



Salzburg, August 5-7, 2004

## A MODERN CONCEPT OF TOLERANCE



### Salzburg Trilogue

Surrounded by the stimulating atmosphere of the Salzburg Festival, the Salzburg Trilogue brings together renowned representatives from the arts, business and politics to engage in crosscutting and future-oriented discourse. Addressing an annually changing topic, the Salzburg Trilogue strives to foster reflection and a lively debate of fundamental cultural issues, commonalities and values that are of social significance for Europe.

The project is a joint initiative of the Austrian Federal Chancellery and the Bertelsmann Stiftung.



BUNDESKANZLERAMT  ÖSTERREICH | BertelsmannStiftung

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This is the first time I've ever heard about a marriage of the arts, politics and business, of them coming together in one room, talking to each other, sharing ideas and being placed in a situation designed to yield productive results. Having participated, I think each of us will take away a whole new idea of what the other side of the fence, what the other side of the world looks like. This is the first time I'm not only singing for politicians and heads of state, but actually conversing with them. I think if the possibility existed for people to serve as bridges and talk, there would be more world peace and more tolerance, because the willingness to sit down and listen and understand the problems of the other side is sometimes lacking.

Helen Donath



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# Preface

Liz Mohn

2004 was a decisive year for Europe: the European Union acquired 10 new members in one go. The enlarged community, now 25 strong, and the prospect of additional members require that we communicate across our differences in order to discover our commonalities.

Together with Austrian Chancellor Wolfgang Schüssel, the Bertelsmann Stiftung last summer began a project aimed at exactly that: the Salzburg Trilogue. This trilogue – a "dialogue of three," among partners from the arts, business and politics – has been conceived as a contribution to Europe's ongoing public debate. It is meant as a venue for addressing issues that will determine our future and for identifying common European values. As part of the 2004 Trilogue, distinguished representatives from 13 countries gathered to share personal experiences and discuss ideas for achieving a forward-looking, mutual understanding of tolerance.

That this is not a distant issue, but goes to the heart of what it means to be European has been made clear by the International Cultural Dialogues that the Bertelsmann Stiftung has organized in Cairo, Tokyo and Beijing since 2001. In a world of accelerating globalization and ever-increasing pluralization, tolerance is the key for peaceful coexistence both within Europe and beyond its borders. Should Europe succeed in developing a model for tolerance that fosters existing cultural identities while respecting the differences of others, it would undoubtedly serve as a basis for intercultural understanding on a global level. The Salzburg Trilogue was a first step in this direction, and others must follow.

The meaningful and invigorating impetus provided by the participants is a sure sign that we have started down the right path. I would like to thank all of those who took the time to attend, and I would especially like to thank Dr. Wolfgang Schüssel and his staff for their outstanding contribution of time and effort.



Liz Mohn  
Chairman of the Board  
of Bertelsmann Verwaltungsgesellschaft mbH  
Member of the Supervisory Board of Bertelsmann AG  
Vice President of the Executive Board  
of the Bertelsmann Stiftung



# Preface

Dr. Wolfgang Schüssel

Three years ago I developed the idea of a new type of colloquium, bringing together representatives from the arts, politics and business. The intention was to bridge the communications gap between these three worlds and to create an opportunity for sharing their different concepts and approaches to certain issues. The perfect place for the Trilogue was easily found – Salzburg, located in the heart of Europe, where you take in culture with every breath – combines architectural beauty and world-class performances in a festival setting every summer.

In 2004, the Bertelsmann Foundation joined this project and I want to thank Liz Mohn and her team for their perfect cooperation in preparing and organizing this event. I also owe special thanks to our distinguished guests. Their thoughts and ideas about "A Modern Concept of Tolerance" were extremely valuable and will hopefully spark new projects and partnerships to enhance better mutual understanding. The quotes selected for this brochure give an impression of this vivid and inspiring debate that – as we learn from the news almost daily – is still absolutely urgent and necessary.

Europe's treasure is its diversity. We can enjoy this treasure all across our continent from Lisbon to Warsaw, from Helsinki to Valetta. Europe's success lies in its ability to establish and maintain a common framework based on the principle of subsidiarity. Tolerance is one of the basic values and preconditions for the success of our unique European project. As the world undergoes rapid changes we also have to deepen our understanding of tolerance in order to meet the new challenges we are facing. The Trilogue, hopefully, was one further step in that process.

Federal Chancellor Dr. Wolfgang Schüssel  
Federal Chancellor of Austria



My heart is open to all the winds:  
It is a pasture for gazelles  
And a home for Christian monks,  
A temple for idols,  
The Black Stone of the Mecca pilgrim,  
The table of the Torah  
And the book of the Koran.  
Mine is the religion of love.  
Wherever God's caravans turn,  
The religion of love shall be my religion  
And my faith.

Muhammad Ibn 'Arabi  
Mystic, philosopher, poet, sage  
Spain, 1165-1240



# A Modern Concept of Tolerance

The basis for democratic interaction in pluralistic societies

Discussion paper  
presented by the Bertelsmann Stiftung

Tolerance is respect, acceptance and appreciation of the rich diversity of our world's cultures, our forms of expression and ways of being human. It is fostered by knowledge, openness, communication, and freedom of thought, conscience and belief. Tolerance is harmony in difference...

UNESCO Declaration of Principles on Tolerance 1995  
(Article 1 – Meaning of Tolerance, full text on CD-ROM with background articles)

## 1 The challenges of pluralistic societies

The world is on the move – in May 2004 10 new states joined the European Union, and other states, including Turkey, are waiting in line or already negotiating their membership. Countries all over the world are considering the establishment or extension of free trade agreements and supra-national organizations. Companies are setting up enterprises in many different countries to benefit from the economic advantages to be found there. These global trends influence the way individuals design their private and professional lives. The identity of coherent biographies vanishes as socio-economic shifts increase. Every day immigrants from Central and South America attempt to cross the Mexican border into the United States. Construction workers from Eastern Europe find work in Spain. Algerians set up businesses in France. German nurses take jobs in Norway. These are snapshots of a world in which mobility and communication are easily accessible. Such developments challenge our political institutions, the way we do business and the way the arts are perceived.

A society's cultural framework is challenged by mobility and migration, which bring groups with different value systems, religions and norms into close contact with one another. Recent estimates place the size of the documented migrant population at 56 million, or 7.7% of the European continent's total

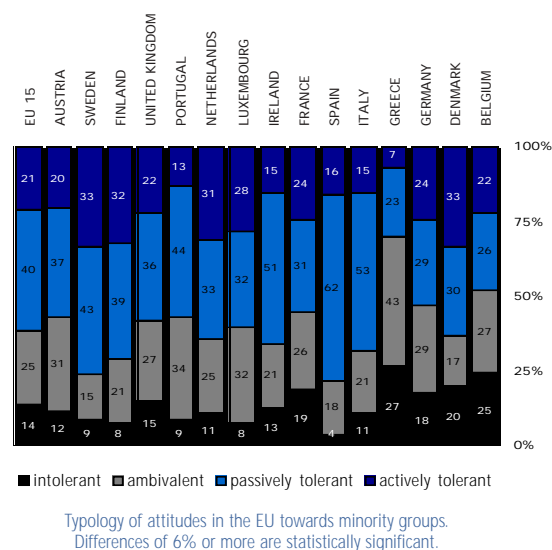




population<sup>1</sup>. During the 1990s immigrants became the largest component of new population in most member states of the EU. In the year 2000, about 5% of all EU residents were not nationals of the state in which they lived. More than two-thirds of these (3.4%) are third-country nationals, and only 1.6% are EU citizens living in a second member state<sup>2</sup>. Both the majority of society and the immigrants themselves are challenged by these developments. A balance between defensive self-assurance and prospective openness has to be found, and a method for opening up a sustained dialogue must be actively supported.

Reactions to these developments differ across Europe. Attitudes towards diversity and cultural identity have been studied for the EU 15 member countries. These reactions are ambivalent. In a comprehensive study, a “tolerance typology”<sup>3</sup> reveals four different attitudes towards minority groups. They show the basic patterns of dealing with diversity:

- Actively tolerant – minority groups are regarded as having an enriching and positive influence on society. Assimilation of culture is not favored, and active policies of integration are supported.
- Passively tolerant – minority groups are welcomed insofar as they can enrich society, but they should not be actively supported. Restricted acceptance and the attitude of laissez-faire predominate.
- Ambivalent – minority groups make no substantial contribution to society and should be assimilated into the majority, yet they do not disturb the majority in any problematic way.
- Intolerant – minority groups are a source of disturbance and have no positive effect on society. Limited access, assimilation and repatriation are the measures that must be taken.



(SORA. Attitudes towards minorities in the European Union. 2002: p. 24)

While a significant minority of 14% are intolerant and 21% are actively tolerant, almost two-thirds of the EU population are uncertain about the opportunities and risks of diversity. There are greater amounts of freedom found in society, politics and business than are generally appreciated. Options for individual, social, political and economic opportunities are increasingly accessible. But plurality not only opens up choices, it also forces choices upon individuals and societies. This can lead to stress and an inability to design the future proactively. Tensions and conflicts resulting from plurality are met by efforts to prevent it instead of an embracing of the opportunities it offers. Defending a once established or chosen identity as an act of self-assurance brings a variety of dangers. It can, for instance, result in the cutting off of all channels of communication between two parties. Action is needed to strengthen those factors that lead to actively tolerant attitudes fostering a pluralistic society. Even more importantly, measures have to be taken to show the majority of Europeans within the EU how the uncertainty surrounding pluralistic societies can be converted into creative opportunities for living “harmony in difference.”



<sup>1</sup> Suessmuth / Weidenfeld. “Challenge Integration” in *Managing Integration* (CD-ROM). 2004: p.9.

<sup>2</sup> Bauboeck. “Civic Citizenship” in *Managing Integration* (CD-Rom). 2004: p. 147.

<sup>3</sup> SORA. Attitudes towards minorities in the European Union. 2002: p. 24.



## 2 Tolerance

What holds pluralistic societies together? Are today's societies destined to fall apart, leaving only isolated individuals behind? There is no question that pluralistic societies must rely on people with a sense of community in order to function at all. These people must trust one another and believe in the welfare of the community. This involvement in social affairs is essential to social cohesion within a pluralistic society. Tolerance is a key concept and basic value aimed at using the positive effects of plurality and dealing with conflicts in a creative way. Tolerance can be comprehended as a procedural framework for actively converting the risks of diversity into opportunities for all. Historically, tolerance came to prominence in Europe as an emergency concept for settling religious differences in view of the Reformation and for ending the bloodshed of religious wars. The toleration of religious beliefs was regarded as a prerequisite for peace. The Enlightenment secularized and individualized the notion of tolerance and universalized it by using it as a basis for claiming freedom of conscience. The American Declaration of Independence and the French Revolution derive their ideas from this concept of tolerance. Today, tolerance can be comprehended as an ethical framework for dealing with diversity. Tolerance is a mediator between identity and difference. It is the precondition for the establishment of new values, norms and identities that can no longer simply be derived from tradition.

### A modern concept of tolerance

Tolerance must not be misunderstood as an expression of indifference or *laissez-faire*.

If no confrontation with otherness occurs, tolerance loses its essential meaning as a framework for integrating difference and becomes irrelevant in its productive function. Tolerance as an active concept requires interaction with others. It becomes relevant only in cases where there are conflicting differences between individuals, groups, ideas and structures. Tolerance is not substantially normative in dealing with difference. It must not be confused with a call for charity, solidarity or appreciation. It does not want to assimilate or eliminate difference but negotiate it for the development of new values and visions. Tolerance is a core value of pluralistic societies and enables them to establish an interaction between and integration of a great variety of cultures and opinions.

Tolerance is motivated by recognition of the equal right to freedom. Individuals and groups compete for acceptance and resources in pluralistic societies. A fundamental rule for dealing democratically with difference is that everybody has the same right to develop his or her abilities to the fullest extent<sup>4</sup>. The recognition of this right is fundamental and establishes the basis for tolerance. An essential precondition for achieving this goal is the creation of a successful communication process that assumes equal access to participation. Participation requires that conflicting parties have a stable sense of identity. Strong identity helps acknowledge "otherness" without sensing that one's own foundation is being shaken or that one must give up one's rights. Also, participation needs an equal footing in terms of access to resources, power and status. Provisions have to be made to ensure that in the event of conflict, minorities are respected

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hans Küng, *Projekt Welthethos*. Piper: Munich, 1990.



and have an equal opportunity to articulate their opinions and negotiate their needs.

In summary, tolerance as a modern concept is a maxim that is based on the following three criteria:

- Precondition: The issue of tolerance is only raised in situations of conflict where values or norms are questioned, violated or confronted.
- Procedure: Tolerance is marked by the absence of violence in negotiating a case of conflict. This non-violence can be unilateral or be shared by both sides.
- Motivation: An equal right to freedom is essential for tolerance, granting individuals and groups the same right to develop their abilities to the fullest extent.

Tolerance is a common basis for understanding that can be established before a common meaning of certain values is agreed upon. The consequence is an active involvement on the part of individuals, political institutions, businesses and artists for negotiating difference and finding a framework for living together in a pluralistic society. The diversity reached in this way is not predetermined or static; rather, it is actively negotiated, shared and ever changing.

### Goals of tolerance in pluralistic societies

Tolerance in democratic and pluralistic societies has four basic goals:

- Fostering social integration and cohesion as the foundation for any democratic system
- Legitimizing democratic systems by developing a comprehensive culture for dealing creatively with conflicts

- Ensuring a system of checks and balances as a democratic principle for the whole of society

- Creating, increasing and defending respect for difference and diversity

Taken together, these goals increase the security of pluralistic societies while at the same time keeping a spirit of openness for new ideas, values and visions. They must be pursued together in order for tolerance to become a comprehensive guideline for democratic interaction, neither merely celebrating difference nor misunderstanding integration as a glossing over of conflicts.

### Limits of tolerance

Tolerance has its limits. This holds true even if it is not a normative concept itself. Actions aimed at undermining the basic rights or human rights of all cannot be counteracted by tolerance, but only by the monopoly power of the state. In this case, the state has to take intolerant action in order to secure the greater good of a culture of tolerance that provides for freedom and creativity. Tolerance requires a basic willingness to engage in dialogue as well as guaranteed rights as a basis for negotiating values. If both are neglected, tolerance ends.

Violent actions against individuals, groups or states need to be countered by standing up for democracy's basic values. Civil courage is needed to defend freedom when the non-violent principle of tolerance is being undermined. Large social, legal and power imbalances between conflicting groups must be met by supportive and affirmative action by the state in order to ensure that tolerance does not become a repressive means for the majority to dominate the minority.



### 3 Fields of conflict and the responses of tolerance

Where do we find this modern concept of tolerance today? The following sections identify manifestations of tolerance in politics, business and the arts. In each case, there are specific challenges ahead with regard to dealing with identity and diversity.

#### Politics: Opportunities for a European policy of integration

The EU is confronted with tolerance on many levels. Anti-discrimination issues such as the right to religious freedom and gender equality are only a few examples demonstrating multi-level applications of the term “tolerance” in the multinational European framework. The EU views itself as an open system trying to strike a balance between host societies and immigrants. Therefore, the question of the development of a common European immigration and integration policy is a question about future values and norms. Clearly, no single country can manage migration and integration through unilateral policies. Nevertheless, immigration as an integral part of social and economic reality is often not yet accepted as such. Instead, short-lived reactive measures that place an emphasis on control predominate.

A shift from defensive and control-centered politics to a future-oriented approach is needed. *If social division is to be avoided, integration and negotiation processes characterized by tolerance and a more proactive stance have to be adopted.* A central issue in the enlarged European Union is how to successfully organize plural-

istic, open societies containing growing multicultural, multireligious and multinational elements. The focus of European activities and measures will be on the European Union, although the issue of integration and tolerance is one affecting the continent of Europe as a whole, as well as other regions.

A recent poll commissioned by the European Commission to examine the politics of integration in the EU 15 member countries identified four *basic elements for successful integration*<sup>5</sup> :

- Respect for fundamental values in democratic societies
- The right to maintain one’s own cultural identity
- Rights comparable to those of EU citizens and corresponding obligations
- Active participation in all aspects of life on an equal footing (economic, social, cultural, political, civil)

In order to foster this framework, under which the concept of tolerance can come into effect in the context of integration, the European Union has introduced the idea of “civil citizenship” (Tampere Council conclusions, 1999) for third-country residents. The EU defines itself as a community of citizens. Civil citizenship provides for common rights and obligations to be shared by all residents in the Union irrespective of nationality. Participation at the local level should be fos-



<sup>5</sup> Urth. “Draft synthesis report on policies concerning the integration of immigrants (MIGRAPOL 21).” in *Managing Integration*. 2004: p. 76.

tered since it is in local contexts that integration occurs. Integration courses can prepare immigrants as well as the majority of society for this task: economic and social rights, access to social assistance, legal and political rights as well as consultative structures are part and parcel of civil citizenship. Public agreement on the political participation of minority groups ranges from 11% to 40% across EU countries<sup>6</sup>. This enormous variance in figures reflects the diversity of integration policies and approaches.

European civil citizenship could provide a secure and common basis for all residents of the European Union. It is an important tool for integration and for fostering social cohesion. The notion of civil citizenship, however, is conceivable only in conjunction with some common understanding of what it means to be European. The latest Eurobarometer showed that currently 58% of EU citizens feel very or fairly attached to Europe as a whole, and 61% feel very or fairly proud of being European. In addition, 44% have a very or fairly positive image of Europe. Integration needs a stabilized sense of a common European identity so that diversity is not met by insecurity and subsequent rejection.

Within the European Union, this is happening through the new European Constitution and the European Convention on Human Rights. They are tools for establishing a European identity.

These instruments cannot and should not replace negotiation processes on other political and societal levels. As the experience of the United States shows, courts are increasingly becoming the venue for regulating discrimination cases. In many instances, courts are handing cases back to lower political levels.

They thus ensure that they are not establishing new normative value-systems; instead, they maintain the framework for ongoing negotiations in the realm of social interaction. The principle of subsidiarity brings issues of tolerance closer to citizens and creates awareness for the importance of tolerant procedures instead of static norms. The European Constitution and the European Court should only maintain a facilitative function – they are the last resort when it comes to the assessment and implementation of tolerance. Local integration policies that build on active interaction between immigrants and local society must be given the highest priority. Local governmental bodies must be given more instruments and sufficient room to act in ways suitable to the local community. New means of participation for migrant communities, the building of bridges between different cultures and the negotiation of a common understanding of a democratic, pluralistic society have to be fostered. The educational system comprising pre-school, school and out-of-school approaches has a crucial role in building social competencies in this context. Communication skills, civic education and dealing with prejudice and discrimination are topics to be pursued at this level.

### Business: The advantage of diversity

Tolerance allows the individual to develop his or her abilities to the fullest extent. The business community has gone through various stages to assimilate different social groups into its realm and to address the diverse needs of employees. Today it is common knowledge in business that people shape an enterprise and its success. This is why a creative and productive workplace must be one that is free of prejudice and any kind of discrimination.



<sup>6</sup> SORA. Attitudes towards minorities in the European Union. 2002: p. 30.

The process of integrating people with various ethnic, religious and social backgrounds as well as older employees into a corporation is called diversity management. That this concept of human resource management has not always been a given is shown by the way women were integrated into the workforce in Western cultures after World War II:

- Equal opportunity for women - measures taken to ensure that women could also become part of the workforce; in particular, equal access to education developed during this phase
- Balance between private life and work - measures taken to promote the formal and increasingly practical equality of men and women in sharing the burdens of raising children
- Management of diversity - accepting the reality of a diversified workforce; negotiating the needs of various dimensions of diversity such as religion, age, education and ethnic origin

A tolerant, equitable [balance between family and workplace](#) can increase motivation and employee identification with the company as well as participation in company affairs. In addition, such interaction can promote good health. Conversely, the company benefits from employees taking responsibility in their family life, from their having a higher level of social competence than non-married individuals and, especially, from the skills of women who combine a job and a family. A representative study among mid-sized companies in Germany suggests an increase in revenue of more than 25% if costs and benefits are invested in a better integration of workplace and family (Project Balance: PROGNOSE AG, p.16). Last but not least, the state gains from increased tax revenues and a highly motivated

younger generation whose members pass on their positive experiences to their own children. Concrete results of such a creative integration of family and job lead to higher returns after the parenthood phase, an earlier return to work after having children and the acceptance of a greater workload after returning to work.

Overall societal effects include increased legitimacy for those corporations taking on social responsibility. Social stability also results from a good balance between family and work and should therefore be supported by the public sector. Social stability is in this sense not static, but oriented to the necessities of a plurality.

[Managing diversity](#) is an even more general extension of the work-life balance. Plurality as such has come to be taken as the key to success: employees from different ethnic and religious backgrounds are no longer seen strictly in terms of their professional contribution to the company. Dimensions of diversity such as age, education, religion and ethnic origin are consciously taken into account in negotiating the requirements of companies and their employees. The focus on various dimensions of diversity also prevents the identification of individuals according to only one criterion of identity, such as family. An all-too-linear call for diversity can lead to repeated oppression or a zoo-like exhibition of difference. One criterion might be marked as "normal" or "successful," while others are undervalued. In this approach, each individual comprises a variety of layers of identity, which are themselves sometimes internally at odds. Harnessing humanity's collective genius - tolerance for individual ways of doing things, for planning and structuring work -





can lead to unforeseen solutions in companies and satisfy an employee's sense of personal responsibility. Diversity training instead of affirmative action helps employees from diverse backgrounds work together.

The concept of diversity management is being widely discussed, especially among multinational corporations. This concept comes naturally to them since they have employees and customers from all around the world and all walks of life. For the issue of tolerance to become a guiding principle in business, it must not be limited to these multinationals and to the managerial elite, who are able to communicate easily in most international contexts. Small and mid-sized businesses in particular must consider a more diverse population within their own local community as an opportunity. Corporate social responsibility can be one way of providing such a link between a company and the life of its employees. In this sense, entrepreneurs and managers can do a lot to foster tolerance in their organizations. Valuing diversity is not easy since it means mediating between different expectations and norms over and over again. Still, it will ultimately result in organizations that use the diversity of their staff as a resource for creating benefits both socially as well as economically.

### The Arts: Sensitizing for appreciation

The arts have a unique opportunity to overtly advocate tolerance. Initiatives aimed at promoting music, painting and writing relating to tolerance have been widely popular in the past few decades. Musicians, painters and authors are taking a stand in favor of pluralistic societies and celebrating difference. These actions affect the social, economic and

political visions of how tolerant coexistence can be achieved. They are models for the successful integration of the concept of difference into identity.

Yet, more importantly, the arts themselves are dealing with the issue of tolerance within their very structure. The arts reside in a triangle of tensions, offering the chance of expressing tolerance uniquely in a coherent and creative way:

- Established tradition – the acquired canon of forms, genres and works of the past
- Present challenges – contemporary modes of thought and worldviews affecting the arts
- Public acceptance – reception of the arts according to appreciation or rejection by their target groups

In Europe, the [established tradition](#) comprises different aspects and derives mainly from Greco-Roman origins and the Judeo-Christian tradition in genres such as writing, dance, music and painting. Craftsmanship has also become an important element of the arts across various genres. Building instruments, constructing novels and handling paint are examples of educational tradition that have been institutionalized over time. Following historical challenges such as the Reformation, societal change and technical development, [present challenges](#) are confronting the arts in a more radical way: the plurality of society, modern means of communication and the absence of any generally accepted religious or philosophical framework have made for an upheaval in the arts' self-identity. At present, the interaction between past and present is one that frequently attempts to use parts of





the established tradition and put them into a new context that is closer to current societal, political and economic developments.

In negotiating tradition and the challenges of plurality, the arts can serve as a role model for tolerance by showing a democratic interaction between identity and plurality and by finding creative, new ways of offering future perspectives. [Intercultural exchange](#), for example, is still dominated by what one might call the shopping basket model: adding cultural ready-mades, which are exhibited abroad, to the shopping basket and then considering them as representations of a given culture. Today, however, curators are increasingly trying to translate other cultures by striving for an exchange of processes rather than an exchange of products. They are involving artists and members of the public from various backgrounds in the creation and perception of cultural exchange and are encouraging bilateral or, even better, multilateral productions. The arts are thus becoming lively demonstrations of the sources and challenges of conflict, but also of their potential for new solutions.

Similar to the increased relevance of larger political and economic networks, the arts present a perspective that integrates human beings as such. [The arts can comprehensively demonstrate how it is possible to appreciate difference while maintaining a sense of identity.](#) The arts do not reconcile difference, but demonstrate the brokenness of the plural world while at the same time putting this into a general context. Audience members then have the chance to witness examples of how to live more creatively and coherently while acknowledging the tensions they face in their lives. Numerous artists have also found unique

solutions addressing the tension between established tradition, present challenges and the need for [public acceptance](#) and have reflected them back to the world at large through their social and political involvement. Such outstanding messengers of tolerance should be used more extensively to foster a dialogue between politics, business and the arts.



## 4 Benefiting from the common heritage - Strengthening tolerance for Europe

Europe provides us with the unique chance for using the creative potential that exists within the cultural, economic and political sectors of a very diverse geographical area for realizing tolerance. While the EU is often still associated with mechanisms for regulating technical and systematic problems, the mechanisms for cultural exchange and getting to know and understand the value systems of others are still not widely recognized.

The following steps should be placed on the agenda for the coming years:

### Intensifying intercultural dialogue

Intercultural dialogue must be accessible to as many parts of European society as possible. It must be construed as the mutual exchange of culture and religion in its broadest sense, one that extends to the total set of value systems. These exchanges can be conversations, cooperative projects or artistic works. This leads to the creation of terms, symbols and metaphors for a world of diversity and the identification of common values.

### Establishing a pluralistic European identity

The new European Constitution should be understood as a chance to promote a sense of "Europeanness" even more widely. The European Constitution will be a point of departure for developing step-by-step a European model based on a European identity. This identity should be one that values tolerance as a fundamental principle.

### Opening up to the world's cultures

There needs to be a deeper, more reflective understanding of the birth of a European identity and what the EU's basis on Western principles actually means. In a world characterized by globalization, we can use our European experience to work more closely together with Asia, Africa and Latin America and avoid isolationism. This will allow people to value diversity not only within Europe but also to develop a deeper understanding of global intercultural differences and how they can be overcome.

### Integrating business and society

Companies around the world have a wealth of experience with regard to how diversity can become profitable. As part of their overall social responsibility, this experience should be systematically exchanged with stakeholders from politics and civil society. In this way a



more flexible handling of the relationship between work and private life will be achieved. Society as a whole will realize the productive potential of diversity in local contexts.

### Strengthening the arts as a role model

The arts are a laboratory for tolerance. They are in a position to explore different scenarios of how identity and difference can be balanced. They have the chance to travel radical paths and to demonstrate the opportunities

and consequences of a pluralistic society. The arts are inspirational and offer a vision for pluralism, which at the same time increases security and safety beyond state mechanisms. This enhances the prospects of civil society, both European and global, being able to deal responsibly with its own affairs.



# Impressions

from the Roundtable Discussion



Impressions from the Roundtable Discussion

# Content of Tolerance

## Heribert Meffert

Tolerance is defined as a maxim for an individually and ethically-motivated decision either to endure a conflict or to settle it by peaceful means, based on the conviction that, by principle, the other parties to the conflict enjoy the same rights. Our discussion paper argues that the concept of tolerance, to be future-oriented, needs to mean more than granting mutual respect on an equal footing. Rather, it calls for actively negotiating a framework for living together in a pluralistic society. Therefore dialogue, if not to say Trilogue, is indispensable.



Heribert Meffert enjoying a stunning performance of Purcell's "King Arthur" at the Salzburg Festival

## Shlomo Avineri

To me, a major issue seems to be how to employ universal principles, on the one hand, but also to respect differences, on the other. Let me go straight to a point that is a major issue in European politics, the issue of Islamic female headdress. It explains very well why tolerance is so difficult. We all know "tolerance" comes from "tolerare", which means to suffer. You have to suffer somebody who is very different from yourself. It's very easy to be tolerant about somebody who is exactly like yourself. The point is being tolerant of someone who makes you angry, provided he respects you in the same way. How do you institutionalize this?

## Pascal Lamy

Globalization brings you into a situation where you have to interface your own personal, national, continental, original preferences with other systems. What economics tells us, very briefly, is a) that tolerance is rational, that it is normal behavior, and that it is fine, in and of itself, but b) that it may not be enough, it may not suffice. And we may have to go further in terms of dealing with tolerance than the sort of nice, humanistic interfacing and sometimes passive recommendations of classic morals. We may have to juxtapose preferences; we may have to negotiate them and not just tolerate them. Tolerance cannot in this sense substitute for order. You need some sort of order. Tolerance in itself does not account for all the problems relating to interfacing that human groups, different



Shlomo Avineri stressed that tolerance comes from tolerare, which means to suffer

societies, different economic systems encounter. There has to be some basic set of values, norms and standards on which you agree. I personally believe tolerance falls short of that and cannot provide for this sort of basic norm, without which tensions can become too strong. And I think that at the end of the day, the real synergy we have to try and find is developing the concept of tolerance, which we inherited from Voltaire and the 18th century. If our starting point is a rather passive notion of tolerance, a sort of ability to endure differences, coexistence as tolerance, so to speak, then we now have to develop something that is different, that is more active. In a way, we have to move the concept of tolerance from coexistence to "pro-existence" with something more dynamic, not just accepting things as they are, but developing something that implies accentuation, that implies engagement. And the question I will leave you with is: how can this sort of active practice of tolerance lead to the creation of confidence? This is something that, in my view, is crucial for the future.



Wolfgang Schüssel and Pascal Lamy - How can active practice of tolerance lead to the creation of confidence?

## Curt Gasteyger

I think we should distinguish two kinds of confidence, namely confidence in the way others see and practice it, and confidence in ourselves and our own values. As the two may not always converge it will take efforts on both sides to respect and accept the difference.

## Marek Belka

Tolerance can survive only in a culture of discourse, in a culture of listening to each other's arguments, and ultimately in a culture of compromise. But if there is a lack of willingness to listen to each other, then I think tolerance will not survive. As a matter of fact, this whole discussion was provoked by that extreme sign of intolerance - terrorism. Well, terrorism is the ultimate expression of unwillingness to listen to another's argument.



# Diversity Management

## Jürgen Strube

The aspiration of most of today's entrepreneurs is to turn their company into a transnational corporation. That means the company must accept that not one individual country is dominant for the corporation, but rather a multitude of countries, and that it has to embrace all the different country cultures while relating them to a set of core values. In my opinion, this kind of transnational corporation is therefore becoming an entity that is no longer related to only one country, but is combining the best of several countries and trying to include these values to an ever greater extent into something I would call the "company culture." To sum up: I do believe that both for transnational corporations and for the current driving economic forces all over the world, tolerance is not only a must – for most it is already a fact of life.



Diversity management at multinationals – a model for politics? Heribert Meffert and Jürgen Strube



Peter Mitterbauer and Jürgen Flimm enjoying refreshments in the White Hall of the Residenz

## Wolfgang Schüssel

Multinational companies are capable of integrating various cultures. The concept of diversity in the labor force, in a company's corporate culture, in an international company – it works. You can integrate an Indian, an American, a German, an Austrian manager – it's possible. The same is true for culture. If we remember last night's performance of "King Arthur", I'm sure there were dozens of artists from dozens of countries and continents. For one moment they were working together on one common project. So it works in culture as well. In politics it works relatively infrequently and often not in a very positive way. I think in some areas, maybe from Marrakech to Bangladesh, we are in an early stage of integration, since not even the region is integrated. The rules are not accepted. I therefore think we are living in different stages of culture, of religion, of business and politics. And I believe a number of business instruments exist that could be used in a very positive way.

## Heribert Meffert

I would like to come back to the concept of tolerance in a managerial context. How do we organize a business? It is indeed a real challenge for a corporate culture to have numerous values forming the company's identity. And I have my doubts about integrating different cultures in a synthetic way. Is it not dangerous to dispense with having one, clear-cut culture? I think, indeed, that tolerance is not actually a goal, but a means. So in terms of diversity management, I believe we must find the right level of tolerance. What's more, it is also important to develop intercultural competence among employees and not only on the multinational level and among the managerial elite.

# Religious Tolerance

Peter D. Sutherland

Virtually everywhere you look, global conflicts are caused by or related to religion, and often it is religion potentially mixed with nationalism. The linkage between the two can become volatile and explosive and negate the concept we are talking about - tolerance. The stronger you feel the bonds of belonging to your own group, the more hostile your feelings will be towards others. The reality is that of the global population of 6.5 billion people, over 3.5 billion are Christians or Muslims. We are facing - as Samuel Huntington would say - a clash of civilizations. And while those civilizations are defined by religion, they are defined by religion in a way that seems to be contrary to what I believe to be the fundamental tenets of the very religions themselves. The conclusion I am coming to, which is so general as to probably be of little use, is that unless we insure that the religions of the world and their leaders begin to take a leadership role in addressing the intolerance found in their own religions, no amount of structural change through the EU, GATT, WTO, the United States or whomever - important as that may be - will solve our problem. This is because we need a bigger idea to express tolerance, a bigger idea than pure pragmatism. Yet at the end of the day, we must harness religion to an acceptance of diversity. And that means religion must somehow accept that it is possible to say: "We believe that we are right and, therefore, by definition, you are wrong." But one of our fundamental beliefs is that there is more than one path to salvation.



Still a long way to go for tolerance to be implemented. Prince El Hassan bin Talal arriving at the Salzburg Residenz



Peter Sutherland and Wolfgang Schäuble considering the leadership role of the world's religions in promoting tolerance

André Azoulay and H.R.H. Prince El Hassan bin Talal are striving for tolerance in their respective regions



H.R.H. Prince El Hassan Bin Talal

There is a great need for the art of multilateral thinking: "Kunst vernetzt zu denken". So how can we talk about tolerance without respect for religious differences? How can we talk about tolerance without an understanding of the region from Marrakech to Bangladesh, the most populous region in the world? According to development reports, in this region of the Middle East, 24 percent of the population lives on \$1 a day, 55 percent lives on \$2 to \$5 a day and, according to Merrill Lynch, 300,000 Middle Easterners own \$1.3 trillion worth of assets in the United States alone. The problem we face is not how to make the rich richer. The problem we face is how to develop a vision that offers a mechanism for bringing our region out of the darkness. If such a vision is not found, I think you will see us continuing to implode.



H.I.H. Prince Asfa-Wossen Asserate and H.R.H. Prince El Hassan bin Talal questioned what tolerance means for Africa and the Middle East



Helga Rabl-Stadler and Jürgen Strube



H.I.H. Prince Asfa-Wossen Asserate and Anatoly Chubais discussed the commonalities among civilizations

### Prince Asfa-Wossen Asserate

I am one of the people who believe that the 21st century is going to be the century of religion, just as the 20th century was the century of ideology. The key question, of course, arises when we talk about tolerance among religions. Do we have leaders in Europe, specifically, who can understand this new challenge and act accordingly after having crafted a constitution where the name of God is not mentioned?

It would have been wonderful to have implemented what Dr. Strube said about the commonalities of these religions. Aren't we all children of Abraham? Don't we all believe in the God of Moses, in the God of Ishmael and the God of Isaac? I feel this is where we have to proceed, this is where we really can talk about tolerance in both senses of the word.

### Helga Rabl-Stadler

Jonathan Swift said, "There is just enough religion to hate each other, but not enough to love each other."

### Jürgen Strube

There is such a broad range of commonalities and shared values in all religions. In my opinion, it's worthwhile to advocate really looking for these commonalities. And when we do that, we are also in a position to see that the differences are probably minor in comparison to the many, many commonalities among civilizations. And I think it's often very enlightening to do this from a distance, because the differences then have a tendency to shrink and the common elements become more and more pronounced.



# Limits of Tolerance

## Curt Gasteyger

How far can the limits of tolerance be extended for the sake of achieving one's more material, mostly economic interests? A vivid illustration of this dilemma can be found in Europe's relations with, or attitudes towards, China. To some extent Europe's tolerance vis-à-vis China and its questionable human-rights record is a function of the allure of China's market. Hence the dividing line between the necessary insistence on moral standards on the one hand and the allure of additional material gain, gets often blurred in favour of the latter.

It seems to me that tolerance is easier to practice in times of economic prosperity, monetary stability and ecological balance. At some point in time, however, probably sooner than some people would like, the question will arise as to how tolerance is still possible if and when resources are getting scarcer while demand for them is growing. Who then will decide how much each party will then be entitled to? In other words, to what extent can one still be accommodating and tolerant when - now I dramatize somewhat - one's own survival or well being

Franz Fischler and Sandra Kalniete called for the right balance between a liberal system of trade and social welfare



Curt Gasteyger and Wolfgang Schüssel discussing the limits of tolerance in light of intolerance

is at stake? Tolerance, in other words, is not something absolute. Rather it is, for better or worse, contingent on the environment within which it is - or must be - practised.

## Franz Fischler

Is a liberal system of trade automatically a tolerant system? It's a question that has to be answered. Is a system not more tolerant if, apart from its degree of liberalism, it also takes into account other fundamental social objectives, for example, human welfare as well as social and environmental parameters, among others things? How do we achieve the right balance between these different objectives?

The other point is: each development, including each economic development, produces more than just winners, it also produces losers. And any concept of tolerance, in my

view, must also include the question: how do we deal with potential losers? I think this is an interesting question at this stage, one that not only applies to the developing world, but one that arises within our own society as well. And it's a question that creates headaches for many governments, not only in Europe. So how do we deal with possible losers? So-called "special and different treatment" is one of the main issues we are discussing at this stage in order to solve development problems. Such treatment is based on a tolerance concept that says the general rule should be applied across the board, but we will accept deviations in terms of speed, of implementation or in terms of specifics in some of the developing countries. But is this enough? Or is it necessary to go a step further? This would be "positive discrimination." To what degree are we prepared to be so tolerant that we are willing to accept positive discrimination?





H.I.H. Prince Asfa-Wossen Asserate and Malte Boecker



Wolfgang Schüssel amidst Waltraud Klasnic and Helen Donath

### Ursula Plassnik

We have to look carefully at the dividing line between indifference and tolerance, because there might be too much indifference, too much tolerance towards questionable developments in our own societies. There might be too much tolerance or indifference towards violence, for example. There might be too much of an “anything goes” attitude in our societies.

do it differently or more quickly, but when I am chatting on the website of the “People’s Daily”, although I know part of the dialogue is being filtered by the authorities, not all of it is, and that’s progress.

Sharing a common interest is a very good way of promoting tolerance. For instance, when I was working with Jacques Delors and Shimon Peres on questions affecting the Middle East, we nearly gave birth to a common water authority for the region.

### Pascal Lamy

In the case of China, most of us who have been dealing with this country for the last 20 years agree on one thing, which is that their economic opening has been one of the best things for elevating human rights in their system. We can have many debates on whether we should

### H.I.H. Prince Asfa-Wossen Asserate

If one looks at Africa, one must accept the fact that there is a lack of courage in Europe towards intolerant regimes in Africa. I would say that in the 25 years since Mr. Brandt first used the word “Realpolitik”, to us Africans it

has meant nothing more than appeasing the dictators in our countries. Wouldn’t it have been better to say: either you accept certain standards as the basis for all civilized people in this world, or you will be made an outsider, a pariah? And I know, it was German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher who once said, “If I did that, I would have to break diplomatic relations with two thirds of the members of the United Nations.” He was right, and I could only answer today, “Please do.” That is the only way we are going to save that continent of ours.

Tolerance is also relative in time, in that tolerance and the thresholds of tolerance may actually be changing over time.

These are the limits of tolerance and they raise the question of what legitimacy is required to enforce the thresholds of tolerance and hence legitimize intolerant behaviour.

### Helga Rabl-Stadler

How did Africa become the lost continent? Because we all were so tolerant, we only gave money to those who were and are in power. And we shut our eyes to what was going on in those countries. I think we must be very intolerant of intolerant practices in Africa, as well as in China and other countries.

### Paul M. Achleitner

Tolerance is relative rather than universal. In the sense of geography or space, Japan for example would have a different concept of tolerance than that of the United States.

# Politics and Tolerance

## Marek Belka

From time to time, politics can play a role in promoting certain levels of tolerance. Poland is a very good example of positive developments. Take the recent discussion in Poland about the constitutional treaty. Even very civilized politicians in Poland, defending the Treaty of Nice, went so far as to proclaim in Parliament – and this has become famous – “It’s Nice or death.” Well, I don’t want to give an opinion on what happened before the last summit, but when I was going to Brussels to vote for the new constitution, I was told: you have to do it, but the press and the media will simply behead you. And what happened? As you know, we accepted the treaty. After one week of political upheaval the polls showed that the people in Poland were as staunchly behind the idea of Polish membership in the EU as they were before. They don’t care about a constitution, they care about Poland being in the Union. Which means that you can build on this. You have to distinguish illusion from reality and can keep telling the people that what is necessary is a spirit of compromise, not only in the European Union, but in political life in general, in how you treat your neighbors, including Russians and Germans. This is the kind of lesson to be learned.

## Wolfgang Schäussel

I think tolerance also requires courage, the courage to bear something, and if tolerance means “tolus” – a burden – then it requires courage to accept this burden. That is the way it is. And good politics also means taking on burdens and taking on leadership, showing leadership.



Two Europeans convinced that sharing a common interest is a very good way of promoting tolerance: Pascal Lamy and Peter Sutherland

## Peter D. Sutherland

The WTO is probably the biggest advance in multilateralism since the inspired period of institution-building immediately after the Second World War. Multilateralism is also something we Europeans believe in and for which we Europeans have provided a basic design. It’s a key element in providing a secure future for the world in which we live. And we have to be the shining example. If we blow the European Union, and we are on the way to doing it by blaming Europe for everything that goes wrong, we won’t get the leadership that we need from the European Union in any of its institutions or manifestations. And if we blow this, history will have a very firm judgment on our failure, because we will have blown the one example that exists where governments are prepared to coordinate their efforts by subsuming their own sovereignty.

## Curt Gasteyger

To me one of the best institutional frameworks – or safeguards – for permitting tolerance is federalism. Federalism not just as a way of assuring political balance and diversity. Federalism also protects minorities because – in a discrete way – it grants them often just a bit more in terms of rights or representation than their actual size or number would justify. In other words federalism is not just a matter of balancing and equalizing differences of political power. It provides at the same time what I would call a kind of “institutional tolerance” for those who need it. This kind of tolerance should, in my view, become a guiding principle that helps to accommodate or safeguard the growing diversity of an ever larger and complex European Union.

## Wolfgang Schüssel

What we sometimes admire in Americans – sometimes we are right in this, sometimes not – is that they have been able at some important moments of their history, of their political life, to combine the efforts of those serving in the political, military, business and cultural sectors. And this is important: focusing all of these efforts.

The question is: do we really have enough cooperation and enough coherence in our European policy within the Commission, within

the Councils, within the European Parliament? This is an important question for me, because based on my knowledge of more than 100 specific Council meetings, general affairs Councils, and more than 35 European Councils, I do not have the impression that we are really acting in a coherent way to bind together all of our efforts and all of our issues.

Keynote address by Marek Belka: Shlomo Avineri, Paul Achleitner and Wolfgang Schüssel listening to Poland's perceptions of tolerance



## Pascal Lamy

Why this huge amount of unhelpful tolerance in international politics? The reason is very simple. The benchmark of international politics is not value-based. In contrast to what we say in our societies, in our nations, even currently in Europe, the basic measure of international politics is not based on values, it's based on power, on influence. This is the basic concept we inherited from the 19th century in terms of what the international system is about. It's about sovereign states, about animals that have a lot of distrust

towards one another and whose basic mission statement is survival at the price of fighting with others. In my opinion, as long as this system is not transformed into some sort of value-based "community system," as long as we do not replace this sort of institutionalized law of the jungle with something that is value-based, we'll keep having the same problems.

Curt Gasteyer, Marek Belka and Waltraud Klasnic argued the case for federalism as a promising institutional framework for encouraging tolerance





# The Arts and Tolerance

## Andrea Breth

When I look at our fractured world, with its rising number of poor and sick, and compare that with those who are rich, secure and satiated, I find it almost unbearable to talk about tolerance.

Tolerance has to do with enlightenment, with education and knowledge. You need to meet the alien, learn to understand the foreign before you may, perhaps, tolerate it. This takes time and money, things that apparently are in short supply today. Tolerance costs a lot.

## Neil Shicoff

Once we see somebody primarily as belonging to a group, he sooner or later becomes “the other.” Therefore, as actors it is our job to individualize the group and make the audience members identify with the one on stage who touches them and their souls. Let’s say you have a play on migration, and you come down not to a group that’s moving

Neil Shicoff and Jürgen Flimm demonstrating empathy through art



Keynote address by Andrea Breth: “We artists cannot offer solutions. We are not the physicians, we are the pain.”

from one country to another, but to an individual and his perspective of what it means to have lost or gained a job. Once it comes down to the individual, we see more clearly what that emotion is. We can identify more clearly with what is being said and leave behind generalizations and prejudice.

## Jürgen Flimm

“Man soll seinen Nächsten lieben wie sich selbst”. If you don’t love yourself, you can’t love your neighbor. If you don’t feel secure with yourself, you can’t accept anybody else. This is a very smart and a very dialectic saying. Nobody knows who wrote it. Perhaps someone Jewish wrote it or perhaps a Jew who became a Christian. For me, this is the true source of all our discussions. We can

arrange a balance. The balance is the right thing. Arrange the balance so you give the other his dignity, while you yourself also feel very good.

## Pascal Lamy

Tolerance is the raw material that we need in many political processes. I very much agree that institutions are the catalyst for tolerance, that moving from this raw material into compromise, into negotiations, into understanding needs a lot of institutional machinery, with, of course, diversely shaped components in diverse systems. Institutions are absolutely crucial if you want to make tolerance manifest in politics. And there is, I believe, a significant role to be played by the arts for achieving compromise within this debate.



Clemens Hellsberg, Verena Nowotny and Wolfgang Schüssel



Michael Seberich and André Azoulay discussed ideas for tolerance education

## Helen Donath

Music can soothe the savage soul. Art has the capacity to embrace others' souls, to take them to another level, make them feel good, want to love and enjoy being alive.

## Shlomo Avineri

Totalitarian regimes, all of them, whether of the left or of the right, achieved popular legitimacy though appealing to the emotions. And this is something that should always be a *momento mori* to all of us: that emotions have been so critical in bestowing legitimacy on totalitarian regimes.



Helen Donath and Peter Mitterbauer

## André Azoulay

I have to confess that serving as a politician, as an advisor to the King of Morocco or as a peace fighter, if I tried to promote tolerance in the conventional way, by meetings, conferences, appearances on TV or in the media, I could never succeed as we did through the arts. It was only during the cultural events we organized that we had people crying together, just because they felt joy and peace. And in my country or any other Arab or Muslim country today, it is simply not possible to have 400,000 or 450,000 people attend an event and celebrate dialogue and peace, except through music. It's a fact, it's reality and I just want to share that with you. But the problem is: a day or a week or a month later, what can I do? What do I have to do? What can we do together to bridge, to link, to leverage this situation, which is, in fact, a fundamentally simple situation?

## Clemens Hellsberg

You have to change your mind, you have to change yourself - and then you will change the world. That's the message of art.

## Helga Rabl-Stadler

Art is often very intolerant, and that is sometimes negative and sometimes positive. I think if, as an artist, you are convinced you are right, that your way is the right way to do it, then you have to be intolerant of other ways of doing it, because otherwise you won't succeed.



The Salzburg experience, where politicians and artists are within reach: Ursula Plassnik and Jürgen Flimm



Listening to what artists have to say: Sandra Kalniete and Valery Gergiev

## Pascal Lamy

How do you combine emotion and rationality in politics? I think the answer to this question is absolutely crucial. Of course, a warning sounds when emotion and reason meet in politics, which is that using the power of emotions has shown, historically, that there is a lot that can be manipulated and exploited by populist or totalitarian agents. And I totally agree with this warning.

Now, this being said, I'm convinced that we have to combine reason and emotion in politics. There is no way a democracy can work without scenery, without dramaturgy, without a place where debate takes place and social violence is ritualized in a sophisticated way, in accordance with how democracy was historically built. And although it was probably my

original thinking 20 or 30 years ago, I cannot think of politics as only being rational and about reasoning. There has to be a sort of theatre where things that may not be totally expected can happen.

## Curt Gasteyger

The role of education has to be constantly reviewed. One of the major - and demanding tasks here will be the teaching of tolerance that is clearly to be distinguished from simple indifference. In other words, our society should emphasize more systematically a value-oriented education rather than give in to short-term fashions.

## Sandra Kalniete

You can never control culture. Therefore, when society is emerging from a totalitarian regime, culture is exactly the thing to help purify the brainwashed so they will accept the right to diversity, because tolerance is simply acceptance of the right to diversity. This is why I think that in the European Union, all educational programs and cultural dialogues are of the greatest importance.

## Valery Gergiev

We are in the city of Salzburg, where Mozart himself created maybe the most tolerant language, because he never spoke with his music against this or that, he spoke in favor of it. When you watch the debate in the US presidential election, you hear "against," and that makes you worry - what will happen over the next four years, no matter who wins? Are we going to hear "what should be done against" or "what should be done for"?



# Conclusions

## André Azoulay

The top priority is to try to propose a real alternative, and maybe to complete our thinking, our discussion and our proposal with something that can forge a truly different vision of the world, of the future. We have to restore dignity, we have to promote trust and confidence, but on an equal basis. And we have to accept the fact that today the answer is not just economics, politics or traditional means. We have, on the contrary, to come back to what is capable of changing people's minds, and that is culture, education, communication. Talking about tolerance means you have to work on it together. It is not something one side can decree to the other. It has to be forged, it has to be nursed on both sides. And today we don't have enough institutions, enough venues, where we can work on that.



Heribert Meffert expressing his gratitude for Helen Donath's contribution to the conference

Wolfgang Schüssel, moderator of the roundtable discussion, with Sandra Kalniete and Valery Gergiev



## Andrea Breth

Don't be full of prejudice, listen to others, respect what they do for society. And thank you all for this "university" experience.

more than just tomorrow's balance of power, tomorrow's interests. We undoubtedly need more than just self-interest and "Realpolitik". Thank you for provoking us, for pushing us into this no-comfort zone. Thank you.

## Marek Belka

I'd like to say two things. One is that we are not really discussing tolerance. We are really discussing how we would like the world to be organized. And, obviously, tolerance is one of our founding principles. If it works, the world works better. However, if something goes wrong with the world, tolerance will not be enough, although it can be one of the building blocks. We need much more. What do we need in politics? I think we need leaders who look much further than short-term interest, than today's balance of power, who don't lack imagination and who see problems as they have been discussed here. We are really looking for people, for leaders who see

## Wolfgang Schüssel

Politicians can never create magic moments, and business people can't either. Artists and the arts can do it. The problem is: what happens after the magic moment? One good answer might be if we combine our efforts, step in, provide the right impetus, in business, trade, provide solid political answers, establish civil society, initiate hometown meetings with refugees or similar regional approaches. I think this is a possibility. If we work together creating magic moments and then follow with "die Mühen der Ebene", the hard work, the day-to-day efforts in a continuous, positive way, as Peter put it, the world will not be worse off than it was 20 or 60 years ago.

## Heribert Meffert

Our discussion has shown the importance of tolerance. But tolerance is desirable only within certain limits. Tolerance is a process that needs trust and self-confidence, one that has different levels and dimensions. The first level is the level of the individual, who exhibits either tolerant or intolerant behavior. At the next level are social groups, institutions and corporations. We discussed to what extent these groups and institutions tolerate subcultures or deviating mindsets. Nation and society make up the last level, and we examined intensively the region of Europe, greater Europe, and regions from China to Africa.

The next dimension, and the one I find to be more important, is the process that must have knowledge of other cultures, motivate acceptance of them and, last but not least, negotiate conflicts and behave in general in a positive way. In a climate of intolerance, on the one hand, we have conflicts, and the costs associated with them, obviously, are too high. On the other hand, if we have laissez-faire, then we are

not leading the process and the costs are also too high. We must therefore struggle for the right balance, for the optimal amount of active and proactive behavior to counteract intolerance on a day-to-day-basis. There is a nice saying: “es gibt nichts Gutes, außer man tut es”. Good doesn’t exist, unless you do it. This means that we must actively negotiate values in conflict situations. Not only is this a challenge for leaders, it is a process that must also be made accessible to as many people as possible.

There are so many layers of diversity that need to be overcome, and the business world and the arts can provide us with promising examples of how we might build such bridges. A corporate culture is usually defined through the process of creating a mission statement, and maybe this can serve as an inspiration for identifying a mission statement on how we want to live together in a wider, greater Europe and all around world. It is my firm conviction that tolerance will be a core value in such a statement.



# Program

## Thursday, August 5, 2004

Arrival

Welcome Cocktail Terrace, Sheraton Hotel

Departure Bus transfer

Opera "King Arthur" by Henry Purcell Felsenreitschule

Conductor: Nikolaus Harnoncourt

Director: Jürgen Flimm

Dinner hosted by Federal Chancellor Wolfgang Schäuble

Restaurant Goldener Hirsch Rosa Salon

## Friday, August 6, 2004

Individual breakfast at the hotel

Departure for the Residenz Limousine transfer

### First Session of the Colloquium

Konferenzzimmer, Residenz

Keynote speaker: Pascal Lamy

Lunch

Apéritif Weisser Saal,

Lunch Thronsaal, Residenz

### Second Session of the Colloquium

Konferenzzimmer, Residenz

Keynote speaker: Marek Belka

Return to Hotel Sheraton Limousine transfer



Wolfgang Schäuble playing from Mozart's original Requiem autograph



Felsenreitschule, the former summer riding school



Johannes Honsig-Erlenburg, Vice President of the Mozarteum, and pianist Klaus Donath performing on Mozart's original piano at his residence

Walk to Mozarteum

Concert "Camerata Salzburg" Mozarteum

Conductor: Peter Gülke

Walk to Mozart's residence

Dinner hosted by Mrs. Liz Mohn

## Saturday, August 7, 2004

Individual breakfast at hotels

Departure for the Residenz Limousine transfer

### Third and final session of the colloquium

Konferenzzimmer, Residenz

Keynote speaker: Andrea Breth

Lunch hosted by Governor of Salzburg Gabi Burgstaller

Mönchsberg Restaurant

Return to the Sheraton Hotel

Departure Airport transfer provided individually



# Participants

**Dr. Paul M. Achleitner** Member of the Board of Management, Allianz AG, Munich **H.I.H. Prince Asfa-Wossen Asserate, Ph.D.** Consultant for African and Middle Eastern Affairs, Frankfurt **Prof. Shlomo Avineri** Professor of Political Science, Hebrew University, Jerusalem; Former Director-General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the State of Israel **H.E. André Azoulay** Counselor to His Majesty King Mohammed VI of Morocco, Rabat **Prime Minister Prof. Marek Belka** Prime Minister of Poland, Warsaw **H.R.H. Prince El Hassan bin Talal** Prince of Jordan, Amman; President, Club of Rome **Prof. Andrea Breth** Director, Burg Theater, Vienna **Anatoly Chubays** Chief Executive Officer, Unified Energy System of Russia, Moscow **Kammersängerin Helen Donath** Opera and Concert Singer, Salzburg **Franz Fischler** European Commissioner, Brussels **Prof. Jürgen Flimm** Theater Director, Salzburg Festival, Salzburg **Prof. Dr. Curt Gasteyger** Director, Association for the Promotion and the Study of International Security (APESI), Geneva **Valery Gergiev** Principal Conductor and General Artistic Director, Mariinsky Theater, St. Petersburg

Group portrait at the inner courtyard of Salzburg Residenz. From left: Peter Mitterbauer, Valery Gergiev, Krista Schüssel, Shlomo Avineri, Jürgen Flimm, Neil Shicoff, Andrea Breth, Hugo Walker, Wolfgang Schüssel, Heribert Meffert, Helen Donath, Ursula Plassnik, Pascal Lamy, Sandra Kalniete, Ansis Reinhardts, Helga Rabl-Stadler, Geneviève Lamy, Prince Asfa-Wossen Asserate, Maruja Cabria de Sutherland, Peter Sutherland, Katia and André Azoulay



Group portrait at Mirabell Garden. From left: Heribert Meffert, Shlomo Avineri, Doris Gasteyger, Dvora Avineri, Curt Gasteyger, Maruja Cabria de Sutherland, Jürgen F. Strube, Wolfgang Schüssel, Helga Meffert, Alfred Payrleitner, Krista Schüssel, Martin Falb, Helen and Klaus Donath, Pascal and Geneviève Lamy, André Azoulay, Andrea Breth, Prince Asfa-Wossen Asserate, Peter Sutherland, Waltraud and Peter Mitterbauer, Katia Azoulay, Ansis Reinhardts and Sandra Kalniete

**Dr. Clemens Hellsberg** Chairman, Vienna Philharmonic, Vienna **Sandra Kalniete** European Commissioner, Brussels **Waltraud Klasnic** Governor of the Province of Styria, Graz **Pascal Lamy** European Commissioner, Brussels **Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. mult. Heribert Meffert** Chairman, Executive Board and Board of Trustees, Bertelsmann Stiftung, Gütersloh **Peter Mitterbauer** Chief Executive Officer, Miba Group, Laakirchen **Dr. Ursula Plassnik** Austrian Ambassador to Switzerland, Bern; Foreign Minister of the Republic of Austria, Vienna (as of October 2004) **Dr. Helga Rabl-Stadler** President, Salzburg Festival, Salzburg **Federal Chancellor Dr. Wolfgang Schüssel** Federal Chancellor of Austria, Vienna **Kammersänger Neil Shicoff** Opera and Concert Singer, Vienna **Dr. Jürgen F. Strube** Chairman, Supervisory Board, BASF AG, Ludwigshafen; President, Union of Industrial and Employers' Confederations Europe (UNICE) **Peter D. Sutherland** Chairman, BP p.l.c, London

# Publications

## Selected publications on the subject of tolerance

### Tolerance Matters

Seamus Dunn, K. Peter Fritzsche, Valerie Morgan (Eds.),  
Bertelsmann Foundation Publishers (2003) ISBN 3-89204-646-8

### Humanity Wins

Reinhard Mohn (Ed.),  
Crown Publishers (2000) ISBN 0-609-60806-1

### Reinhard Mohn: Entrepreneur – Philanthropist – Citizen

Thomas Middelhoff, Gerd Schulte-Hillen, Gunter Thielen (eds.),  
Bertelsmann Foundation Publishers (2001) Titel-No. 02010

### The Multiethnic Society and Local Government

Marga Pröhl (Ed.),  
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And I think that at the end of the day, the real synergy we have to try and find is developing the concept of tolerance, which we inherited from Voltaire and the 18th century. If our starting point is a rather passive notion of tolerance, a sort of ability to endure differences, coexistence as tolerance, so to speak, then we now have to develop something that is different, that is more active. In a way, we have to move the concept of tolerance from coexistence to “pro-existence” with something more dynamic, not just accepting things as they are, but developing something that implies accentuation, that implies engagement. And the question I will leave you with is: how can this sort of active practice of tolerance lead to the creation of confidence? This is something that, in my view, is crucial for the future.

Pascal Lamy



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