

TIME FOR JUSTICE!

an international FES themeweek
in retrospect



ZEIT FÜR GERECHTIGKEIT!
EINE INTERNATIONALE THEMENWOCHE DER FRIEDRICH-EBERT-STIFTUNG
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FOREWORD

The Arab Spring, the Occupy movement and the protests in Tel Aviv, Santiago and Madrid dominated the political headlines in 2011. We know about the differences between the worldwide protests, but we also know about their similarities: what unites them is their call for more social justice.

The various dimensions of justice are once more becoming the focus of international debates. Social inequality, climate change, demographic aging and the effects of the economic and financial crises, all these issues give rise to the same question from a social democratic perspective: what policies will lead to just solutions for people? Answers can be found only jointly and at the international level: no country can meet these challenges alone. That is why the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung invited guests from all over the world to an international theme week entitled »Time for Justice!«, held on 7.-10.11.2011. In the course of many events the participants discussed key issues of global justice with campaigners. The debates showed that not only the search for just answers, but above all their implementation requires perseverance and political creativity.

Justice as a basic value of social democracy is a core element of the work of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, both in Germany and abroad. The promotion of social justice and especially the development of innovative approaches to social inclusion worldwide will remain a central issue of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's international work.

We now cordially invite you to the second International Theme Week »Time for Justice!« from 26.-29.11.2012, in Berlin.

Dr Peter Struck

Chairman of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung



INTRODUCTION

For the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, freedom, justice, solidarity and sustainability are central principles of international politics. They are also valid in a globalised world – although certainly under more difficult conditions. It is thus necessary to examine the resources and strategies with which the goals of social democracy can be achieved in international relations.

One of the most important questions for the future, in the face of growing social inequalities, is whether and how social justice and global inclusion will be implemented. Debates on the social question will decisively determine the future constitution of the world – this concerns both distributive justice between rich and poor countries and the alarming social disparities within societies. Policies must be shaped in such a way that intensifying social, economic and technological differences can be reduced. Hitherto the value of justice has been only weakly anchored at the global level. Philosophers continue to argue whether justice can even have a global dimension. Critics of the concept of global justice take the view that the scope of moral duties does not extend beyond national borders. Social democracy's comprehensive conception of equality, which goes well beyond the minimalistic version of rights of privacy against the state and also takes in the realisation of rights of equality, must also be realised in international policy, however. In fact, there are only a few – for example, the Health Impact Fund – concrete proposals on promoting global justice. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has thus taken on the task of helping to anchor global justice across the board, from the fight against poverty through the global economy and climate policy to technology and security policy questions, as a strong reference point in international policy.

In this spirit, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung organised the theme week »Time for Justice!« in November 2011, which ushered in a year of intensive debate on issues of justice. In every region of the world the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung took up key justice policy questions and discussed innovative approaches and ideas concerning further policy implementation with its partners. Many of the participants in our regional conferences in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East/North Africa also took part in the event in Berlin in order to bring to bear the results of their discussions in the debates during the theme week.

Many representatives from politics, academia and civil society took part in 15 »Time for Justice!« events to discuss the various dimensions of justice.

The focus, besides fundamental questions of global justice, were in particular equitable social policy, climate and gender justice and the importance of social justice for social upheavals and conflicts in the various regions of the world.

The results of the debates and impressions from the week are documented in this brochure.



7 NOVEMBER
2011

MONDAY

JUSTICE IN ONE WORLD

MEETING, TALKING, RESOLVING

GLOBAL RULES OF THE GAME

IT IS IN OUR HANDS

JUSTICE FROM A
FEMINIST STANDPOINT

MUTUAL DEPENDENCE

INCOME FOR ALL



JUSTICE

JUSTICE IN ONE WORLD

WHAT IS JUST OR UNJUST IS OFTEN A MATTER OF PERSPECTIVE. IS JUSTICE A UNIVERSAL VALUE, HOWEVER? NO ONE SHOULD HAVE TO PUT UP WITH INJUSTICES.



The year 2011 was one of worldwide indignation and uprisings: the Arab Spring, youth protests in Europe and South America, the Occupy movement – people protested in large numbers, vociferously and creatively against increasing injustice. In developing countries, but also in emerging countries and industrialised nations the social gulf is widening. The gap between rich and poor is growing both within societies and between states. As a consequence, the call for global justice is getting louder and louder. But what is global justice? Are there relevant universal norms? And if so, how can they be implemented? These were the questions debated at the start of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Justice Week.

Those invited included former Philippine human rights activist and current presidential adviser Ronald Llamas, the justice theoretician and »thinker of world change« (*Die Zeit*) Thomas Pogge, president of the Humboldt-Viadrina School of Governance Gesine Schwan and from Brazil Francisco Whitaker Ferreira, co-founder of the World Social Forum.

»One major challenge is the ambiguity of the concept of justice«, declared Jürgen Kocka, member of the FES Curatorium, in his introductory speech. Must we inevitably talk about equality when we talk about justice? What

level and kind of inequality is just or unjust? In recent decades these questions have been addressed only at the margins, while the political agenda was dominated by the credo of the free market. The current crisis of capitalism reveals the »separation of decision-making and responsibility, the contrast between individual gains and social losses«, said Kocka. This goes against many people's sense of justice. The discussions on the current crisis can thus not be isolated from the notion of justice.

GLOBAL POVERTY IS AVOIDABLE!

Ronald Llamas also called for the inclusion of various dimensions of justice: »We cannot speak of economic injustice without also talking about gender, environmental and generational justice«. For the philosopher Thomas Pogge, the fact that billions of people suffer from malnourishment is the most alarming problem of global injustice. Hunger is primarily a consequence of poverty. The earth has sufficient resources to feed over 12 billion people. »If we set aside one or two per cent of world income for the poor we could abolish global poverty completely. Poverty is a clear and avoidable injustice!«, said Pogge. The world community has the moral duty to do away with poverty by means of a fairer distribution of incomes.

A QUESTION OF RESPONSIBILITY

But who is responsible for a juster world? A particularly problematic issue for the participants was the fact that it's been a long time since it was feasible to lay down the rules for global coexistence at national level. Now they have to be established at international level – often under undemocratic and obscure circumstances. While individuals have little opportunity to exert influence directly, national governments are subject to little accountability at the global level. For Gesine Schwan the asymmetry between nation-states and multinationals constitutes *the* dilemma that characterises the shortcomings of global justice: »If markets get the upper hand, the question of justice becomes superfluous – not morally, but in terms of power politics.« Globally operating civil society actors could form a counterweight. More specifically, Schwan proposed that national institutions form coalitions with international NGOs in order to promote global justice jointly.

»JUSTICE IS NOT AN ABSTRACT, PHILOSOPHICAL OR CONCEPTUAL ENTITY, BUT A PERSPECTIVE ON LIFE«

globalised and interconnected world. »We must learn to join together at the global level, to get involved in global negotiations and to assert ourselves!«, demanded Pogge. The other podium guests also declared that global injustices should no longer be accepted and that we should demand real action from national governments and international organisations through public campaigns. Chico Whitaker quoted the words of a Brazilian bishop: »The worst thing we can do politically is not to get involved in politics.«



This is the point of departure of the World Social Forum. According to its motto: Another world is possible. Independent of political parties and national governments the Forum considers itself to be a civil society answer to the World Economic Forum in Davos. On the basis of justice and solidarity, organised civil society seeks ways of raising public awareness of global injustices. For Chico Whitaker, a cofounder of the Forum, global justice is »a perspective on life, a goal for us all and not an abstract philosophical or conceptual entity. Everyone should ask themselves whether they should share what they have.« At the end, the discussion participants agreed: it had never been simpler to get involved in politics than in our



Francisco »Chico« Whitaker Ferreira
 Cofounder of the World Social Forum
 and Alternative Nobel Prizewinner, Brazil



STATEMENT

MEETING, TALKING, RESOLVING
 STATEMENT

My idea of justice is closely linked to two ideas: equality and human dignity. In the Universal Declaration of Human Rights it is written: »All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.« The problem is that we are still far from achieving this. We must therefore do everything we can to create justice in the world. All institutions that we establish to solve our common problems must be directed towards meeting human needs. Countries must ensure that

everybody can develop themselves fully. They ought not to be solely in the service of the economy, which is oriented towards money and profit.

To enable us to work together for justice and to realise it globally we need to meet and get to know each other. We must discuss things together; identify important problems and find joint solutions. The World Social Forum creates an open space for this which anyone can use. There are social forums at all possible levels: global, regional, local – but there are always spaces in which people can seek the best solutions.

From birth we are all connected to one another. We have to be aware that we continue to be connected to one another; that we cannot live and act alone and that we must not forget about other people. We are at all times dependent on interaction and our joint labour. We must continue to work with this awareness.

GLOBAL RULES OF THE GAME

INTERVIEW

Is world social justice an aim of humankind or just an illusion?

It is a goal that should be realised. Global rules are important for every individual human being; they can have an influence on living conditions all over the world. We must shape these rules fairly so that all citizens in every country can benefit from them.

How can we achieve a fairer system?

Global rules of the game are the most important aspect of social justice. They must be designed in such a way that they protect human rights as far as possible. The rules have a direct effect on economic flows and the prospects of democracy in developing countries – democracy is more or less likely depending on how the rules of the game are used.

Who should make the necessary changes in the world order? The United Nations, the G20 or other confederations of states, such as the EU?

All these actors have a responsibility because they contribute to shaping the international rules. But the individual citizen also has a responsibility. Most people do not regard it as their duty to fight for a fair foreign policy. They delegate responsibility to their governments whose task is to represent their interests. But it is not only national economic interests that are at stake, but responsibility for justice in the world.

Everyone says that the problem of poverty needs to be solved. But why is the political will lacking?

Lack of will is in fact the biggest problem. Politicians are interested primarily in re-election and we citizens do not give them the impression that global poverty is a decisive priority for us. Furthermore, we don't feel responsible: either because we don't regard the existing global rules as the cause of it or because we believe that local factors cause poverty. People don't know how easy it would be to solve this problem: the gap between rich and poor, between the top-most five per cent and the lowest 25 per cent is now 300:1. If only one per cent of world income was set aside for the poorest, global poverty would be eradicated.



Thomas Pogge

Professor of Philosophy and International Relations,
Yale University, USA

MONDAY, 07 NOV 2011

VARIOUS & GOULD

IT LIES IN OUR HANDS

A LIVE ART WORK BY THE ARTIST DUO VARIOUS & GOULD

Six giant open hands greeted the guests at the opening event of Justice Week in the foyer of the FES. The artist duo Various & Gould had stuck the screen prints beforehand on a screen the size of a goal wall. Before the actual opening and under the curious eyes of the guests the artists began to form their associations of justice in a collage. The artwork was

such as migration, identity, work or the financial crisis. Their preferred techniques are screen printing, collage and posters. No wonder, since their work is influenced by (political) poster art, Dada and Pop Art. Particularly characteristic are the vivid colours and the ambiguous linking of symbols, associations and clichés.



For more pictures and information, see: www.variousandgould.com



ready after the podium discussion. Five hands held an object, for example, an apple for nourishment, handcuffs for oppression or a diamond symbolising wealth. Only one hand remained empty. Is that just? The Berlin artists have worked together since 2005. Their passion for paper, enthusiasm for the chance beauty of the everyday and joint projects with artist friends, especially in public spaces, are the basis of their cooperation. Various & Gould undogmatically tackle socially relevant themes,

JUSTICE FROM A FEMINIST STANDPOINT

WOMEN ARE SHOWING A NEW SELF-CONFIDENCE, MEN CLING TO THEIR OLD ROLES
– WITHOUT SOLIDARITY EQUALITY WILL BE DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE.

FEMINIST

»WOMEN ARE PARTICULARLY AFFECTED BY THE DECLINE OF SOLIDARITY, POVERTY AND EXCLUSION«

The role of the women's movement in the struggle for social rights, the economisation of the discourse on gender justice and the transformation of social structures towards more equal reproductive work: these three issues dominated the event »Solidarity in inequality – Justice from a feminist standpoint«. »The gap between rich and poor is becoming bigger and the markets are driving politics. Women are particularly affected by the decline of solidarity, poverty and exclusion«, said Christa Randzio-Plath, chair of the event co-organiser, the Marie-Schlei-Verein.

The participants agreed: solidarity is possible even between the global South and the global North if discrimination was tackled everywhere and a new culture of social cohesion was to emerge. Flouridah Awuor Ogotu of the Center for Partnership and Civic Engagement emphasised the new self-confidence felt by many women. According to the Kenyan human rights activist men, on the other hand, tend to cling to their old roles. Nevertheless, the path towards gender equality with regard to leading positions in society, the economy and politics

will be long and difficult. Diana Aguiar of the Brazilian Association for Women's Rights in Development said: »Without a change in social structures, without a modern definition of parenting which confers responsibility equally on the father and not solely on the mother, inequalities will remain.«

Alexander Nöhring of the Gender-KompetenzZentrum put forward similar arguments. For him, solidarity is in danger unless prejudice-free upbringing is possible. At the international level, said Dr Christa Wichterich of Frauenforum, »we« must be given particular emphasis in debates and political influence must become the key feature of discussions on global justice. Summarising the event: no social justice without worldwide solidarity.



MUTUAL

MUTUAL DEPENDENCE

RISING SEA LEVELS, DROUGHTS AND MELTING GLACIERS – THE CONSEQUENCES OF CLIMATE CHANGE AFFECT EVERYONE. JOINT SOLUTIONS ARE NEEDED.

While the consequences of climate change are still not directly discernible in Germany, for many, in particular in poor countries, they are already an existential threat. At the expert conference »For a just climate policy: international perspectives before the climate summit in Durban«, politicians and economists from Bangladesh, Brazil, China, Germany, India, Mexico and South Africa exchanged thoughts about what justice means and should mean in the area of global climate policy. The starting point of the debate was a joint understanding: justice is a key element in the fight against climate change. It was clear, however, that no standardised definition would be found. The composition of the podium, with representatives of industry, emerging and developing countries – states with widely differing CO₂ footprints and stages of development – was simply too diverse.

THE WESTERN GROWTH MODEL CANNOT BE TAKEN AS AN EXAMPLE TO FOLLOW

The fact that the countries hit hardest by the consequences of climate change so far are those that have contributed little or nothing to it is undoubtedly unjust. The same applies to future generations who will be the ones to suffer from our current lifestyles. Accordingly,



the participants looked at climate justice as a multidimensional concept that cannot be reduced to the broad, but simplified interpretation of the principle of »common but differentiated responsibilities«. Such a standpoint is aimed solely at questions of burden distribution and the historically grounded conflict between industrialised countries and developing and emerging countries. Although participants from Brazil, Mexico and Bangladesh demanded the right to development for their countries, too, the old, largely Western growth paradigm no longer

serves as a model. They are seeking new development paths: economic growth, climate protection, social justice and social participation must be part of a unified vision.

There was disagreement about how climate justice can be implemented in practice. Frank Schwabe, climate policy spokesman of the parliamentary SPD, asserted the historical responsibility of the industrialised countries. But he also emphasised that »this remorse does not get us any further in the search for solutions«. Experts from emerging countries, especially China and India, in contrast, pointed to the dual pressure they feel with regard to climate policy: although their countries still have a long way to go with regard to development they are at the same time expected to help solve the crisis that is the result of a development model that the Western industrialised countries once propagated. To that extent they expect not only

recognition of moral guilt, but concrete political steps by the industrialised countries. They must tackle the causes, not just the symptoms of climate change. Specifically, that means drastic emissions reductions. The European Union in particular has a duty to take the lead in climate policy and adopt an active leadership role.

CLIMATE JUSTICE AS CITIZEN'S RIGHT?



The representatives from Brazil, Mexico and South Africa also stressed the special role of civil society. They mentioned social inclusion and the strengthening of social justice as key components of the climate justice debate. Mexican MP Alajandro Encinas reported that in Mexico it was being debated whether climate justice should be defined as a citizen's right. On the other hand, duties go hand in hand with the right to sustainable development. The fight against global warming is not solely a political aim, but also a question of lifestyle and thus requires contributions from the economy and civil society. In the course of the debate it became clear that climate justice is a highly complex issue, in both social and political terms. The FES conference, however, offered an opportunity for dialogue and strengthened mutual trust. Ultimately, the basic condition of climate justice is recognition of the mutual dependence in which we find ourselves with regard to our climate. Saber Chowdhury MP, chairman of the All Party Parliamentary Group on Climate Change and the Environment in Bangladesh put it in a nutshell: »If we fail to save one country we fail to save all of us.«



INCOME FOR ALL

IN EUROPE AND OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD PEOPLE ARE TALKING ABOUT IT;
IN OTJIVERO-OMITARA IN NAMIBIA THEY ARE TRYING IT OUT: A BASIC INCOME FOR ALL.

FOR ALL



Will a basic income bring us closer to a more just world? The photographer Peter Dammann documented the pilot project and the effects of the basic income in Otjivero-Omitara for the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. His photographs taken in 2010 were exhibited during Justice Week. The project itself has continued with private funding since the end of the pilot phase in 2010. Whether the Namibian government will support it in future remains unclear.

In 2008, a two-year project commenced in one of the poorest regions of Namibia. A broad coalition of social groups – including the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung – supported the experiment. Every inhabitant of the village community of Otjivero-Omitara receives around 10 euros a month. The results after two years are encouraging: undernourishment, unemployment and crime rates have fallen significantly and almost every child goes to school. Furthermore, many small businesses have opened up, such as bakeries, a brickworks and other workshops. Nevertheless, a basic income remains a controversial social policy instrument in development cooperation. Some regard it as a reversion to the days of alms giving; others see it as a condition of overcoming exclusion and poverty. Because of the generally unsatisfactory state of affairs in the fight against poverty, however, various approaches based on basic social protection are once more becoming the focus of development policy debates.



8 NOVEMBER 2011

TUESDAY

WITH SECURITY

GREATER SOCIAL RECOGNITION
FOR WOMEN

ARAB SPRING – A CRY FOR JUSTICE

»A NEW IMAGE OF ISLAM«

CAMBODIA – SEWING SHOP
OF THE WORLD



WITH SECURITY SECURITY

SOCIAL SECURITY PREVENTS THE DESCENT INTO POVERTY. IT PROVIDES THOSE CONCERNED WITH A WAY OUT. THE PARTICIPANTS IN AN EXPERT CONFERENCE EXCHANGED VIEWS ABOUT MINIMUM SOCIAL STANDARDS AND INNOVATIVE INSTRUMENTS.

The path to greater social justice leads through a triad of minimum protection through social transfers, active labour market policy and access to social protection even for the poorest. This was a key outcome of the expert conference on innovative approaches to social security, with participants from Asia, Latin America, Africa, the Arab world and Europe. Chico Whitaker, cofounder of the World Social Forum and holder of the Alternative Nobel Prize, opened the debate with an urgent appeal for more social justice. Given the enormous wealth that exists in the world we cannot accept that a whole generation of young people are left behind as a consequence of the global crisis. »We must now identify the political levers that would strengthen social justice«, said the Brazilian activist on the fight for social justice.

»JUSTICE IS A CRUCIAL FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND PROSPERITY«

SPD MP Karin Roth said that social security is not only a question of justice, but a crucial foundation for economic development and prosperity. Only if there are social stability and security can sustainable affluence emerge. »Social security is not a question of charity, but an integral component of a sustainable and modern development policy«, said Roth. She referred in particular to the calls of the International Labour Organization (ILO) for minimum social provisions, a so-called »social protection floor«. This would be extremely important especially for people in the informal sector, as well as for women, children, the disabled and the old, in other words, those most in need of protection. In the discussion involving representatives from 18 countries it became clear that the global debate on social justice took on a new dynamic

above all because of the worldwide recession in 2009. The crisis led in many countries to the erosion of social security and growing unemployment. At the same time, the neoliberal paradigm of the »Washington Consensus« was called into question: social justice is increasingly being seen as a condition for economic development and no longer as a hindrance.

INSTRUMENTS OF SOCIAL SECURITY

Based on selected examples the conference participants debated the key instruments of social security and inclusion: social transfers, social protection and labour market policy.

Social transfer programmes can protect against poverty. Examples include »Bolsa Familia« in Brazil and Mexico's »Oportunidades«. The Brazilian social programme, for example, supports poor families financially if they vaccinate their children and send them to school. Thus much can be achieved at reasonable cost: the budget represents only half a per cent of Brazil's GDP, but it reaches over 11 million families and a total of 44 million people. Many social security systems require regular contribution payments, which are linked to stable incomes. In poorer countries, however, the dominant employment forms are not safeguarded by a contract. Up to 90 per cent of employment is informal. Against this background arises the question of how the »working poor« can be provided with social protection. Social security should not be the privilege of the relatively well-off. One suggestion is the flexibilisation of contribution rates in Brazil. In the case of low incomes these fall from 20 per cent to two to five per cent, in spite of which there is a guaranteed minimum protection. Indonesia, too, has reformed its social



security system: contribution payments for those in need are taken over by the state entirely or in part, thus helping the 76 million poorest citizens.

PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT AND MINIMUM WAGES

Labour market programmes can also protect against the poverty trap and a cycle of dependency. In India and South Africa, for example, the government guarantees each unemployed person publically supported employment for 100 days a year, at a minimum wage. A positive result of this is that the income situation of the poorest people has been stabilised. Infrastructure, especially in rural areas, also benefits from this and social inclusion is consolidated. However, the experts complained that generally speaking employment programmes do not lead to an increase in qualifications and thus to social mobility. One main focus of the discussion was gender justice. Women in particular are often dependent on state support, which does not necessarily lead to an improvement in their situation. On the contrary, in the worst case they are even at risk of dependence on a paternalistic welfare system and the reinforcement of traditional roles. Measures for more gender justice should include the expansion of public services and better labour market access for women.

GREATER SOCIAL RECOGNITION FOR WOMEN INTERVIEW

Experts are sceptical about »Public Works« Programmes. What distinguishes South Africa's »Community Works Programme« (CWP) from traditional approaches?

The programme is distinguished by its democratic orientation. Communities themselves take decisions about projects. Thus this programme offers an additional possibility for developing organisational capabilities which otherwise can be acquired only in formal employment.

Do employees in the CWP receive the same wages as workers outside the programme? What about compliance with labour standards?

Those employed in the programme receive the same wages as their colleagues performing similar activities. South African labour law also applies to public employment programmes. We have not discovered any violations of basic labour norms.

To what extent do women benefit from the programme?

On average, 58 per cent of those employed in the programme are women. They benefit from it because their activities as regards child care and caring for old people are remunerated and they also obtain more social recognition.

INTERVIEW
Dr Khayaat Fakier
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa





TUESDAY, 08 NOV 2011

ARAB SPRING – A CRY FOR JUSTICE

ARAB YOUTH HAS SWEEPED AWAY OLD STRUCTURES BUT THE FUTURE REMAINS UNCERTAIN. WILL DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM REALLY ESTABLISH THEMSELVES?

The protests in Cairo, Tel Aviv, Athens or Santiago cannot really be compared. The fact that in 2011 it was primarily young people who demonstrated for justice worldwide is striking, however, said Jochen Steinhilber of the FES at the start of the event »From Arab Spring to Just Democracy?«. The most radical political change in recent months has undoubtedly been experienced by people in the Arab world. Here too young people in particular demanded democracy and basic civil rights. They make up around one-third of the population and are often better educated than their parents. But although their protests swept away old structures the outcome remains unclear and ambivalent: on one hand, the dominant mood is euphoric, but on the other hand, the future is uncertain, especially as regards the strengthened (and in Europe feared) role of political Islam.

»EUROPE MUST REFRAIN FROM FORMING THE WORLD IN ITS OWN IMAGE.«

Against this background can we expect real and just democracies? Tunisian trade union activist Habib Guisa, SPD foreign policy expert Rolf Mützenich and Michael Meyer-Resende of Democracy Reporting International talked about this on the podium. A key demand: (European) democracy building must be approached more innovatively and entrenched concepts must be revised. Jochen Steinhilber urged that »Europe must refrain from forming the world in its own image«. The juxtaposition



of democracy building and a robust military mandate, as in the case of Libya, thus appears questionable at the very least. »It began with a cry for justice, then came radicalisation and the call for democratic ideas«, said Habib Guisa. He also emphasised the fact that, besides trade union representatives, young people were the most important supporters of the revolution in Tunisia. Especially the around 150,000 graduates, who are often unemployed, supported the Arab Spring. The results are exemplary for a democratic revolution, without ideology or leader-cult. The decisive role of the demand for social justice, according to Guisa, is indicated by a Tunisian slogan, taken up in the rest of the Arab world: »Work is a necessity, you thieves.«

»DIALOGUE IS THE KEY TO CHANGE«

Social inequalities, bad governance and economic crisis – »the regime was at an end«, said Guisa. In this situation, Tunisia's great constitutional and democratic traditions paid dividends: modernistic values – equality of women, abolition of polygamy and mixed school classes (since as early as 1956) contributed considerably to the radical political change. However, Tunisia is threatened

INTERVIEW

Rolf Mützenich

Bundestag MP and SPD Bundestag Group
Foreign Policy Spokesman



by both political and religious authoritarianism. The election victory of An-Nahda in the parliamentary elections was thus disappointing for the modernists, said Guisa. The Islamist party has to be given a chance, however, and people should wait and see whether it accepts the democratic project of the Arab Spring, and with it secularism, women's rights and social justice. If this does not happen, Tunisia's revolutionary movement will use every means available to defend these achievements, predicted the Tunisian trade unionist. Whether Tunisia has cause to fear for the fruits of the revolution after the election victory of An-Nahda and what role Europe will play were addressed by Rolf Mützenich. The failure to recognise the Hamas election victory in Palestine in 2006 damaged Europe, said the SPD MP.

»The EU thus lost a great deal of its persuasive power.« He therefore called on Germany and the EU to recognise An-Nahda's election victory. One must engage in dialogue even with those with whom one shares few values. »Dialogue is the key to change«, he said. And without an absolute majority in parliament An-Nahda ultimately has to compromise. Many Bundestag MPs were full of admiration for the achievements of the Arab freedom movement against despotic regimes, said Mützenich. Moreover, given their earlier cooperation with authoritarian regimes Western countries should show some humility. In any case, through the events of recent months, during which even many veiled women demonstrated for freedom, Arab people have conveyed a more nuanced picture of Islam.

The world changed significantly in 2011 – people took to the streets everywhere. Is the Arab Spring a model of the path to a just democracy?

The courage shown in the Arab world convinced many people: it is worth demonstrating because it really can lead to change – an inspiring idea that can spill over from the Arab Spring to other movements. Naturally, the most pressing problems in these countries were evident. The fact that in particular young people, including many brave women, demonstrated against it has conveyed a new image of Islam before the public. The Arab world has often been misconstrued, based on its alleged backwardness and so on. But that is not the case.

Will the protesters of the Arab Spring realise their aims?

Movements of this kind – we know this from Europe – have peaks, but also troughs. Expectations were probably too high. But there is no need for resignation. The people have demonstrated to bring about change. I am certain that they will not surrender this goal. They will continue to take their

»A NEW IMAGE OF ISLAM«

INTERVIEW

fate in their own hands.

How can German foreign policy support democratic processes in the countries concerned?

The changes must come from inside, but we have to support people. As Europeans we should create the conditions needed to improve relations. Above all, we need more social justice. But we must not expect too much. In the medium term – to stick with this example – there will be no social justice of the kind that has developed in Germany and Europe over the past 150 years. But we can support the process. That is the best way of bringing about peace in the region

CAMBODIA – SEWING SHOP OF THE WORLD

THEY WORK HARD, BUT THEY DO NOT RECEIVE ADEQUATE WAGES AND SOCIAL RECOGNITION. IN SHORT FILMS ABOUT TEXTILE WORKERS YOUNG CAMBODIAN FILMMAKERS PROVIDED A VIVID PICTURE OF THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN THEIR COUNTRY.



»Made in Cambodia« – one T-shirt in ten worldwide bears this label. The textile industry is the biggest economic motor of this Southeast Asian country. The wages in the textile industry are low, however. »I earn 55 dollars a month; with overtime I get 85 dollars«, complains one worker in the film »A day at the factory«. For years, the International Textile, Garment and Leather Workers' Federation (ITGLWF) has been fighting for »living wages« in the Asian textile industry. According to its research, in Cambodia 93 dollars would be necessary to cover a worker's basic needs. Many people could thus lead a better life, but it would hardly do anything to change the social stigma attached to being a textile worker: »Society despises us, People look down on us«, said one young woman in the film. The contribution »A day's holiday

from the factory« made a particular impression. It accompanies a 20 year-old textile worker on a visit to her family in the countryside. Just how painful the separation is for her can be seen when she takes her son in her arms. The boy is growing up in the care of his grandmother, while the young seamstress supports the whole family, plus the medical bills for her sick mother. »What should I do? I'm the only one who can look after them«, says the woman resignedly. She allows herself only absolute necessities, she cannot pay her debts.

Within the framework of Justice Week the FES presented four short films in the Sputnik cinema in Berlin-Kreuzberg. They are a joint project of the FES, the ILO's »Better Factories Programme« and the Cambodian Cultural Institute's Meta House. In 2012, there will be two more films in the series on the textile industry in Cambodia.

9 NOVEMBER
2011

WEDNESDAY



GLOBAL HEALTH FUND

OLD AND POOR?

»POLITICS RETURNS TO
SOUTH AMERICA«



GLOBAL HEALTH FUND

INJUSTICE IN THE HEALTH SECTOR COSTS HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF LIVES WORLDWIDE. CAN A HUMAN RIGHT TO HEALTH BE IMPLEMENTED? IS AN INTERNATIONAL FUND THE SOLUTION?

»Where would the money come from?«, asked Ingrid Matthäus-Maier, chair of the FES Curatorium and proud Rhinelander, on opening the event »Health for everyone«. Before that she had emphasised the importance of health in debates on justice: in comparison to Germany people in countries of the global South have a short life expectancy, child mortality is higher and there are too



few medical innovations with regard to illnesses by which poor people in particular are affected. How in future medicines and health services could be funded and made available globally and justly was debated by philosopher Thomas Pogge, Christian Wagner-Ahlf of the Med4all campaign, German MP Karin Roth and Hasbullah Thab-rany, professor of public health at the University of Indonesia. For Thomas Pogge, an optimal system would give every patient access to the medicine they need, regardless of origin and income. Medical research funding would flow into innovations that promised the greatest health benefits. The reality he outlined is – hardly surprisingly – rather different: there is no universal access to medicine. Research and innovation are focused on a few rich countries, due to unequal economic possibilities. On top of all this the costs of lobbying, patent rights, marketing and legal processes in the pharmaceutical industry are included in the price. »A huge amount that just isn't available for research into new medicines«, complained Pogge. As a consequence, 50,000 people a day die in less developed countries – a third of all fatalities – from avoidable or curable illnesses, such as diarrhoea, malaria, tuberculosis or hepatitis.



GREATER EFFECTIVENESS – HIGHER COMPENSATION

As an alternative Pogge proposes the »Health Impact Fund« (HIF), a largely state-financed and performance-based compensation mechanism. Pharmaceutical companies could decide whether they wish to sell their products on the normal market or in an alternative market, the HIF. If they opt for the HIF they would have to sell their products worldwide for the lowest possible price. In return they would receive compensation measured in terms of the extent to which the product reduces the burden of disease. It sounds complicated, but according to Pogge it isn't. He has presented his idea in detail for the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (see list of publications). The benefits of the concept: poor people could also afford medicines and would benefit from positive health effects. More would be spent on research on illnesses that appear overwhelmingly in less developed countries. Pharmaceutical firms would open up new markets and would have an interest in the extensive distribution of proven products. States would also benefit because medical pseudo innovations would no longer be subsidised via expensive patent payments and health spending would be distributed more efficiently. According to Pogge, 6 billion US dollars would be needed to get things off the ground. Besides states, private donors could also be added over the long term. There is a pilot project in India to show that the HIF can work in practice. Institutionally, the Health Fund could link up with the existing »Global Fund«.

CONFLICT: THE INTERESTS OF PRIVATE COMPANIES AND PUBLIC HEALTH

Christian Wagner-Ahlf of the Med4all-Campaign was critical of the HIF in the discussion. Although he praised Pogge's approach for focusing on health needs and taking a global perspective he sees a crucial conflict between the interests of private companies and of public health. Accordingly, he demanded that »research must be subject to greater public responsibility than foreseen in relation to the HIF.« For that purpose patent protection must be relaxed. Karin Roth (SPD) called for a balance to be struck between the two positions. She shares Wagner-Ahlf's view that medical research is an important public task: »health is a public good, not a private one«. But that does not rule out cooperation, especially from the

cost-intensive clinical test phase. Cooperation must be subject to conditions, however. The HIF – Roth sits on the committee – is not in conflict with public research interests but is a sensible supplement. Instead of condemning it, »interfaces must be found«. It is important to include the World Health Organisation (WHO) through which states' health systems should be reformed. »Merely improving the availability of medicines is not enough«, said Roth.

INDONESIA TRIES IT OUT

Indonesian health expert Hasbullah Thabrany also supports the basic idea of the HIF. At the national level, similar mechanisms are already being tried out in Indonesia: agreement is reached on prices with pharmaceutical firms and the effectiveness of the medicines is tested before they are included in the national list. »We have to try to change people's way of thinking and build up the pressure«, he demanded. Whether the HIF will be able to solve global health problems is hard to say. The idea sounds very promising, but first the pilot project has to deliver. Whether pharmaceutical companies are willing to subject themselves to the conditions of the HIF and to give up their market power is questionable. Also uncertain is how united the international community is behind the project. Do industrialised, emerging and developing countries really have the same interests? Is a country with a traditionally strong pharmaceutical industry, such as Germany, ready to accept structural changes and possibly even restrictions in the health market? What is certain is that states should have a fundamental interest in medical research. Thus they may not let responsibility for medical research out of their hands.

OLD AND POOR?

WHILE IN OTHER REGIONS OF THE WORLD MORE AND MORE CHILDREN ARE BEING BORN, EUROPE'S SOCIETIES ARE GREYING. THIS IS A CHALLENGE FOR SOCIETY, POLITICS AND PENSION SYSTEMS.

Avoiding old age poverty will be one of Europe's main political tasks in the future. Germany's Paritätische Wohlfahrtsverband estimates that by 2025 in Germany alone around 10 per cent of all retirees will receive a pension below the subsistence minimum. Experts expect similar developments in other European countries. Responsible for these developments are pension reforms aimed at increasing individual provision for old age, said pension expert Harald Stöger at the experts' conference »Old and Poor? – A Just Pension Policy in Europe«. Among the other causes of increasing old age poverty experts cited the transformation of working society, in particular the increase in atypical employment histories: expansion of the low-wage sector, high unemployment and the large number of precarious employees are factors relevant for the growing risk of poverty in old age.



PENSION SYSTEMS IN DENMARK, SWEDEN AND THE UNITED KINGDOM

In the workshop the participants compared statutory, company and private pension provisions in Denmark, Sweden and the United Kingdom. They also discussed the contribution of each system to preventing old-age poverty. In Denmark and Sweden, reported Sven Jochum and Karen Anderson, they try to combat poverty risks by means of a basic or guaranteed pension. These are paid regardless of an individual's employment record.

the risk is increasing for future pensioners: the reform of statutory pension insurance was neglected and instead too much hope was pinned on private mechanisms, such as the Riester pension. The participants expressed contrasting opinions on whether and to what extent private and company provision could support, supplement or even replace statutory pension insurance, as well as whether pension policy should be regulated on a Europe-wide basis.

MINIMUM PENSIONS PROTECT AGAINST POVERTY



Following the expert talks, representatives from politics, academia and trade unions held a discussion on a public podium. SPD social expert Ottmar Schreiner and member of the DGB executive Annelie Buntenbach criticised the political failings of recent years. The focus of the discussion included the consequences, problems and opportunities attached to raising the pension age, as well as a debate on the introduction of a minimum pension. The latter could protect the increasing number of freelance workers and people without a continuous employment record against poverty. As an expert on European pension systems economist Barbara Riedmüller compared different systems. She then examined the special challenges and favourable aspects of pension policy in the various countries.

The British pensions expert Alan Napier said that current pensioners in the United Kingdom are exposed to a significant risk of poverty because in the past voluntary mechanisms were developed too strongly and compulsory ones too little. This no longer applies to future generations because of the reforms. In Germany, in contrast,



For many years a centre-left coalition has governed Chile. Nevertheless, the citizens are protesting against the education system which is criticised as being unfair and profit-oriented. What has gone wrong?

The mobilisation of Chilean students has taken hold of society as a whole and laid bare the weaknesses of the much praised »Chilean model«. The reasons for this are the greater social mobility and rapidly growing student numbers, but above all the high education fees. Chilean universities charge some of the highest fees in the world. The government coalition has not managed any effective education reform in all these years. It hasn't even shown any particular interest in doing so. The entire model of commercialising public goods, the result of a dogmatic application of the neoliberal model is now under close scrutiny.

INTERVIEW

»POLITICS IS RETURNING TO SOUTH AMERICA« INTERVIEW

In recent years many Latin American countries have expanded their social security systems. Is that for cyclical reasons or a sustainable, substantive change of policy?

Probably a combination of the two. These progressive governments have more export earnings at their disposal than their predecessors. But there is also a new conception of the role of the state in the economy and a broader consciousness of the need for social inclusion.

What is new about this policy?

The focus is still on income transfers, in other words, programmes with a kind of »voucher character«. Highlights here include the »family grant« (»Bolsa Familia«) in Brazil and child benefit in Argentina. But in some cases – for example, in Uruguay, to some extent in Argentina – the trade unions have increased their negotiating power. In Uruguay, trade union membership is increasing again. As a result, poverty is falling.

How sustainable are these programmes?

Straightforward transfer programmes, such as Bolsa Familia, are important. However, it is critical that an agenda is developed for the period after the commodities boom. Development models and redistribution are needed, especially improvements in the education and health systems, not to mention tax reform.

Could Europe benefit from experiences in South America in recent years?

From a Latin American standpoint, the dividing line between conservatives and social democrats in Europe appears to be blurring. The European left, which has influenced the left throughout the world since the nineteenth century, appears to have capitulated before the dominance of neoliberalism. Of course, one has to differentiate and not romanticise the »shift to the left« in Latin America. But what distinguishes South America here is the return of politics in contrast to the mantra »there is no alternative« during the period of neoliberalism.

Pablo Stefanoni

Editor in chief, Nueva Sociedad, Argentina



10 NOVEMBER 2011 THURSDAY

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC ANSWERS
TO GLOBAL CRISES

»YOUNG PEOPLE HAVE
A RIGHT TO EDUCATION«



ANSWERS

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC ANSWERS TO GLOBAL CRISES

THE FES THEME WEEK FOCUSED ON A NUMBER OF ASPECTS OF JUSTICE. SOCIAL DEMOCRATS DEBATED POLICY CONCLUSIONS AND DEMANDS AT THE CLOSING EVENT.

»Justice« is a slogan that may be found in pretty much every party programme. But what does it mean for social democrats? This was the question debated by Viviana Piñeiro, President of the International Young Socialists from Uruguay, the deputy chair of the SPD parliamentary party Hubertus Heil, the former chair of Chile's Socialist Party and former state secretary Gonzalo Martner, the ambassador of the Republic of South Africa Makhenkesi Arnold Stofile and Klaus Beck, secretary of the executive committee of the German Trade Union Confederation (DGB).

So what is justice, anyway? Is there a common understanding of this term? The youngest of the participants, Viviana Piñeiro, took a pragmatic view. After years of military dictatorship and rightwing governments in Uruguay, in 2004 a leftwing party alliance managed to form a government. The right thing to do, said Piñeiro, was first to tackle absolute poverty. Only then came structural reforms and a long-term social policy. The model for this was the SPD's tax plans. Today, in Uruguay too, a broader view is taken of justice. Currently, this includes legalising same-sex marriages and abortions. »Justice is access to freedom for all«, said Piñeiro.

»AUTHOR OF ONE'S OWN LIFE«

Hubertus Heil defined the term in a similar way. For him justice means having equal life chances and being the »author of one's own life«. However, two other basic values are inseparable from the social democratic conception of justice: freedom and solidarity. Heil warned in this connection that the erosion of justice is giving rise

to vague fears among many people. That could make many people more susceptible to populist, rightwing and antidemocratic voices. South Africa's ambassador, who suffered for decades under apartheid, knows how dangerous that can be. It is not enough to define justice, said Stofile, it has to be fought for every day. But there is a basic principle: »All people are the same and equal, regardless of the colour of their skin, their nationality or their gender«.

Attac, demonstrations in Israel, Spain and Chile and the »Occupy Wall Street« movement show that young people in particular are dissatisfied with politics and its de-



pendence on the markets. Many even talk of the failure of politics and a collapse of the market economic system. Gonzalo Martner from Chile lamented the depredations of the neoliberal project in Chile since Pinochet. Right-wing governments wanted to destroy relations between the trade unions and enterprises – and in fact managed to bring it about. The aim of the socialist government was to strengthen the trade unions and to ensure that the rich also contribute to the costs by means of a fair taxation system in order to build up a well functioning social insurance system. In the meantime, although he and his colleagues were no longer in power they had nevertheless shown that justice is possible. One must never give up hope.

»ECONOMIC IDEAS AND THE WELFARE STATE ARE NOT OPPOSITES, BUT ARE MUTUALLY DEPENDENT.«

Hubertus Heil confessed to the mistakes of the former SPD government. Perhaps the SPD had believed too



much in market forces, he declared self-critically. However, the market and the welfare state remain important. Other participants also emphasised that without economic growth just development is not possible. The only question is, what kind of growth. Viviana Piñeiro referred to the fact that the left in Uruguay, with historically high



growth rates and a targeted redistribution policy, was able to reduce poverty significantly. Gonzalo Martner went on: »growth as such cannot be a goal, it is a means to an end, to improve people's lives«.

The DGB's Klaus Beck's central demand was similarly pragmatic. One of the trade unions' key aims at present is to combat youth unemployment, which has grown enormously due to the crisis. »Beyond any notions of growth are the concrete problems that the trade unions cannot tolerate.«

Beck favoured gradual rapprochement through personal contacts and exchange within the framework of international cooperation. As far as the economic order is concerned, he called for more resolute regulation of the financial markets, a show of strength similar to the Kyoto Protocol.

South Africa's ambassador hoped for stronger mobilisation of justice movements, such as trade unions and NGOs. »Solidarity needs to be reinvented«, he said. Viviana Piñeiro asked how come there is not a World Council for Social Development alongside the World Security Council. As chair of the Young Socialists she called for a global transaction tax. Hubertus Heil remained sceptical: the WTO, the World Bank, the IMF and the ILO are all important institutions »but it is difficult even in Europe to manage even a common social democratic line«. Greater efforts are necessary by all actors.

REGULATION OF THE FINANCIAL MARKETS

Finally, an important point arose that had been in focus for the entire Justice Week: how is it possible to implement political agreements and regulations also globally so that everyone can live in a fairer world? The discussion participants had no ultimate answers to this. Klaus



seeks a kind of development that conserves resources for the coming generations must regard women as subjects and protagonists of change towards such a sustainable world.

INTERVIEW

»YOUNG PEOPLE HAVE A RIGHT TO EDUCATION«

INTERVIEW

All over the world young people are protesting for social justice. How do you define social justice as a young woman from the Global South?

For me and other socialists and social democrats the concept of »justice« is closely linked to equality. A fellow party member from Uruguay writes in his book: »equality is equal access for all to equal freedom«. In my view, that is exactly what justice is about. In Latin America, people's lifeworlds differ very widely. It is not the same to be a young woman in Uruguay or in Bolivia. The problems are very different, also because we have different kinds of government.

What is the role of fair distribution of resources and gender relations for the development of a sustainable social model?

We will never achieve equality in society unless there is equality between the sexes – they are inseparable and that applies throughout the world. There are societies that are highly developed in this respect, such as in Europe or in Uruguay and Argentina. But there are also countries with patriarchal ideologies which reduce women to household activities and restrict their personal development. Anyone who

How much solidarity must there be between the generations? What would policymaking based on intergenerational justice look like?

Young people always have been, are and will be in the future the first to be affected by global crises. Today, too, young people and especially young women have been hardest hit by unemployment and lack of access to education. In Chile, we can see that the lack of access to public education can not only restrict the personal development of individual young people, but also the development of an entire country. We must understand that education is young people's right and the older generation must concern themselves with it on the basis of solidarity. The example of Uruguay also shows that when we have too few educated young people to support economic growth that impedes our future development.



Viviana Piñeiro

President of the International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY), Uruguay

7-10 NOVEMBER 2011

TIME FOR JUSTICE!
AN FES INTERNATIONAL THEME WEEK

FISHBOWL DISCUSSION

Monday, 07 Nov 2011

SOLIDARITY IN INEQUALITY? JUSTICE FROM A FEMINIST

Discussing the issues with **Cosima Schmitt** (Die ZEIT) were: **Diana Aguiar**, Association for Women's Rights in Development, Rio de Janeiro, **Dr Christa Wichterich**, NRO Frauenforum, Bonn and others.

OPENING DISCUSSION

Monday, 07 Nov 2011

JUSTICE – ANSWERS TO A GLOBAL QUESTION

Discussing the issues with **Conny Czymoch** (PHOENIX) were: **Gesine Schwan**, Professor and President of the Humboldt-Viadrina School of Governance, **Thomas Pogge**, Professor of Philosophy and International Relations, Yale University and others.

PHOTO EXHIBITION

Monday, 07 Nov 2011

BASIC INCOME IN NAMIBIA

PANEL DISCUSSION

Tuesday, 08 Nov 2011

FROM ARAB SPRING TO A JUST DEMOCRACY?

Discussing the issues were **Habib Guisa**, General Secretary of the Tunisian trade union confederation the Confédération Générale des Travailleurs Tunisiens, **Chérif Ferjani**, Professor at Université Lumière Lyon 2, chair of the Groupe de recherche et d'Etudes sur la Méditerranée et le Moyen Orient and others.

PANEL DISCUSSION

Monday, 07 Nov 2011

JUST CLIMATE POLICY – INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES BEFORE THE WORLD CLIMATE SUMMIT IN DURBAN

Discussing the issues with **Dagmar Dehmer** (Der Tagesspiegel) were: **Martha Delgado Peralta**, Minister of the Environment of Mexico City, **Saber Hossain Chowdhury**, MP and chairman of the All Party Parliamentary Group on Climate Change and the Environment in Bangladesh and others.

PANEL DISCUSSION

Wednesday, 09 Nov 2011

OLD AND POOR? – A FAIR PENSION POLICY IN EUROPE

Discussing the issues were **Ottmar Schreiner**, member of the German Bundestag, **Annelie Buntenbach**, member of the DGB national executive and others.

PANEL DISCUSSION

Wednesday, 09 Nov 2011

SOCAL POLICY IN LATIN AMERICA – »MEHR SCHLECHT ALS (GE)RECHT?« [MORE BAD THAN GOOD/FAIR?]

Discussing the issues with **Bernd Pickert** (*taz*) were: **Gonzalo Martner**, former chair of the Socialist Party of Chile, **Pablo Stefanoni**, editor in chief of *Nueva Sociedad*, Argentina, and others.

FILM NIGHT WITH DISCUSSION

Tuesday, 08 Nov 2011

»MADE IN POVERTY« – WORKING CONDITIONS IN THE CAMBODIAN TEXTILE INDUSTRY

Discussing their impressions with the audience were the Cambodian trade union expert **Veasna Nuon** and **Minna Maaskola** of the International Labour Organisation (ILO).

CONCLUDING EVENT

Thursday, 10 Nov 2011

A QUESTION OF JUSTICE – SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC ANSWERS TO GLOBAL CRISES

Discussing the issues with Petra Pinzler (Die ZEIT) were: **Klaus Beck**, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the DGB, **Hubertus Heil**, deputy chair of the SPD parliamentary group, **Viviana Piñeiro**, president of the International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY), Uruguay and others.

CARTOON EXHIBITION

Wednesday, 09 Nov to Thursday, 10 Nov 2011

INJUSTICE, UPRISINGS AND REFORM – IMAGES OF THE ARAB SPRING

PANEL DISCUSSION

Wednesday, 09 Nov 2011

HEALTH CARE FOR ALL

Discussing the issues were **Thomas Pogge**, Professor of Philosophy and International Relations, Yale University, **Karin Roth**, member of the German Bundestag and others.

7-10 NOVEMBER 2011

**FRIEDRICH-EBERT-STIFTUNG PUBLICATIONS
ON SOCIAL JUSTICE**

Amami, Mongi

Social Security for All. A Call for Social Solidarity in Tunisia, FES, Berlin 2011

<http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/08204.pdf>

Cichon, Michael; Christina Behrendt; Veronika Wodsak

The UN Social Protection Floor Initiative. Turning the Tide at the ILO Conference 2011, FES, Berlin 2011

<http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/07814.pdf>

Dauderstädt, Michael; Keltek, Cem

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<http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/wiso/08017.pdf>

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Globales Wachstum zwischen Klima, Gleichheit und Demographie, FES, Bonn 2011

<http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/wiso/07760.pdf>

Hamann, Gregor

Towards a New Social Contract. Social justice in North Africa and Middle East, FES, Berlin 2011.

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Heise, Arne; Lierse, Hanna

Budget Consolidation and the European Social Model. The Effects of European Austerity Programmes on Social Security Systems, FES, Berlin 2011

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<http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/08221.pdf>

Javad, Susan

Social Cash Transfers. A Useful Instrument in Development Cooperation? Potential and Pitfalls, FES, Berlin 2011

<http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/08046.pdf>

Jochem, Sven

Scandinavian Labour and Social Policy. Models for a Preventive Welfare State, FES, Berlin 2011

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Liebert, Nicola

No Social Justice Without Social Protection. What can International Development Cooperation do to Make the Social Protection Floor Intitiate Work? FES, Berlin, 2011

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Ist eine bessere Einkommensverteilung möglich? Über ein modernes Konzept sozialer Gerechtigkeit, FES, Berlin 2011

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Engendering Social Security and Protection. Challenges for Making Social Security and Protection Gender Equitable, FES, Berlin 2011

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Vorsorgende Qualitäten des französischen Sozialstaats. Wegweisende Beispiele aus Frankreichs Familien- und Arbeitsmarktpolitik, FES, Berlin 2011

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Coordination

Julia Müller, Monika Schneider, David Weyand

Editing

David Weyand, www.david-weyand.de

Photos

Jens Schicke, www.jensschicke.de
Peter Dammann, www.dammann-lookat.ch

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Authors

Oliver Dalichau, Christoph Dinkelaker, Evelyn Ehrlinspiel, Uli Golaszinski, Judith Gouverneur, Rike Grunow, Thomas Hartmann, Joachim Knoop, Julia Kühne, Henrik Meyer, Julia Müller, Nina Netzer, Simone Reperger, Beyhan Sentürk, Susanne Stollreiter, Simon Vaut, David Weyand

Translation

Sabine Dörfler, Ulrich Golaszinski, Judith Gouverneur

Interview transcription

Thomas Hartmann

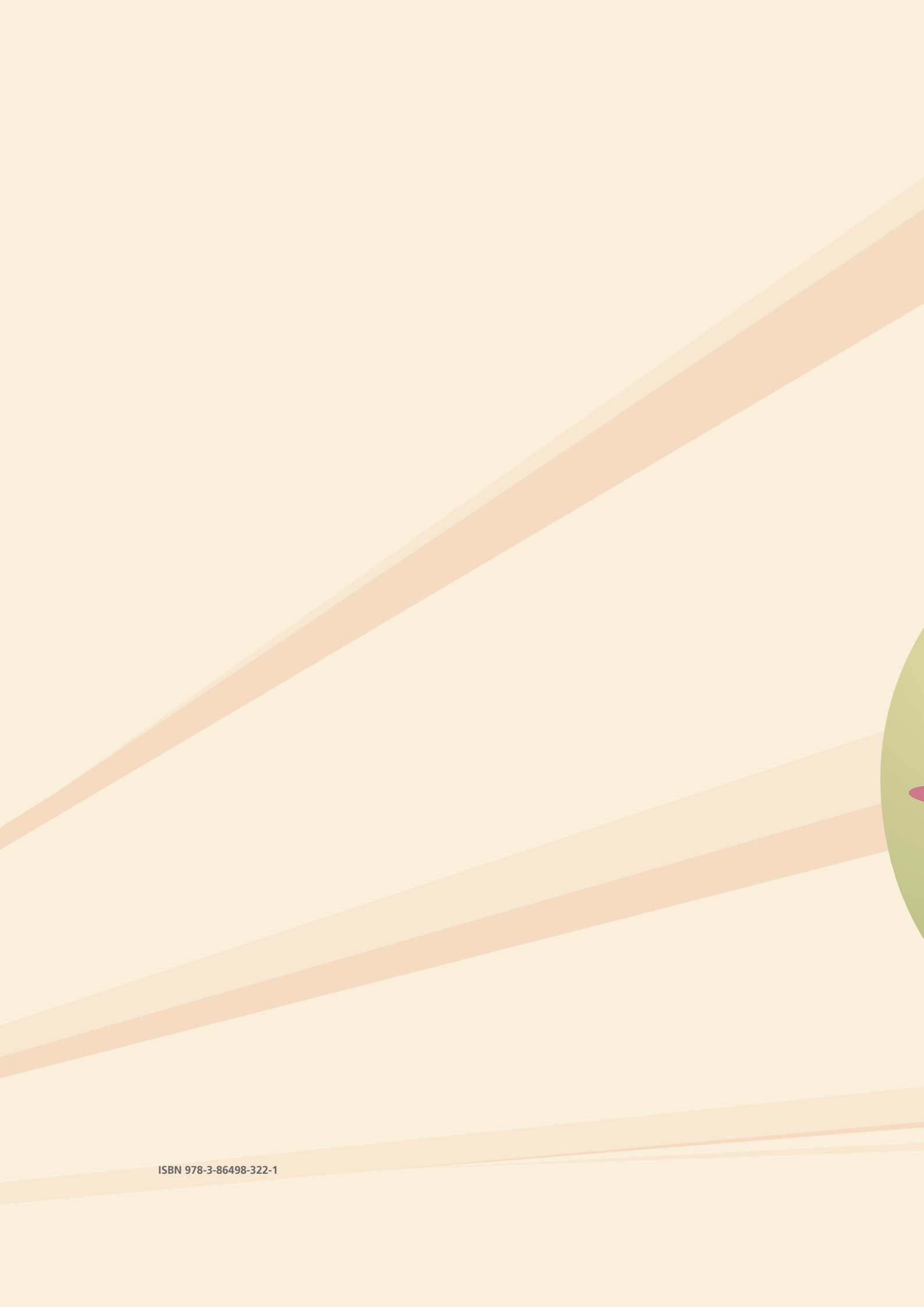
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Further information, interviews and videos

www.fes.de/gerechtigkeitswoche

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The background features a light beige color with several diagonal stripes in a slightly darker shade of beige, running from the bottom-left towards the top-right. On the right side, there is a partial view of a green circle with a small pink dot inside it.

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