

**TRANSCRIPT:  
DEMOCRACY DAY – PANEL 4:**

***CHALLENGES OF GLOBAL LEADERSHIP IN THE 21ST CENTURY***

**AT CGDC ANNUAL MEETING 2012  
05-18-2012**

**PANEL LEADER:**

**Ali ASLAN**

Deutsche Welle TV, Host of the international talk-show “Quadriga”

**PANEL SPEAKER**

**H.E. Petar STOYANOV**

President of CGDC,  
President of the Republic of Bulgaria 1997 – 2002

**R.H. Dr. Morgan Richard TSVANGIRAI**

Prime Minister, Republic of Zimbabwe

**H.E. Mimoza KUSARI-LILA**

Deputy Prime Minister / Minister of Trade and Industry of the Republic of Kosovo

**Prof. Abdul Latif AL-MEER**

Chairman of ICQ, Vice Chairman of Sidra Takaful

**General Wesley K. CLARK**

Supreme Allied Commander Europe of NATO 1997 – 2000,  
CGDC International Honorary Board Member

## Rick YUNE

Welcome back colleagues and fellow members of the CGDC. I would like to thank the hotel for the schnitzel that we had. Sure you enjoyed it as much as I did, I had two. I'd like to introduce our next panel leader, currently the talk show host of the international talk show called Quadriga; very learned man whose previous work had him at NBC, CNN, and ABC News – Mr. Ali Aslan.

## Ali ASLAN

Thank you, Rick. It's not every day that you get introduced by a Bond villain. Welcome. This is clearly the last of the four panels, don't want to call it the most important one, but certainly it is one that is very high ranking and I'm very flattered to be hosting this panel. We have to, as I've been told, stop at 4:30 sharp, is that correct? Because of the following program? So it will be somewhat of a challenge because we have many politicians on the panel, but I think we will be able to keep the timeline.

Let me just briefly introduce the individuals here on the panel, even though some of them don't need any introductions, but I will try nonetheless. Certainly to the far left is H.E. Petar Stoyanov. We all know him as the President of the CGDC and, of course, the former President of Bulgaria from 1997 to 2002. Let's give him a round of applause. Thank you. [Applause]

To my right I have the honor and privilege of introducing the Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe Dr. Morgan Tsvangirai. [Applause] Dr. Tsvangirai has been Prime Minister of Zimbabwe since 2009 and I want to take this opportunity also to congratulate you on your recent engagement. [Applause]

H.E. Mimoza Kusari-Lila, the only lady on the panel. [Applause] Ms Kusari-Lila is the Deputy Prime Minister in the Ministry of Trade and Industry for Kosovo. Welcome to the panel.

The gentleman to my left, certainly to list his credentials will take up most of the time on this panel, so General Wesley Clark, highly decorated soldier, the recipient of the Presidential Medal of Freedom, graduate of West Point first in his class, and of course, perhaps most notably, in [19]97 President Clinton named him US Commander of Naval Forces in Europe and his role particularly in the conflict around Kosovo is more than crucial. So, welcome Mr Clark. [Applause]

Last, but certainly not least, is Professor Abdul Latif Al Meer from the very interesting state of Qatar. Professor Al Meer is the Chairman of ICQ and, from what I understand, the ICQ

is the very first technology bank meaning the first bank in the world that's focusing on technology. Certainly I look forward to hear more about that. Welcome Professor Al Meer. [Applause]

In the interest of time we'd better refrain from opening statements and I want to dive right into the question. Petar Stoyanov, you are the President, of course, of the CGDC, and one of the co-Founders, but the President of the CGDC, the host of the last 48 hours. Now, if we talk about democracy, if we talk about democratic principles, you were the President of the State of Bulgaria for 5 years. Now you are exercising your political authority by other means. Is that another form of democracy, perhaps the more important form of democracy in the 21st century?

#### **H.E. Petar STOYANOV**

This is completely different form of democracy, I have to confess that, Ali. Thank you very much for giving me the floor, and it's really a great privilege for me to be among such distinguished panelists like the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe Dr. Tsvangirai, like Deputy Prime Minister of Kosovo, like distinguished Mr Al Meer, who is a friend of mine, and of course like General Wesley Clark, who has been supporting us from the very beginning. Thank you very much, all of you.

So, as you mentioned, I was President of Bulgaria since the beginning of [19]97 till the beginning of 2002, and when I left Office, I was actually invited to become part of different international organizations. It was really very interesting. It was different kind of job, different kind of democracy, as you mentioned already, but years ago together with the current Secretary General and Founding Sponsor of this foundation, Mr Stamen Stantchev, and together with Mr Walter Schwimmer, Mr Fasslabend, and Mr Etienne Declercq, we decided to establish a completely new foundation – Center for Global Dialogue and Cooperation. We wanted very much to set up a foundation which could become a mixture between politicians, businessmen, and representatives of the academic circles to work together because being a politician, being the President of Bulgaria, I knew very well how important is to work together with all of the representatives of the society, especially in the face of serious challenges.

And I allow me to say some more words about the current situation. I think that Europe is changing now, maybe the most serious challenge since the end of the Second World War. During the last decade Europe, I mean Western Europe, went smoothly with very well-fashioned democracy, very well-fashioned market economy, without serious problems. Even people in Europe still like banks and the bankers which is not the case now. Now we

are facing a lot of serious challenges, not only financial challenges. Now we are facing a lot of problems regarding the very core of democracy. I think that the most dangerous phenomenon is that we are witnessing a growing lack, not only in the politicians, but in the political and economic elites, too, which could become very dangerous. I come from Eastern Europe, as you know, and I'm old enough to remember that during the communism we practically didn't have free elections. And our communist dictators couldn't gain popular support and respect, but we had our moral leaders which was very important for us. During that time we had people like Sakharov in the former Soviet Union, Walesa and Havel in former Czechoslovakia and Poland; after the changes part of them became Presidents of their countries. They had different political careers, that's true, but they supported very much the process of post-communist transition which was a very painful process. And I think this could be one the points in our conversation.

#### **Ali ASLAN**

Sure. And thank you for touching upon the very important global financial crisis, most notably the European financial debt crisis which of course we will talk in more detail to come, we have to in the context of democracy. I want to give the floor and the opportunity to the Prime Minister though. I want to ask you, I can't pass up the opportunity having you sit here of course, having to talk about Africa. We have many challenges in Africa, democratic challenges in Africa. We have many countries that are bordering on what turned into the so-called "failed states" – Mali, for instance, is one example we are seeing currently. But I want to talk of course more specifically about your country. You have entered a power-sharing agreement in 2009 with President Mugabe and in a sense it is a very unique experiment, isn't it, that you are experiencing in Zimbabwe. Give us a little heads up about how it's going.

#### **R.H. Dr. Morgan Richard TSVANGIRAI**

Thank you. I want to join colleagues in the panel to say that thank you for inviting me. Yes, I think Zimbabwe is in a unique situation. Africa has been independent now for 50 years and we've had two very dramatic changes to the political governance in Africa. The first, I would say, was the anti-colonial struggle which replaced the colonial administrations with independent states but one of the fundamental issues that, I think, Africa has realized was there was a difference between being independent and being free. And hence, I think the second wave of struggle, because people always struggle for more freedoms. And because people struggle for more freedoms, the second generation of struggle activists coming to be; this is the generation that is now fighting for democracy, for more freedom, and for the rights of the people.

In the majority of cases it has succeeded, in other cases it has failed. It has failed because people put faith on the question that democracy means elections. Yes, you can elect, but elections alone have their limitations because having elections is not the same as building democratic institutions to sustain that democracy. Now come to Zimbabwe, we experience the same or similar example. We value elections in Zimbabwe, but they've never been free and fair. We've run elections in Zimbabwe, we have won elections, but we have not won the transfer of power. So, you can have an election, the result is that you end up with the situation in Kenya, Zimbabwe, Ivory Coast, where the winner now has to come back through the back door to say: "I have not lost the elections, so we have to negotiate." And those are the circumstances that Zimbabwe went through, and that's why we are in this power-sharing agreement. We are in this power-sharing agreement because the outcome could not be accepted by the other party, and so therefore, the whole Southern African region now forced us to come with this power-sharing agreement. That's not democracy. It may be stability, but it's not democracy.

**Ali ASLAN**

And some people might say that by entering the power-sharing agreement with President Mugabe perhaps you have lent him the political legitimacy?

**R.H. Dr. Morgan Richard TSVANGIRAI**

I don't think so. I think who was looking more for legitimacy was President Mugabe in ourselves. You don't get legitimacy from outside. You get legitimacy from your own people. If people have voted against you how can you say you're legitimate? You can only be legitimate when you have the full mandate of the people. And that's why negotiations with us was an imperative. Not necessarily to give him legitimacy, but to save the situation as it is.

**Ali ASLAN**

And perhaps to save and prevent the loss of lives.

**R.H. Dr. Morgan Richard TSVANGIRAI**

Because the outcome would have been totally unpredictable, if we had gone the way we had gone in 2008.

**Ali ASLAN**

Obviously I understand you are going to have elections in 2013. And perhaps, as early as next year, as I understand it?

**R.H. Dr. Morgan Richard TSVANGIRAI**

Yes. Working through this transition, our objective is to ensure that the next election is not a repeat on 2008, which produces a disputed outcome, which is not free and fair, and which is not credible and legitimate. And therefore I think the next election, we have to prepare it, so that the conditions are there for free and fair elections.

**Ali ASLAN**

Well, we will certainly keep a close look to Zimbabwe.

Ms Kusari-Lila, I want to take this opportunity, we just talked about Zimbabwe, your country is a very young country, very small country, obviously, in Europe. It hasn't certainly been embraced or accepted or recognized by all of European states. How difficult does it make your job?

**H.E. Mimoza KUSARI-LILA**

Well, actually I have to say Kosovo has been a country for the last 4 years, has been free since [19]99 and I have to agree that freedom and also being independent are two different things. First of all, I have to say that what we've seen in Kosovo and what we are seeing actually today in countries of Arab Spring, is that often time power is shifting from the states. So, states are rather not part of the solution, but part of the problem, regime I would say, not states, but regimes. Second is, once the freedom is there like Kosovo case in [19]99, then the democratic process of building the state and the role of local leadership is crucial, and often time international organizations who are part of the solution, become now part of the problem by not empowering a lot of the local leadership, trying to find the solution elsewhere. But since the problem, and the solution lies with local leadership. Going to the EU part, I think that often time when you have international organizations who have to think of the funding that is spent on the policies in general terms, they choose short-term solution versus long-term commitment. And we see this in Kosovo case, for five non-recognizing EU countries I'm sure that their economy and their political situation will not be worse-off if they recognize Kosovo, it's just the reflection of their internal problems. And this is also the fact that 5 EU countries, and for your information those are Spain, Cyprus, Greece, Slovakia,

and Romania, that have not yet recognized Kosovo. All of the five reflect to their internal problem versus Kosovo problem, or versus lack of recognition.

On the other hand, with all the constraints that I talked about, Kosovo is still a success story. And the fact that Kosovo is success story is that for the last 5 years we had a quite tremendous economic growth. Closing 2011 with 5.3 % economic growth and you had economies EU contracting. Kosovo is trying to learn from the mistakes of other countries not to repeat those. But what is actually also happening, that I have to state here, is the fact that there is often time a perception that governments that are freely elected by their people have the solution when we have too many constraints, specifically for the countries aspiring EU.

Western Balkan countries today are bound by some of the EU rules. In my case, as a Minister of Trade and Industry, I'm not totally free and the same is for the Ministers in Albania, in also Serbia and Bosnia to make the policies because there are certain rules of EU that actually constrained us. And in that regard, it's always a balance that you have to play in terms of having the decision inside that will benefit the people and also please the EU institutions, and then there are cases when they are not often time pleased, like the decision last year of Kosovo that I've signed to put trade reciprocity measures with Serbia, because then we had lack of recognition of Kosovo customs stamps, which are in full accordance with international standards and UN resolution; and that decision was criticized by Brussels, but you know what, at the time when we stood up and we told Serbia and Bosnia: "if you do not recognize our customs stamps, we will not recognize yours and the border is closed for trading." Within two months they actually run to Brussels to recognize our customs stamps and we are back on track, the trading now is flowing. So it's also a challenge for countries that are in process of being built to actually take leadership, local leadership, and to show to the internationals that we take the leadership, we take the responsibility and accountability. And not always others who were bigger and stronger than us can make better decisions for us.

## **Ali ASLAN**

Thank you. General Clark, of course you had a huge role, you played a huge role in Kosovo, but I want to talk to you about a different phenomenon, because you are also a soldier of NATO and General, about the Arab Spring. In Libya we have seen that, not so much NATO forces, but due to military intervention a tyrant was displaced, whether it's going to lead to free and fair elections we are going to see in Libya, the jury is still out, but in the case of Syria we seeing on a daily basis videos and news reports coming from Syria. Yet, the international community and NATO is rather reluctant to intervene. How do you explain that? Is there a double-standard? And if so, why?

### **General Wesley K. CLARK**

Any international group has to be very circumspect in intervening. We intervened in Yugoslavia, the international community did, reluctantly. When there was obviously mass use of forces and mass severe casualties. We intervened in Kosovo in 1999 to stop this and we didn't always succeed in stopping it, a lot of people lost their lives, because we couldn't stop it fast enough. But you look at Syria today, and the lessons of the Arab Spring have been learned by both sides. So for the West, of course, we are very sympathetic to the values of democracy and human rights. We see educated young people who are in Western Europe or the United States, and they see opportunities and they ask why can't my country be like this, why can't I have these opportunities, and why can't we get the institutions in my country to change, and when they demonstrate and they ask for change and then the authorities crack down on them. So there is an upsurge of sympathy for these young people in the West.

But the lesson of the Arab Spring on the other side is that once these authoritarian regimes start to crumble; there is no exit strategy for the people associated with the leadership. So Mubarak is on trial for his life, he's been in jail, Khadafi is gone, Ben Ali is still in exile in Saudi Arabia from Tunisia, and there is no hope for Bashar Assad that I can see. It's not just him and his wife, but it's his family, the Alawite group that's associated with him; it's the Intelligence Chiefs, and if you try to offer safe passage, by the time you walk these people they are going to bring hundreds and thousands of people from Syria and frankly the international community would be resonating with cries for accountability. So somehow we've got to steer the right course in Syria to first get the fighting and the murder of innocent civilians stop. There is no excuse for that.

### **Ali ASLAN**

But how you do that?

### **General Wesley K. CLARK**

And we've got to find a way to move toward a political transition in a very graduate step. There is no political opposition that's formed; there is no one to arm; if you run in and attack the Syrian armed forces you have a major fight on our hands. They haven't broken down, unlike the case of Libya where senior leaders defected. Senior leaders from Syria have not defected, the head of their armed forces hasn't come out and said "we don't support them", no, they are all allied; and they are, as a result of the Arab Spring, they are fighting for their lives. They know there is armed opposition, they know there are weapons coming in, even though they are not perceived sympathetically in most countries in the world, but what we've

got to hope is that resolute efforts by the United Nations and international media is going to help people stop this. They are betting that they can repress the rebellion by killing people. That never works. It worked in 1970 in Homs, in Syria because 20,000 people were killed and the suburb was wiped out and that was then. This is today, the age of Twitter and Facebook, with international conscience and communications; it's not going to happen. Assad has got to understand that, but our international negotiators are going to have to also figure out a transition strategy that doesn't end up with thousands of people on trial for their lives in Syria, because when this regime is taken apart, and the files are open, I think you are going to find a lot of really ugly stuff. And so that's just the way the world works. This is the end of the road. They are fighting for their lives and we have to understand that. So we've got to have some pretty creative solutions.

#### **Ali ASLAN**

Don't you think that the time for diplomatic solutions in Syria per se, might be in vain? I mean United Nations, we know that Russia and China keep persistently vetoing any resolution that will permit for observers and UN aids to come in. So question is again, do we let this play out, because for somebody in Homs, for instance, in Syria, the arguments you put forth might still be perceived as, perhaps, as a double-standard? Wouldn't you agree?

#### **General Wesley K. CLARK**

There is no easy answer to this and so let me just take the devil's advocate position and tell you this as I would. We know that there are some elite terrorists operating in Syria. We know that the Christian population in Syria about 2 million people have some legitimate reasons to fear the take-over by a radical regime which would target them. So we've got to balance one evil against another possible evil. We got to see progress. I think trying to help the refugees, trying to bring greater publicity on it, continuing to work diplomacy, helping promote the emergence of a legitimate Syrian opposition, these are all constructive steps right now, but I personally I don't want to advocate military force right now in Syria. I know that's what you're waiting for me to say. I'm not going to say it. Let me tell you something, I bombed for 78 days and every night I prayed that we wouldn't kill innocent people and we killed a lot of innocent people. In the long run, I think, you know, we saved a lot of people, that way Kosovo is an independent country right now, though the political issues aren't resolved. Syria is just as complicated if not more so, and we didn't go into Kosovo except as a last, last, last resort and we already knew what the instate was going to be, because we already had the UN Security Council resolution and a plan for the occupation. There is no plan, there is no Security Council resolution, and there is no international authority yet on Syria. We are a long way from having someone like me recommend that this is the time to take action.

## Ali ASLAN

Surely the sectarian violence, and sectarian intricacies, and complexities of Syria, as you said correctly, are not to be underestimated. Professor Al Meer, let's talk Qatar here for a second. Qatar is a very interesting case, very interesting country, isn't it, it's a small country with a rather small population. So, some people would say disproportionate large role in foreign affairs particularly when it comes to the Arab Spring. Certainly Qatar has been seen behind many initiatives. Explain to us the rationale behind the leadership in Qatar.

## Prof. Abdul Latif AL-MEER

First I am not a politician, I am not a banker. I am a technologist myself. So cannot present it as a politician.

Qatar is a small country, but a country that with its existence is in a region that's very explosive, it's a very simple word to say. We have Iran to our East, we have Iraq to our North, we have of course our issues with the Palestinians, and the Israelis, and we are very rich small nation. So strategically you look to have allies, and you look to have some type of dialogue. Since His Highness took over about 15 years ago, it was after the First Gulf War, and I believe the leadership looked at the situation, the young leadership in the Gulf. There weren't many younger leaders at that time; many of them had been powerful for so many years. He was one of the youngest and he really faced the reality of life. We are 6 or 7 nations, very rich, buying tremendous arsenal of power and weapons from East and West and we have a, let's say, neighborly aggression or dispute between GCC countries and a very, let's say, close neighbor country, which is an Arab Muslim country which was Iraq. And we needed as Arabs, as Muslims and as GCC, the help of the world to come to the rescue because if the United States would not have moved very quick, and the West hadn't moved very quick, everybody believed that Saddam Hussein would get to the oil fields of Saudi Arabia and will control one of the most important resources which was energy. This was a major struggle that, I believe, not only brought out the issue of Al-Qaeda, because we all know that although bin Laden was at that time mostly focusing on Jihad against the Soviet Union and the occupation of Afghanistan and all that. He really believed that this is unacceptable to him and to certain sect of the Islamic people believe that to have foreign soldiers defend land that has our two holy cities is not acceptable. This whole dilemma of looking at the strategy, that we saw disaster, I also predicted it, but we saw it coming. We saw that our young people are moving into radicalism, our people were needing answers, and from within the leadership started not the process which, I will agree with His Excellency the Prime Minister when he said when you are independent you are not free.

And there are, I believe, when you explain democracy; democracy to many of us means different things – is it fairness, is it rule of majority, is it rights, is it whatever it is, is it culture, is it ethnicity, it is whatever it comes and the acceptance of it. I think in my country, we believe that we need to, first, build institutions that will make democracy accessible or let's say affordable for more integrating than just impose democracy on a nation who doesn't understand what their rights are before they can accept their responsibility.

So, we started with, the first thing was, we believe that we need to have a free and non-bias dialogue with all our neighbors and the rest of the world – be it Israel, be it anybody, and I think we are one of the first countries to accept to have certain dialogue with Israel. That was a little bit radical in our world. The second thing was free press. You cannot put the point of view of the nation without having free press. So, we came out with Al-Jazeera. Al-Jazeera has proven in the matter of 10 years, or whatever its short life is, that it has major impact on the Arab world – from Morocco to Yemen to the Muslim world, so if you ask me why a small country like Qatar has this impact is, Qatar is known for being able to be little bit more out-coming in its own field of discussing. For example everybody knows we have very good relationship with Iran, in the mean time we are allies with the United States. We have good relationship with Israel, but we talk to Hamas, and we are in very good relationship with all the parties in Lebanon, but we are also very close to Hezbollah. So, it is the policy, you cannot exclude people if you want to talk or you need to have set communication. And our free press moving from these two areas, we've moved now to establishing some type of global dialogue in Qatar and we have three - four major conferences in the year which is cross-religion, cross-culture, cross-nations, and we also now have institutions – like the Brookings institution, like the human rights institution, like the United State institution that we are teaching our youth to get involved into the NGOs, involved into the dialogue with other nations, with their own people.

And I hope we have now certain education of how you educate; we actually have a board of people teaching youth on how to campaign, eventually, to become representative in a parliament, or in an advisory council whatever the model would come out. So, they know really what it is all about to be a congressman, or to be a representative, or to be whatever it is. And I think, eventually, I predict like, I don't know, I cannot set up a time for you, but I believe in the Gulf as whole, maybe Qatar will lead, come out of - what comes from the Arab Spring. Some countries will have constitutional democracy, some countries will have republican, but with multi-parties and the issues have been in our part of the world is we've had multi-parties, but they'd be sectarian parties, they'd be ethnic parties, they'd be some type of one political party; we've never had parties that are diverse in its composition from people to ethnicity to culture. And I think in some of the Arab world that will happen, and with us, will have a constitutional monarchy, I think, in our part of the world.

## **Ali ASLAN**

Thank you. And as you said the education-driven basis in Qatar I could see for the state of Doha, many universities, US universities, such as my alma mater Georgetown also being represented. Of course, the biggest challenge I'm asking myself how is Doha going to stage the play of World Cup 2022 with 50 degrees outside, but I'm sure you'll find a solution for that.

Prime Minister, I just wanted to ask you, because you have greatly said that democracy, democratic election doesn't necessarily mean freedom per se, so I wanted to ask you specifically, what obstacles do you see in particular preventing fair elections in Africa today, because it is wide-spread, isn't it?

## **R.H. Dr. Morgan Richard TSVANGIRAI**

Yes, it is. Thank you. A couple of hundred different factors. Firstly, I think that the media must be free. It must be build to inform the population, so that people have free choices when it comes to elections. The other thing that we need is the use of state institutions to suppress the people. What do I mean?

I mean that the police, the army, all these institutions must be considered as national institutions, and not party institutions. I'll give an example, for instance in Zimbabwe, because of our background, our institutions have been partisan, because of our liberation background, but we've not transformed those institutions from being party institutions to national institutions. And sometimes in the defense of a particular party, they actually defend against the people's wishes. So, I think those institutions must be professional, and must be committed, must be committed to upholding the constitution. The other thing is that respect for constitutionalism; the judiciary must be independent. In most cases the judiciary is compromised because of partisan nature. So, I'm only talking about the fact that these are limitations that can affect democratic development. The other thing is that we must have civil society, civil society institutions are important not as political actors but as and I think that if we are to have that, I think we can begin to move Africa to much greater democratic depth than just a change of leadership.

## **Ali ASLAN**

And President Stoyanov, we just heard from Professor Al Meer about the challenges in the Middle East, certainly from the Prime Minister about the challenges in Africa. In general, as somebody who was the Head of a country for 5 years would you say, how would you say

the role of global leadership changed generally in the 21st century, if you look at your own experience, looking at the last 10—15 years? What would you say are the most critical challenges to democratic leadership?

**H.E. Petar STOYANOV**

Allow me to stay here, during making my statement, because I was listening very carefully to the statement of the Prime Minister. He spoke about manipulated elections which is a very, very interesting phenomenon. But allow me to draw your attention to another phenomenon which is very popular in the most developed democracies.

Everybody knows that elections are the main characteristic of democracy. Free elections are the key to a peaceful, normal, and evolutionary development of every society, without plots, without coup d'état, without revolutions, that's for sure. Moreover, in the face of the financial crisis and political turbulence in Greece, the birthplace of democracy, we can confess quite easily that democracy has not many other obvious advantages to the other known systems of government. We have to confess that, however, we have to admit that majorities don't always make the right decisions. People are often dissatisfied with their choice, but they can only correct this during the next elections; and this is much better than to organize revolutions against dictators who want to rule for life. That is why we say that one society is mature when the majority doesn't make many and serious mistakes during elections. And here, we reach the main point: I'm speaking about free elections, elections without manipulations; the elections which organizers like various commissions and freedom house give usually as example.

Is it possible, however, this is the question, for the voters to make a wrong choice, or at least not the best one, even when they vote in elections which are fair and not manipulated? Unfortunately, the answer today is yes. This is because quite oft the battle is not between the political candidates themselves, and between their ideas, but between their huge and highly-paid PR agencies. In these election campaigns, they pay more attention to details that are interesting to the general public, but are of little or no importance regarding the most important issues concerning the government of the country or the world. For the PRs, the most important thing is their clients to be well-accepted by the general public, to have a public image that can be sold. Actually, we openly call this process political marketing. And this is the main point, I'm that following the current trends, in the near future, the world leaders will be elected not because of their intellectual capacity, and not because of their courage to solve problems, but because of the ability to be "well-packed" and "sold" politically. Believe me, it could become a very dangerous problem. I am afraid that in the near future, the elections will turn into a battle between the biggest PR headquarters, instead of a battle between ideas and personalities.

And the world today, facing the financial crisis, asks itself what is the final destination pursuing enormous profits and enjoying borrowed welfare at the cost of a deepening debt. I would like to make the point, what will happen to the world of democracy if we continue to follow this trend: elections campaigns that cost billions, and candidates for political leadership who are dominated by spin doctors. One day, ladies and gentlemen, we'll be governed by people who can play best the role, the part of the President, during the election campaign; not by people who are going to be the best presidents and political leaders. Until now the democratic world had no need to be too much concerned about these problems, but today we are facing completely different phase. The world faces very serious challenges – financial crisis, ecological problems, crisis of democracy; at the same time the European Union faces a specific and maybe decisive challenges. In such times Europe and the world need leaders who have the intellectual capacity and the courage to make the right and responsible decisions. I wanted very much to draw your attention to this point, I think it is very important. Thank you very much.

#### **Ali ASLAN**

Thank you, President Stoyanov. And General Clark, President Stoyanov repeatedly emphasized the dangers of the European financial debt crisis that we are facing, and all the pitfalls that come with it, of course, the Occupy Movement and so on and so forth, do you see, as somebody who has made the switch if you go from military to politics and now to investment banking, do you also see the European financial debt crisis as the number one biggest problem and challenge we are facing?

#### **General Wesley K. CLARK**

I do see it as a huge problem, but it's a symptom of a deeper problem. When the Iron Curtain came apart, and there was a wave of democratization across Europe, people were enthusiastic about throwing off the yoke of simple planning in a communist system, but we didn't really have a strategy to bring up growth as the 7% flat tax and the Chicago School and that's what roared through Eastern Europe at the time. The rise of China and BRICs has given us a new balance in terms of trade. So, now resources and commodities are worth more in relation to manufacturing goods than they were historically for 40-50 years. It's a great opportunity for nations in Eastern Europe and even in Central Europe to rethink their national strategies for economic development. Because the free market is a wonderful thing, but the free market is just a tool; they are not really free markets anyway because if somebody is not regulating it, it's not a free market, becomes a monopoly and serves only a very limited interest.

So, I think what we really need to do is use this as an opportunity to refocus on economic growth based around the strategies that work for each country. So, I've been very impressed in the United States, working with the agricultural sector, it's just remarkable; and there is a billion acres of unused crop land in the world, much of it in Eastern Europe, where collectivized agriculture fell apart. It's a great profit, and with quoted 6 dollars or 6 dollars and 20 cents today on the Chicago Board of Trade, that farm land could be redeveloped, it could be mechanized, it could be subject of precision agriculture, the way it is being done in the United States, in a sustainable fashion, and it could provide a whole new life to European economies. I think we've got to break the mindset that it's about the repayment of some piece of paper, because the system for recreation of wealth is really unlimited in mankind's experience. It's not about a piece of paper; it's not about how much of a particular mineral can be dug out the ground. So, what it is about, it's about restoration of trust and confidence. So, I think that we've got to put the balance back in the right way on economic growth, you've got to get people back to work in Europe and in the United States, and you've got to find a way to make the financial system serve the people, as it's supposed to do, rather than all these people trying to serve the needs of the financial system. We've got to do it in a way that doesn't compromise the integrity of contracts, that doesn't destroy the confidence in paper money and the trust of our nations. But it's doable if people will approach the problem from the right mindset.

Eastern Europe and Central Europe are loaded with resources; great people, great natural resources, great potential, the technology is there, there is loads of money in the world, money is sitting on the sidelines looking for a place to be invested; it's not a matter of government spending, it's a matter of private spending. What has happened is that, and I can speak mostly from the American experience, we've soaked the money up through retirement funds and pension funds, we've centralized it or used in investment banks, we've put it into funds, then we've scared the intermediary institutions as a result of the 2008 collapse of the stock market, and people have tightened up on the investment constraints and so the money is there, it's not being used in productive investments that create jobs and wealth, it's being used in speculation on commodity prices and oil and so forth, and driving markets crazy in short-selling and taking advantage of volatility. And it's up to the political leaders to understand this; one of things that you were asking, President Stoyanov, is what's the difference.

The first generation of political leaders after the Cold War on both sides had to get past the idea that the world was bipolar, they had to move beyond the idea that there was a balance of terror, they had to accept that the primacy of human dignity, but they had to develop technical competence in the next set of skills. We are not there yet. We need our political leaders to understand the economy and finance. Finance cannot be a blackguard, this

maintained in private and in secret by banks that they are so skilled that only a few people in the world can practice it and they must be paid tens of millions of dollars because only they are competent to do it. We've got to be smarter than that. We know how to do this at the personal level; we know how to do it on the family level. Look, every state has laws regulating insurance, right, just giving example, so my neighbor is not allowed to take out an insurance policy on my house. He can't go to the Oakland Insurance Comp and say: "I would like you to pay me in case General Clark's house burns down". Because everybody understands if you let him do that he might burn my house down and get the money. You wouldn't do that. But we created a whole system of credit default swaps, that's unregulated, this generated huge financial liabilities that really nobody understands or controls, or can see. They are privately negotiated handshakes that drag with them governmental obligations that had enormous consequences on ordinary people. Now, the financial system is supposed to help ordinary people, not destroy their lives. So, I think the real challenge for today's political leaders is to get a hold of the financial system and help it move forward to help the people who put them in office. That's the challenge. And that's a tough challenge.

#### **Ali ASLAN**

It sure is and I'd say your support for growth would probably be signed in a heartbeat from Francois Hollande, not so much by Merkel, but that's a different story.

#### **General Wesley K. CLARK**

I'm not taking sides here. I think that as you go through one of these crises that it unfolds in a step-by-step fashion, you can't see the end of it. In 1929, when the stock market crashed in the United States, no one could foresee how we would eventually emerge from this. And of course the first response is save the banks - that was the first response; the second response is we've got to save the integrity of the financial system, so Angela Merkel is not wrong in saying that we've got to, you know, reduce these expenditures. But now we are getting the amendment to that which is, ok we are trying to reduce the expenditures, but you can't do it on the backs of the majority of the population when they can't do anything about it. So, now we've got to, sort of, move to the next step and encourage some economic development.

#### **Ali ASLAN**

So, the battle, if you will, between austerity versus growth is one of the most exciting, I'd say, and crucial ones, I'd say, we are going to observe in Europe, but Ms Deputy Prime Minister I wanted to talk to you about the Euro crisis and in particular we've seen the Euro crisis has

led to the emergence of far-rightist parties that has led to more nationalism within the EU, not less. Is that something that concerns you?

**H.E. Mimoza KUSARI-LILA**

Actually, we have to make it clear that I don't think that the Euro in itself as a currency is, as stated this morning, in crisis. There are economies of the countries that actually passed certain rules that they didn't obey to it and then of course they are getting the frustration of their people toward...the reaction of the people in Greece and other countries on voting the more radical parties now, as opposed to those who are actually recommending austerity measures, based on the EU recommendation. What I would say is a crucial moment in whole this aspect is the education, the dissemination of information, that we have seen has not been properly put upfront.

EU, as a concept in itself, and as a country aspiring EU I can say that it's a value that's actually cherished; specifically now Western Balkan countries as they are aspiring EU, and there've been more and more higher and difficult standard presented for us than there were for the countries that actually founded EU and countries that joined EU later. But what we see is that the discipline and ethics and the moral that's actually supposed to be there, was not by certain governments and of course they ran ahead with spending. But now I'd also agree that it's not the people who should definitely be sanctioned to the extreme for that. They should be in-between; and talking earlier about balance between austerity and growth, you cannot just tell people and economies that you have to have cut spending, but not create anything else. Because then it will defeat its purpose.

In our terms, we are, Kosovo is actually has Euro as a currency, but it has no control over Euro in Frankfurt; it is the same for Athens; it's the same for people in Greece that they have no control over their currency. Now maybe we can, we need to bring back debate; whether a country that uses the Euro as a currency, but has no say in regulating it, can actually make its own policies viable to serve the people. In Kosovo it served well, but again it's very closed economy, it's very small, as you stated; we are basically a country as a size of 10,000 square km and 1.8 million people. And there is still economy that can be built within. However, if in future terms you grow and want to get actually more integrated it certainly you want to have more say. And know I understand also the frustration of Greek people because they are 2 or 3 main countries in EU that have a say or discuss more about the future of Europe.

But nevertheless, I think the main challenge now is of course how to get out of this crisis, how not to have EU fall apart, today Greece, tomorrow maybe Spain. But it's actually what can be built that we create the well-being for the people that they see the future in the joint economy

and the joint market. Two main things that I think, as a policy-maker, are very important for every politician: one is education; it's actually (to) disseminate and give more information about the functioning of private sector and SME development. SME are still about 80% of the EU economy. At the time we are talking about EU crisis there are 4 million empty positions in EU, because there is lack of educated people to fill those positions. On the other side, you have about 22 million people who are unemployed, job-seekers. So what you have to do to bridge this gap is actually give the right skills and tools to these people so they can fill these jobs. The second, I spoke about moral and fight against corruption. I think in Western world when the US initially faced financial crisis and then it spread to EU, everyone was talking about greed. How about talking about corruption? In countries that moved from socialist or from central system to a democracy, from comparison of the corruption between two is in centralized system there was a very limited line of people who were allowed themselves the benefits to be corrupted. In democracy that actually spread throughout the system – from a very low civil servant to a high-paid official or high government official. So, laws about ethics and the rule of law should be key and should be following building institutions and all for developed economies. Because one can actually not even imagine the damage that corruption causes the nations. And when talking about financial crisis and economic crisis, it's also the component that added to everything that happened and the crisis that we see today.

### **Ali ASLAN**

Professor Al-Meer, just briefly, you started many banks, you are an expert on banks and the financial industry. We've also got some bankers in the audience, that's why we'll hold them accountable right after. The question remains, does it concern you if the people on the street start to think that's no longer the politicians that are calling the shots, but the banks who then ultimately are too big to fail supposedly; is this something that concerns you, as a banker?

### **Prof. Abdul Latif AL-MEER**

You know, when you talk about a free market system and this phenomenon between market system and regulated system; where does the government or regulatory board gets involved and regulation, you stop growth, you have to appreciate what has been created tremendously in this world. If you look at the world economic development in the past 20 years, we have exceeded figures that we've never had. Now, we need to look at the real value and I agree with many of my colleagues here when you talk about people, industry, and you talk about real asset or real investment, resources are abundant all over the world. Now, do we, should we focus on developing these resources, finding opportunities, finding the market, really

investing in real assets and not in people and instruments of finance that only graduate of MBAs or whatever they say, sitting on a computer to understand, and of course we need to somehow, I'm for deregulation, I cannot believe that when you regulate market, we either believe in the free market system and let the market dictate its environment and corrects itself and it plans itself. Yes you need some, let's say, global certain protection on ethics, on corruption, on fraud, on let's say money-laundering, on issues like tax evasion, issues like that; but to stop growth or... whenever we interfere in a free market system, we create some kind of, I believe, technicality that the system would not understand.

Now, we all are saying should banks lend to certain problems. Banks are being made to make money, they are not like, they are sitting there as charitable institution, there are certain institutions that do that, but banks are made of shareholders, they are made of people, and people instead of investing in an industry or investing in agriculture, they invest in creating a bank that works either retail or agriculture I mean an investment, so they get dividends from the profit of that bank. Now, we can say to the shareholders of this bank, you are responsible to the bank, because you own the bank. We say now we need to find some understanding between the role of management that are there to manage the bank, but their motivation is of course their salary, and their bonuses end of the year. So, we say to the shareholders that own these banks and make dividends of these banks, you should be more responsible. And I think talking about these issues are healthy now, but saying to the banks, we are going to regulate you, you cannot do anymore this, we went into that direction and suddenly we scared all the banks; suddenly all the tabs were closed and the market could not find any liquidity, although there are, General Clark, there are enormous amount of liquidity available, and enormous amount of opportunity worldwide is available; but we say to the bank: "Stop it! You're not doing right. You close that down." Yes, there were mistakes made, but does mistake could correct itself if we put certain laws and situation.

### **Ali ASLAN**

Prime Minister, I understand you want to respond directly?

### **R.H. Dr. Morgan Richard TSVANGIRAI**

I just want two points. One is that, going back to the debate on democracy and threat to democracy. I see that was happening in Europe where the speculation, the financial speculation, may absolutely be a threat in the future; may be a threat to democracy because of one fact that has happened which is the issue of production. Europe, America is no longer the productive center; the crisis of production is the crisis that is now being pushed on

to banks and the crisis is really a crisis of production. And at the end, if this continues on, what's going to happen is xenophobia, strikes and all that, which are really a threat to democracy. And I think that Europe has to address that fact. But I want to go back to one last issue posing a threat to democracy in Africa. As long as there is no solution to poverty, democracy will remain under threat in Africa. And that's what we need to look at. Elections are not going to provide food on the table. Elections are not going to solve the real needs of the people and unless we can deal with the question of how can we make sure that the economies of Africa which, I must say, Africa is the growth opportunity now, and I think we must continue and consolidate that because that is the only way in which we can sustain democracy in Africa otherwise if we continue to have a sea of poverty with islands of richness democracy will continue to be under threat.

**Ali ASLAN**

Would you say after everything that's been said and done here, particularly about the European financial crisis, from where you're sitting these are luxury problems at the end of the day?

**R.H. Dr. Morgan Richard TSVANGIRAI**

Well, they are not luxury as long as cannot address the basis of production. Human beings have always worked on the basis of production and not on the basis of speculation; and that's the crisis we face.

**Ali ASLAN**

General Clark, I know you wanted to respond to Professor Al Meer.

**General Wesley K. CLARK**

I want to see if I can frame what the Professor and what the Prime Minister said, because they both made very important comments here on this end. So, Professor Mike Spence did a study for the United Nations and the International Monetary Fund, I think, it was on why nations grow. It's like a 3-year long study at a hundred of the world's best economies on every country, he got full access. He published this in a Council of Foreign Relations paper, it's written in a book called "The Next Convergence". We just got back from UCLA where he spoke and what he basically said is this: he said the end of the Cold War signaled that you cannot run an economy on central planning. It's impossible.

So, the idea that you can have some giant machine and do input-output, that doesn't work. It fails. That's what the fall of the Soviet Union really represented in an economic sense.

But you must have the price signals of the market place. Anytime you interfere with the price signals of the market place, you distort the allocation of resources. So, when you start tempering with this, you are playing with fire. But, you said, you must have a strategy and leadership in a country. You cannot simply say whatever makes money will work for the country; it doesn't exactly work that way. The countries that did best, had a strategy, they were pragmatic, they were non-ideological, and they step-by-step looked at whether the strategy was working, they fine-tuned it and they continued to progress with it. This is how China got its 10% per year real economic growth. It's not that China was poor and had cheap labor, they had a strategy. It was focused on the infrastructure, on the development, use state-owned enterprises, make them responsive to market signals as well as central planning, bring in capital on technology from the West, and it worked that strategy. A country like Brazil, realized they could not survive and develop, if they gave up the majority of their foreign exchange to pay for imported oil. So they developed the fuel substitution strategy, based on bio-fuel. So happens now, they have oil and their economy is roaring along, because they listened to the market signals, they put in place the institutions that were necessary, and the financial system is absolutely prerequisite to grow. You must have credit, you must have liquidity, and you must use the profit motive, by the way, in all of this; you are not going to change human nature and people work for their own self-advancement and that's a good thing.

But all of these institutions have to work together for the common good. And so it's the purpose of government and of international institutions to help them to work for the common good, to restrain those elements of institutional behavior that are destructive. And so, you do it reluctantly, but you do it. So, it's very clear in the securities industry that you may have information that you can't use. So, if a customer tells you there's a securities deal he wants to buy a certain stock you are not allowed to run out and buy it from the market and sell it in a higher price, that's called front-running, you can't do that. And so there are a lot of rules of the road that are developed over time and technology and the work of the global economy have accelerated opportunities that you have got to make sure that the institutions themselves that we put in place at the end of the Cold War, like the IMF, the World Bank, and the Bretton Woods, and the rest are updated and can keep up with innovation in the financial sector and other sectors. These are vital sectors, we've got to listen to market signals, got to use the profit motive, but we've got to make all of these institutions work for the purposes that they are chartered which is, ultimately, for the good of the people.

**Ali ASLAN**

Well, we do not only have a lot of competence and expertise on the panel, but also, as General Clark correctly pointed out, in the audience. So, want to give you the opportunity if any of you want to ask a question, address any of the members. Comments too, but then rather brief, since we are running out of time and we need to, as I said, we need to stop at 4:30. So if anybody here wants to ask a question just raise your hand, I believe we have a microphone being passed around. Until somebody does, President Stoyanov, let me just ask you again, because it is true we are talking about democratic leadership and unfortunately the Euro crisis, the financial crisis is overshadowing, if you will, everything else at this moment and if you had a glass ball and looked into it through where do you see Europe is headed? Where do you see Europe?

**H.E. Petar STOYANOV**

This is, believe me, the most difficult question.

**Ali ASLAN**

That's why I ask you.

**H.E. Petar STOYANOV**

I would like to give an example: only 25 years ago when I was a lawyer in my country, Bulgaria, I didn't believe that I will live in a free society. I didn't believe that. After the lifting of the Iron Curtain, I thought that the most important thing for Bulgaria is to join NATO and the European Union. I thought that after joining NATO and the European Union, everything will be ok. We didn't expect how many challenges we would face after that. What is the main point? The main point is we need leaders, but we need not only leaders elected by the people following democratic procedures, now we need visionaries. This is the most important thing. How to elect visionaries, because I'm not sure what will happen during or in the next years, that's for sure. But we have to react how to find the best solutions to react and to overcome the difficulties we now face.

**Ali ASLAN**

Since you were leader yourself for 5 years, is this something you can teach? And perhaps the question also goes to you, General Clark, as a former military leader; is leadership something you can teach or is it something you just have to have in yourself? Because the

issue came up in the previous debate and question was we need institutions that raise the next generation of leaders, and my question would be..

**H.E. Petar STOYANOV**

You can teach everything, that's for sure.

**Ali ASLAN**

Everything?

**H.E. Petar STOYANOV**

Yes. You can teach everything, including leadership. But I think you have to have a very special charisma, you have the ability to lead the people, you have the influence, you have the power to influence over people, this is very important in our time. I mentioned already about the so called modeling issue, it is very important phenomenon and we forgot that. Our model leaders during the communist time did a lot, believe me. They inspired two generations of Eastern Europeans. That's the truth.

**Ali ASLAN**

Ms Deputy Prime Minister, you obviously belong to the younger generation of next leaders as the Deputy Prime Minister of Kosovo.

**H.E. Mimoza KUSARI-LILA**

Or current leader.

**Ali ASLAN**

Current and future, no doubt.

**H.E. Mimoza KUSARI-LILA**

If I decide to stay in politics, of course. One thing that I wanted to add in relation to this is the fact that when you look at the EU crisis, when EU was formed the world was different. Now the rest of the world changed, but the moral of the story is that you can't always be content with yourself and your standard; or you cannot also take the solution and copy-paste

other countries within the EU, as EU was enlarging. Then there are laws and standards that actually are imposed to other countries, because these are the ones that worked. Again, I come from a country that is aspiring EU and I can tell you full-heartedly that a law and regulation at the standard that works in Germany, will not work in Kosovo in specific areas. So, EU you should be looking within itself and maybe be a little bit more creative about what are some the unique and original solutions for each country in itself, and what are the common standards that can be shared, and of course democracy is one of them. And you have other values that can be shared, but you're not necessarily imposing every rule and regulation that is bought in Brussels or Frankfurt or other, to all of the EU countries, because it might not just work. And also there is solutions and people in countries in times of crisis should be thinking of their own future local solution, but general and global integration.

#### **Ali ASLAN**

And Professor Al Meer, I want to take this opportunity, as you are the only one from the banking industry here. Well, at least from the get-go, we are talking about instilling morality, values, ethics into the next generation of political leaders, does the same go for the next generation of leaders in the banking industry?

#### **Prof. Abdul Latif AL-MEER**

As I was saying to some friends that I heard a very important quote this morning, interesting, saying that "a ship in a harbor is safe, but that was not what it was built for". And this holds today, I understand Europe is important and Euro is important, but the world is not just Europe. Today we have many examples, in the world, of countries that we never thought that Brazil went through crisis 20-30 years ago nobody thought Brazil would even come out, same with India, same with Africa, there are some nations in Africa that are example of developing economies, of becoming very productive, very successful, we in the Middle East and Asia and all the, and even in Eastern Europe you have examples of Poland, of Czech Republic and Slovakia, of countries that are doing tremendous. Look at Turkey, few years ago who would lend Turkey anything? The Turks have all the money in our days, look at Turkish Airline today, it's a global airline, it's the most successful airline in Europe. And I said to the Turks: are you crazy you're joining Europe? It makes no sense! So, I think the way we are heading today, is we are heading towards a global crisis, and I'm not saying that there are no financial problems, there are some financial problems, but the fundamentals are there. We, in the past, as I was saying, 20-30 years have developed the world, we are better in health, we are better in education, we have better life, we have more better cars, we are moving into renewable

energies, renewable battery operated cars, we are moving into hydrotech, we are, as world citizens, are doing very well. Yes. You don't think the world will go like this [shows an upward movement] forever, you will have cycles of downturn and cycles of downfall but eventually you need to correct it, that's why the system needs to be sometimes tuned, sometimes polished, sometimes adjusted to coming challenges in the future.

### **Ali ASLAN**

As somebody whose parents are from Turkey, I can certainly appreciate your remarks about Turkey. Unfortunately, the performance of the Turkish football team is not on par with Turkish economy, I'm afraid, that really hurts me deeply. But, Prime Minister, as Professor Al Meer of course said correctly, and we are, we might be in Vienna, but the world is not all Europe. Do you sometimes, do you feel that Africa is not properly being appreciated and acknowledged in the whole global dialogue?

### **R.H. Dr. Morgan Richard TSVANGIRAI**

Well, I think that, there has always been, for a very long time Afro-pessimism. Nothing can come out of Africa [except] conflicts, hunger, and poverty. But all of a sudden there is African optimism. Why is that? Because, it's because of leadership, and I hear this cry about there is lack of leadership. Has the world run out of leadership? I don't think so. Can we teach leadership? I don't think so either. Leadership, I think, it's about influence, it's about inspiring. I really do admire the leaders, African leaders, who fought for the liberation of their countries. Those were leaders. They went out there and said we are going to fight for our liberation. Now, that's the kind of spirit that you need. And I'm sure that giving, inspiring the technical people who are with all these universities, I'm sure that the leaders will be able to inspire those technical people to produce the solutions that we are looking for, so I don't believe that the world has run out of leaders, I think that we have run out of solutions because we are not able to provide the leadership.

### **Ali ASLAN**

Well, certainly we have a contradiction here. Petar Stoyanov is saying you can teach leadership, and Prime Minister is saying you cannot. Let's go to the answer to General Clark.

### **General Wesley K. CLARK**

I think you can teach leadership for particular institutions. I think you can take young people and work them up and show them how to, but I think when you got a democratic system, if the democratic system is working at all effectively, leadership will surface. To be a political

leader is a little bit different than being a military leader, or a leader of business, or whatever. Leadership in any institution is about risk-taking. Political leadership, if we go back to the world examples that you cited of Lech Walesa and Vaclav Havel, and people like this took enormous personal risks, and certainly that's the case of some of the leaders that you're [Deputy Prime Minister Kusari-Lila] associated with in Kosovo, or yourself – Prime Minister – in Zimbabwe. Once you start playing in the political realm, you are playing for the highest possible stakes, because it's about power. And so, it's like a man explained to me in the United States when I asked him shall I think about going into politics. He said, well, first of all, he said, if you go you may be very successful but you have to understand when you go in you are probably going to lose. The reason is that in combat it normally wins, and usually there is more than one challenge. So, he said, if you don't like to lose, don't try politics, because you are going to lose.

Secondly, if you go in, it's going to cost you. It may cost you money, reputation, family, profession, friends, even more than that. So, he said, my advice is if you can live without it, don't do it. So, people who go into politics are generally people who can't live without it. I don't know that it's something that you can exactly train, but somehow people feel a calling for it, just like artists feel a calling to paint, or poets feel a calling to express their feelings in lines of poetry. People, in my experience, who go into politics, feel a calling to get out there. Some people think it's a low calling. They think it's about just sort of get in public and claim recognition, but anybody who goes into that for that reason learns pretty quickly that if you do get elected to higher office, you are going to have to make some very difficult and painful decisions and choices. And there is for every round of applause, there is plenty of voices of criticism out there. So, you have got to have a thick skin, you've got to have a lot of courage, you have to be willing to take the risks. I think that, sort of, those people are rare in every society and it's up to the leaders to make sure in a democracy that they have the opportunities to express themselves, and come forward, and stand for election. Then, if the school system works, and you're reasonable free of corruption, if the impact of big money is not too powerful, if outside influence is not overwhelming, if you've got means of communication with the electorate, you've got a chance that you will get good leaders.

Democracy works, the problem is, there is certain pain in the process and Linden once said, I'm told, that he was happy because things have to get worse before they get better, and sometimes in democracy, because you're dealing with public opinion, things have to become so bold and so open, before action can be taken, that a lot of people suffer. And you wish you could take action more quickly, but you have to give time for public opinion to form. That's the way democracies operate. So, I think the leadership question is, yes we should be training leaders, and yes these leaders are going to come forward, and yes you've got to

have a democracy. And there will be some people who come forward no matter what the cost because they have passionately believed in things and they want to do something for others. That's right reason for people to step forward for public office. I think we've got a good system. And as the Professor [Al Meer] said there's bumps on the road. Europe is not the whole world, and neither is the United States. So, I was on Chinese television about 3 months ago and they're asking me: when is the United States going to fix its political system; and why can't you get things done in America; they said, why don't you learn from other countries like China. So, I think, you do have to learn from other countries. I think you have to look at these developing countries. There are success models all over the world.

#### **Ali ASLAN**

We certainly have two generations of politicians, if you don't mind me saying, Petar Stoyanov.

#### **H.E. Petar STOYANOV**

Sometimes I think it's much easier to become a leader than to leave the political stage on time, believe me. During my time, when I was President of the country, when I met for the first time the former king of Bulgaria, after that he became Prime Minister of Bulgaria; he asked me: "Mr President, how is the situation?"; it was a very difficult situation in Bulgaria, it was the war, actually, in Kosovo, I was the first East European President who firmly supported the NATO-led military operations, very, very difficult time for me, and my answer to the king was: "Everything will be OK because of democracy, thanks to democracy, Your Majesty."; "Why, Mr President?"; "Because my mandate, my term is going to finish in 2 years, everything here will be OK, but if you became king again, your mandate will be endless." So, from time to time you should take the right step to go aside.

#### **Ali ASLAN**

Well, to know when it's time to go is equally as important as we know in Zimbabwe. I do see the young lady and somebody might pass a microphone to her.

Just to pick up on what Petar Stoyanov said, do you think that President Mugabe at some point will know it's time to go.

#### **R.H. Dr. Morgan Richard TSVANGIRAI**

I hope that we all get to look into ourselves and leave before our expiring time. I am sure that President Mugabe has served his people and I asked him directly what he thought. He said: "No my party is divided, I want to make sure that everything is sorted." I said: you'll

never solve everything. So, you'd better leave in time, somebody else must come and solve the problem, and you cannot just stay until all problems have been resolved. I'm sure he is considering that.

**Ali ASLAN**

At your age you don't have the concern to step down on time, but your question please.

**QUESTION from THE AUDIENCE**

Yes, for the Prime Minister. After these conversations about the Euro crisis and Africa being a great opportunity, what are your intentions for your own currency to keep it more stable and not deter for an investment from contributing to the great of Zimbabwe?

**R.H. Dr. Morgan Richard TSVANGIRAI**

Thank you very much. I believe there are two issues that are required in Zimbabwe. Firstly, I think we need to deal with our political stability issues. We need to be a stable political country which inspires confidence and which does not sometimes display discord for the wrong reasons, that's one. Two, I think the second area is policy predictability. People want to know what's going to happen in this country for the next 10, 15, 20, 30 years before they take the risk. And I know that those who would like to come to Zimbabwe must understand that that's what we are working at – to ensure that people have confidence in the country, not only in Zimbabwe, but also in the region, in Africa. So that people can put their money knowing that in 10-15 years they can make a prediction. I'm quite confident that Zimbabwe is on a very strong foundation once these toxic political issues will be resolved, and I am sure that we will be resolving them, as we are resolving them. And I'm sure that Zimbabwe will become the foremost financial destination for foreign investment, because of the policies and the stability that we'll provide.

**Ali ASLAN**

I saw another hand being raised in the back, is that still valid? Could you identify yourself once more? Or has the question been answered? Yes please, here in the front please. This young lady.

### **Audience – Elena RYBAK**

Hello, my name is Elena Rybak, European-Ukrainian Energy Agency; and my question would be the following: we have heard a lot of great things that have to happen for the democracy to prosper in various countries and for leadership to develop; what do you do in a country when there is hardly non-corrupt systems of education; when you are actually having doubts to solve the question: will there be a doctor to go to in 10 years because most of the diplomas are bought; when there is a system that is so rotten that occasionally you are doubting what has to come first: either there has to be a leader that will beat this system, or the system has to give those new future leaders a chance to appear. And obviously there is a lot of experience in this panel, and I'm sure Ukraine, as a country that is facing a lot of international criticism right now, is not the only case. And it's a little bit of a question of a chicken or an egg, what comes first, but it is also very important to understand, we did see an example of Georgia that sort of managed to beat the system of corruption with their own success stories, but certain international criticism as well. But again, basically what would your opinion, or advice, or I don't know how to call it, to manage this leadership or a system; and how do you manage to go through the system in order to get your voice out there in the young developing democracy.

### **H.E. Mimoza KUSARI-LILA**

I will take on this question because I believe that Western Balkans have produced different kinds of situations that actually can relate to that. I think it takes only one decision in one aspect, be that in the rule of law, most likely in the rule of law, to break the vicious circle of the broken system.

If there is a security issue, then of course it takes more courage and leadership to be organized to actually get to where people want – that is freedom. But if the question of the whole system not functioning, then it takes one decision in one aspect; and you see that the same policemen, judges, prosecutors will act completely different under the leadership or under the courage of the leader that is actually determined to make it be successful. And on your worry whether there would be doctors in 10 years to cure the people because the diplomas have been bought, I would say that yes there is optimism for that and there is great-grounded chances to be optimistic because you set a standard; and you would be amazed how many probably Ukrainians that are living abroad want to come back and serve in their country, where they've earned actually properly their diploma; and those who have earned their diploma in an unjust way they'd probably just move out because the standard will be to the point that they can just not meet that standard.

And again it goes back to the ethical issue, to the rule-of-law aspect of it, because you need to build the system that actually sanctions people who perform wrongly or who are actually violating the system. And in young countries and young democracies there is always a chance and an opportunity; and that chance and opportunity should be taken on by courageous leaders, the leaders who actually despite the fact that will be suffering themselves that probably will not have a life of their own because they are serving others would still have the satisfaction of serving people.

I just wanted to relate to very short example. You are right, I'm young in politics, I've been serving in the position of Deputy Prime Minister for only a year and 3 months, and I've been entering politics since 2009, but we've entered a serious process of reform in economic sectors, and we are trying and we are hoping that these reforms will actually bring back and will be acknowledged by international institution. There will be no greater satisfaction for me, as a Minister of Trade and Industry, than if this year and we are expecting a much better rating of Kosovo in the World Bank doing business; that will be probably one of the best days in my life, when we will be announced, hopefully and again, this year that we have improved; because since the time we've entered into this index we had a downfall, we entered 113, then 117, 119; this year we managed a little bit on 117th and now we are aiming a top performer. But this is, in public policy and in public service, this is one of the greatest satisfactions is only this service and only this dedication that is actually keeping me enthusiastic for the position. And I certainly believe that countries with young people, no offense to others again, but certainly they have a bright future.

### **Ali ASLAN**

We are all young here in heart anyway; Professor Al-Meer, do you want to answer briefly?

### **Prof. Abdul Latif AL-MEER**

I agree with my colleague, but I also believe that we all love the word democracy, that's a beautiful phenomenon. And we all today are seeking some type of democracy, but I believe democracy is really when you have the ability to install institution that protects democracy. Just to have democracy, it means nothing. Today we see a phenomenon in this world. We see leadership out of youth in the Middle East, in Africa, in Europe, in the West; some call it anarchist, some call it whatever they call it, but they are the youth power of today and they are the future. I'm sorry for all of us who are past being youth, but that's the future. And this youth today have the instrument of technology – be it Facebook, be it Twitter, be it whatever, they are now communicating and they are forming associations, and they are forming

NGOs, they are forming all these issues that you require. Yes they are a leader in power for a month or two months, I approve what's going on in Ukraine. You are in the matter of 4 or 5 years you've changed 2 or 3 Prime Ministers and that means that you have the power to change leaders, it doesn't mean that you cannot. You used to have a leader for life, but today, somehow, there is a system that changes leaders. You have, as youth, to start building institution that protects the democracy, that has transparency, that fights corruption, that fights these issues that are detrimental to the society.

**R.H. Dr. Morgan Richard TSVANGIRAI**

I don't think that there is any society which is not corrupt. So the system is there, but it is the people who change the system, and that's why democracy is important. In my culture, when you look at the fish, it starts rotting from the head, and that's a sign that leadership is the one that rots not the people. So a system can be changed by the leaders, by the people in order to provide good leadership. There used to be the Chicago gang of the mafia, but where is it gone, it has disappeared because the system changed. So it is the people who change the system because they don't want to live where it's corrupt.

**Ali ASLAN**

And of course you just pointed towards Wesley Clark because he is from Chicago, not because of the mafia. No, no. I just want to make sure because we have cameras rolling. Last very brief question in the interest of time.

**Audience – Katharina CORTOLEZIS-SCHLAGER:**

My name is Katharina Cortolezis-Schlager and I'm a member of the Austrian Parliament. Just one question to Mrs. Kusari-Lila but also to the others: what about the women in such transformation processes? What contribution is coming from them? And do you have any best practice model within your countries where you see well that's how it should run within the future?

**H.E. Mimoza KUSARI-LILA**

Thank you for the question. I think as a country now we are serving as a model on women engagement. Our President is a female, she was elected in the Parliament for the first time with 2/3 of the votes, she is my age; we have two Deputy Prime Ministers and two Minister-females serving in the executive, 40 % of the Kosovo Parliament are women. We have a

gender quota, it's 30 %, but last election, last year, when the Parliament was formed, we happened to have 40 %. What I can say is in post-conflict societies, interestingly enough, women emerge stronger. There is a saying that what cannot kill you, makes you stronger. And in Kosovo after the war, even though in socialist system there was a lot of policies on equality and access to education for men and women equally; still, during the repression time that fell and the economic crisis made women not in the position that they were before. But after the liberation and, of course, while building the institutions you see women engaging stronger in the society. A lot of women in Kosovo who lost their husbands and sons, all of a sudden their life changed and now they are the bread-winner, and now they actually formed their business, and they are entrepreneurs, and we are actually looking how to support in the system that they are not only surviving business but they are actually growing their business and have sustainable business. And I see this also in other countries. It's interesting that a lot of time in society with conservative and patriarchal systems, like Afghanistan for example, you see now women coming up and talking about their sufferings; and the two situations cannot be compared, Kosovo of course is European and it's a different culture in Afghanistan; but it strikes me that a 15 years old girl who has been harassed and who has been tortured comes up and speaks and because she wanted to end that torture. And she will be an inspiration to other girls in Afghanistan as a lot of other Kosovo women who came out of the war, in Bosnia - the same, who've been raped and who've gone through very tremendous suffering. Now they come up and speak but they also want to build a life of their own. And I think, going back again to the societies and to the systems that are being build, it takes initially for few women to break the glass ceiling, and others will follow; because in the end we cannot just be treated as the minority, we are half of the population.

### **Ali ASLAN**

As I said before my parents, might be from Turkey, but I'm from Germany, so punctuality is important; particularly because we have big award show coming up, but I do think we can all agree this was a very spirited discussion. Big round of applause [Applause] to the five panelists, who have contributed greatly and I think if we take one thing away here, that we can all agree on and the point that General Clark drove home and certainly the value that all five here on the panel exemplify: leadership takes courage; and courage is certainly something that all you five here have exemplified and certainly demonstrate on a daily basis and I want to thank you for that. With that I want to close the panel and have fun at the after-show. Cheers.