought to justice.

An audience member, a journalist from Ethiopia, said that the U.S. sees Ethiopia as a partner and a shield against terrorism in East Africa. That's why human rights violations are disregarded. Countries like Norway who criticized human rights abuses had to witness having their embassies shut down in Addis Ababa. Another audience member asked the panelists about the role of bloggers. What is their position on traditional media and new forms such as blogging? James Albert said that some wealthy people in India have their own newspapers which are not independent. The big papers were not really critical. He said that he was told by activists in India to read local newspapers, which are considered more critical. The B.I.R.S.A. organization makes its own films, produced for YouTube or put on DVDs to educate the indigenous peoples. Nuno Isbosethsen said that it is important for Greenlanders to tell their own story instead of relying on reports by Danish journalists who like to report stereotypes about Greenlanders. There are not many blogs or Twitter users in Greenland. Obang Metho said in Ethiopia the media is owned by the government, citing a report of Freedom House. Even the Deutsche Welle is constantly jammed in Ethiopia. Many foreign websites are blocked in the country. Social media access is at 0.5 percent of the population. People from the diaspora have a difficult time getting information into Ethiopia.

Another audience member identifying himself as an Ethiopian journalist disagreed with Metho and said

that the Ethiopian people should be allowed to use their resources in order to overcome their poverty, whatever resource there is. He said that Africa had called for foreign investment to overcome poverty. He said that Ethiopians would not have the capital to use their land resource, also lacking skill. Foreign companies using land resources would be a good thing, using their capital and the technical skill. When transparency and accountability were part of the negotiating process between foreign corporations and the Ethiopian government, what is there to criticize? This would spur competition in. The journalist said that he visited the regions about which Metho had talked and stated that he had not seen anyone displaced because these regions had been barren for years, unutilized. Why is the leasing of land a bad thing?

Metho responded that the Ethiopian regime neither showed transparency nor accountability. The locals were not consulted. The Ethiopian regime hides the contracts with foreign investors. Metho asked the moderator to show a clip of a journalist from the British newspaper The Guardian who traveled in the region where land grabbing was carried out. He found out that land is given away to foreign corporations even though people were displaced from their land against their will. After the short clip, Metho said tens of thousands of locals will be displaced by the Ethiopian government, subsequently only getting jobs on the new farms below World Bank standard. This would show that the Ethiopian people would not benefit from foreign investments, only the government.

Another member of the audience asked James Albert where he worked and whether the Adivasi in India would accept help from the outside and let foreign journalists visit them. Albert said that he frequently travels to India and works with Indian partners. After collecting information he then would try to inform the public and German politicians about the situation in India.

Being asked about whether the Adivasi had a common feeling of identity, despite India being such a large country, Albert said that members of B.I.R.S.A. told him that they would not have the time or resources to meet with Adivasi from other parts of India. To bring together Adivasi from all parts of India would need help from outside.

A Deutsche Welle journalist said that she had been in Greenland two years ago. She asked Nuno Isbosethsen about the covering of Greenpeace by Greenlandic media. How are the media in Greenland dealing the issue of resources? Greenlandic media, she said, cover the resource issue, although there are too few journalists in Greenland to follow the resource stories for a longer period of time. There is a tendency among the population to think that the exploitation of resources could help Greenland on its way to independence. Isbosethsen said that the Greenlandic government refused to talk to the local media about resources.

An audience member who said that she worked for the UN in East Timor, said that there was a resource curse and asked the panelists whether the countries the panelists are from had ratified the UN Convention on the rights of indigenous peoples. Another audience member said that even in Indonesia, where there is a free press the media ignored the issue of resource exploitation. James Albert said with regards to Greenpeace that the Adivasi were skeptical about its ways of working. Instead of reporting about riots the members of Greenpeace should live among the Adivasi. Obang Metho said that many African leaders deny that there are indigenous peoples in Africa, so they had not ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND MOBILE REPORTING: CREATING A GLOBAL AWARENESS OF CHILDREN'S RIGHTS

HOSTED BY VOICES OF AFRICA MEDIA FOUNDATION

PANEL
Jacob Mwera Mugini
Journalist, Tanzania

Njeri Akelo Meresa
Journalist, Kenya

Francisca Nuvor
Journalist, Ghana

Shanti George
Bernard van Leer Foundation, The Netherlands

MODERATION
Olivier Nyirubugara
Senior coach and trainer, Voices of Africa Media Foundation, The Netherlands

In late August of 2010, as he was traveling back home by bus, Jacob Mugini – a mobile reporter in the Mara Region of northern Tanzania – saw a scene that for many local residents seemed to be normal and acceptable, but unacceptable to him. Primary school boys and girls in uniform were carrying firewood during class time. Mugini stepped out of the bus to make a report about this. With his mobile phone, he started filming the children and interviewing them: "Teachers send us to fetch firewood … while we are supposed to be in the classroom … This work is hard for me," said a seven-year-old schoolboy. Mugini went on to a nearby field belonging to a teacher and found an even larger number of pupils working on the farm. One girl complained to the reporter that they often go home physically exhausted, and sometimes with wounds caused by snakes.

Once the report was published on www.voicesofafrica.com, the website of Voices of Africa Media Foundation (VOAMF), it spread and reached education officials in Tanzania, who felt scandalized by this flagrant abuse of authority by teachers. After projecting the film to the teaching staff of the incriminated school in the village of Mungucha, the district education officer transferred the headmaster to a faraway place and warned the teachers against such abuses of children's right.

"The children were happy after realizing that it was my story that had pushed officials to transfer the headmaster," Mugini said during this workshop. Mugini shared his experience as a mobile reporter, that is, as a citizen journalist who makes reports with the mobile phone focusing particularly on community issues.

Like dozens of other young African men and women, Mugini followed a six-month training program by VOAMF.

Njeri Meresa from Ugunja, Kenya, participated in the same training and, like Mugini, attended the conference in Bonn to share her experience that equally reveals the role mobile reporters are playing. She witnessed a road accident in which a child was hit by a motorcycle while trying to cross a street. The boy could not attend school for weeks. That same boy, together with other residents interviewed in the report, were convinced that accidents were happening because no speed limits had been implemented in the city. Once online, the story drew the attention of a local child protection organization that immediately started a speed limit campaign using the report as an illustration. As a result, speed limit signs were placed along the streets of Unguja and traffic agents were posted. Meresa was proud to tell the workshop audience that she was "happy now because in the streets of Unguja … there are police checking motorists' speed … and this has reduced the number of accidents".

While Mugini and Njeri reported positive outcomes for the community issues they had previously covered, Francisca Nuvor from Accra, Ghana, could not report any direct impact at the time of the conference. Her story is both saddening and puzzling. It's saddening because it's about a twelve-year-old boy who has no other option but to work lengthy hours searching for 'precious' materials on an electronic dumping site in Accra. To find copper wires, for instance, the boy burns computer screens or fridges and handles them bare-handed, without any mask. No one knows the kind of diseases the black smoke he inhales daily will bring in the long run. The story is also puzzling as the boy earns his bread thanks to that easy, though risky, activity. Preventing him from doing it is simply preventing him from eating and, by extension, from living. By making that report, Francisca hoped to draw the attention of policy makers and child protection officials, whose task is to ensure that children live in a healthy environment and manage to eat.

As these few examples show, the concept of mobile reporting, combined with community reporting is changing the way we perceive previously ignored local issues. Unlike the situation a few years ago when such community-focused stories could hardly make it into traditional mainstream media, they are now flooding into cyberspace thanks to the Web and mobile phone technologies, among other things. Speaking on behalf of the Bernard van Leer Foundation, a Hague-based

child-oriented charity, Shanti George wondered at the workshop why children tend to be neglected by mainstream journalists who are supposed to illuminate unilluminated situations: "Journalists are supposed to amplify the voices of people who are not usually heard," she said.

Striving to change this situation, VOAMF has adopted to encourage grassroots reporting, whereby news is generated by local reporters, about local issues and using the simplest tools that are familiar to local people. The power of the mobile phone in the context of community reporting resides in its simplicity and ordinariness as well as in the fact that reporters belong to the communities they report about. Mugini was able to capture the children's cry because he could speak the local dialect. The children opened their hearts to him because they new him as a neighbor.

Although mobile reports are locally produced and convey the local perspective on community issues, they are not solely intended for the local audience, but rather for the global audience. Hence another dimension of mobile reporting, namely that a global awareness, is generated about local issues.

Human rights are generally a neglected topic in mainstream media, except when scandals have broken out. The situation is even worse when one considers the media coverage of issues relating to the rights of the child. In many cases, like the case of the twelve-year-old boy on the dump site in Accra, the abuse is not even considered to be an abuse but a struggle for survival. In Unguja, the right to a safe environment allowing children to attend school was not on the agenda until Njeri Meresa put it there. In the case of the Tanzanian school children, teachers considered it their right to exploit them until Mugini came out with a report describing it as illegal child labor that prevented children from fully enjoying their fundamental right to education. The main message that Mugini, Meresa and Nuvor brought to the world via the Global Media Forum was that citizens can better amplify the voice of local communities and generate a global awareness about community issues that are often neglected by traditional media.

WOMEN – VICTIMS OF WAR

HOSTED BY BONN INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR CONVERSION (BICC) AND DEUTSCHE WELLE

PANEL

Lea Ackermann
Founder, Solidarity with Women in Distress (SOLWODI), Germany

Sybille Fezer
Consultant, Medica Mondiale, Germany

Elvan Isikozlu
Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC), Germany

Esther Mujawayo
Sociologist, trauma therapist and author, Rwanda/Germany

Karin Nordmeyer
President, UN Women National Committee Germany

MODERATION

Adelheid Feilcke
Head of International Relations, Deutsche Welle, Germany

The subject of "war victims" generally stirs up high emotions and dealing with it requires sensitivity. There is one group that particularly suffers from human rights violations, including maltreatment, physical and psychological abuse: Girls and women. The panel "Women – Victims of War" focused particularly on the special role of the media in reporting on war victims. The issue poses strong dilemmas for traditional and new media alike. On the one hand the media is expected to objectively cover the stories of sufferers from war crimes and to do so needs to "expose" the victims. On the other hand it takes intuition and tact in order not to further harm the dignity of the abused individual.

The panelists included five high-ranking experts from different walks of life, but sharing one common goal: To strengthen the human rights situation of women and to enforce their dignity, especially after suffering war crimes. They included Esther Mujawayo, who is a sociologist, trauma therapist and author. She lost many of her family members during the Rwandan genocide in 1994. Sister Lea Ackermann is the founder of SOLWODI (Solidarity with Women in Distress), an organization that helps women who have become victims of human trafficking, forced prostitution and domestic violence. The third panel member, Sybille Fezer, is a consultant at Medica Mondiale, where she has been especially active during the conflict in Liberia. Elvan Isikozlu is a researcher at the Bonn International Centre for Conversion (BICC). The BICC was the main partner in preparing and conducting the panel together with the Deutsche Welle department of international relations. Elvan Isikozlu led a project on wartime rape at BICC from 2008–2010 that compares different types of rape. The political input was provided by Karin Nordmeyer, the President of the UN Women National Committee in Bonn, Germany. Adelheid Feilcke, director of the department of international relations at Deutsche Welle, moderated the panel.

In her opening statement the moderator pointed out that abuse of women in times of war can have many different dimensions. She cited rape as one gruesome experience that is often used as a weapon of war and which women and girls are particularly prone to. The effects of rape are devastating not only for the victims, but also their families and entire communities, as witnessed in recent conflicts in Rwanda, Bosnia and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Feilcke continued by

saying that girls and women who are raped were also stigmatized, sometimes even driven from their homes by the shame. Many suffer long-term physical and emotional damage, which can make them unable to carry out their roles in the community.

Opening the panel to the debaters, the moderator asked Esther Mujawayo how she coped with the tragic events that unfolded during the genocide in her home country Rwanda. "There was guilt," she replied, "guilt of what we have not been able to do for our families." She pointed out how the same people who killed her family and those of hundreds of thousands of others were people she had previously trusted: "We went to school together; they were our teachers, our doctors." It was exceedingly hard to start "from scratch, from nothing" after the genocide. This was especially so, Mujawayo continued, because the war not only destroyed the Rwandan society, but also the values that held the people together in the past. As a consequence, she started – together with other survivors – the "Widows Association", an organization with now more than twenty-five thousand members. Their aim was to start "to give again" and their only revenge was "for them (i.e. the killers) to see us happy". She emphasized the important judicial advances in Rwanda, where rape is today considered as one of the main crimes.

When Feilcke approached her with her experience with the media during the genocide, Mujawayo pointed to the necessity of the cultural and topical knowl-

edge for journalists in order to conduct interviews. In Rwanda it is important to first exchange courtesies and to listen to the interview partner. "Then you will have my story," Mujawayo said.

Sister Lea Ackermann spoke about the activities that her organization, SOLWODI, has implemented in many countries around the world. These include the training of teachers in Rwanda and bringing women in situations of conflict and war together in order to advance with their lives. She also warned about the vulnerability of women in conflict-torn areas that are taken advantage of by men, including through human trafficking and sex tourism.

The representative from Medica Mondiale, Sybille Fezer, stressed the importance of media professionals maintaining a balance between "making things known to the public" and "protecting women". She pointed out that in her former work as a journalist, she often felt "challenged" between working with survivors and deciding "where to stop" an interview. This can sometimes be in contrast to the "right of the world to know what has happened". She continued that some women in conflict areas "open up and want their stories to be told and published". On the other hand it is also vital to be aware of what may happen when they talk about their experiences. According to Fezer it is always important to "film on eye-level" and let the women know that "they are in control".

Particular interest was paid to the account of Elvan Isikozlu from BICC and her report on the typology of war-time rape. According to her study, war-time rape can be subdivided into different categories. These include "rape within the military", "rape against civilians" and "rape committed by one armed group against another". Her study focuses in particular on rape against civilians. Isikozlu regrets that it is very often the person that has been raped that is stigmatized. "We need to shift from stigmatizing rape to stigmatizing the perpetration of rape." When asked about her opinion on the role of the media in dealing with issues regarding women in conflict situations, Isikozlu responded that in her view the media should increasingly report on the subject from a political instead of a personal perspective. She also pointed to the importance of an extended cultural and political knowledge for journalists who deal with these issues.

The panel's political representative, Karin Nordmeyer, from UN-Women, explained that her organization is the youngest UN entity to empower women and is under the direct charge of the UN Secretary-General. The activities of UN-Women reach the regional and national levels. However, the greatest relevance of the organization is to play an advocacy role and to persuade governments to change laws or set up new laws. The media is an important partner is achieving these goals.

JOURNALISM AND THE DRUG WAR IN LATIN AMERICA

HOSTED BY DEUTSCHE WELLE

PANEL

Doris Ammon
Journalist and author, 3sat TV, Germany

Benoît Hervieu
Head, Americas Desk, Reporters Without Borders, France

Gerardo Rodríguez Jiménez
Editor-in-chief, El Diario de Ciudad Juarez, Mexico

Judith Torrea
Freelance journalist, Mexico

Günter Wallraff
Journalist and author, Germany

MODERATION

Claudia Herrera-Pahl
Team leader Spanish desk, DW-RADIO/DW-WORLD.de, Germany

In Mexico, military force has failed to win the war on drugs. Gerardo Jiménez Rodríguez, editor-in-chief of El Diario de Ciudad Juarez, Judith Torrea, who writes the blog "Ciudad Juarez, Under the Shadow of Drug Trafficking", Doris Ammon, a documentary film-maker for television channel 3Sat, Günter Wallraff, a renowned German investigative journalist and Benoit Hervieu, head of the Americas Desk of Reporters Without Borders, discussed the responsibilities and possibilities of the media when reporting on drug cartels and their dangerous dealings.

Military force is the wrong response to a phenomenon whose roots lie in the social inequalities of Latin American society, the journalists agreed. There was also consensus about the main responsibility for the explosion of violence in the deadly chain of supply and demand lying not only in countries of narcotics production, like Mexico, Colombia, Peru and Bolivia, or in the transit states in Central America and the Caribbean, but also in the countries of consumption – the United States and in Europe – and the drug policies of those countries' governments.

The group of panelists emphasized the importance of national and international media in promoting the debate on the legalization of narcotics consumption. Another big challenge is for journalistic coverage to go beyond reporting only about massacres and arrests of drug barons and to also conduct thorough research and publish reports about the drug trade's global operations.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION, HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE MEDIA – BUSINESS JOURNALISM AS AN EARLY WARNING SYSTEM

HOSTED BY DEUTSCHE WELLE/UNIVERSITY OF PASSAU

PANEL

Oliver Hahn
Professor of journalism, University of Passau, Germany

Ibrahim Saleh
Convener of political communication, University of Cape Town, South Africa

Xu Peixi
Associate professor, Communication University of China, Beijing, and Ph.D. candidate and researcher, University of Tampere, Finland

Dimitry Yagodin
Ph.D. candidate and researcher, University of Tampere, Finland; member of the Finnish Graduate School for Russian and East European Studies, Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki, Finland

MODERATION

Christopher Springate
Project manager and broadcast journalism trainer, DW-AKADEMIE; host and reporter, DW-TV, Germany

The panel discussion acquired particular importance because it happened in the wake of a new wave of social movements reconfiguring a burden of historical past. The grassroots actors in China and Egypt, two representative countries in what is known as the global South, are looking inward for answers, a momentum shift that no longer tolerates domestic injustices. Russia and Germany are nations located in "the upper reach of the river". Russia remains an influential country, but is stuck between "a double identity" as a G8 member and a BRICS partner and is now re-examining its political, economic, and cultural traditions for a new global positioning and a new point of departure. Germany maintains economic cooperation with countries throughout the world and makes economic contributions, particularly in China, however some critics express concerns about "the economic successes of autocratic systems" and the situation of human rights. The panel consisted of speakers from these diverse national backgrounds.

In Egypt, the enchanting voices of the people for better governance and their spirit of non-violence and solidarity resonated globally. Their appeals went beyond class, gender, ethnicity, and religion, according to the Egyptian speaker Ibrahim Saleh. He observed the hesitation of Europe, the U.S. and of some of their corporate-owned media in giving their support to the people's appeals in their worry about a fake enemy of Islamist threat, among other interests. He noticed an embarrassing frustration among some Western media to define a freedom movement as "unrest" or "uprising". He held reservations about a seemingly exaggerating rhetoric on the role of social media by reminding the audience of a relatively low rate of Internet penetration and an impact of word of mouth communication in social changes. Without finger-pointing, he pleaded for the need to consider the challenges of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, corruption and nepotism which are admittedly present in the region of the Middle East and North Africa. According to him, we need to take into consideration that the movement in Egypt has a primarily socioeconomic dimension, and secondarily a democratic motivation. Somehow this is also true for similar movements in other parts of the Arab world, which have been "media-tized", like the "Jasmine Revolution" or altogether "the Arab Spring".

The Russian speaker Dmitry Yagodin took issue with the lack of treatment of human rights stories of traditional Russian media. In the Russian case, business news is more likely to appear in the Russian media than human rights stories. However, online technology has created new perspectives. New kinds of journalism, namely blogs and blog communities that are popular among the advanced online audience, may fill the gap of human rights discussions in the country. The Russian blogosphere has demonstrated some distinguished examples of grassroots activism and citizen journalism. Aleksey Navalny's investigative reports on state and corporate abuses paved the way for civic anti-corruption initiatives. The Rospil project, launched by Navalny and supported by donations from thousands of people, was given an award by Deutsche Welle for the "Best Use of Technology for Social Good" in June 2011.

The German speaker Oliver Hahn observed how some German media as case examples make sense of trade relations with Egypt, Libya, Russia and China. He captured episodes of media engagement with topics such as Mubarak, Qaddafi, the Dalai Lama, and Chechnya. He noticed a contradictory role of some German media being a critic of the German government's economic ambitions, and sometimes business journalism being too "close" to its objects of reporting: corporate and national economic interests. He raised his worries

on the phenomenon of "human rights taking a back seat" to give way to diplomatic or business interests when government and business representatives from the global North and South meet. He believed that this issue grows more acute in the emergence of new centers of power and in the light of the changes in the Arab world and North Africa. Finally, he pleaded for more "sustainable quality journalism" providing more in-depth investigated background information; a kind of journalism that moderator Christopher Springate also labeled "expensive journalism".

The Chinese speaker Xu Peixi shared results of a case study about a mobile phone-mediated social movement against the construction of a foreign invested chemical plant in the coastal city of Xiamen in South China. He observed that local traditional media outlets were locked and paralyzed by the local capital-friendly administration, but the national, non-local, foreign, economic, online and mobile media pushed the movement forward. Lian Yue blogged for the Xiamen residents and Deutsche Welle awarded him with the best Chinese blog in 2007. The speaker observed a trend of convergence between business reporting and human rights concerns within leading Chinese media outlets such as, according to him, Caijing magazine and CCTV Economic Channel.

To conclude, the panelists articulated a state of fluidity in the world and media landscape. Explicitly without any intention of being normative, they would appreciate a style of business reporting that could be internally nurtured, externally assisted, people- and justice-oriented, digitally networked, and with an awareness of different history and culture, from which the purpose of business journalism as an early warning bell of human rights failures might be better served.

DEMOCRACY OR AUTOCRACY: WHICH SYSTEM IS MORE DEVELOPMENT-FRIENDLY?

HOSTED BY THE GERMAN DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

PANEL

Aboubakr Jamai
Founder and editor, Moroccan weekly magazine Le Journal Hebdomadaire and news website lakome.com, Morocco

Todd Landmann
Professor of government and Director, Institute for Democracy and Conflict Resolution, University of Essex, UK

Markus Löning
Federal Government Commissioner for Human Rights Policy and Humanitarian Aid, Federal Foreign Office, Germany

MODERATION

Jörg Faust
Department of Governance, Statehood and Security, German Development Institute/ Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE), Germany

Recent events in the Middle East seem to confirm the hypothesis that autocratic order does little good for economic development as regimes tumbled, whose uncontrolled elites have plundered their populations for decades.

Yet, many developing countries are looking with admiration to a number of nations governed by autocratic rule, such as China and Singapore, since these countries have been able to cope well with the global financial crisis and are performing well economically.

Jörg Faust, head of the department on governance, statehood and security at the German Development Institute formulated the provocative thesis that autocracies promise a reliable course of development, thereby boosting overall economic performance while, in contrast, democracies are slow in decision-making and prone to influence taken by powerful interest groups. Hence the question: Are autocracies better suited for the economic development of poorer countries than democracies?

Western role in democracy promotion is restricted to the support of indigenous democratization movements

Markus Löning, Federal Government Commissioner for Human Rights Policy and Humanitarian Aid at Germany's Federal Foreign Office, emphasized that this question cannot be discussed without paying attention

to the factor of external parties involved in democratization processes. This is especially the case beyond the background of the Arab revolutions. Can external parties, and in particular Western governments, bring democracy to autocratic states? Löning's answer is without doubt: No, they cannot. Western governments can only encourage civil agents to raise their voices and step in once there is an indigenous democratization movement. This is a lesson Western states had to learn the hard way from their interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Striving for democracy is not primarily a question of wealth but a question of being given (not only economic) perspectives

Aboubakr Jamai, founder and editor of the Moroccan weekly magazine Le Journal Hebdomadaire and the news website www.lakome.com, underlined the importance of indigenous democratization movements. Nevertheless, Jamai pointed out that as a matter of fact, by supporting authoritarian rulers Western governments discourage local democratization movements. Jamai related the reasons for the Arab endeavor for democracy to his insights into the civil movements of the Arab Spring. People fighting for democracy did not primarily do so to achieve a certain level of wealth, but in order to be given (economic, amongst others) perspectives for their lives. A lack of personal perspectives, in spite of any personal efforts deployed, provokes a strong sense of discontent. Autocratic rules are not able to channel this kind of discontent, while democracies can provide adequate intermediaries to do so. In this regard, democracy is clearly superior to autocracy.

Democracies are outperforming autocracies when it comes to development beyond economic growth

Todd Landman, a professor of government and the Director of the Institute for Democracy and Conflict Resolution at the University of Essex, shone a light on empirical evidence on the development performance of democracies and autocracies. It shows clearly that democracies do not outperform autocracies when it comes to economic growth - though, they do not perform worse than autocracies. Democracies do outperform autocracies if development is measured in broader terms, e. g. including factors such as infant mortality, education levels and life expectancy. These empirical results strongly endorse normative statements in political science supporting democratization.

In essence, the panel concluded: Firstly, democracy as a political order is superior to autocracy regarding broader measurements of development beyond economic growth. It therefore opens up more possibilities to individuals to shape their lives in their own self-determined way. Speaking in general terms, democracy is able to provide for public goods essential for individuals in their ambition towards achieving a good life by deploying their personal means. And secondly, successful democracies can only be built on strong domestic and local movements. They cannot be imposed by external parties. Nevertheless, external actors – and regarding democratization especially the Western (democratic) state actors – can indirectly discourage or encourage indigenous democratic movements by publicly high- lighting their support or opposition to autocratic rulers.

LABOR MIGRATION AND HIDDEN ISSUES: A ROLE FOR THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIA

HOSTED BY THE ASIAN MEDIA INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION CENTRE (AMIC)

PANEL
Papias Banados
Filipino domestic worker and author of The Path to Remittance, Singapore
Syed Saifu Haque
Co-Founder, WARBE Development Foundation, Bangladesh
Rene Plaetevoet
Director, Radio 1812 project, Belgium
Ramesh Jaura
Chief Editor, In-Depth News, Germany

MODERATION
Kalinga Seneviratne
Head of Research and Capacity Building, AMIC, Singapore

The main aim of this workshop was to explore how the international media can be utilized in tackling migrant labor-related issues and especially to report on the "hidden issues of labor migration" to the decision makers and communities involved in both the source and destination countries.

The first speaker, Papias Banados, recently published a book of short stories entitled The Path To Remittance based on the migration experience of Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs). Banados spoke about some of the stories included in the book and argued that three main issues come out from these stories – namely the unscrupulous recruitment agents who exploit OFWs; the demands from family back home for increasing amounts of money; and unwanted pregnancies that force Filipino women to go overseas to work to help feed extra mouths. She argued that the international media need to play a greater role in exposing the huge profits recruitment agents make by charging exorbitant placement fees from the OFWs and when things go wrong they never come forward to help them.

She also spoke about how family members back home squander the money sent to them from overseas and how the women, not wanting to say no to their relatives, must find ways to earn extra money to send back home. Banados was also critical of the Catholic church,

Rene Plaetevoet

Syed Saifu Haque

Kalinga Seneviratne

Papias Banados

which has drilled into peoples' minds that it is a sin to use contraceptive methods. She argued that the media, rather than always talking about "how much money we send back home" to help the Philippines economy, should look more at the suffering the OFWs must endure to send this money back home. "Media should look at how people exploit us both in the Philippines and overseas and why governments are not doing enough to stop this," she concluded.

The second speaker, Syed Saifu Haque from Bangladesh, was a migrant worker in Saudi Arabia and Singapore before returning to Bangladesh and setting up a non-governmental organization. He explained some of the reasons that compel the poor in Bangladesh to go overseas to work. He said climatic change resulting in tidal waves in the south and droughts in the north are two major reasons driving people overseas to work, and the government policy is to export workers. Lack of reliable information about the recruitment process and lack of regulation to control recruitment agencies are major reasons why Bangladeshi workers get exploited overseas, he argued.

Haque said that some people pay about 3,000 U.S. dollars to agents to get an overseas contract for three years, but they are unable to earn this amount of money to cover that expense. The latest U.S. State Department report named Bangladesh as one of the countries where trafficking of workers takes place, and Haque argues that it is not only Bangladesh as the source country which needs to be blamed, but also the receiving countries that use outsourcing to recruit foreign labor. He explained how recruitment countries have now outsourced the hiring of workers. Thus, rather than hiring workers directly from a recruitment agency in the source country, now there is an extra middleman who has come in, which makes it more expensive for workers to find a job overseas.

There is also another problem, namely visa trading, where employers sell their letters of recruitment permission to outsourcing agencies, which in turn sell it to recruitment agencies in Bangladesh. This has made trading in workers a big business. Haque also said that recruitment agencies are well organized in Bangladesh with their own association that looks after their own interests. With many politicians and big business houses involved in recruitment agencies, it has become harder for NGOs like his to fight for a better deal for migrant workers and prevent them from being exploited by recruitment agencies. Due to this fact, most media in Bangladesh do not want to report on exploitation of migrant workers. Haque also believes that the focus of news coverage must change from focus on migrant workers as troublemakers or victims, to migrant workers as contributors to national economies, especially in receiving countries.

Rene Plaetevoet spoke about the December 1812 project initiated in 2006 to mark International Migration Day with the aim of developing international links to ensure the protection of migrant workers and their families. "We needed a network for solidarity and advocacy," he argued. He explained that over the past four years, 357 radio stations in 77 countries took part in the project. Most of them were community radio stations "because they were embedded in the communities and provided information resources for them". He also pointed out that last year they were able to get some big international broadcasters like Radio Netherlands, Radio Canada and Radio Taiwan to take part.

Plaetevoet explained how they were able to network with radio producers in different countries to produce programs reflecting migrant voices and network the contents internationally. They also encouraged collaboration between radio journalists and migrant organizations. The biggest challenge is to build Radio 1812 into a network which stays active throughout the year and culminates on international migrants' day. They would like to launch a monthly program on migration issues.

The final speaker, Ramesh Jaura, provided his observations in Europe about media reporting of migrant labor issues. He explained that in Europe, labor migrants could fall into two categories – those fleeing from environmental disasters or seeking political asylum and those looking for greener pastures. All of them could be seen in Europe as people "trying to steal our jobs". However, he said that in the past 30 years many young Europeans have traveled overseas or worked in development projects where they have experienced life in other countries first hand. After returning they have had a different attitude towards migrants in their midst – usually a more positive attitude. But still, the fears are very much there. The media in Europe, argued Ramesh, have failed to provide their audience with a real conceptualized picture of why people are coming from other parts of the world to Europe. He also pointed out that if it weren't for labor migrants in Europe who do the dirty job, life for the rest would not be as comfortable as it is now. Thus, he believes that the media need to take a broader, more conceptualized view of labor migrants in Europe.

The presentations were followed by a very animated discussion on the realities of labor migration and the stereotypes which are often conveyed by the media.

The second part of the workshop was conducted in a roundtable fashion with a smaller group and with the head of Deutsche Welle Radio's English programming, Kristin Zeier, joining the discussion. The session focused on discussing various ideas of setting in motion a content production network on migrant labor issues. At the end of the workshop, Kalinga Seneviratne from AMIC agreed to draft a project proposal in which DW-AKADEMIE may be involved as a training partner and the radio's website could become the platform to disseminate the contents.

CAN INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM POSE A THREAT TO HUMAN RIGHTS?

HOSTED BY THE PEACE AND CONFLICT JOURNALISM NETWORK (PECOJON)

PANEL

Misha Glenny
Journalist and author, UK

Leif Kramp
Research coordinator, Center for Media, Communication and Information Research, University of Bremen, Germany

Kai Laufen
Investigative journalist, SWR (Südwestrundfunk) and member of the board of Pecojon Germany

MODERATION

Antonia Koop
Journalist, media trainer and international coordinator, Pecojon Germany

PECOJON is an international network of print, radio and broadcast journalists, filmmakers and journalism teachers who focus on implementing and mainstreaming responsible and high quality reporting of conflict, crisis and war. Responsibility in complexity is the characteristic of conflict-sensitive journalism. However, investigative and conflict-sensitive journalism are much in line. This was the main outcome of the Pecojon workshop. The panel was moderated by Antonia Koop, a journalist and the international coordinator of Pecojon Germany. As a media trainer, Koop focuses on improving and securing the quality of conflict reporting within this international network of journalists. At the beginning of the workshop, Koop asserted that journalists can support human rights; but they can also pose a threat to human rights. She said that journalism faces several dilemmas. Pecojon tries to encourage solidarity and cooperation among the journalists as well as to bring a higher level of objectivity and equal respect. She emphasized the role of solidarity networks of cooperation.

Misha Glenny agreed with this idea. A journalist who formerly worked for the BBC, Glenny has covered revolutions in Eastern Europe and the war in former Yugoslavia. He is also the author of several books. His latest, Dark Market, deals with cyber crime. Regarding his position, Glenny said it is very unlikely that investigative journalism is going to damage the course of human rights. At the same time, this kind of media expression does not set out necessarily to support any specific political position. The motivation for the majority of investigative journalists is to expose truths that vested interests for particular reasons want to keep hidden. Glenny stated, on principle, there is some harmony between investigative journalism and human rights.

He suggested that journalistic dilemmas came sharply into focus during the war in Yugoslavia. His personal conflict situation was when he was targeted by different groups who either supported or opposed what he was reporting. Glenny became the subject of attacks of defamation and libel. Journalists in such an extremely precarious situation have to worry about their own security and that of their colleagues, Glenny stated. He called this is a stress factor, which may lead to biased judgments. To prevent dilemmas, journalists should also be very principled to respect people's wishes, regardless whether they are militants or civilians, i.e. in many situations people are not willing to give their full names. In situations of social unrest, journalists have to be extremely aware of the subjects and their wishes. One should not push them for information they are unwilling to share.

Glenny also mentioned the collapse of the economic base of some news organizations. He sees this leading to the increased hiring of freelancers and bringing unique problematic dynamics. Organizations often feel only semi-responsible because they often have no contracts with stringers. Generally, responsible journalism should seek to find out what is going on with accuracy; in addition, it should be aligned not only with current events, but also those that occurred in the recent past. Such an approach could make a real impact on general history and social policy of the working area. One can understand a lot more about a subject if people are prepared to talk, Glenny said. One should give them a basis to talk which is better than getting just a quote from them. There is always a limited ability to investigate, Glenny said. That is why it is very important not to get too emotional but instead as factual as possible. Investigative journalism requires going past a question/answer paradigm and diving into conversations.

Kai Laufen is a German journalist who has filed investigative stories on cyber crime and investigated the coal trade in Columbia in relation with human rights issues. Regarding his recent travels as a journalist, especially within Colombia, Laufen said that he was in regions where he would not have traveled three years ago because there were military organizations that could endanger his life. For war victims, psychologically it is easier to talk if they are not still grieving. The challenge of investigative journalism is not to forget their stories and not to be always chasing the latest news. In regions with indirect and direct violence, Laufen had to consider that he will be out of the country later, but his subjects have to stay and face the consequences of what they said in each talk. A new factor for him was that some stories are transmitted worldwide. For example, he got a comment from a featured company in Colombia while writing for an article published in Germany. In Colombia, he felt threatened when he visited a coalmine and after leaving the sector he was chased by two guys with motorbikes. The question of objectivity for Laufen is a good motivator for journalistic work. Conflicts are sometimes more different

and complex than they seem to be. That is why there are limitless possibilities to investigate. If you do this, you dig out more and more aspects and layers, Laufen stated. Focus should be given on training for conflict analysis and understanding of its dynamics, as well as to the role of NGOs. They look closer into the details and can find a peaceful outcome. This could also be a challenge for journalists. A journalist who wishes to better understand the causes of conflict should attend relevant courses.

For Leif Kramp, a media, communications and history scholar who has written several books on media and journalism, the question of investigative journalism is how responsibility can be guaranteed. Journalists are aliens in a foreign land, he stated. They have to cope with many challenges and they make mistakes. The consequences of even seemingly small mistakes can be very harsh for themselves or other people. Investigative journalists have to anticipate how their actions affect local lives when they leave. For his study he spoke with 17 major crisis reporters. Pressure frame, demands of newsrooms, and situations on the frontline – all these factors have to be taken into consideration. He said that there are several ways to learn journalism. Conflict-sensitive journalism today is a very difficult but also popular subject.

Training more future journalists in this facet of journalism would be a good thing. Kramp also mentioned that when journalists want to write a story, sometimes they could not convince their newsroom to support the idea because other stories are deemed more important. The reasons are image streams from the news agencies. The real decision is made in the newsrooms, where pressure for exclusivity is growing. This threatens quality human rights reporting. He also mentioned trauma healing for journalists, which is not very institutionalized. Especially stringers don't have any support for such services.

Antonia Koop, as the panel moderator, lastly emphasized the need for preparation, insight and understanding of a conflict situation. There is a lack of systematic approaches and more conceptual understanding, she said. Koop mentioned the desire of the journalists to do a good investigative job, but also the need of a comprehensive system of education that prepares individuals to produce quality journalism. This should be available not only for international correspondents, but also for local journalists. They in particular could fill information gaps and look for cooperation. At the end of the session, she prompted the panelists to provide guidelines for when things go wild around them.
Kai Laufen: "The first point would be to survive. The next, to look for your colleagues and informers."
Misha Glenny: "If you are in a difficult situation, don't panic: Use your common sense."
Leif Kramp: "A point is to build networks to protect. For that you need time and money."

HUMAN RIGHTS IN POST-CONFLICT SOCIETIES

HOSTED BY THE GERMAN COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS (DGAP)

PANEL
Andreas Heinemann-Grüder
Head, Academy for Conflict Transformation, Germany

Ivana Howard
Senior Program Officer for Europe, National Endowment for Democracy (NED), United States

Kerstin Müller
Member of the German Bundestag, Deputy Chairwoman of the Subcommittee for Civilian Crisis Prevention, Germany

Tesfay Asbeha
Developmental analyst, political consultant and translator, Germany

MODERATION
David Bosold
Associate Fellow, DGAP, Germany

After a brief introduction by Ambassador (ret.) Wolfgang Runge (North-Rhine Westphalia chapter of the German Council on Foreign Relations, DGAP), Andreas Heinemann-Grüder took the floor and addressed the current human rights situation in the two former Soviet Republics of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. He stressed that although ethnic strife and civil war had ravaged the two countries in the 1990s (Tajikistan) and the late 2000s (Kyrgyzstan) and violence had by now ended, the overall political situation remained volatile. This situation was partly due to the fact that media attention regarding the conflicts had been comparatively scarce. In addition, as opposed to more prominent cases of post-conflict societies in Africa and the Balkans, peace-building in Central Asia had been thus far largely neglected by the United Nations – often due to objections by the Russian Federation that considered the region its own backyard.

Although the situation remained calm on the surface a number of issues were detrimental to the prospects of political accountability and an improvement in the local human rights culture, one reason being widespread corruption amongst elites, another the latter's instrumentalization of ethnic divisions to further their respective political aims. As far as Kyrgyzstan was concerned, another aspect Heinemann-Grüder mentioned referred to the failure of American democratization

programs which had not been able to fully supplant Soviet-style modes of authoritarian rule. One result of this trend was a general lack of press freedom, a key factor in raising awareness of human rights violations. Although Kyrgyzstan had experienced some improvements in this respect since early 2010, it would be too early to speak of a positive – and irreversible – trend.

The second speaker, Ivana Howard, highlighted recent developments in the Balkans, a region that has remained in the media limelight for more than a decade. Although the human rights situation has improved overall, largely due to a massive presence of international peacekeepers, the political solutions in both Bosnia and Kosovo had ramifications detrimental for the prospect of long-term peace, according to Howard. Skirmishes between Kosovar Serbs and Kosovar Albanians in 2008 (and in the summer of 2011 shortly after the Global Media Forum was held) and a de facto separation of Bosnian Serbs within the Republika Srpska and Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Muslims in the Bosnian Federation demonstrated a cold peace in the two newly established countries. Although positive signs were received from Belgrade, most notably the extradition of Ratko Mladić to The Hague in early June 2011, decreased media attention and a certain Balkan fatigue in Western capitals were playing into the hands of local political leaders seeking to destabilize Bosnia and Kosovo. Given the expected accession of Croatia to the European Union, Howard stated that the prospect for EU membership was probably the most powerful political tool to entrench recent democratic political reforms and human rights standards.

Moving from the Balkans to South Asia, Kerstin Müller, the foreign policy spokesperson of the Greens/Alliance 90 parliamentary group in the German Bundestag, gave a cautious but optimistic outlook with respect to international state-building efforts and the human rights situation in Afghanistan. She lamented that although significant political progress had been made in the country since 2001, especially with regards to women's rights and education, a lack in resources and donor attention in the mid-2000s due to the Iraq war had led to a resurgence of the Taliban and a deterioration on the ground. Besides the destabilizing effect of the insurgency, progress had stalled because of a certain naiveté on behalf of Western governments. Time and resources had been wasted by designing and implementing a centralized political system alien to local culture and customs. Still, now that incremental troop reductions had been announced and authority

was being handed over to Afghans, Germany and its allies were pursuing a promising path. Undoubtedly, however, Afghanistan would need a reduced troop presence for years to come, not least to preserve the political and human rights progress achieved thus far.

In how far positive democratization processes and the initial establishment of a functioning human rights regime should be met with caution, based on a long-term perspective, was demonstrated by the eye-witness account of Tesfay Asbeha, a former member of the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF) in Ethiopia. What had started out as an armed struggle for democracy, political accountability and human rights in the 1970s seemed to have been a successful campaign after the end of the Ethiopian civil war in 1991.

Yet, in the past two decades, the victorious minority headed by President Meles Zenawi has reverted back to the dictatorial practices of the government it had previously ousted. Ethiopia and Eritrea, a country that gained independence in 1993 and is governed by ethnic kinsmen of the Tigrayan people, demonstrate that the international community should not only seek to support peace and state-building in countries in which a sizeable contingent of peacekeepers is deployed. It should also pay more attention to countries such as Ethiopia and Eritrea that seem to have overcome political instability but have, often with the aid of international donors, become states in which the human rights situation is slowly but steadily deteriorating.

Discussion

In the subsequent discussion, attendees and panelists agreed that one should differentiate between nation-building and state-building. Whereas peace-building was the means to achieve nation-building and state-building, the two were not synonymous. Nation-building was directed at the construction of a collective identity. State-building, was focusing on the creation of sustainable and accountable government structures. It was the latter that should take precedence in post-conflict situations since efforts to create a national identity in multi-ethnic settings might, more often than not, aggravate the situation on the ground and instead of furthering the blossoming of a human rights regime, actually lead to its demise.

ARAB BLOGGERS FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY

HOSTED BY THE FRIEDRICH NAUMANN FOUNDATION FOR FREEDOM

PANEL

Rachid Filali
Algeria

Suhail al Gosaibi
Bahrain

Basem Fathy
Egypt

Mustafa Saad
Iraq

Marcel Shewaro
Syria

Mohammad Al Qaq
Jordan

Tarik Nesh-Nash
Morocco

Monder Al Jaghoub
Palestine

Markus Löning
Federal Government Commissioner for Human Rights Policy and Humanitarian Aid, Germany

Marc Koch
Editor-in-chief DW-Radio/DW-WORLD.DE, Germany

MODERATION

Ronald Meinardus
Regional Director Middle East and North Africa, Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty, Egypt

Invited by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation Cairo, eight bloggers from the Arab region joined the Global Media Forum. The citizen journalists from Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Morocco, Syria and Palestine are renowned in their home regions and beyond. They described the situation in their countries and reported first-hand on the role of social media in promoting freedom and democracy in the Arab world.

"The revolution was much larger than the blogger world," said Basem Fathy of Egypt, who had spent those critical days of the revolution in Cairo at Tahrir Square. "Many people joined in who have never had contact with the Internet."

Markus Löning, the Federal Government Commissioner for Human Rights Policy and Humanitarian Aid at Germany's Federal Foreign Office and DW-RADIO editor-in-chief Marc Koch also took part in the follow-up talk, discussing Germany's and Europe's role in the historic events in the Middle East. Löning warned against glorifying the role of online platforms. "If the political will and determination of the people are not there, you can have so many Twitter accounts and as much Facebook as you like, and there will be no revolution."

First-hand accounts

Each of the Arab blogs had a story to tell. Suhail Al Gohaibi from Bahrain began to blog about political issues because he found the international media's take on developments in his country biased; Moroccan Tarek Nesh-Nash runs an online platform that is home to a popular discussion about constitutional reform. Mohamed Al Qaq, from Jordan, produces and distributes video clips that shed a critical light on the restraints to freedom of opinion. "I am foremost a blogger – like the rest here – but with a small difference: In my work, pictures are more important than words," he said.

The audience was also riveted by Syrian Marcel Shewaro's passionate account of the escalation of violence in her country and her determination to use online activism to counteract the regime. "If we don't make change now, it will be more brutal. They will even rule my children. We need freedom and dignity – and we need it now." Fearing for her safety, Shewaro has fled Syria and now lives in exile in Egypt.

Ronald Meinardus of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation in Cairo commented that the workshop provided "not only an intriguing discussion in a truly global context of experts. The Deutsche Welle Global Media Forum is above all a place to form networks and nurture contacts." Many years ago, Meinardus began his career as journalist at Deutsche Welle, so the conference was also an occasion to reconnect with many former colleagues.

The feedback from the Arab participants, many of whom reported on the conference via their blogs, Facebook and Twitter, was also largely positive. Special praise came from a reporter for Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, who said in his report about the workshop that it was "arguably the most impressive round" of the entire conference.

DIGNITY: HOW TO INTEREST THE PUBLIC IN EDUCATIONAL, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS

HOSTED BY AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

PANEL
Joe Hall
Campaign Manager for the Demand Dignity campaign, Amnesty International, UK
Justus Nyang'aya
Director, Kenyan office, Amnesty International, Kenya

MODERATION
Monika Hoegen
Journalist and trainer, Germany

"Dignity" lies at the heart of what it means to be human. In the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, states affirmed that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights". However, Amnesty International's evidence highlights how people living in poverty are at greater risk of human rights violations such as forced evictions, denial of access to water and health, and torture and ill-treatment by the police. This is a global reality. Many of these human rights violations have the effect of driving people further into poverty. They create a vicious cycle of insecurity, exclusion and deprivation, and prevent people's voices being heard.

Amnesty International's Demand Dignity campaign aims to enable people living in poverty to exercise and claim their rights, to hold governments, companies and international financial institutions to account for human rights abuses, and to participate in the decisions that affect their lives. The campaign focuses on four central themes: slums and informal settlements, maternal health and sexual and reproductive rights, corporate accountability and the legal enforcement of economic, social and cultural rights.

Around the world more than one billion people live in slums. One of the major human rights abuses Amnesty International campaigns against is forced evictions, often linked to property development or slum upgrading projects. The effect of forced evictions can be catastrophic, particularly for people who are already living in poverty. Forced evictions result not only in

people losing their homes (which they may have built themselves) and personal possessions, but also their social networks. After forced evictions, people may no longer be able to access clean water, food, sanitation, work, health and education. Officials carrying out the evictions often use excessive force against residents, and sometimes firearms.

Years after being forcibly evicted, millions of people remain homeless and destitute, and many have been driven deeper into poverty. They have neither been rehoused nor compensated for their losses and most do not have access to justice and effective remedies. Those responsible for these human rights violations have not been brought to account. Human rights activists in many countries have stood up, often in the face of violent government repression, to demand their right to adequate housing and to call on their governments to end forced evictions. Too often their calls have fallen on deaf ears.

People living in poverty in slums are too often denied a voice, they can be or can feel powerless to change the problems their communities face, in part because they are "out of the picture" – in some cities slums are literally not recorded on city maps. Forced evictions highlight the importance of the media in fighting for human rights. Amnesty International's experience of Kenya and Ghana, for example, has shown that forced evictions can be halted when there is sufficient pressure on the authorities, and national media coverage can play a big part through newspaper, television and radio.

Media coverage can play a vital role in making other issues public too and bringing them into the mainstream. As one example, Amnesty International Kenya and local partners recently worked with a TV station, the Kenya Times Network, on a two-part news piece examining the story of a woman raped on the way to the toilet at night in the slum where she lived in Nairobi. The journalist's sensitive account of the issue, told firsthand from within the slum, was an excellent example of how to tell a very compelling story and humanize what can be seen as faceless, mass problems. In the global South, economic, social and cultural rights – such as the right to health and housing – can be easier to cover in the media as human rights issues, though there are still challenges to that there. In some countries in the North, as the audience at the talk in Bonn noted, human rights are seen as the more "traditional" civil and political rights and there the debate needs to change. The good news is there are encouraging examples of ways to tackle these issues in the media around the world.

Last year in the run-up to a major UN summit on the Millennium Development Goals, Amnesty International garnered major media coverage for a large public clock erected in Times Square in New York counting the number of women dying of preventable causes during childbirth – one every 90 seconds. As the summit proceeded, media coverage of the clock helped influence governments from a number of countries to recognize that when women who should have decent healthcare are dying, this is indeed a human rights issue. In a different example from Sierra Leone, national media coverage was also important on this issue, helping influence the government to make a pledge on free maternal health care.

The possibilities of the media are greater now than they have ever been, and digital and social media are creating incredible new ways to bring about human rights change (as we have all seen so memorably in the Middle East and North Africa this year). In China, activists crowdsourced a "bloodstained property map" to show the extent and effects of forced evictions across the country. Campaigning on forced evictions in Nigeria, Amnesty International has used satellite imagery to show visibly the before-and-after effects of slum clearance, and with local partner organizations it launching a billboard campaign in one of the cities to help change negative perceptions about people living in the slums. In the past year, Amnesty International has also set up a "Rapid Response Network" involving tens of thousands of Amnesty members around the world via email, SMS, the web and Facebook to help stop imminent forced evictions – and to bring across the human rights issues experienced by people living in poverty.

In a world of great economic and social inequality, where we face ever greater upheavals from conflict to migration to climate change, the media has a vital role to play in returning the world's focus to that most basic, most fundamental of issues that we can all relate to – human dignity. "Dignity" was one of the cries in Tahrir Square and the same call echoes round the world. If the media can make that call heard, there is definite hope for the future of human rights. ■

DIGITIZATION AS A FACTOR OF (SECURITY) POLICY – DOES THE SAHARA FORM THE BOUNDARY FOR FACEBOOK?

HOSTED BY THE ACADEMY OF THE GERMAN ARMED FORCES FOR INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION (AIK)

PANEL
Geraldine de Bastion
Consultant and project manager, newthinking communications, Germany
Sebastian Elischer
Research fellow, Institute of African Affairs, German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA), Germany
Margrit Prussat
Senior scientist and lecturer, DEVA, Institute of African Studies, University of Bayreuth, Germany

MODERATION
Florian Volmer
Academy of the German Armed Forces for Information and Communication, Germany

In the light of what has been termed the "Facebook Revolution" in many northern African countries, the panel covered the issue of digital media and its political influence in the Sub-Saharan part of the continent. It addressed the question of whether distribution of the Internet as a tool of mass media seems possible in Sub-Saharan Africa in the mid-term, for example due to the decreasing costs of technological hardware and data networks. It also explored the political consequences to be expected if the digital gap would continue to close. The first part of the workshop focused on the history and status quo of digitization and political participation in Sub-Saharan Africa. Sebastian Elischer, a research fellow at the German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA), gave an introduction into the political status quo in Sub-Saharan Africa, as political participation, stability and the state of democracy. He claimed that in terms of democracy the Arab world was for many years lagging behind Sub-Saharan Africa. He argued that there already has been a consistent trend towards greater democratization since the early 90s and so the push towards democracy appeared long before social media. According to Elischer, print media and especially audio media have been of central importance for democratization in many Sub-Saharan countries. Elischer shortly presented case studies of Kenya, Ghana and Niger and pointed out that the role of the Internet as a political factor is different in each of these countries. While in Ghana the Internet has long become a useful forum for political debates, in Kenya its role is ambivalent and in Niger the Internet does not play any role for politics. Elischer finished his statement by

concluding that the digitalization of information has a positive and a negative impact on democratization and that training of journalists remains the main issue in Africa.

Following Elischer, Margrit Prussat gave a short lecture on Internet access and user behavior in African countries, presenting facts and figures on digitization in Sub-Saharan Africa. Prussat is a specialist in digitization at the digital archive of the Institute of African Studies at the University of Bayreuth in Germany. She claimed that there has been immense user growth in the last 10 years in most African countries. According to Prussat, even though the digital divide and e-literacy remain main issues, the gap between Africa and the rest of the world is becoming smaller. Especially mobile Internet is spreading quickly and communication by mobile telephones is becoming more and more important.

Geraldine de Bastion, an expert on digitization in Africa who works as a consultant and project manager for newthinking communications in Berlin, explained how digital media is used as an instrument for political communication in Sub-Saharan Africa. She pointed out that social media is becoming consistently more crucial for the daily communication of young Africans. She said that for many people in Sub-Saharan Africa, social media present an opportunity to paint a realistic picture of their country. They are used as a way to express oneself. According to de Bastion, the Internet helps to combat a stereotypical image of Africa. On the political side, she claimed that digital applications are increasingly used to influence but also to organize decision-making processes. For example she mentioned what is known as "FrontlineSMS" as a tool for election monitoring and referred to the quickly growing blogger societies in many African countries.

For Geraldine de Bastion, the influence of digital media on decision-making processes is rapidly growing but at the same time it is already under threat of being muffled. She underlined her opinion with recent examples: In February 2011, 45 people were arrested in Zimbabwe for watching recorded news coverage of the uprising in Egypt. In Cameroon the SMS service of Twitter was shut down in March and during the "walk to work protests" in Uganda, the Communications Commission (UCC) ordered Internet service providers to block Facebook and Twitter for 24 hours.

De Bastion concluded that although few governments are harnessing the Internet to engage in dialogue with their citizens, a growing number seem increasingly eager to prohibit critical voices from being heard. As the use of new media for bottom-up political communication is increasing, so are government efforts to exercise control.

Asked to make a hypothesis on potential future trends, Margrit Prussat replied that the digital gap would become significantly smaller in the mid-term. While Sebastian Elischer warned against overestimating the influence of the web on Sub-Saharan democratization processes, Geraldine de Bastion argued that with the growing access, more attempts to use Internet based communication for political protest will increase. As the establishment of stable infrastructures and legal frameworks that guarantee freedom of speech, freedom of press and that enable growth of pluralistic media structures and create room for independent media is encouraged, efforts by governments to exercise control would follow.

ON THE WAY TO A NEW ERA – THE FUTURE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN ARAB SOCIETIES

HOSTED BY THE GOETHE INSTITUTE

PANEL

Ibrahim Letaief
Journalist, film director and producer, Tunisia

Faisal Mohamed Salih
Journalist and Lecturer, Director of Teeba Press, Sudan

Amira Sayed El Ahl
Freelance journalist and foreign correspondent for the Middle East, Egypt

Anna Würth
Head, Development Cooperation Unit, German Institute for Human Rights, Germany

MODERATION

Golineh Atai
Editor and anchorwoman ARD/WDR, Germany

Media play a fundamental role in the democratic movement in the Arab world: State-run television and newspapers on the one hand and independent news coverage by new reporters through social media outlets on the other. New platforms for freedom of expression were created this way in Egypt and Tunisia. But how do things look in other Arab societies such as Iraq and Sudan? And how will media be able to accompany political processes and social changes in the future? Will it be possible to integrate the media as a "fourth power in the state", in terms of a legitimate voice for the formation of political opinion and will?

In this workshop, journalists and human rights activists engaged in lively discussion and ventured to make cautious predictions about the future.

The session was moderated by Golineh Atai, a journalist and presenter for a morning news show on German public broadcast network ARD. She is also a former foreign correspondent for ARD's Cairo bureau. The podium discussion provided extremely topical, first-hand impressions on the various developments in Arab societies and how the media is covering them. Egyptian journalist Amira El Ahl and Tunisian filmmaker Ibrahim Letaief, who also served on the jury of the Berlin International Film Festival, continuously reported on the revolutionary waves that swept through their countries and are now actively involved in the process of reshaping the media landscape. Journalist and media trainer Faisal Salih reported on the role of the media and the working conditions for journalists in Sudan, a country not yet caught up in the uprisings of the Arab Spring. Rounding out the panel was Anna Würth, head of the development cooperation unit at the German Institute for Human Rights, who has special expertise of the human rights situation for media producers in Iraq.

Status quo caught between censorship and freedom of opinion

At the beginning of the session, a short documentary called "Speak Your Mind" dramatically depicted the topic of freedom of opinion in Iraq, based on the personal experiences of three journalists. The film is the product of Human Rights Matter, a project jointly carried out by the Goethe Institute in Arbil, the German Institute for Human Rights and the Independent Film and Television College in Baghdad. For several of the podium guests and many international journalists among the some 100 who attended the session, the images of persecution and harassment of reporters flickering across the screen in the seminar room were all too familiar.

Amira El Ahl, however, painted a more positive picture of the movement of upheaval in Egypt. "People who were part of the revolution now want to take an active role in shaping the new media landscape. There is political debate everywhere. It started from the beginning of the revolution. Wherever you went, people were talking politics, not just in the media, but also on the street." Ibrahim Letaief had similar happenings to report from Tunis, saying that he sees – especially amidst social media journalists – a new generation of media producers with a civil society orientation who would be recruited by newly oriented papers. He said he's optimistic that their journalistic work would impact future opinion-making in the country.

Breach of confidence and rapprochement – relations between conventional and social media

Across the board the members of the panel agreed that citizen journalists reporting via social media played a major role during the upheavals in Egypt and Tunisia. They were ascribed great credibility and could now more strongly step out beyond the virtual world, for example by campaigning for political office or working with new broadcasters and newspapers. Amira El Ahl said that new radio and TV stations were sprouting like mushrooms. It would be a long while, of course, for some of them to achieve a level of professionalism equal to that of Al-Jazeera, she said, but the media plurality and diversity of opinion reflected the newly awakened, immense interest Egyptians have to engage in political dialogue.

The previously established dailies and TV broadcasters were now grappling with the tough job of regaining the trust of their audiences. In Tunisia many key posts were still occupied by the same people as before. A blacklist was introduced to identify those journalists who had previously cultivated a strong pro-regime stance. In Egypt, state-run TV broadcasters in particular now had great difficulty salvaging their lost reputation after having reported that the revolutionary movement had been an uprising of a few isolated groups. Nonetheless, Ibrahim Letaief said he observed a kind of reconciliation in Tunisian society between readers and viewers with conventional media. He also said he's

sure they would once again find their footing as soon as people noticed that information was no longer used for manipulation as had been the case under Ben Ali's rule.

When attributing the role of social media toward promoting democracy it is important to bear in mind that most rural Egyptians have no Internet access. Satellite television, however, is quite widespread in rural areas and has been quite an asset for access to information. For Sudanese society, Faisal Salih said there was little chance of revolutionary sparks being transmitted via Twitter and Facebook because the technological infrastructure there was lacking.

Training of journalists a key prerequisite for future forecasts

When asked for his forecast of the future, Ibrahim Letaief jokingly said this was the first revolution in which he'd been involved, but he had great faith in the new constitution, which significantly improved the situation for freedom of opinion. It was stipulated that half of the legislative assembly to be elected in October would be made up of women. "With social media and women we can make a success out of the revolution," he said. It was particularly precarious to address the topic of corruption. Anna Würth's personal assessment confirmed the dramatic situation for journalists in Iraq that was depicted in the introductory film. "More and more journalists die in Iraq every year, and from what colleagues tell me, the same holds true for human rights investigators who have the very same structural problem that they can't report on human rights violations. From what I hear, it's actually getting worse as opposed to better."

All of the panelists agreed that the foundation for media's future role as the fourth estate of a democracy must be based on the training of young journalists who have been schooled in objective reporting in order to contribute in the long term to the political decision-making process and the forming of political will.

High relevance

Due to the topic's timely relevance, the panel discussion met with huge interest at the conference. The political potential of social media in times of radical change was a matter of popular discussion. With its network that spans the globe and close relations with partnership organizations in Arab countries, the Goethe Institute was able to respond quickly and coordinate a podium of international experts of various backgrounds, enabling a sound comparison and well-founded look into the future of Arab societies.

HUMAN RIGHTS ORIENTED DEVELOPMENT POLICY – WHICH OPPORTUNITIES FOR COOPERATION WITH THE MEDIA?

HOSTED BY GERMANY'S FEDERAL MINISTRY FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT (BMZ)

PANEL
Kurt Gerhardt
Journalist and development expert, Germany

Hauke Hartmann
Senior project manager, Bertelsmann Stiftung, Germany

Astrid Kohl
Head, International Institute for Journalism (IIJ), Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), Germany

Jochen von Bernstorff
Consultant for UN human rights protection and spokesperson, Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law, Germany

MODERATION
Conny Czymoch
Journalist, News anchor, Germany

Media are of utmost importance for human rights promotion and development. They can raise public awareness, control and check governmental actions and promote accountability. It is often the media that make human rights violations public and emphasize the state's obligations to respect, protect and fulfill human rights. This holds true for violations of civil and political rights, but increasingly also for infringements of economic, social and cultural human rights, such as the right to education, the right to health and the right to food.

Yet not all development actors have already discovered the high potential of the media for development and development cooperation. The workshop discussed that relationship and explored different ways of supporting and strengthening independent media in developing countries.

What are the challenges we are confronted with? What preconditions have to be fulfilled to ensure that media professionals are able to promote the realization of human rights in development?

In her opening speech, Marita Steinke of the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), highlighted the fact that the ministry's new strategy, "Human rights in German development pol-

icy", issued in May 2011, aims for the empowerment of marginalized social groups in developing countries. Without the media, how would it be possible to give a voice to the most vulnerable people?
Providing introductory input, Hauke Hartmann of the Bertelsmann Stiftung presented the most recent data selected from the Bertelsmann Transformation Index regarding the situation of civil and political rights in the world and more specifically the freedom of expression. According to this index, only very few developing countries have "generally unlimited" freedom of expression. Recently there has been a negative trend in several developing countries, which is often correlated with the low level of the rule of law over the past several years.

Focusing on Sub-Saharan Africa, Hartmann highlighted that political rights are respected in numerous developing countries, even though several East African countries – from Ethiopia and Uganda to Burundi, Malawi and Rwanda – show negative trends regarding freedom of expression. But this relatively positive assessment has to be viewed in conjunction with a societal context that is in most countries not conducive to press freedom and effectively discourages freedom of opinion: the limited independence of the judiciary, the lack of enabling civil society participation and the low level of socioeconomic development.

It is against this empirical background that the panelists discussed the opportunities and limits of external support for media development.

Astrid Kohl, who heads the International Institute for Journalism of GIZ, underlined that media development primarily aims at strengthening media diversity and deepening media density. GIZ utilizes various instruments for advancing the organizational development of media houses and journalism training centers. It offers, among other things, further training for mid-career journalists, consultancy and also dialogue to facilitate the South-South exchange of experience between journalists. Kohl stressed that press freedom is necessary for reporting on human rights violations but it is not sufficient. What is needed is the awareness of the media houses about human rights and the knowledge, the competence and the skills to report on them. In their commentaries, several journalists attending the workshop reconfirmed the existence of demand for capacity development in order to enhance the quality of journalism.

Journalist and development expert Kurt Gerhardt put into question the usefulness of current efforts in media development. He argues that trainings usually do not meet journalists' needs. Instead, development cooperation may have a positive impact if it promotes the enabling environment for journalists' work through political dialogue with governments. However, Gerhardt considered it most important to empower marginalized people in developing countries, enabling them to use the media, thereby also creating an internal demand for media products that take into account the interests of the poor. Astrid Kohl pointed out that enhancing access to the media also comprises building media competence, since it is crucial to learn how to use the media properly, especially digital media.

Jochen von Bernstorff, who is the spokesperson for the Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law in Heidelberg, Germany, focused on the media's responsibility to cover human rights violations in a comprehensive manner. According to von Bernstorff, publishing spectacular stories on starving people is not at all sufficient. Instead, journalists should deal with the root causes of human rights violations,

thus analyzing the structural issues of poverty and marginalization. Von Bernstorff noted that the documentation of the United Nations human rights treaty bodies, especially the concluding observations on state reports, may serve as a very useful source for journalists. However, the panelists discussed how such an article might become fascinating enough to be published by a newspaper. A more active role of journalists in human rights promotion thus also requires a shifting attitude of editors and media houses.

In her concluding remarks, moderator Conny Czymoch invited the participating journalists to continue addressing human rights issues and giving a voice to the marginalized and the poor, thus contributing to the promotion of human rights: "There are so many good stories out there!"

REPORTING HUMAN RIGHTS WITHOUT INFRINGING THE RIGHTS OF THOSE REPORTED ON

HOSTED BY DART CENTER EUROPE

PANEL
Rana Husseini
Journalist and author, Jordan

Jina Moore
Journalist, Rwanda/New York

Esther Mujawayo
Sociologist, trauma therapist and author, Germany

MODERATION
Gavin Rees
Journalist and filmmaker; Director, Dart Center Europe, UK

Listening, language and realistic expectations all play a role in the difficult task of covering human rights abuses. When journalists and policy analysts write about human rights abuses, it may feel like we are approaching these stories from an airplane flying at a thousand feet. Whether the focus is on genocide, honor killings or sexual violence, the language can become technical and remote. Even the addition of a block quote from a victim in a policy report or a fleeting sound bite in a TV report can still leave us up in the air and feeling semi-detached from the people affected.

Chairing this panel on reporting human rights without infringing, Gavin Rees, the director of Dart Center Europe, suggested that the quick quote as a short flash of journalistic "color" may leave the reader with trou-

bling questions: How did the journalist approach the victim? What impact did those questions have on her? What happened to her after the interview?

The panelists explored how thinking through these questions can not only reduce the potential harm that acts of reporting may cause contributors but also produce more insightful and innovative journalism.

Making the approach

Jina Moore, a U.S. journalist and former Dart Center Ochberg Fellow with an extensive background in reporting from Rwanda, Liberia and other African countries affected by conflict, added how important it is for a journalist to know their role, and why they are there. "When, you go in there don't tell them that you are going to tell the world about their story," she said. Journalists have been turning up to post-conflict zones for decades, dangling the prospect that coverage will bring aid or intervention, "and nothing has changed". Local people know this; far better to be realistic. A simple promise to include a link to the site of a local charity can give something of benefit back to the contributor's community.

Victim or survivor?

Moore also stressed the importance of taking care to think through one's own assumptions about the status of the person one is about to interview. "A survivor is a person with an entire complex lived life before and after a dramatic experience. A victim is identified by that moment of trauma," she said.

An individual is likely to embody both statuses to differing degrees at any one time. "If you are walking into the room without being clear of which person you are writing about," she suggested, "you will confuse them." It is hard, then, for anybody to be cast in the role of both a victim and a survivor at the same instant, and catching someone between the two may well cause distress.

Gavin Rees stressed the importance of listening. It may sound simple, but it is a skill that requires effort and dedication to develop, and one that should be at the top of any "how to" advice for journalists covering any kind of trauma.

It was something each panelist in turn underlined and repeated.

"A matter of life and death"

Seventeen years on from the genocide in Rwanda, those events stir up emotions and memories that many are still unable to articulate. Esther Mujawayo, a psychotherapist and human rights activist, lost her husband and many of her family members, but feels fortunate to have survived with her three children. It took her ten years before she was able to write about her own experiences in a series of books, which have won numerous human rights awards. Speaking to the audience with a smile, she drew distinction between being alive and what she described as "alive alive".

In the aftermath of the genocide, mere existence was not much of a life. It meant a deadened feeling, where the future felt foreshortened and the continued presence in the community of perpetrators and collaborators in the killing destroyed trust and connection.

"We wanted not only to be survivors", she explained, "but alive alive. Now we choose to be alive, in the beginning we were condemned to be alive as we were not killed."

Mujawayo set up an organization for widows, called AVEGA (Association des Veuves du Genocide d'Avril).

Mujawayo emphasized the importance for journalists to get the terminology right. It is her conviction that lives would have been saved if the international media had used the word genocide earlier on in a short window of time in 1994 in which 800,000 people were killed. The choice of language was, she said, "a matter of life and death".

Lessons from the genocide in Rwanda

Mujawayo had several practical pointers for journalists working on sexual violence stories in conflict-affected stories. First, she noted how often even experienced reporters, who had turned up to interview her, had shown a dangerous ignorance of the political realities. She asked the audience to imagine the following situation:

"The rebel movement speaks English. The governmental army speaks French. So, if you as a journalist speak in English to me, and I am surrounded by neighbors and the normal army, I will immediately labeled as an accomplice of the rebels… So what do [I] do? I say nothing."

Mujawayo also urged journalists to follow up properly on the aftermath of an atrocity and to not just cover it when it is breaking. "When we try to get people interested about our work in AVEGA they tell us that there is no more interest in Rwanda — this is cynical." And it causes hurt.

Eighty percent of AVEGA's members, she explained, had been raped during the genocide and half of them are HIV-affected. The perpetrators held in UN detention received medication, but not the women. "There was no provision for the witness. And this is [something] for you [as a] journalist to report." Mujawayo, who now works as a psychotherapist at the Psychosocial Center for Refugees (PSZ) in Düsseldorf, Germany, advised the journalists in the audience to take care about whom they select for interview and to understand that vulnerable people have limits.

Working with refugees in Germany, including child soldiers, she and her colleagues sometimes have to block journalists from accessing specific individuals. "As a therapist we also want those stories known to make a difference. But on the other hand we have to refuse because you are exposing someone and the person needs to be stabilized. We tell clients don't talk if you do not feel ok. If you are talking to one of our clients, it is important that the therapist is there. And if he or she cannot report, let the therapist tell."

Bringing taboos into the light

The final panelist was Rana Husseini, a court reporter for The Jordan Times who has made honor killings, or what she prefers to call "so-called honor killings," and the silence around them the center of her work.

When she started reporting the crime, the topic was taboo. Then, one day in the mid-1990s, she came across a brief item in a paper that just said: "A man killed his sister and police are investigating." What Husseini noted was how news organizations covered the case: "Either not, or just as a small item."

Husseini investigated further and found beyond that brief line was the story of a 16-year-old schoolgirl who had been killed by her family because one of her brothers had raped her. Rather than caring for the pregnant victim, the family had held her responsible for the attack.

That first story, Husseini said, has kept her doing what she does.

She discovered the sentences for those crimes were extraordinarily low: "I went to court cases and I discovered that men get only a 3 to 6 months… sentence for these killings. You can write a bad check and get a higher sentence than [for taking] someone's life."

Journalists in Jordan are barred from using the family name or publishing photographs in such cases, but Husseini puts in as much detail as she can in order to humanize the victims and place them into the forefront of her readers' minds.

To get the details she needs, Husseini approaches people in the community who may be afraid to speak, or who have close connections to the killers and thus even a potential interest in misrepresenting the situation.

She never hides her identity: "I always say that I am a journalist… I am asking people in the streets, [I] go to the neighbors and shops and build up sources and confidence. It is extremely important, and you need to compare the sources. You have to be very smart."

Changes in the law

Husseini has not limited herself to just focusing on victims: In order to explore the background and motives behind the crime, she has also interviewed their killers. Listening to them without expressing judgment was essential but a personal challenge.

As a result of her work, Husseini has found herself adopting an additional role to just being a journalist: She has also become a well-known human rights activist. She says this was something that she could not have done without the support of those around her: "My editors and my colleagues believe in human rights and also my family. And that was very important for me. Writing about social stories makes a difference in our society – that's what I believed in."

Indeed Rama Husseini's reports have led to significant changes to how Jordan's legal system handles "so-called" honor killings.

CONFERENCE DAY 3

KEYNOTE SPEECH: ADVOCACY VS. OBJECTIVITY – MEDIA AND HUMAN RIGHTS

By Monika Hauser, Founder and Executive Member of the Managing Board of Medica Mondiale

Dear participants of the Global Media Forum 2011,
Dear media experts on the panel,

It is a great pleasure to be invited to make the keynote speech for today's plenary session on the topic of "Advocacy vs. objectivity – Media and human rights". Since I founded the organization medica mondiale in the year 1993, I have met many women whose human rights were violated one of the worst ways: by rape. Sexualized violence occurs in all wars in a systematic way. It has nothing to do with sexuality.

Instead, it is a sexualized expression of the power imbalance between men and women. This also leads to massive abuse in what we consider to be "times of peace". Domestic violence, rape and so-called "honor killings" are present in almost all societies worldwide. And this power imbalance then expresses itself in a very extreme way during wars. In Bosnia or Kosovo, in the Democratic Republic of Congo or currently in Libya – women systematically become victims of rape. They may be carried out on order as part of a "military strategy". Or it might be that armed men just take what they want because their power over and disdain for the women among their enemies is stronger than at home. Sexualized violence has severe and long-term physical and psychological consequences for the affected girls and women.

The special aspect of the human rights violation "war rape" is that the women involved are given hardly any chance to talk about their traumatic experiences. For this violation, unlike many others, the shame and blame for the act fall on the side of the victims and they are stigmatized and excluded, sometimes even turned into outcasts. The social obligation to remain silent creates even more psychological pain for the women affected. It would be so important for them to be able to talk openly about their experiences in order to process their trauma. So the media have a very special role when it comes to reporting these gender-based human rights violations. Media coverage can make a valuable contribution to breaking the taboo and creating local and international publicity about these common yet suppressed human rights violations on girls and women.

Before I come to the central question of the plenary session "advocacy vs. objectivity", I first want to mention two other aspects which seem important to me when dealing with the issue of the media. First: The language. It is frequently obvious that the reporter is also influenced by patriarchal gender images. In German, for example, one word for rapist is "Frauenschänder", which translates as "defiler of women". But surely it is the perpetrator who is "defiled" and should feel shame, not the woman he raped. And if we take a look at a current example from another prominent gender war zone: the alleged rapist Dominique Strauss-Kahn has been called a "sex banker" or even "the man who loves women". Using such

terms shows that the reporters have not understood anything about the dynamics of sexualized violence. Unfortunately at medica mondiale we experience simply too often that belittlement and falsification are common in reports on the severe human rights violation that rape is.

Another problem we also often have to deal with in our project regions is: How sensitively and respectfully do journalists of both genders treat affected girls and women? The communication with severely traumatized survivors of sexualized wartime violence requires empathy and sensibility, plenty of time, and compliance with certain rules of behavior in dealing with trauma victims. Unfortunately our experience in the last 18 years has often been different. From Bosnia in 1993 through to the DRC in 2011, our experience is that women have repeatedly been retraumatized by insensitive interviews and other aspects of a journalism dominated by voyeurism and sensationalism. How often have I seen camera teams looking for a "good story" forcing their way into a refugee tent and sticking their camera and microphone right in front of a woman's face without asking! How often have journalists broken their agreements? Including the existentially important promise to respect the anonymity of the interviewees? For this reason, at medica mondiale we published an advisory handout with a code of conduct detailing how to deal with trauma victims. I would like to see all journalists respect these tips, which draw on many years of intense experience. And I would like to see reports that are not dominated by voyeurism and sensationalism but instead show respect for the victims and a will to change the societal conditions which make these sexualized human rights violations of women and girls possible in the first place. This would also mean media coverage after the sensation peak is over, continuing to inform the public about these crimes and their long-term consequences for the affected women, as well as the whole wartime and post-war society.

Every day in the DR Congo women and girls become victims of massive sexualized violence, committed by soldiers from all warring parties. And the conclusion of official peace treaties does not mean peace for the women. In post-war societies they are often exposed to massive violence from the men on their "own side", who are often traumatized and brutalized by the war themselves. I would like to see the media report every day from the "battlefields of the worldwide war against women and girls": sexual slavery, forced prostitution, domestic violence or genital mutilation. However, often, much too often, these human rights violations on women and girls are not recognized. This is the other extreme of voyeuristic and sensational journalism: they are considered to be some kind of collateral damage and thus ignored or treated as insignificant. Or as a special case.

Please note, this is also true for those who speak up for the survivors. When we attend meetings on human rights we are often the special case in the "women's corner" instead of being a normal part of the main program. Or sometimes we are simply forgotten

completely. For example, in the run-up to this very event my keynote speech simply did not show up on the German website of the Global Media Forum. Of course, I would treat this as a fully understandable mistake not worthy of mentioning – if it didn't happen so often. The affected women and girls, however, need media coverage and they need reports that take sides.

So now I come to the title question of this plenary session: "Advocacy vs. objectivity". And maybe I will surprise you with this statement: I think that treating these two qualities as opposites is artificial – and therefore wrong. The description of this plenary session originally opened with the following paragraph: "Articles about campaigns against the worst human rights violations – child abuse, terrorism, torture and racism – [Here I would like to draw your attention to the fact that human rights violations against women were not even mentioned] have to be checked and verified by journalists like any other story prepared for publishing. Here we are in the midst of the old dichotomy – advocacy for a good cause versus 'traditional objective journalism'."

So I want to ask you: Where is the dichotomy? Articles and reports have to be checked well, carefully and accurately: of course that is true. It is also and especially true for war rapes because we know that they are often instrumentalized by each of the opposing sides to justify their own behavior. For example, when the U.S. army marched into Afghanistan the violation of women's rights was mentioned as an important reason for the intervention. In fact, they have never played a major role in the politics pursued in the country by the "occupiers". Libya offers another example: It seems somewhat remarkable that just as NATO declared its intention to put an end to the regime of the Libyan President Gaddafi he is publicly accused of having given the command to his soldiers to rape women in the rebel areas. It is similarly strange to hear the UN Special Representative for Libya, Cherif Bassouni, dismiss these accusations as "mass hysteria" and even before the facts were clarified. He was the head of a UN expert commission which investigated sexual war crimes in former Yugoslavia. So there is no need to mention that careful journalistic research is indispensable here. And this is particularly true for new media such as blogs, Facebook or Twitter, which on the one hand give women huge possibilities to articulate their life conditions but on the other hand provide new possibilities for abuse and spreading false information.

However: Does all of this really mean that good reporting cannot take sides? I don't think so. After all, so-called journalistic objectivity does not really exist. Criteria of objectivity only play a limited role in the question of whether a piece of news makes it to the front page, to the comments page or to any page at all. And particularly for the current war zones, how can we talk about "objective" journalism when most of the journalists are "embedded"?

If journalists do independent research in a war zone and if they meet people there – perpetrators and victims – then they will develop an opinion or stance. At least, this is true if they are open. The most important thing is that they are then transparent about this opinion and offer research and facts to justify it. They should not consciously leave things out or emphasize things other than those which are in contradiction to their findings and facts. This approach is called truthfulness or veracity. And it is this truthfulness that I ask of journalists. In my opinion responsible journalism is committed to this truthfulness. Motivated media coverage of human rights violations against women and naming the perpetrators makes a contribution to restoring the dignity of these women. In turn, this then contributes to the dignity of journalists. ■

PLENARY SESSION 3

ADVOCACY VS. OBJECTIVITY – MEDIA AND HUMAN RIGHTS

HOSTED BY DEUTSCHE WELLE

KEYNOTE SPEAKER
Monika Hauser
Founder of Medica Mondiale, Germany

PANEL
Alvito de Souza
Secretary General, SIGNIS, Belgium

Eduardo del Buey
Director of Communications and Public Affairs, Commonwealth Secretariat, UK

Supinya Klangnarong
Vice-Chair, Campaign for Popular Media Reform (CPMR) and board member, Thai Netizen Network, Thailand

Thomas R. Lansner
Professor, School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University, United States

Fred Andon Petrossians
Online Editor-in-Chief, Radio Farda; Iran editor, Global Voices, Czech Republic

Aidan White
International media specialist; former General Secretary, International Federation of Journalists, Belgium

MODERATION
Frank Smyth
Washington representative and journalist security coordinator, Committee to Protect Journalists, United States

Dr. Monika Hauser

Frank Smyth

Eduardo del Buey

Alvito de Souza

A doctor who founded an organization to help women raped in conflicts thinks it's artificial and therefore wrong to treat objectivity and advocacy as opposites. Giving the keynote speech of the workshop, Dr. Monika Hauser, founder of Medica Mondiale, said reporters of both sexes often use language influenced by patriarchal gender images. "In German, for example, one word for rapist is 'Frauenschänder', which translates as 'defiler of women'. But surely it is the perpetrator who is 'defiled' and should feel shame, not the woman he raped."

Hauser said communication with severely traumatized survivors of sexualized wartime violence requires empathy and sensibility, plenty of time, and compliance with certain rules of behavior in dealing with trauma victims. "Our experience in the last 18 years has often been different. From Bosnia in 1993 through to the Democratic Republic of Congo in 2011, our experience is that women have repeatedly been re-traumatized by insensitive interviews and other aspects of a journalism dominated by voyeurism and sensationalism."

Hauser also said she would like to see reports that "show respect for the victims and a will to change the societal conditions which make these sexualized human rights violations of women and girls possible in the first place."

Where is the dichotomy between advocacy and objectivity? Hauser asked. "For example, when the U.S. army marched into Afghanistan the violation of women's rights was mentioned as an important reason for the intervention. In fact, they have never played a major role in the politics pursued in the country by the 'occupiers'.

"Does all of this really mean that good reporting cannot take sides? I don't think so. After all, so-called journalistic objectivity does not really exist. Criteria of objectivity only play a limited role in the question of whether a piece of news makes it to the front page, to the comments page or to any page at all.

"Responsible journalism," said Hauser, "is committed to truthfulness". Journalists conducting independent research in a war zone will develop an opinion or stance. "Motivated media coverage of human rights violations against women and naming the perpetrators

Supinya Klangnarong

Fred Andon Petrossians

makes a contribution to restoring the dignity of these women. In turn, this then contributes to the dignity of journalists."

Especially U.S. journalists cling to 'objectivity' as the quality that defines their craft, said session moderator, Frank Smyth, who has worked for prominent American newspapers and is now the Washington representative and journalist security coordinator of the Committee to Protect Journalists. But a prominent critic had derided the notion as a mythical view from nowhere. He referred to the Qatar-based Al Jazeera TV station as setting new positive standards. In covering conflicts it was letting people know where the bombs came from and where they were landing. He praised especially Al Jazeera's coverage of the Arab rebellions but saw it holding back on Qatar.

Canadian Diplomat Eduardo del Buey, Director of Communications and Public Affairs at the Commonwealth Secretariat in the UK, noted that there is now so much information about that it is difficult to find the truth. "Journalists are looking for the truth. So there's a big difference between being objective and being truthful. There is no reason why a good journalist cannot feel like a human being and cannot transmit his or her views of what they're seeing in a way that is going to captivate the imagination of the people, all the while giving people the assurances that what they are saying and what they are seeing is the truth and not an opinion of the truth.

Alvito de Souza, Secretary General of SIGNIS, suggested throwing the word objectivity in the bin "because it's a myth". He stressed the importance of community media. "Community media and their

Aidan White

Thomas R. Lansner

workers are a kind of linkage point between civil society action and media on the ground with small marginalized communities. Community media are on the first line of where abuses take place and often the community media workers are journalists on the first line of repression, but they are very often hardly ever looked at as serious media.

Supinya Klangnarong, a Thai media policy advocate, spoke of restrictions on the media in her country. One given is that no criticism of the monarchy is allowed, punishable by up to 15 years in prison. Thais are highly politically motivated and fight hard for their ideologies on hundreds of radio and TV stations. Thai media should pay more attention to human rights, she argued, and journalists should have more freedom to advocate. But another large group of society wanted restrictions because freedom of speech had been exploited.

Czech Republic based Fred Andon Petrossians, online editor-in-chief of Radio Farda and Iran editor of Global Voices, focused on Iran, saying it was almost impossible to cover any story about that country without referring to breaches of human rights, but local journalists were not allowed to touch them, 150 had fled the country.

Aidan White, an international media specialist based in Belgium, saw "a constructed conflict between advocacy and journalism, let's just get it out of the way. Advocates and journalists have exactly the same interest and the same responsibilities. The big question is about how we treat information. Respect the truth, be independent, respect your audience, do no harm."

Thomas R. Lansner, professor for international media and politics at Columbia University in the U.S., said he wanted to drive another nail into the objectivity coffin. What was needed was accuracy, honesty and completeness. He quoted an American journalist of the past who said she had a cold eye but a warm heart. "Something all good journalists should aspire to is to be able to provide the dispassionate analysis, the facts, the accuracy, but to treat it with the passion of people who are also seeking the truth and justice."

In response to a question asked from the floor by a woman from Monash University in Melbourne, Australia, Aidan White was severely critical of FOX News as an example of how money can be made with unethical journalism. A German audience member said by giving up her corporate media job and consulting NGO's on handling media "I'm now more of a journalist than I was when I was paid by a big German corporation".

Thomas Lansner replied in response to a questioner that traditional journalists should work with any sources they can find – bloggers, citizen reporters, other people working with social media. "The new world of social media should be a goldmine from which traditional journalists look for resources, find new perspectives and can offer them moving into the mainstream media." ■

FOREIGN AFFAIRS COVERAGE AND WHAT IT MEANS FOR PRESS FREEDOM

HOSTED BY DEUTSCHE WELLE/GERMAN FEDERATION OF JOURNALISTS (DJV)

PANEL

Andreas K. Bittner
Treasurer, German Federation of Journalists (DJV); board member European Federation of Journalists, Germany

Christoph-Maria Fröhder
Freelance foreign correspondent, Germany

Marc Koch
Editor-in-Chief, DW-RADIO/ONLINE, Germany

Peter Philipp
Former chief correspondent, Deutsche Welle, Germany

MODERATION

Sybille Golte-Schröder
Head of Asia Programs, Deutsche Welle, Germany

If you spent an evening with Afghan villagers in Taliban territory hearing what they thought about the war, and about planting a European or American style democracy on their country, you would not believe in that war anymore, said panel member Christoph-Maria Fröhder, a veteran freelance foreign correspondent. He recently spent a week behind the lines, protected reluctantly by the village mayor who feared Taliban reprisal but hosted Fröhder anyway.

"People completely disagree with all the efforts we are making there. They don't see the aim, they don't believe in the aim, they say 'it's completely against our own tradition'."

Getting that close to people in a country you're reporting from is the dream, Fröhder went on, but agreed with other panel members that it's getting more and more dangerous. "You will find this kind of talking only if you go there on your own without being embedded [with the military] and if your bodyguards – we had two – are from the area; but they shouldn't be present."

Fröhder presented very definitely as an "old school" correspondent, rejecting any truck with bloggers, citizen journalists, social media or the like. Others on the panel and in the audience emphatically contradicted him.

Marc Koch, editor-in-chief of DW-RADIO/DW-WORLD.DE, argued: "We should have in mind as well the capacities of so-called citizen journalists. Citizen journalists and classical journalists are no opponents, they should work together to improve their products because the knowledge people on Twitter and Facebook have is a very special knowledge, it's knowledge by very young people who brought a tremendous dynamic to these [Arab] revolutions. They would have broken out in any case, but not at that time and not with such a dynamic impact on Egypt and Tunisia. We should rely more on the networks of the bloggers and social media scene because they have their information and their proofs and we have to find out if we can rely on them, but they have reliability, they produce through their own networks. We won't progress with our profession if we ignore the social media and their contribution to our profession."

Fröhder, who has reported for decades from several countries in conflict, replied that he'd "never looked at Facebook". "Most of time you can ignore all Facebook information that gets printed, it's not important. Twitter is too short. You cannot give summary of a situation in 1½ sentences. My rule is that I report only on what I've seen personally. The public believe you much more when you have been present at the location and explain how you came to your opinion."

Peter Philipp, Deutsche Welle's former chief correspondent, based for more than 23 years in Jerusalem, argued: "Every country has its own specifics and this information will not come from bloggers, individuals who put into the Internet whatever they please. I respect bloggers as engaged, highly spirited activists but I have my doubts whether one should put them on the same level as professional journalists."

Ahmed, a blogger from Saudi Arabia in the audience, noted that Saudi media were bad and that blogs and Twitter sites offered much better information on what's happening in the country, "much better than what's in the newspapers". A German woman who reports from Cairo said, "if you know whom to follow you get very useful, very important information; many of the people who use Twitter in Cairo are journalists themselves. Some of the most important bloggers are still working as journalists." Daniel Gerlach, editor of the German Middle East magazine Zenith, thought that since the Egyptian army council had started publishing their communiqués on Facebook, it must be worth looking at.

"In Tunisia somebody would say there is a sniper on the roof of the corner of Avenue Bourguiba and the other road, just to scare people away and make sure they don't demonstrate. Immediately, like two minutes later, people said, 'no it's not true, I'm standing here with my cell phone, there is no sniper on this roof, this is propaganda' and in the case of this blogger it was the consumer who found out, because information was circling, people were trying to confirm or contradict it and eventually the consumer does help the traditional journalist and sometimes is even more awake than the traditional journalist, I fear."

Head offices were seen as a big problem for foreign correspondents, expecting them to conform to clichés in their home countries. Fröhder was massively interfered with by his Hamburg newsroom in his reporting on the bombing of a civilian bunker in Iraq, which killed 500 women and children. "Can't we just run

the Pentagon's version of this in the news?" he was asked. "The head office is the main problem. It is far away, they read European media and their opinion is formed by European media, controlled by European points of view." The German woman who reports from Cairo cited colleagues telling her that head offices had rewritten their stories on Islamism to make it appear more threatening. "There are so many clichés back here which apparently need to be served."

Head offices tend to believe the news agencies before their own people on the ground, said Marc Koch, and that wouldn't change. He was also told to pronounce the names of Spanish places the way Germans pronounce them, not the proper Spanish way. It's not just a matter of better training, suggested Philipp, "the best trained journalist, if he's being stopped by his bosses in the paper or in the radio station, is worth nothing".

Is the foreign correspondent an endangered species? Aidan White, a journalist who was the General Secretary of the International Federation of Journalists from 1987 until April 2011, spoke from the floor of "the absolute collapse of foreign coverage among mainstream media around the world. Foreign correspondents are a diminishing species; companies are no longer investing in foreign affairs coverage. The fact that Reuters, Associated Press and so on are taken as the first port of call to the exclusion of people on the ground has always been a problem, but today it's absolutely the automatic impulse of newsrooms, so that collapse of investment in foreign correspondents is desperately threatening press freedom and spreading the notion of press freedom." Philipp sees it as mainly an economic question. "It doesn't justify it but it is very bad, not only bad for the journalists who cannot go there anymore, but it is bad for human rights. The less we report on foreign countries, the less people know about foreign countries and what happens there, the less protection of human rights will happen in these countries. How can people in Europe know about what happens in these countries, how can they support or attack a certain policy of their government if they don't know; and the only way to find out is through journalists and through foreign correspondents."

All panelists stressed the importance to correspondents of local stringers, especially if the correspondent didn't know local languages. "But very often the stringers are really badly treated, they don't get insurance, they don't get proper training, they don't get welfare rights and so on. The amount of abuse of journalists in-country by media organizations coming from the outside is nothing short of a scandal," said White.

Protection of journalists was also discussed. White referred to the 2006 United Nations Security Council resolution 1738 which stipulates that governments have a responsibility to take care of media people in conflict zones and the Secretary General of the UN is bound by that resolution to provide an annual report on the protection of journalists in conflict zones. "Safety of journalists is not only important for safety of foreign correspondents, but also the safety of stringers on the ground, the people that we use."

Noting that most conflicts are no longer between signatories of the Geneva Convention on the protection of journalists, Peter Philipp said, "you have to protect yourself, you have to know the area, you have to know more or less what you should do or shouldn't do and even then you can make many mistakes and I doubt very much that training by the German military in some Black Forest hideaway will give you the results if you get into a problem in Iraq or in Afghanistan or somewhere else. The Geneva Convention is good for classical, so-called traditional, regular wars, but not for wars where you don't know who's around the next corner. You cannot make an agreement with groups you don't even know.

"In the first Iraq war, American journalists just drove into Iraq from Kuwait and suddenly disappeared because they were arrested by the Iraqis. Then they were protesting that this was against the freedom of the press. No, you have to take into consideration the interests of a warring party. If this is a country at war you cannot have journalists drive around free and without any control and any journalist who thinks freedom of press includes that right and freedom then unfortunately he will have to pay for it and hopefully not with his life but with some arrest and sometimes with not-so-nice prison. They can be mistaken for some hostile element and be shot at and afterwards they find out, 'oh, they were journalists'."

NEWS FROM EXILE – MEDIA WORK IN THE DIASPORA

PANEL
Bashana Abeywardane
Journalist, Germany
Lloyd Himaambo
Editor of "Watchdog", Zambia

MODERATION
Gemma Pörzgen
Journalist and a board member of Reporters Without Borders in Germany, Berlin, Germany

Mobile phone video of Sinhalese soldiers cold-bloodedly killing nine naked, blindfolded and bound Tamil hostages sparked a United Nations inquiry into Sri Lankan war crimes after Sinhalese journalists exiled in Germany passed it to mainstream media.
Internet revelations of theft of public moneys by government officials in Zambia by Zambian journalists also exiled in Germany are the main source of political information for Zambians. Government employees leak information to these activists.

The two main strands of a small but active workshop provided by panelists Bashana Abeywardane, aged 40, of Sri Lanka, and Lloyd Himaambo, 30, from Zambia. They run the "Journalists for Democracy in Sri Lanka" (http://www.jdslanka.org/) and "Zambian Watchdog" (http://www.zambianwatchdog.com/) websites respectively. The workshop also heard examples of past Nigerian and Sudanese underground journalism.

The footage, shot by a government soldier, emerged three months after the government declared the country liberated from Tamil Tiger rebels in 2009. First aired by Britain's Channel 4 television, the story was picked up by print and electronic media worldwide, but, to Abeywardane's puzzlement, not in Germany.

The shocking footage was filmed when the Sri Lankan government banned all foreign media from covering the conflict zone. "It was the first evidence of atrocities being committed to come out of the country and we managed to get it out. We had to decide whether to just post it on the website or to put it in the mainstream. We chose the mainstream because only a limited number of people would see it on the website and especially the influential bodies would just ignore it because it came in one of the websites. Channel 4 immediately saw it was important and they decided to broadcast it on the same day we emailed it to them.

Extrajudicial killings by government soldiers and paramilitaries have been documented in Sri Lanka for years, but never evidence like this." More video clips have come out of the country since.

Abeywardane also accuses Germany of accepting as Sri Lanka's second highest diplomat in Berlin a high army officer responsible for war crimes. "He's in Berlin, so both of us cannot live in Berlin, either he should go or I should go," said Abeywardane, whose group of Sinhalese journalists are vilified as the country's "number one enemy" and "traitors of the motherland", including by other Sri Lankans living in Germany.

At the end of 2006, Abeywardane had to flee Sri Lanka – where 26 media workers have been killed and one jailed in the past five years – when "attacks against me got out of hand" after he reported independently and critically on the inter-communal war, which has killed upwards of 80,000 soldiers, civilians, Sinhalese and Tamils. He has legal status as a political refugee, financial support from a foundation and backing from Reporters Without Borders and PEN. He is a leading figure in the Sri Lankan exile movement.

Of the more than 70 journalists scattered mostly through Europe and America, some in Japan, 25-30 contribute to JDS.

"We're the only alternative to government media"

"We are considered to be competing with the one private daily newspaper whose editor is now in prison, because we are the only alternative to other papers and television controlled by the government," Himaambo explained. "The radios are mainly commercial, broadcasting mostly music, or controlled by churches. So now for serious news we are the one people come to." Himaambo and colleagues founded Zambian Watchdog in 2005. It claims 100,000 regular visitors in a country where only 8% of the 13 million population have their own access to the Internet and most use it in cafes.

Himaambo had to flee after writing critical articles and was invited by the Hamburg Foundation for the Politically Persecuted, living in the city on a scholarship for a year. His reporters in Zambia work underground using mobile phones. He gets them to change their numbers regularly to prevent tracing. "We investigate and get the stories out fast, before anyone else. Zambian media pick them up, radio attributes to us. In a way, by always denying our accusations and accusing us of tarnishing Zambia's image abroad, the government help to advertise us, so people are always asking 'who's this Zambian Watchdog'."

Zambia is one of the biggest recipients of global funding to fight HIV/AIDS and last year most of that money was stolen. The Watchdog exposed the forgery of documents, and donors started withdrawing. "We gain credibility because people can follow stories and see what's actually happening. People working in government trust us; when they say something they know we can actually publish this story. Over time that has built this credibility. "

"Zambians are highly politicized," he added, "and we know that almost all who can, access us because they know they'll find what they want, and whoever visits will come back. Zambians are always looking for alternative information to the government's propaganda. Lots use our Facebook connection so we can get usage statistics."

Lack of funds made it really hard to start the Watchdog and Himaambo and his fellow activists hung in there out of interest and used to fund it themselves. This year they've received a year's funding from the Soros Foundation for operations, equipment and some payments to the core team. As of mid-2012 they're on their own financially.

The Sri Lankans started with a blog because they had no money for anything bigger. "We decided not to look for permanent funding because we feel it might destroy the spirit of the organization. We normally get funds for events, e.g. we have an annual general meeting every year for which we get funding for meeting and travel expenses and that sort of thing. All the work of writing news is done voluntarily by the members of the organization. Reporters Without Borders helped us to fund the move to a proper website for which we got professional help. The website will continue without anyone getting paid."

Do they feel safe?

Do the activist journalists feel safe? Abeywardane never goes anywhere alone and always lets his group know where he is at any time. The Sri Lankan embassy once laid false charges of damaging their building against him, he had witnesses that he was somewhere else. "Sri Lanka will do whatever it can to intimidate," he said. The group only works with people who know each other long and well.

A pro-Zambian government traitor in their group closed down Zambian Watchdog for a while by locking all its computing capability. The technician then went to a big job in government telecommunications. Expensive professional help had to restore the system. They've also been hacked about 20 times, rescued by a Danish organization specialized in protecting news media targeted by government. Part of the Watchdog's safety precautions is that they can only be reached by email. "I ask our reporters in country to change their mobile numbers so they can't be traced. I'm safe here myself, unless they put an end to me."

"Thank God there's the Internet. Now we work as if we are just in Zambia. We fear the government might try to block the website but for now we feel it's safe because the Zambian government haven't got the technological capacity to get inside."

A blast from the past

Noting that after independence from Britain in 1960 Nigeria produced more military than civilian regimes, a journalist with Radio Nigeria remarked that the "human rights situation was not always too palatable". When General Sani Abacha, the military dictator from November 1993 to June 1998, clamped down on the media, newspapers and magazines went underground. "You would wake up to see really printed newspapers but without an address. They'd leave a heap of them where there were no people, they'd go to another place to abandon some there and before you know it's all over the place. Nigerians believed those stories more."

Now there is the anti-corruption Sahara Reporters website (http://saharareporters.com/) which alleged that two government anti-corruption campaigners were corrupt themselves, owning top flight real estate in various countries. When Nuhu Ribadu and his successor Farida Waziri challenged them for proof, none was forthcoming. "Sahara Reporters did not follow up and you don't get to see them and talk to them. So at this point this issue of credibility came on board. People begin to wonder, 'if they are informing us, why don't you give us correct information'".

Harking back to 1993, when the Khartoum government banned independent newspapers, a Sudanese journalist in the audience recalled how a group of

them started a newspaper for about two million expatriates, licensed in Britain, printed in Egypt and distributed in Saudi Arabia. "It was really very, very hard work compared with the Internet. Of course the newspaper was not going to be distributed in Sudan, but Sudanese expatriates in the Gulf, in Saudi Arabia, in Kuwait and a small migrant group in the UK were smuggling it in without us knowing so that people in Sudan were reading it." It was a very difficult task for eight to 12 journalists to put out a daily newspaper at high expense but it survived for about eight years. "It was an experience we enjoyed so much, especially when we read the effect after we came back to Sudan. The paper had effect on the political process; we are proud of that and I think, my friends, you should be proud of what you are doing. You are doing a great job to your country and your people and we know also maybe the dangerous situation you are facing. But believe in your people and believe in your cause. I admire what you are doing." ■

ZERO TOLERANCE FOR THE NEW CENSORS: INTERNET, BLOGGING AND THE RIGHT TO FREE SPEECH

HOSTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

PANEL

Houshang Asadi
Journalist and author, Iran

Lamasiel Gutiérrez Romero
Journalist and rights activist, Cuba/Czech Republic

Nestor Rodríguez Lobaina
Cuban democracy activist and Founder, Alternative Studies Center of the Cuban Youth for Democracy Movement, Cuba/Spain

Peter E. Müller
Former member of the board, International Society for Human Rights; European representative, Laogai Foundation, Germany

MODERATION

Martin Lessenthin
Spokesperson of the board, International Society for Human Rights, Germany

In commemoration of the tragic deaths of Iranian human rights activists Hoda Saber and Haleh Sahabi, the International Society for Human Rights (ISHR/IGFM) opened the program with a press conference about the international campaign "Solidarity with imprisoned Iranian journalists – black crepe for Hoda Saber". Houshang Asadi, an Iranian author and a victim of the Iranian regime, as well as the Iranian activist Shiva Shokhan and Martin Lessenthin, spokesman of the board of ISHR/IGFM, took part in this press conference. Hoda Saber, a journalist who thought critically of the Iranian regime, had been in prison since August 2010; he died on June 11, 2011 due to a hunger strike he had done for eight days. According to witnesses, he did not receive any medical treatment and became a victim of physical violence. Hoda Saber went on hunger strike to protest against the violent death of Haleh Sahabi, a women's rights activist. Sahabi died on June 1, 2011 at the funeral of her father, Ezzatollah Sahabi, who was a well-known politician and critical of the Iranian regime. Haleh Sahabi had been sentenced for two years because she had protested against the falsified

presidential elections in Iran. Because of her father's funeral she got law parole. During the funeral, she was ill-treated by police officers and, as a result of this, died shortly afterwards.

The IGFM took part in this campaign - which had taken place worldwide – in order to draw people's attention to these two deaths as they are examples of a huge number of victims of the terrorist regime in Iran. By means of this action, the IGFM also tried to make people around the world aware of the violation of human rights that take place every single day in Iran.

In the course of this action, flash mobs were organized worldwide: for an hour, people gathered in cities silently in order to create awareness of the situation journalists have to face in Iran. Moreover, in the cities Cologne, Bonn, Frankfurt, Rome and London, people were asked to show their solidarity with imprisoned Iranian journalists by signing a black crepe. Photos of these journalists were shown at all these events. At the end of June, all parts of the signed black crepe were collected and sewed together.

At the press conference, the IGFM called on all human rights activists and on all people who support human rights to take this chance and to take part in this action.

Directly after this event, the workshop took place in the same room. The following people gave lectures: Lamasiel Gutierrez Roméro and Néstor Rodriguez Lobaina who are victims of the regime in Cuba, Houshang Asadi who is a former political prisoner and an Iranian author, and Peter E. Müller a member of the IGFM and an expert on China. Martin Lessenthin, spokesman of the board of the IGFM, moderated the workshop. The guests who came from all around the world took active part and contributed many constructive ideas.

Houshang Asadi, winner of the 2011 International Human Rights Book Award, focused on "Internet ghosts", i.e. web pages that are hidden in "black holes" and have a different appearance and act in different ways. Asadi talked about agents of the intelligence service who pretend to be handsome young women to get contact details and other information from men. He said that character assassination campaigns which take place on the Internet to destroy the opinions of other people are piteous. He also mentioned, however, that these kinds of tactics are not only used by people of the regime but by people of the opposition, too. Moreover, Asadi talked about the fact that social networks, such as Facebook and Balatarin, are rather important as they are platforms where information is exchanged and where a healthy dialogue takes place. At the end of his lecture, he stated that the "Internet ghosts" are nothing but the revival of Iranian despotism.

Néstor Rodriguez Lobaina, a Cuban activist who had been in prison for 10 years and currently lives in Spain, said that Germany, too, had a terrorist regime and that Germany, however, managed to get rid of this

regime. He said that he is here to state clearly that he is against censorship and against disinformation in Cuba. Moreover, he emphasized that he supports a change of policy in Cuba. A digital civil rights movement came into being in Cuba. This movement does not stop fighting against the regime despite growing censorship and increasing danger: The "digital police" must not win. Rodriguez Lobaina gave examples of the "Cyber Resistance": "Generation Y", "Hablemos Press" i.e. an independent agency, and the magazine University Torch. He says that it is the responsibility of the international community to put the Cuban government under pressure and thus to help the Cuban people.

Lamasiel Gutierrez Roméro, a Cuban Lady in White (Dama de Blanco) and a victim of the censorship of the Cuban regime who now lives in exile in Prague, stated that, "The Cuban government uses censorship as a weapon in order to stay in power". On this matter, Roméro is supported by different companies. In particular, she talked about the company "Etecsa"; as this company is owned by the state and is able to block access to the Internet for 95% of the Cuban people.

Peter E. Müller, who is a member of the IGFM and an expert on China, talked about aspects within the People's Republic of China. He stated that international companies are involved in the censoring measures of the Chinese government. He talked, for instance, about the U.S. American software company CISCO which has offices in Germany, too. Currently, this company is being sued by three Chinese dissidents for supporting the "Golden Shield". It is the goal of the "Golden Shield", which is also called "Chinese Great Firewall", to make it impossible for the opposition to use the Internet.

PREVENTION OR VICTIMIZATION? GLOBAL PATTERNS AND CHALLENGES FOR THE MEDIA IN DEALING WITH WOMEN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

HOSTED BY CARE DEUTSCHLAND-LUXEMBURG (CARE DL)

PANEL
Rudo Chingobe Mooba
Community Worker, Women and Law Southern Africa, Zambia
Mara Radovanovic
President of Assembly, LARA, Bosnia-Herzegovina
Felix Wolff
Program Director Development Cooperation, CARE Deutschland-Luxemburg, Germany

MODERATION
Mirjam Gehrke
Journalist, Deutsche Welle, Germany

Worldwide, women and girls suffer most from human rights violations. Trafficking, forced prostitution, but also domestic violence are widespread phenomena that we witness in many countries across the world and women are frequently treated as objects rather than as humans with rights. On top of this, victims are often socially stigmatized as a result of their experience. Prevention work is important in order to minimize the number of women who become victims of trafficking and gender-based violence.

In this context, the media play an important role in raising awareness of risks and dangers and in shaping and influencing public opinion and policies to directly contribute to protecting women. On the other hand, the way gender-based violence and victims of traf-

ficking are portrayed in the public debate influence their chances of reintegrating in society – so the media have the potential to both minimize and aggravate the impact of rights violations.

The panel brought together two activists fighting for women's rights protection in their home countries: Rudo Chingobe from Lusaka, Zambia, where she works as a social worker to support women who have become victims of gender-based violence and to lobby for legal reforms and policy changes, and Mara Radovanovic from Bijeljina, Bosnia-Herzegovina, who runs a shelter for victims of gender-based violence and trafficking. Together with CARE's Program Director Development Cooperation, Felix Wolff, the panelists spoke about their experiences of media reporting on cases of women's rights violations and how media approaches to this sensitive issue should be improved.

The workshop was started off by presentations of examples of media reporting on cases of violence against women and human trafficking in Zambia and Bosnia. In both countries, media reporting on women's rights violations often lacks adequate standards. For example, Mara Radovanovic presented the case of a girl who had been raped and whose street address had been published in a local newspaper, thus publicly stigmatizing the victim. Besides such violations of victims' anonymity, which is crucial to their ability to reintegrate into their home communities, journalists often choose angles of reporting that are insensitive to the effects of gender-based violence and trafficking on the victims.

The media is a powerful tool to shape and influence opinion and policies. In many cases media reporting in the two countries tends to be driven by the public's desire for sensation, thus focusing on details of the attacks or personal characteristics of the victim such as her behavior. The examples given by the two panelists highlighted the need for the media to receive training on good reporting practice.

But training journalists does not end with technical advice for story writing. The biggest challenge in trying to change media reporting practices on cases of women's rights violations is raising journalists' awareness for the way their own cultural background shapes their perceptions. As Rudo Chingobe pointed out, violence against women is often rooted in culture and moral values in a society. Therefore, journalists need to be aware of how their own cultural values and traditions influence their perception of issues of gender-based violence and trafficking, which is something her organization focuses on when training journalists and other stakeholders, such as the police.

Mara Radovanovic picked up on this when she spoke about the way the media can be engaged to contribute to the prevention of women's rights violations. She gave the example of a girl who had been raped and injured by an influential member of parliament in Bosnia. Because of the perpetrator's influence in national politics, the case would not be covered by the national media. Radovanovic's organization, which also runs a small newspaper reporting on human trafficking and gender-based violence, used their contacts to Croatian journalists to publish reports about the case and the court proceedings in Croatia which helped to secure a prison sentence for the perpetrator.

The cause is thus not lost. There are many ways in which the powers of media reporting can be harnessed to positively contribute to preventing women's rights violations and to bringing justice to the victims. The challenges are various, not only in Zambia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also in Germany, as Felix Wolff pointed out in the discussion with the audience. But in partnership with local communities, change can be achieved – this was a conviction shared by all of the panelists. ■

POPULARIZING HUMAN RIGHTS THROUGH FILM FESTIVALS AND VIDEO PORTALS

HOSTED BY REALEYZ.TV

PANEL
Natalie Gravenor
Head of film acquisition and site development, realyz.TV, Germany
Bryan Nunez
Project development, WITNESS, United States

MODERATION
Julia Tiernan
Media business moderator and project coordinator, Germany

The recognition of human rights and dignity forms the basis of freedom, fairness and peace in the world. The panel aimed to present two approaches to the use of audiovisual media in human rights work.

The goal of ONE WORLD BERLIN is to promote the awareness of human rights across a broad spectrum of the general public. Thanks to fast-paced developments in Internet communication, the featured films can remain accessible in the world wide web even after the yearly festival has ended, thereby increasing possibilities for outreach and making the films available for educational purposes.

The use of film as a medium for creating awareness about human rights issues has several advantages:

- Film provides information in a compact form (about human rights abuses, activists, historical contexts).
- It offers possibilities for viewer identification and creation of empathy.
- It gives faces to otherwise abstract developments.
- It harnesses the power of storytelling.
- It reaches audiences who otherwise might not seek out information about human rights.
- And it facilitates discussion.

Nevertheless, it is important to discuss the properties of the film medium and how it presents facts and stories. Film is a powerful tool, but not the only one. It has strengths and limitations, which can be compensated by integrating film into an information setting comprising texts, discussions, et al.

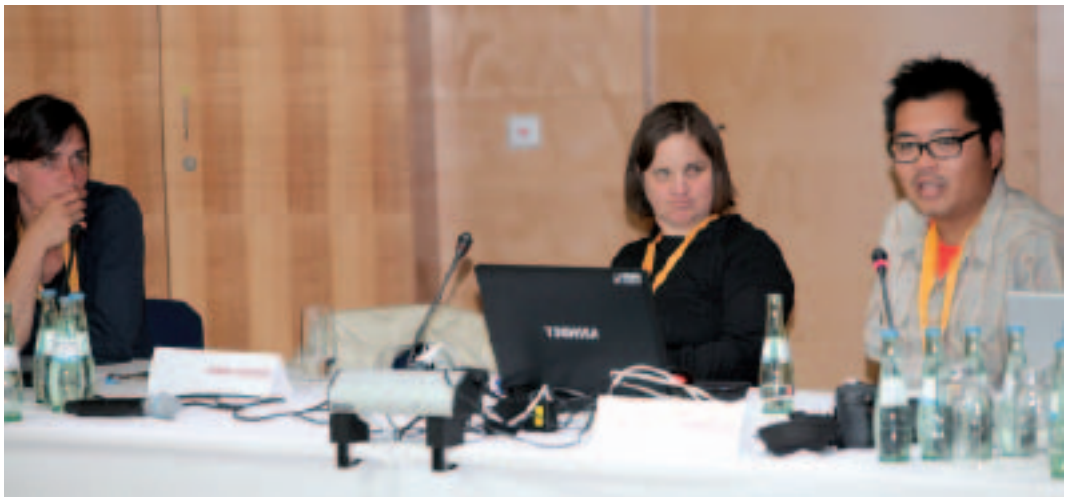
ONE WORLD BERLIN consists of the annual event and online activities throughout the year.

Importance of the "real world" festival setting
Film screenings are always accompanied by discussions

with filmmakers and experts, often hosted by a partner NGO. This creates a space for interacting with the audience and offers a platform for NGOs to present their work to larger audiences.

Importance of online activities

Supporting human rights is a year-round endeavor. That's why ONE WORLD BERLIN pursues additional online activities to increase outreach and guarantee sustainability. The core of these measures are:



- Channels with One World Berlin Festival Films on video-on-demand (VOD) platforms such as realeyz.tv
- Self-contained online film players offering free films of the current festival (during and a short period after the festival), video recordings of discussions and additional film, sound and text material. The whole player is shareable on Facebook and Twitter and embeddable on third party sites.
- Starting in September 2011, selected festival films will be available as downloads for educational use.

One area the festival would like to expand is the monitoring of the impact of the screened films on policy decisions and individual awareness and attitudes about human rights issues. It is crucial to know what results the festival and its films have achieved or could potentially achieve.

WITNESS is the global pioneer in the use of video to expose human rights abuses. Founded in 1992, WITNESS has partnered with more than 300 human rights groups in over 80 countries, trained over 3,000 human rights defenders, developed widely-used training materials and tools, created the first dedicated online platform for human rights media, the HUB, and supported the inclusion of video in more than 100 campaigns, increasing their visibility and impact. Videos made by WITNESS and its partners have told dozens of critical human rights stories, and have galvanized grassroots communities, judges, activists, media, and decision-makers at local, national and international levels to action.

With the increasing ubiquity of video in terms of production, distribution, and overall content, video has become much more commonly used by ordinary people in documenting the world around them. This has resulted in a trickle down effect for human rights and video has become one of the primary ways in which human rights abuses are reported. Another trend is the increase in the digital/media literacy of human rights defenders as well as the general public. The resulting increase in the amount of video requires more curation and analysis in order to make sense of it all.

The role of the human rights film festival as a curator, a filter and in the production spectrum, WITNESS stands on the end, collecting and producing content while film festivals provide a venue for bringing this content to light. This panel discussed the relationship between these two ends of the spectrum and talked about how online technology has affected both production and distribution.

The way WITNESS has worked in the past has been to work closely with grassroots human rights organizations, equipping and training them to use video for

human rights advocacy. As the tools for creating and distributing video become more accessible, more people are taking video production into their own hands. There is an increased need for training on best practices around how to safely and effectively use video technology. This was impetus to begin developing tools. WITNESS' first effort is the SecureSmartCamera, developed in collaboration with the Guardian Project. It is a camera phone application for human rights defenders that attempts to address the issues of consent, authenticity, managing multiple sources, secure distribution and preservation of ephemeral media. These issues have been given new resonance by the events earlier this year in the Middle East and North Africa.

One way to try to address the needs of human rights defenders and reach a media-saturated public is though the development of digital tools and online distribution strategies which are less dependent on face-to-face interaction and require little or no physical space. Online film festivals and video portals help to surface important content, while tools like the SecureSmartCam incorporate human rights practices into the applications used to collect and create the content itself.

THE POLITICAL POWER OF SOCIAL MEDIA

HOSTED BY DEUTSCHE WELLE AND MEDIENFORUM NRW

PANEL

Markus Beckedahl
Co-Founder, newthinking communications; Founder, netzpolitik.org, Germany

Mohamed Ibrahim
Representative of the Facebook page "We are all Khaled Said", UK

Altaf Ullah Khan
Professor and blogger, Pakistan

Naveen Naqvi
Print and online journalist; Founder, gawaahi.org, Pakistan

Ahmed Zidan
Representative of the website Migrant Rights (Mideast Youth), Egypt

MODERATION

Kristin Zeier
Head of English radio and online, Deutsche Welle, Germany

In light of the popular uprisings in Arab countries and other parts of the world, this panel focused on how social media can help in the struggle toward widespread respect of human rights and freedom of opinion. How can they provide a platform to the greatest number of people possible? What are the advantages of social media, where do their boundaries lie? What risks and dangers do they present?

Mohamed Ibrahim, the man behind the English-language Facebook page known as "We are all Khaled Said", perceives social media as an important tool to bring together activists from around the world. In the run-up to the revolution (till January 24th, 2011), the (Arabic) Facebook page had been a central tool to mobilize and coordinate people, he said. After January 25th, the role of social media waned somewhat because at that point the weight had shifted to the people taking to the streets.

Ibrahim said that the English version of "We are all Khaled Said" was targeted to an independent audience. The aim wasn't to merely translate the Arabic version, but instead to convey to the international media information about the events taking place in Egypt and the Arab world.

Supporting human rights at the click of a mouse

Blogger and activist Markus Beckedahl of netzpolitik.org remarked on the phenomenon of what has come to be known as "slacktivism", in which people support political campaigns, such as petitions, through social networking sites, simply by clicking their mouse. On the one hand they come under fire for being lazy slackers, while on the other hand the great number of "likes" they produce gives the campaigns greater weight and increased exposure.

Via social media channels, people in Germany could participate more directly in the events happening in Tunisia, Egypt, etc., but Beckedahl noted the difficulties in verifying the information. At social networking sites it's often not possible to determine whether a video, for instance, truly originated from the country in question or whether the source is credible. So it's not always easy to differentiate important news from manipulated propaganda.

For the future Beckedahl hopes that there will be more free, open and independent structures with open source software to ensure more autonomy from commercial operations like Facebook and Twitter, especially during times of social change.

The revolution in Egypt has often been called the "Facebook Revolution", a term that Ahmed Zidan, of the website Migrant Rights (Mideast Youth), considers inapplicable. Social media transported the sparks of revolution, he said, but it was the people on the streets who had driven change. For him, social media are the tool, but revolutions are made by people.

Addressing an international audience through social media

For Altaf Khan, a professor from Pakistan, social media have the potential to bring people together to scrutinize the decisions made by governments and institutions. He says that it is key for people to do the footwork in democratic processes which are then discussed further in social media networks. Altaf Khan highlighted another effect of social media: When political issues in Pakistan are spread via Twitter and Facebook, they gain attention in the Western world and therefore international attention.

Naveen Naqvi, a print and online journalist from Pakistan, said that social media should above all provide a platform to people whose voice would otherwise go unheard. Her website, gawaahi.org, collects reports of abuse, struggles to survive, resistance and personal fates. Over the last several years, she said, Pakistan has been systematically de-politicized by the military; social media now give people a chance to raise their voices. Naqvi said it also had been her experience that content from the gawaahi.org website had been distributed via social media networks and re-published on other blogs and websites, thus finding international exposure.

NARROWING THE GAP BETWEEN THE WORLD'S RICHEST AND POOREST

HOSTED BY ATTAC

PANEL

Peter Herrmann
Director, European Social, Organisational and Science Consultancy, Ireland

Fabian Scheidler
Editor, Kontext TV, Germany

MODERATION

Jutta Sundermann
Member of the Attac Coordination Committee, Germany

At first glance the general definition of human rights appears plausible, stating that

> *"[h]uman rights could be generally defined as those rights which are inherent in our nature and without which we cannot live as human beings."*
> *(UN: Human Rights: Questions and Answers; New York: UN, 1987: 4)*

Equally plausible is the generally accepted conditionality of which in actual fact the first one is their unconditional meaning, going hand-in-hand with their undeniable and indivisible character.
In this vein of thought it is frequently suggested to look at three stages, characterizing their development and presented by Karel Vasak in the following way:

> *"The first generation concerns 'negative rights', in the sense that their respect requires that the state do nothing to interfere with individual liberties, and correspond roughly to the civil and political rights.*
> *The second generation …requires positive action by the state to be implemented, as is the case with most social, economic and cultural rights. The international community is now embarking upon a third generation … which may be called 'rights of solidarity'."*
> *(Vasak, Karel, 1977: A 30-Year Struggle. The Sustained Efforts to Give Force of Law to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; in: The UNESCO Courier. A Window Open on the World; Paris: UNESCO: 30/11: 29/32; here: 29; cf. Herrmann, Peter (forthcoming): Justice and Law Today: On the Translation of General Ideas on Justice into Claims for Security and Responsibility; in: Herrmann: God, Rights, Law and a Good Society. Overcoming Religion and Moral as Social Policy Approach in a Godless and Amoral Society).*

As agreeable as such perspective appears, there remains discomfort which can be easily presented by pointing to the distinction between bourgeois and citoyen which stands at the crèche of modernity. This finds its concrete expression as separation of the individual from the social and furthermore, as individual from itself.

So far this may sound very abstract. However, there is a very concrete dimension to it – and this is fundamentally concerned with the problem of an increasing gap between rich and poor, and the debate on closing it as a matter of human rights. In very basic terms we can summarize: In the beginning is the human being, producing and reproducing him/herself and with this, the social relationships – all to be seen as an organic whole. However, capitalism in particular means the separation of the elements of this whole and reducing them to separate parts. This means as well that the wealth-gap appears to be a gap due to distribution whereas it is factually a gap on grounds of unequal access to production. This entails that certain strong productive forces, controlled by some, are also overturning other productive forces. Concretely, people in some parts of the world are simply not able and not 'allowed' to develop on their own terms. Many of the countries that are extremely poor today had been well able to live decent lives. They could maintain themselves as individuals and societies on the basis of self-sustaining economic activity. They are not able to continue doing so to the extent to which their original economies are dissolved and subordinated under the laws of capitalist center-periphery relationships.

It is noteworthy that this angle does take into account all forms of and issues pertaining to human rights. However, it looks at one of the most fundamental issues if not the fundamental dimension of human rights on the global level. And it requires a most fundamental shift not least in developing a sound theoretical understanding. Most of the debate remains substantially limited to questions of distribution and political steering – both being very much a matter that is only in a mediating relation to the core of production. The other way round, we have to revisit the human rights definition itself and orient it to issues of production.

In consequence, we face five dimensions along which we have to elaborate the definition:
First, envisaging human rights in practice is programmatic. This means to center on processuality, broadly speaking an understanding of deep development, seeing it as going beyond a series of events.

Second, then the social dimension is not only and not primarily a matter of people acting together. In a stronger formulation: the social dimension is not primarily about interacting in the understanding that prevails in social science. Rather, it is proposed to understand the social as process of relational appropriation. As such we see the establishment by the relevant processes as emerging quadrangle with the following cornerstones:

- actor, i.e. the actually acting individual;
- needs and wants as they are defined by the physical and social conditions;
- the social and natural conditions;
- and the social and natural constitutional framework.

Third, social human rights are in this perspective also inherently a matter of relating to the organic environment.

Fourth, it is important to move from here a step further, namely from action to practice – being more than simply an amalgamation of various isolated activities. Such wider perspective is quintessential as any claim to develop an understanding of human rights going beyond a limited understanding of human security as matter of mere existence, and moves towards understanding such rights as going structurally beyond an individualist and utilitarian approach of fragmented action.

Fifth, human rights are importantly a matter of relationality – to some extent this has already been indirectly said before. To make it more explicit, it is simply about fully acknowledging that there is no such thing as an independent variable.

We may interpret this in another way, linking this matter to power and appropriation. On another occasion this had been presented with help of the following matrix.

		appropriation	
		property	adequacy
equality	legitimacy		
	empowerment		

Matrix 1: Societal scope of legal functionality (from Herrmann, Peter/Dorrity, Claire, 2009: Critique of Pure Individualism; in: Dorrity/Herrmann [eds.]: Social Professional Activity – The Search for a Minimum Common Denominator in Difference; New York: Nova Science: 1-27; here: 14)

Taking into account what had been presented before, the matrix can be used for developing further a sound, production-based definition of human rights.

CLOSING PRESS RELEASE

ERIK BETTERMANN: "WE MUST FORGE A GLOBAL ALLIANCE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS"

The Director General of Deutsche Welle, Erik Bettermann, has called for cooperation in forming a global "alliance for human rights". Addressing the closing session, he said human rights in the context of globalization "deserves our special attention. It concerns everyone, all over the world".

Bettermann suggested that the media have a particular responsibility to give more attention to the subject than they have up to now. People needed to be re-sensitized and better informed about the importance of human rights and global correlations, including in Europe, Bettermann said. Europe also needed to "shed its blinders and must not think first of others when it comes to human rights. Respect for human rights and their implementation always have to start at home."

The approximately 1,600 participants from more than 100 countries made the conference "a mirror of the human rights experiences around the world". Deutsche Welle and other media at the conference bundled these perspectives. Bettermann said that they could increase their attention to stories that stimulate people to think and encourage them to get involved. The Director General reported that the conference had already delivered concrete results. He mentioned the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding between the European Broadcasting Union and the Council of Europe. These organizations intend to increase their cooperation and in particular give more weight to human rights and media freedom.

Bettermann said human rights would remain on the agenda of the Deutsche Welle Global Media Forum. Next year the conference will address Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "Everyone has the right to education." For three days from 25 through 27 June 2012 the focus will be on education and culture.

The Director General thanked partners and sponsors of the conference, especially the Foundation for International Dialogue of the Sparkasse (municipal savings bank) in Bonn as co-host, the Federal Foreign Office, the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, the State Chancellery of the State of North-Rhine Westphalia, the European Regional Development Fund, the City of Bonn as well as Deutsche Post DHL and all others who helped make the conference a success.

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