

**TRANSCRIPT:
ENERGY DAY**

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**AT CGDC ANNUAL MEETING 2012
05-17-2012**

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

First of all many thanks to the President Stoyanov for the nice presentation. I think we were in contact in my time as a Stability Director for South-Eastern Europe, and I owe you many thanks because in your time, by you I got a decoration by the Republic of Bulgaria and I have re-seen it in my memory again. Thank you very much. Many thanks also for the invitation.

As President Stoyanov has outlined I think the two themes of your Meeting of the Center for Global Dialogue and Cooperation are really connected. The question of energy and the quality of democracy are very much connected and I think, the character of the two themes are from the first view very different, but on the other side how we are handling the availability of energy, how the decisions are made and so on and so on, deciding a lot for the possibilities of democracy. So far I think you are discussing today what your theme is tomorrow, and we will tomorrow discuss what is the theme for sure today. By the organizers it was given to me a title for my speech: "Energy: Condition for Life or Instrument for Power". I think that is not an alternative, I think it is very much interlinked and I think that conditions for life and the way of energy and for sure better if energy is not so much used as an instrument for power. Maybe it justifies there is a question which kind of power? It can be the power of democracy, but I think power has always a tendency for monopolizing. I think if you have monopoly on something you are for sure stronger, more powerful, you can dictate what is going on and so far energy is one of the key questions in this direction. Maybe it is a little bit a negative touch, which I am introducing, but I want to give you a positive touch, because the availability of energy is deciding our quality of life. It was already mentioned "to heat and to eat" is the basic version but here you can see what energy means is also deciding the quality of this building and furthermore the quality of life. It is also dictating the economic conditions. Can I get enough energy? We have to consider that technology is very much depending on energy. It has changed I think now it is more kind of soft energy which was introduced by the chips, and the ways of computers, but it is depending on energy. It is the question of social

environment mentioned by this sentence “eat or heat” but I think it is also creating a social environment in a certain way. Since a longer time we are aware that the ecological conditions on the globe are very much depending on energy maybe on the consequences of too much use of energy, CO₂, we are all aware of this, how it is done, I think to have alternatives or real change by wind power, solar energy and so on and so on, and we are not at the end of this development because to be quite outspoken we have not yet settled the problem.

We have always a lot of conferences, G8, G20, different conferences of the United Nations, recently Copenhagen and so on, it is not a success story but it is very much connected with energy and for sure it is also important for the development of future. Energy is one of the key questions; it is the entrance for the future existing. Allow me to give you a historical example for Europe. I think, ok, we know the European Union has started with the Rome Treaty of the Common Market and so on and on, but we should be aware before 1957—there was 1954, the Energy Community for Coal and Steel. I think this was the preparation of the European unification, and I think it was really a brilliant idea. Maybe it was created by the experiences of two World Wars, because what do you need to make a war? For sure you need steel, war cannons, panzer tanks and so on and so on, and you need energy, I think, to work on it and to prepare all of these, and it was a genius idea to put together the administration for the 6 countries starting this exercise in the Energy Community of Coal and Steel, I think it is better known under the Level Montanunion, I think it was extremely important. I want to be outspoken, I think for coal in this context I think it was done and it was quite good, because concerning using of coal we had tremendous changes during the last 50 years. It was not done in the direction of the European Union I am only looking to this part of the world at the moment concerning atomic energy. There is a responsibility by the European Commission and they ask specific organizations, but I think concerning using of the atomic power for energy you have no common regulations. I think you have not even common regulations on the security conditions for this.

That is one of the big problems and it is creating tensions within the European Union. For example, between Czech Republic and Austria we have a lot of discussions and so on and so on and we have to consider that concerning atomic energy we are going obviously in the direction of changes. Not in general, here you can see what might be the problem between France and Germany, because France is very much depending on producing energy out of atomic power stations, the Germans decided within the next 20 years to close these power stations it will be a very interesting question how they will manage it, but I think it is showing you the quite importance of the sources of energy and in which way it is now. But we have also changes as it has already been mentioned, and it came out with the downfall of Soviet Union and by a completely new map we have in this part that gas, and for sure in this context

also oil, is playing a very important role. I think it might be the next step because seen from the ecological dimension gas, I think, is more preferable for the ecological situation. I think to have gas power stations is not such a burden for the atmosphere and so far that is of great importance.

So, there is coming in the second part of the title of my speech “Instrument for Power”, question mark. No question mark, dear friends. I think it is an instrument for power and it is better to face it and not to raise only a question mark on this subject. But may I say, I think the way on this is not yet ended because we have a lot of discussions, research and so on and it is done, in which we can use not only wind or solar energy, but also thermo-power if we are drilling into the earth. Recently a group of scientists visited Vishay. I think if we can go 6 to 8 kilometers down in our earth we can gain unlimited resources of energy. 6 to 8 kilometers I think that’s quite a job here and for sure it will be also a question of power: where can you do this, what is the better place, not everyone is really prepared for this and in which way is it distributed. I think that is also a very important question.

So, on the one side the daily life is very much depending on the availability on energy, and in this context it is the question of power, but also the future development – the competition between different states, or different parts of our world is playing a quite an important role. I think here it is quite clear that what the Republic of China is doing is very much depending on their difficulties to get enough energy, because they are very much depending on coal and with all the difficulties, they have a lot of incidents, it is not a very modern production which they are doing, so far they are also looking to other places to get an input on energy. I think not a new question. I think as an instrument for power it was creating a lot of voice and lot of conflicts existing, I think for sure we can look to conflicts concerning Iraq, and discussions around Iran. It is not only an ideological question, or it is not a question of radicalism, it is also connected with the question of energy. Intervention of Great Britain and France long time ago in 1956 concerning the Suez Canal was a question, who is in charge of this important transport way but why is it important? Because energy is transported through Suez Canal and so on and so on. So far you can see very much is depending on this and even if I am going back to the World War II, I think as Hitler and the German Reich lost the oil fields of Romania, I think the 2nd World War was really finished because, here, on the side of Deutsches Reich was very much depending on the question of availability of energy. So far we meet the discussion who has the natural resources, I think, to settle this problems, who is in charge, in which way it is done, which parts of our world come closer, which parts of Europe are here connected.

Allow me to make a political remark. I am a friend of the European Union and European Integration and for sure we are all aware that we have a lot of crisis in this context: financial

crisis, economic crisis, Euro Crisis, Greek crisis, whatever you want, I think every kind of crisis is available. Maybe I am shocking EU, I am a fan of crisis, I think, I will tell you why: the old Greek word, κρίνω [krino] I think in all old Greek languages means in translation “to judge” and “to decide”. We are in a phase also concerning energy where we have to judge the situation and where we have to decide how the things are proceeding on this subject. I think it is a very inconvenient time in which we are and even coming in here and having talks with our friends everybody is focusing on this situation and for sure not very nice. But, it is pushing us forward that we have to do these decisions, that we are able, I think to move forward. That is I think the background for your meeting here and you have to do a contribution, I think it is not a decisive body, which is here existing, but it has an influence on the public, it has an influence on political decision-making and so far it is extremely important within this crisis to focus on these problems. Especially, I want to focus on the fact, that energy is not a subject of competence of the European Union. I want to be very critical on my beloved now 27 maybe soon 28 member states. I think, they are all convinced that the energy problems they can solve for themselves. It is a subject of a nation state. There, the Commissioner Mr. Oettinger, is doing quite a good job, but in this sense he has no political power.

For sure, this political power has to be based on the European Parliament, but it is very much depending on other Member States’ willing to cooperate, yes or no. I don’t want to be unfriendly to somebody, but I think examples have to be mentioned. I think we have this Nord Stream pipeline connecting Russia with Germany. Good idea, necessary, for sure without any doubt. The question of instrument for power is quite clear. The Austrian pipeline through the Baltic Sea is passing by Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland and they are not connected with this Nord Stream pipeline. They can get the gas through Germany. The power question we will see. I don’t want to blame Germans for this, or Russians, but it was an arrangement between two governments on the level of the nation state. It had some contributions also. My Polish friends are always telling me it was shocking for them because the building of this pipeline was done with a ceremony and the finishing was also done with ceremony. Mr. Putin was kissing Mr. Schröder and so my Polish friends are always saying if somebody from Russia and from Germany are kissing each other always the Polish have to pay the bill. It’s a kind of a historical experience, I think hopefully it’s not happening in this direction, it’s not looking like and they say, but here you can see how touchy these subjects are: which co-operations are done and which co-operations are not done. So far the question “Instrument for power” is more than justified to do it. I only mention the European level here, but I think it is a global level in this context, the upcoming so called BRIC States I think have a great importance here for the sources existing but maybe the panel can elaborate it this for sure more. I am focusing on gas pipelines because it is important for the region to which I am very much connected South – East Europe – because in this field we have a great competition on gas pipelines.

I think it is not a technical question, it is a question, instrument of power: Who is doing which pipeline. I think so far we had South Stream and Blue Stream, and on the other side I think to go around, Russia or let me say, Ukraine, Nabucco was created also in difficulties for the moment it has to be clearly outspoken and I think for my feeling there are too many proposals for pipelines existing. I think, after Nabucco was elaborated maybe the next pipeline will have the name Aida, or whatever, something like that, but the background question is instrument of power. So far, I think we have to discuss how it can be done with equal rights. This is important for democracy, because we do not want only democracy on the level of nation state, we don't want only democracy on the European level, we are really convinced that democracy and for sure this is for the human rights is basics for a peaceful living together and so far it is very much connected in this context. I am a little bit proud and my old friend Slavtcho Neykov is also here, is chairing the next meeting, I think, they are created for South-East Europe, Energy Community for South East Europe. It is even a stronger instrument than the regulations within the European Union and I think it might be an example in which direction we can develop on equal rights.

What was the precondition for doing it, by the wars existing, by the downfall of the former Yugoslavia we had a lot of destroyed parts, or destroyed fields here existing. One was energy, electricity, one of the key questions I was focused was how can we rebuild the commuter stations in Ernestinovo and Mosta because there are the key distribution places for electricity in former Yugoslavia and for sure for South-East Europe. That can be only done in the real cooperation. So for your request, for your incoming panel is I think how can we not only control that it is too much power in one hand, it is also a question- how is it organized on equal partnership because everybody wants to have the entrance and for sure and for the long run I think, it makes no sense if the one has more possibilities and the other-other possibilities, because it is quite easily to elaborate how much is used in which country, what do we need for the future but the way in which this is organized politically I think is the real request for sure. That's the part of democracy. The question instrument for power is connected with the quality of democracy and the quality of democracies we have within our feet. So far it is a kind of a democracy day and we are discussing energy because we are depending on the resources, we have the competition concerning resources, which are happening in Africa, China is trying, India is trying, I think the Europeans are awaking in the certain way. It is connected with the ways of transport, who is under control of the transport, I think some friends in the East right I think to buy the transport ways, the pipelines and so on and so on, to have the control. I think it is always very important who can switch off, and who can switch on, that is the real important, the most important place where you can switch here. That is the real political and therefore democratic question. But also I think its availability, and the question of price, because with the price I think you can enrich a country, if it is lower, and I

think you can move a country to be really poor if the prices are too high, and you can create a lot of social tensions if it is not done in the right and just way for all the persons.

Availability of energy is seen from my side a kind of human right. I think it plays a very important role, we should be more aware of this, because by the general development, I think, we will not have more energy, we will have less possibility to get the energy and so for the power question in this context is very much connected. And for sure it is also a question for the ecological consequences in existing. I think here we have an increased awareness about this, maybe I can announce the next question which will have the same importance, even more after energy concerning the availability: that will be - water. I think the water question, but maybe this is a theme for your next meeting, plays an extremely important role for our common future. But I think there should be room for the next meetings. I wish you all the best and many thanks for this invitation [Applause].