

ROUGH DRAFT

NOT VERBATIM

>> Please welcome to the stage,  
the voices of Afghanistan.

[ Applause ]

[ Applause ]

>> Thank you, everyone.

On behalf of voices of  
Afghanistan I would like to thank  
Sam Nappi and also university of  
Syracuse and it is a pleasure to  
be here tonight and thank you  
very much.

>> LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, HE IS  
THE DEAN'S PROFESSOR OF  
HUMANITIES, FOUNDING DIRECTOR OF  
THE SYRACUSE HUMANITIES CENTER,  
AND PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR OF THE  
CENTRAL NEW YORK HUMANITIES  
CORRIDOR.

PLEASE WELCOME PROFESSOR GREGG  
LAMBERT.

[ Applause ]

>> THANK YOU EVERYONE, AND GOOD  
MORNING TO YOU, AS WELL AS TO 09:26:45:12  
THOSE WHO ARE JOINING US FROM 09:26:45:12  
AROUND THE WORLD THROUGH THE LIVE 09:26:45:12  
STREAMING OF THIS EVENT. 09:26:45:12  
IT'S MY PLEASURE TO WELCOME YOU 09:26:54:09  
HERE TODAY FOR THIS IMPORTANT 09:26:54:09  
DISCUSSION ABOUT FINDING COMMON 09:26:54:09  
GROUND FOR PEACE. 09:26:54:09  
SINCE 2009, ONE OF THE HUMANITIES 09:26:37:18  
CENTER'S PROGRAMS IS THE 09:26:37:18  
PERPETUAL PEACE PROJECT, WHICH 09:26:37:18  
ENGAGES PEOPLE AROUND THE WORLD 09:26:37:18  
IN CONVERSATIONS And events, how 09:26:37:18  
we are so Globally 09:27:14:03  
INTERDEPENDENT IN THE 21ST 09:27:17:09  
CENTURY-CAN DISCOVER A WAY TO 09:27:17:09  
LIVE WITHOUT THE CONSTANT THREAT 09:27:17:09  
OF WAR. 09:27:17:09  
THE GOALS FOR THE PROJECT ARE 09:27:21:13  
QUITE SIMPLE. 09:27:21:13  
TO CHANGE PEOPLE'S MINDS AND GET 09:27:29:01  
THEM TO TAKE THE IDEA OF A 09:27:29:01  
PEACEFUL WORLD SERIOUSLY. 09:27:29:01  
TWO, TO START TO IMAGINE WHAT IT 09:27:35:07  
WOULD BE LIKE TO LIVE IN A 09:27:35:07  
SOCIETY WHERE DIFFERENCES ARE 09:27:35:07  
SETTLED BY DIPLOMACY AND DIALOGUE 09:27:35:07  
INSTEAD OF DRONES AND 09:27:35:07  
DEVASTATION. 09:27:35:07  
WE ARE HONORED TO HAVE WITH US 09:27:45:13  
TODAY HIS HOLINESS THE DALAI 09:27:45:13  
LAMA, THE EMBODIMENT OF THIS 09:27:45:13  
VISION WHOSE STRENGTH IS IN 09:27:45:13  
FINDING A MORE HUMANE WAY TO 09:27:45:13  
ADDRESS PROBLEMS. 09:27:45:13  
MANY THANKS TO THE VENERABLE LAMA 09:27:59:09  
TENZIN DHONDEN, PERSONAL PEACE 09:27:59:09  
EMISSARY FOR HIS HOLINESS THE 09:27:59:09  
DALAI LAMA, FOR HIS ASSISTANCE. 09:27:59:09  
AND TO SU TRUSTEE SAM NAPPI, 09:27:15:06  
ex-Tisch producer for common 09:27:15:06  
ground and the driving force 09:28:09:25  
behind this historic event. 09:28:12:24  
09:28:15:00  
TO GET THE CONVERSATION UNDERWAY, 09:28:15:06  
PLEASE JOIN ME IN WELCOMING THE 09:28:15:06  
MODERATOR FOR THIS MORNING'S 09:28:15:06  
DISCUSSION, NBC NEWS NATIONAL AND 09:28:15:06  
INTERNATIONAL 09:28:15:06  
CORRESPONDENT/ANCHOR AND TODAY 09:28:15:06  
ANCHOR AT LARGE, ANN CURRY. 09:28:15:06  
[ Applause ] 09:28:27:28  
Good morning, everyone. 09:28:28:19  
How lucky are we today. 09:28:46:00

We want to say thank you to 09:28:48:01  
Gregg, thank you to lama Tenzin, 09:28:50:06  
Sam Nappi and thank you, Syracuse 09:28:55:10  
University. 09:28:57:06  
[ Applause ] 09:29:02:04  
This morning as you just heard, 09:29:02:21  
we're going to take a look at 09:29:05:03  
what it takes to find peace and 09:29:06:19  
we do it in a time of war. 09:29:10:15  
You are yet another generation 09:29:13:24  
that has had to learn two too 09:29:16:00  
young about war. 09:29:18:07  
You have had to consider 09:29:19:09  
Afghanistan, and Iraq. 09:29:20:10  
And now new multiple flash points 09:29:22:12  
all over the Middle East. 09:29:24:18  
That are raising new hopes for 09:29:25:25  
democracy, but at the same time, 09:29:27:21  
are giving rise to terrible 09:29:29:19  
violence. 09:29:31:27  
And in the case of what began as 09:29:33:03  
an Arab spring revolution in 09:29:34:24  
Syria, now as we speak, there are 09:29:37:09  
accusations even of possible 09:29:39:28  
crimes against humanity. 09:29:41:27  
Today his holiness, and a 09:29:43:18  
distinguished panel of experts 09:29:47:01  
aim to make sense of what is 09:29:48:21  
happening in our world. 09:29:50:10  
And to give us the other side of 09:29:51:09  
the story. 09:29:53:25  
The side of peace. 09:29:54:19  
We ask today where and how can 09:29:56:16  
our humanity find common ground. 09:30:00:10  
First, I introduce our panel. 09:30:03:24  
They are, Nobel peace 09:30:08:06  
laureateite. 09:30:19:12  
She's Iranian human rights 09:30:20:16  
laureate who has been arrested 09:30:21:27  
more than once, for defending the 09:30:23:03  
human rights of political 09:30:25:06  
DISSIDENTs. 09:30:26:06  
Police welcome, 09:30:27:07  
PLEASE WELCOME SHIRIN EBADI. 09:30:33:10  
[ Applause ] 09:30:39:00  
Doctor is joined by professor who 09:30:39:15  
will act as a her translator. 09:31:00:00  
09:31:01:27  
DR. EBADI IS JOINED ON STAGE THIS 09:31:08:04  
MORNING BY PROFESSOR MEHRZAD 09:31:08:04  
BOROUJERDI, A POLITICAL SCIENCE 09:31:08:04  
PROFESSOR AT THE MAXWELL SCHOOL, 09:31:08:04  
WHO WILL ACT AS TRANSLATOR FOR 09:31:08:04  
DR. EBADI. 09:31:08:04  
A NOBEL 09:31:02:01  
LAUREATE who once directed the 09:31:02:01  
international atomic energy 09:31:18:12  
agency and an important factor in 09:31:20:06  
the spring revolution in the 09:31:22:00  
Egypt. 09:31:23:00  
Please welcome, Mohamed 09:31:24:15  
ElBaradei. 09:31:26:15  
It is a pleasure to have you 09:31:27:01  
here. 09:31:29:22  
Welcome. 09:31:30:03  
We also have a former U.S. 09:31:30:15  
Ambassador to the United Nations, 09:31:40:15  
who worked alongside Dr. Martin 09:31:42:12  
Luther king jr. against racial 09:31:44:12  
segregation. 09:31:47:15  
He's been awarded with the 09:31:48:12  
presidential medal of freedom. 09:31:49:06  
Please welcome Andrew young. 09:31:51:15  
What an honor to be on the stage 09:31:54:24  
with you. 09:31:56:18  
[ Applause ] 09:31:56:28  
And also, joining us this 09:31:57:09  
morning, the founder of the moral 09:32:07:10  
courage project at nyu which 09:32:12:10  
strives to show that all of us 09:32:14:10  
have the capacity to speak up, 09:32:15:18

6

7

despite fear, of intimidation. 09:32:16:24  
 09:32:18:28  
 PLEASE WELCOME IRSHAD MANJI.Come 09:32:19:04  
 around the front. 09:32:27:06  
 And also, joining us this 09:32:33:22  
 morning, a former head of the 09:32:36:12  
 central intelligence agency. 09:32:38:06  
 He's a foreign policy specialist, 09:32:39:27  
 please welcome, R. James Woolsey. 09:32:42:00  
 Jr. 09:32:45:09  
 Please be seated. 09:32:46:24  
 As we now introduce you to the 09:32:59:00  
 11th Chancellor and President of 09:33:01:03  
 Syracuse University, and 09:33:02:21  
 distinguished professor of 09:33:04:15  
 psychology and women's studies in 09:33:05:27  
 the college of the arts and 09:33:07:09  
 sciences, to make the biggest 09:33:08:12  
 INTRODUCTION I think all of us on 09:33:10:12  
 the stage will agree, please 09:33:12:01  
 welcome, Khan Chancellor Nancy 09:33:13:21  
 Cantor. 09:33:16:16  
 Chancellor Nancy Cantor. 09:33:17:09  
 >> Good morning. 09:33:21:10  
 09:33:22:12  
 >> Good morning. 09:33:35:24  
 First on behalf of the Syracuse 09:33:36:15  
 University community, I want to 09:33:36:15  
 thank each of our distinguished 09:33:36:15  
 pan people inists and our 09:33:36:15  
 moderator Ann Curry for joining 09:33:36:15  
 us today. 09:33:36:15  
 The wisdom each of you has shared 09:33:41:09  
 with us this morning on these 09:33:41:09  
 complex and complicated issues 09:33:41:09  
 and evens, informed by your 09:33:41:09  
 singular experiences and diverse 09:33:41:09  
 perspectives, has enlightened us 09:33:41:09  
 all. 09:33:41:09  
 I want to extend a very special 09:33:43:21  
 thank you to our S.U. trustee Sam 09:33:43:21  
 Nappi and world harmony 09:33:43:21  
 productions for making all of 09:33:43:21  
 this possible, and to the 09:33:43:21  
 venerable lama Tenzin Dhonden 09:33:43:21  
 personal peace emissary for his 09:33:43:21  
 Holiness. 09:33:43:21  
 For this is, truly, an 09:33:49:21  
 extraordinary moment in the life 09:33:49:21  
 of Syracuse University. 09:33:49:21  
 We are deeply honored and humbled 09:33:55:10  
 to welcome his Holiness, the 09:33:55:10  
 Dalai Lama here and we look 09:33:55:10  
 forward to his leading us in this 09:33:55:10  
 transformative opportunity to 09:33:55:10  
 explore individually and 09:33:55:10  
 collectively the urgent and so 09:33:55:10  
 vexing challenge of building a 09:33:55:10  
 more peaceful and just world. 09:33:55:10  
 How wonderfully appropriate that 09:34:12:00  
 such an expansive and impactful 09:34:12:00  
 conversation take place on a 09:34:12:00  
 university campus, where 09:34:12:00  
 students, educators and citizens 09:34:12:00  
 can join in the dialogue. 09:34:12:00  
 We come to this dialogue from 09:34:24:03  
 homes and with experiences from 09:34:24:03  
 all over, near and far, to engage 09:34:24:03  
 each other and bring our diverse 09:34:24:03  
 perspectives to bear on what it 09:34:24:03  
 means to be socially responsible 09:34:24:03  
 Global citizens. 09:34:24:03  
 All of us are constantly being 09:34:41:13  
 educated for the world, in the 09:34:41:13  
 world, preparing to help meet the 09:34:41:13  
 pressing challenges of the day, 09:34:41:13  
 challenges that can so clearly 09:34:41:13  
 divide us in conflict or unite us 09:34:41:13  
 in the richness of harmonious 09:34:41:13  
 difference. 09:34:41:13  
 Our university and indeed the 09:35:01:07

Syracuse community at large, is strongly committed to partnerships in our region, that build unity around the issues of educational, social and economic opportunity and the intergroup dialogue that can work across difference, on the ground, in our multi-cultural and interfaith community.

Our work in this arena provides a base for thinking more broadly, in a Global context.

Indeed, as we strive to be one world, and find a common ground, we need to recognize the intricacies of history, geography, and culture as laid down in one place, and yet also find the deep resonances that can connect us.

Who better than universities as stewards of the next generation of Global citizens to take on these great questions and challenges?

Indeed 33 years ago tomorrow, October 9, 1979, His Holiness the Dalai Lama visited our campus to speak in Hendricks chapel.

It's been more than three decades since but as the topic of this morning's symposium indicates, we continue to struggle here and everywhere with ways to find and sustain peace and justice, as we did then.

And today, while we are light years ahead in terms of technological advancements, and in that sense interconnected, and our world is more interconnected than ever, we remain more disconnected than ever on a human left, in advancing the tools, and the will, for coming together.

As his Holiness the Dalai Lama stated during his 1979 visit here, the problems created by humankind can only be solved through "full-fledged compassion, genuine sympathetic cooperation, and human understanding."

And this is a message that he has shared worldwide in dialogues with Presidents, Prime Ministers and crowned rulers, leading scientists and religious figures, and in presentations before public audiences such as this.

His Holiness was designated the 14th Dalai Lama, the spiritual leader of Tibet, at the age of 2, although he prefers to view himself, in his words, as a "simple Buddhist monk."

But for millions worldwide, he embodies a transformative message of peace, compassion, tolerance, and understanding.

Since 1959, he has earned many awards and accolades, including the Nobel Peace prize in 1989 in recognition of his non-violent struggle for freedom in Tibet.

The Nobel committee cited His Holiness's advocacy of "peaceful solutions based upon tolerance and mutual respect" and for his "forward-looking proposals for the solution of international

9

10

conflicts, human rights issues, 09:37:49:22  
and Global environmental 09:37:49:22  
problems." 09:37:49:22  
We are truly honored and 09:38:04:10  
privileged to have this unique 09:38:04:10  
opportunity to amplify his 09:38:04:10  
message of peace, not only across 09:38:04:10  
our campus, city and region, but 09:38:04:10  
in the hearts and minds of all 09:38:04:10  
who hear him. 09:38:04:10  
Please join me in giving a warm 09:33:22:18  
and deep appreciative Syracuse 09:33:22:18  
welcome to our esteemed guest, 09:33:22:18  
His Holiness the Dalai Lama. 09:33:22:18  
>> You sit here. 09:38:34:19  
[ Laughter ] 09:39:39:12  
>> Yes, you get the big chair 09:39:40:03  
your holiness. 09:39:42:03  
>> Thank you. 09:39:47:15  
>> 09:39:49:04  
>> Now holiness if I might ask 09:39:53:12  
one question of you before we ask 09:39:55:10  
questions of the panel, to set 09:39:57:03  
the tone for this discussion, 09:39:58:19  
what is the single-most important 09:40:02:09  
human trait that is required to 09:40:06:07  
find of common ground for peace? 09:40:09:24  
>> 09:40:11:28  
>> I think very simple: 09:40:23:10  
If you ask young children, I 09:40:24:27  
think they could, when they mix 09:40:31:10  
with other children, they don't 09:40:33:12  
care about their social 09:40:35:15  
background, or religious faith. 09:40:38:18  
Or their family rich or poor or. 09:40:41:18  
So long children smile, play 09:40:49:15  
together. 09:40:53:06  
So that is very, very clear 09:40:53:24  
spirit. 09:40:57:04  
Oneness of human being. 09:40:58:12  
I believe that. 09:41:00:13  
So entire 7 billion human beings, 09:41:02:24  
the way we are born, the way we 09:41:10:07  
die, the way we carry daily life, 09:41:12:24  
sleep, dream, meal, 7 billion, 09:41:17:06  
the same, I believe. 09:41:25:24  
So I tell people, sharing people, 09:41:27:03  
we are the same. 09:41:31:25  
Difference of profession 09:41:33:27  
difference of experiences but we 09:41:36:15  
actually are the same human 09:41:38:04  
beings. 09:41:40:03  
Emotionally, mentally, even 09:41:40:19  
physically. 09:41:49:09  
Basically we are the same. 09:41:51:12  
So think more about that, hardly, 09:41:52:16  
nothing to divide. 09:41:59:22  
We all same human beings. 09:42:02:00  
So this is my fundamental belief 09:42:05:15  
so where I go, I always share 09:42:08:10  
concept, oneness of humanity. 09:42:12:09  
So that I believe. 09:42:16:04  
>> Thank you, your holiness. 09:42:19:03  
On this, in this beginning then, 09:42:21:15  
this idea that the human trait is 09:42:24:04  
an awareness that we are the 09:42:26:09  
same, that we have so much in 09:42:28:09  
common, which is how I understand 09:42:30:03  
his holiness answered that 09:42:31:25  
question, I don't mean to 09:42:34:04  
pressure the rest of you but His 09:42:36:06  
Holiness has said that he's come 09:42:37:19  
here to learn from you. 09:42:39:00  
[ Laughter ] 09:42:41:10  
Some on that note, let us begin 09:42:42:13  
to think about and talk about 09:42:47:09  
what is happening to our world as 09:42:48:28  
we speak. 09:42:51:13  
And specifically, get a sense 09:42:52:27  
about what's happening in the 09:42:55:00  
Middle East. 09:42:58:09

11

12

Perhaps the first spark for what we now call Arab spring happened not in the Arab world but in Persia during the green revolution in Iran. And so let us begin with Shirin Ebadi and ask you, Shirin, how you see these revolutions and what is -- where is this ingredient that His Holiness is suggesting that is required which is for people to see each other as themselves, to see each other in the same way as they see themselves?  
Shirin?  
>>  
>> What can cause everlasting peace in a society is social justice and democracy. In the absence of these two key elements, what remains in a society is really representation and suffocation and not genuine serious peace. Which can be disrupted at any given moment. This is what we witness in the set of insurrections in the Arab world in the western media is referred to as the Arab spring. In the absence of social justice and democracy, we saw that people all across the Arab worlds rose up in their rebellion against existing status quo. They managed to kick out the dictators ... but this is not sufficient. Because the departure of a dictator not synonymous with democracy. As we witness in Iran in 1979, the Shah as a dictator was forced out, but the system was replaced by a worse dictator in his place. As such I'm not in agreement with the concept of Arab spring. I think it is too early to call it in a spring yet. Dictators have departed but we still have to wait and see whether democracy comes along. Perhaps the best indicator of democracy is the status of women in the Arab world. And when the time comes, with the Arab Muslim women have gained equal rights, then we can talk of Arab spring. Fortunately people are struggling for that day to arrive. And I'm sure they will win.  
>> Thank you.  
[ Applause ]  
Dr. Mohamed ElBaradei you have a very perspective on this subject because you were in Egypt, had a sense about what was happening, in the removal of President mubarak there in one of the biggest moments of what is called Arab spring. What would you like to add to this conversation?  
>>  
>> Well, think what's happening in the Arab world is, a wonderful human effort emancipate themselves.  
It goes very well with His

Holiness common sense approach to 09:47:29:28  
humanity that we are all the same 09:47:33:13  
irrespective of color, religion, 09:47:35:15  
you know. 09:47:38:00  
What have you. 09:47:38:27  
This is -- it's vindication that 09:47:41:13  
irrespective of where we come 09:47:44:21  
from every human being is seeking 09:47:47:10  
dignity, is seeking fairness is 09:47:48:21  
seeking justice. 09:47:51:06  
And we learned that intuitively 09:47:52:03  
as young children. 09:47:57:10  
And this is what's happening. 09:47:59:19  
I mean, in Egypt, it is again, it 09:48:01:12  
is a human awakening. 09:48:04:24  
Against injustice, against 09:48:06:28  
representation, and in a way, it 09:48:11:03  
is emancipation from modern-day 09:48:13:16  
slavery, you know. 09:48:17:15  
It is no different from the mar 09:48:18:25  
in which Washington, it is no 09:48:21:27  
different from the March in 09:48:22:21  
India. 09:48:24:18  
People would like to be free to 09:48:25:06  
have human dignity to have 09:48:27:04  
equality, and to have justice. 09:48:29:18  
This is, of course, a -- so there 09:48:31:07  
is no going back. 09:48:34:07  
It was not a question of whether 09:48:36:03  
it is going to happen, it was a 09:48:37:28  
question of when it is going to 09:48:39:07  
happen. 09:48:40:27  
And of course it is still very 09:48:41:15  
much work in progress, we still 09:48:44:01  
have a lot to do. 09:48:46:03  
We still have to manage that, and 09:48:47:03  
I'll come to that later on. 09:48:49:15  
Manage the anger that is coming 09:48:51:10  
after many, many decades 09:48:52:25  
repression and we do not know 09:48:53:24  
democracy, we did not practice 09:49:00:15  
democracy to build a framework, 09:49:03:24  
people dialogue and understand 09:49:06:18  
the shared humanities and how to 09:49:08:01  
work together didn't this is the 09:49:10:09  
only way for a win/win situation. 09:49:11:07  
That's a lot of work in progress 09:49:13:21  
but we crossed a threshold and 09:49:16:24  
that is in itself a major reason 09:49:18:10  
for optimism. 09:49:21:03  
>> Is the fact that the Arab 09:49:21:27  
spring, I'm going to ask all 09:49:25:04  
follow-up question, Dr. Mohamed 09:49:26:15  
ElBaradei, that the Arab spring 09:49:29:00  
is happening in countries that do 09:49:30:09  
not have a history of democracy. 09:49:31:18  
Did that contribute to the 09:49:33:13  
violent nature of some of these 09:49:35:24  
revolutions? 09:49:37:22  
>> Well, I think there's, the 09:49:38:16  
violence could be explained that 09:49:42:09  
of many decades of anger, you 09:49:45:06  
know, anger from the outside 09:49:48:07  
world, that has been supporting 09:49:49:21  
the dictators. 09:49:52:00  
They felt that they were let 09:49:56:12  
down. 09:49:57:19  
Anger by the domestic tormenters 09:49:58:00  
who have been treating them like 09:50:00:22  
in a marginalized way, completely 09:50:01:27  
do not have the basic needs. 09:50:04:12  
So the anger is a natural 09:50:05:13  
phenomenon. 09:50:07:01  
People now got their freedom, but 09:50:08:18  
they do not know how to yet to 09:50:11:15  
manage the anger or freedom. 09:50:13:12  
And it is our responsibility now 09:50:15:01  
as a Global community, to hug 09:50:17:25  
this Arab spring, people who are 09:50:21:27  
yearning for freedom and see what 09:50:24:25  
we need to do to make sure that 09:50:26:04

14

15

we go back to a non-violent 09:50:28:24  
 change, and not -- and to 09:50:31:21  
 understand that violent is not 09:50:34:09  
 the way to go forward. 09:50:35:13  
 There was, of course, the violent 09:50:37:12  
 in Egypt was, there was not a 09:50:38:27  
 violent revolution, that was very 09:50:40:15  
 peaceful revolution. 09:50:42:06  
 Indonesia, the same. 09:50:44:03  
 Libya and Syria there was a 09:50:46:07  
 resistant by the authoritarian 09:50:47:12  
 system and that's what we're 09:50:51:09  
 seeing today. 09:50:52:06  
 >> Technology. 09:50:53:24  
 Gosh. 09:50:54:25  
 Always drives me crazy. 09:50:56:03  
 Love the ipod, love the ipad, 09:50:57:19  
 love the ear piece and they drive 09:51:00:15  
 me crazy. 09:51:03:12  
 Please continue. 09:51:04:24  
 >> There say lot of 09:51:05:06  
 responsibility to manage, manage 09:51:06:04  
 the process. 09:51:07:27  
 I mean, if you look what's 09:51:08:19  
 happening in Syria, it is a 09:51:10:00  
 shameful, you know, that the 09:51:11:12  
 community keeps wringing its 09:51:13:27  
 hands while people are dying. 09:51:17:07  
 When you saw what happened in 09:51:19:27  
 Libya we were too late to 09:51:20:24  
 intervene. 09:51:21:27  
 We cannot just continue to say, 09:51:22:09  
 we are one human family, while we 09:51:24:16  
 in our practice, we don't really 09:51:27:15  
 care for each other and I can 09:51:29:21  
 give you a lot of examples 09:51:30:25  
 ranging from the Congo to Darfur. 09:51:33:04  
 It is only when we have our 09:51:35:03  
 geopolitical interests involved 09:51:36:19  
 that we get in and out simply on 09:51:38:09  
 the basis of human and the fact 09:51:39:27  
 that we are one human family. 09:51:42:13  
 And that simple as it is, we do 09:51:44:00  
 not practice yet, and that's why 09:51:46:03  
 we are here today, to see how we 09:51:47:21  
 can make people understand that 09:51:49:27  
 we are all going to lose until we 09:51:53:03  
 are, we understand that we are 09:51:55:22  
 answering in the affirmative, the 09:51:59:12  
 old bible question: 09:52:01:12  
 Am I my brother's keeper? 09:52:03:09  
 And until we answer that 09:52:04:25  
 question, affirmatively, we are 09:52:05:25  
 doomed, and moving into self 09:52:09:03  
 destruct. 09:52:10:21  
 [ Applause ] 09:52:13:03  
 >> Andrew young, you understand a 09:52:20:18  
 great deal about being your 09:52:22:12  
 brother's keeper. 09:52:23:27  
 Having Marched with Martin Luther 09:52:25:01  
 King jr., very fought all of your 09:52:27:09  
 rights for human rights and 09:52:32:03  
 dignity for all, when you see 09:52:33:03  
 what's happening in the Arab 09:52:36:06  
 spring and you hear what 09:52:37:10  
 Dr. Mohamed ElBaradei and 09:52:39:27  
 Dr. Ebadi just said having been 09:52:41:03  
 a force non-violence in creating 09:52:44:21  
 social change? 09:52:47:24  
 >> , let me say that, listening 09:52:48:13  
 to His Holiness, I see two 09:52:52:00  
 things: 09:52:56:01  
 One, I see the simple right to be 09:52:56:22  
 a man. 09:53:00:06  
 And I relate the Arab spring 09:53:01:24  
 directly back to Memphis and 09:53:03:22  
 Martin Luther King. 09:53:05:27  
 And being a man was not just 09:53:06:24  
 about the right to vote, it was 09:53:09:12  
 about a job with respect. 09:53:11:00  
 In Tunisia, it was a simple man 09:53:13:04

16

17



with a cart. 09:53:19:21  
Who wanted to get permission to 09:53:21:06  
sell his wears, and you kept 09:53:24:18  
getting the reason around from 09:53:29:00  
the government, and so in 09:53:30:15  
despair, and in protest, he set 09:53:31:25  
himself on fire. 09:53:35:21  
And this was, I think, 09:53:37:15  
historically the start of the 09:53:39:00  
difficulty. 09:53:41:13  
Now, that was a quest and a 09:53:42:27  
protest that was basically for 09:53:46:03  
economic rights. 09:53:50:07  
And I would say about Egypt, 09:53:51:01  
Egypt was a good economy, for 30 09:53:53:15  
million people. 09:53:56:18  
But they had 80 million in the 09:53:57:24  
population. 09:54:00:15  
So 50 million were left out of 09:54:01:21  
the economy. 09:54:04:06  
And so, it was this 50 million 09:54:05:00  
saying, no, we have to be a part, 09:54:06:27  
not of the right to vote, but we 09:54:11:12  
have to have the right to water, 09:54:13:16  
to food, to health. 09:54:16:12  
, now, that's one part of the 09:54:20:06  
Arab spring. 09:54:23:01  
There's another part that I think 09:54:25:03  
others will have a chance to 09:54:29:10  
criticize me on, but, I think 09:54:31:10  
that it was taken advantage of by 09:54:34:00  
certain forces to produce regime 09:54:37:12  
change. 09:54:40:18  
And that's when it began to get 09:54:41:09  
violent. 09:54:44:03  
It got violent, I don't know, not 09:54:45:03  
from inside, but from outside. 09:54:51:06  
And we didn't have -- we were 09:54:54:21  
able to make peace with Russia, 09:54:59:22  
with China, with almost all of 09:55:03:03  
our enemies, in South Africa, we 09:55:06:18  
had transformation completely, 09:55:09:10  
and all done non-violently by 09:55:13:06  
people. 09:55:15:21  
In this country, our movements 09:55:17:12  
have been non-violent. 09:55:18:24  
And if we keep them non-violent, 09:55:20:12  
I think that we can make 09:55:24:12  
progress, but you can't have a 09:55:25:18  
non-violent movement that is 09:55:31:25  
determined to have regime change 09:55:35:10  
immediately. 09:55:39:09  
That these two things have to go 09:55:41:04  
in parallel. 09:55:46:06  
>> Thank you. 09:55:49:22  
[ Applause ] 09:55:51:07  
Because of the tone of what we 09:55:55:24  
just heard from Andrew young, 09:55:58:07  
professor Irshad Manji, I'll skip 09:56:00:06  
over and go to you James Woolsey 09:56:04:27  
and ask you about this idea, this 09:56:07:09  
idea that there are in place not 09:56:08:24  
all but many these Arab spring 09:56:13:27  
nations there are proxy wars 09:56:15:15  
going on. 09:56:16:24  
That there are others from the 09:56:17:18  
outside fostering violence on the 09:56:18:18  
inside. 09:56:21:24  
What is the responsibility of the 09:56:22:06  
world and are you hopeful in any 09:56:24:21  
way based on your experience as 09:56:27:09  
the former head of the C.I.A., 09:56:29:13  
that the world would begin to 09:56:32:12  
listen to the cause of peace, 09:56:35:09  
when it has so many other 09:56:36:25  
interests at play that cause war? 09:56:38:24  
>> As was supposedly said when 09:56:41:10  
asked by Henry Kissinger what the 09:56:45:09  
result really of the French 09:56:48:03  
revolution had been, he 09:56:50:00  
supposedly said I don't know, it 09:56:53:06

is much too soon to tell. 09:56:54:03  
[ Laughter ] 09:56:55:24  
And that's the case. 09:56:56:06  
I think with the Arab spring. 09:56:58:16  
The problem is that like dramas, 09:57:00:15  
revolutions often have three 09:57:03:07  
acts: 09:57:05:25  
And act 1 is the storming of the 09:57:07:09  
bastille in the French 09:57:10:18  
revolution, winter palace in 09:57:13:03  
Russian revolution, kicking the 09:57:14:15  
Shah out in the Iranian 09:57:16:18  
revolution, and act one is 09:57:18:16  
optimistic, is hopeful, often 09:57:20:22  
young people in the streets, 09:57:23:03  
overthrowing a symbol of 09:57:24:22  
oppression and despotism. 09:57:26:18  
Then act two follows very closely 09:57:29:12  
with act one, and has a similar 09:57:31:10  
spirit. 09:57:33:18  
Act two is the creation or 09:57:34:04  
attempted creation of rule by the 09:57:37:00  
people, with fairness, and, and 09:57:40:12  
justice. 09:57:42:27  
And that looked like it might be 09:57:44:09  
occurring in the French 09:57:46:28  
revolution for a year or two with 09:57:48:04  
the tennis court oath and so on. 09:57:50:22  
LaFayette presented the key to 09:57:52:27  
the bastille to Washington, 09:57:55:03  
George Washington as thanks for 09:57:57:21  
the American revolution inspiring 09:57:59:09  
the French revolution. 09:58:02:00  
He, I'm afraid, was a bit 09:58:03:01  
premature and optimistic. 09:58:05:03  
The same thing happened with 09:58:07:10  
mivvicks coming to power, same 09:58:14:06  
thing happened in Iran with the 09:58:17:03  
liberals ruling for a few months. 09:58:18:12  
And then, sadly, in all three of 09:58:19:27  
those cases, came act three. 09:58:23:03  
And act three is often 09:58:25:16  
particularly horrible when there 09:58:28:12  
has been bad oppression for a 09:58:30:01  
long time, and the only groups 09:58:31:16  
that have cohesion and can 09:58:33:27  
operate successfully, are those 09:58:36:12  
that are extremely dictatorial. 09:58:38:12  
So, what happens? 09:58:41:22  
The reign of terror. 09:58:42:21  
Overthrows the reformers in 09:58:44:16  
France. 09:58:48:03  
The -- in Russia, the Bolsheviks 09:58:48:15  
kill the others. 09:58:53:21  
In Iran those brave people who 09:58:55:18  
made the Iranian revolution in 09:58:58:06  
early 79, got rid of the Shah 09:59:00:10  
found themselves within a year, 09:59:03:15  
ruled by theocratic fanatics. 09:59:05:21  
We don't know yet, country by 09:59:09:09  
country, whether or not the 09:59:12:15  
Middle East, some of it will stop 09:59:15:16  
at act two, as happily the 09:59:18:06  
American revolution did. 09:59:20:09  
Or whether it will go on to a 09:59:22:06  
terrible act three. 09:59:24:12  
I'll offer one thought which may 09:59:26:00  
be somewhat surprising as to how 09:59:27:24  
I think we can limit the number 09:59:30:10  
of totalitarian act threes. 09:59:32:27  
And that that is to get off oil. 09:59:35:01  
[ Applause ] 09:59:39:24  
Paul Collier who heads the 09:59:40:12  
African studies institute at 09:59:51:12  
oxford, originated I think the 09:59:53:18  
phrase, oil curse because he 09:59:55:28  
says, any commodity that has a 09:59:59:12  
huge amount of economic rent 10:00:01:09  
associated with it and believe 10:00:03:07  
me, if you are a Saudi, and you 10:00:04:16  
are lifting oil for three dollars 10:00:06:16

19

20

a barrel and selling it for 100, 10:00:08:12  
you get a lot of economic rent. 10:00:11:00  
And in an autocratic or 10:00:13:21  
totalitarian society, monarchy or 10:00:16:03  
dictatorship it doesn't matter 10:00:20:00  
when that happens, that economic 10:00:21:09  
rent accrues to the control of 10:00:23:00  
the elites. 10:00:25:12  
The elites that run the country. 10:00:26:13  
And it helps them perpetuate 10:00:28:03  
themselves so there are 20 10:00:30:25  
countries, for whom oil and gas 10:00:32:00  
is 60% or more of the national 10:00:34:21  
income. 10:00:37:09  
Every last one of them is a 10:00:37:19  
dictatorship or an autocratic 10:00:39:19  
kingdom. 10:00:41:24  
The ten largest oil exporting 10:00:42:12  
countries in the world, nine of 10:00:44:06  
them are dictatorships, are 10:00:45:19  
autocratic kingdom. 10:00:47:18  
This we are not helping 10:00:51:12  
ourselves, the climate we're not 10:00:53:01  
helping anything but staying on 10:00:55:21  
oil and I'm not justing about 10:00:56:24  
foreign oil, I'm talking about 10:00:58:16  
oil, period. 10:01:00:12  
[ Applause ] 10:01:02:16  
James Woolsey I don't think you 10:01:11:15  
would be happy know that His 10:01:17:24  
Holiness is appreciative of your 10:01:20:16  
remarks and he maybe learned 10:01:22:25  
something from you today. 10:01:24:03  
Professor Manji, you you have 10:01:24:25  
made it your mission to raise the 10:01:34:06  
possibilities that we imagine 10:01:35:10  
ourselves as moral as he can with 10:01:37:04  
be. 10:01:38:24  
You have focused on this. 10:01:39:06  
When you look at this and you 10:01:40:06  
hear Mr. Woolsey talk about, 10:01:41:07  
essentially an immoral 10:01:43:22  
motivation, a motivation that 10:01:45:28  
creates something that causes 10:01:47:06  
suffering, and you have heard 10:01:49:06  
from each one of these speakers 10:01:51:07  
talk about the hopes of 10:01:52:16  
democracy, and yet, the realities 10:01:53:27  
of violence to make that 10:01:58:01  
democracy, those democracies 10:02:00:06  
happen. 10:02:02:15  
What is your perspective on how 10:02:02:25  
we find the right thing to do? 10:02:04:10  
How can we contribute to finding 10:02:06:12  
the right thing to do? 10:02:07:27  
>> You know, Ann, I have traveled 10:02:09:00  
the world over the past decade 10:02:12:27  
engaging with both Muslims and 10:02:15:15  
non-muslims mostly young people, 10:02:17:16  
and from what I hear, from them, 10:02:19:28  
what we need to do is recognize 10:02:27:09  
questioning as a basic human 10:02:31:06  
right. 10:02:35:19  
Let me try to explain with a 10:02:36:03  
quick story. 10:02:39:00  
In 2006 I was in Cairo so -- 10:02:39:21  
excuse me six years ago now, and 10:02:47:06  
I was observing what were then 10:02:49:07  
the biggest demonstrations 10:02:50:24  
against the mubarak regime. 10:02:53:15  
And afterwards, I hung out with a 10:02:55:18  
bunch of democracy activists at a 10:02:58:18  
cafe one a young woman in her 10:03:03:03  
20s approached me to say, I 10:03:05:00  
know that you get a lot of 10:03:06:27  
questions from young people, so 10:03:08:06  
let me add mine: 10:03:09:09  
She said, here is the thing, I 10:03:10:27  
have fall in this -- fallen in 10:03:15:10  
love with a Jewish man. 10:03:19:27  
How do I tell my parents? 10:03:20:25

And then she said something blew me away.  
The crazy thing is, here I am, putting my life on the line, to try to achieve political change in my own country, but the scarier prospect for me, is to speak with my own family about love.  
And in that moment, I was reminded and I learned that democracy isn't just about the politics we read about in the headlines.  
Democracy surely must also be about being allowed to marry the person that you love.  
Isn't democracy also about being permitted to listen to the music that frankly makes me dance?  
Isn't democracy also about being able to tap into my real talent, regardless of the labels brought on by religion and culture and gender, and sexuality.  
-gender and sexuality.  
These questions are percolating in the Middle East and Africa but they are also universal.  
And, what I have learned from young people is that they are universal these questions because, the very act of asking questions, of having curiosity, is a natural human need.  
Just one other story if I may, very briefly:  
Not long ago, I heard from a young man, a self described student of Sharia law who attends one of the top-notch universitys in the Arab world.  
And he wrote, we can't use our critical thinking skills in this institution.  
We can't ask about whether it is mandatory or voluntary for women to wear hijab, the scarf.  
We are not allowed to discuss how we relate or don't relate to Jews.  
Or the mistreatment of women.  
All of this is off limits.  
He added, I will become, I intend, that's how he put it, I intend to become a reformist imman, meaning prayer leader and intend also, Irshad, he said, to question, prejudices against gays and lesbians.  
You can see how questions really can bring us all together.  
But to get there, we have got to recognize questioning as a basic right.  
It is the soul's way of saying, I'm ready to grow.  
That is democracy on the rise.  
[ Applause ]  
>> His Holiness, I know you would agree that you have heard some, we've all heard some wonderful perspectives this morning.  
And I can tell you, something that you already know, that so many young people believe that the future is, well, in jeopardy because of all of this anger and war.  
That people feel as if we're heading in the wrong direction,

22

23

in terms of peace. 10:07:09:00  
What is the truth about the 10:07:12:12  
direction that we're heading, and 10:07:14:00  
what is your reaction to what you 10:07:15:24  
have heard this morning that 10:07:19:00  
could give us some perspective on 10:07:20:15  
what is to come? 10:07:23:12  
>> Your Holiness. 10:07:24:10  
>> I participate in a seminar or 10:08:01:06  
discussion, I always learn very 10:08:06:18  
useful information or views. 10:08:10:13  
So here also. 10:08:15:00  
I learned useful things. 10:08:16:22  
Thank you. 10:08:21:06  
That is my favorite subject. 10:08:22:01  
I born in 1935. 10:08:43:07  
Just beginning of the second 10:08:49:28  
world war, just started, 10:08:56:07  
potential, growing. 10:09:00:18  
Then Korean war, Vietnam war, and 10:09:02:06  
so many others. 10:09:14:03  
So within my lifetime, it seems 10:09:15:24  
quite clear, number one, I think 10:09:26:00  
considerable war in early part of 10:09:34:16  
the 20th century when certain 10:09:36:06  
nations declare war on their 10:09:41:25  
enemy. 10:09:43:10  
I think every citizen of the 10:09:44:25  
country without any questions, 10:09:47:00  
even proudly join the effort, 10:09:51:09  
military effort, war effort, I 10:09:58:15  
think that kind of sort of 10:10:01:12  
attitude I think completely 10:10:03:00  
changed. 10:10:05:21  
After Vietnam war, people always 10:10:06:12  
as you mentioned, always raise 10:10:14:00  
questions, why? 10:10:16:12  
Nowadays, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq 10:10:17:15  
in this case also you see, people 10:10:23:09  
are asking why? 10:10:25:18  
Then another thing. 10:10:26:24  
Conservative government. 10:10:33:27  
When I was young, nobody talk 10:10:40:01  
about environment, importance of 10:10:42:18  
the environment. 10:10:44:16  
Later in the 20th century, they 10:10:46:04  
say, many people nowadays 10:10:52:06  
including leaders, they have to 10:10:57:06  
think, they have to sort of of 10:11:00:13  
say,, start taking care of the 10:11:01:22  
environment. 10:11:07:03  
Then I think in principle, the 10:11:07:18  
concept of non-violence also 10:11:12:12  
increasing. 10:11:15:04  
Perhaps I think in early 20th 10:11:17:00  
century, perhaps I think some 10:11:22:15  
people consider Gandhi's 10:11:25:12  
non-violence method, some people 10:11:29:19  
may feel that is the passive, 10:11:33:13  
sign of weakness. 10:11:38:03  
Nowadays, I think since I think 10:11:39:03  
back nelson mandela, 10:11:44:03  
non-violence, actually, because 10:11:47:03  
of the implement in political 10:11:49:19  
freedom, it was successful. 10:11:51:18  
So I think that the concept of 10:11:54:18  
non-violence also now much 10:11:57:06  
stronger. 10:11:59:13  
Then, another thing, in the past, 10:12:02:09  
science and faith simply 10:12:11:00  
something two different sort of 10:12:13:03  
approach. 10:12:16:18  
Now I think the quantum physics 10:12:17:21  
of these give us new sort of 10:12:25:03  
look, or the mind also some very 10:12:28:04  
important element, an important 10:12:33:06  
role. 10:12:36:15  
And then, many scientists now 10:12:37:21  
begin to feel, peace of mind is 10:12:42:01  
very important factor for good 10:12:47:24  
health. 10:12:51:00

24

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So some scientists say, healthy physical, healthy body, and a healthy mind very close. So even some scientists genuine, respected, knowledgeable scientists, they talk more about mind. Importance of mind. So within my lifetime, there are sort of signs, progress, certain things which now today, reality, I think in early part of the 20th century, I know I'm dreaming that. So these not come from religious sort of teachings, but through our own experience, I think humanity in 20th century I think a lot of suffering, a lot of of violence. So through that way, people gain more experience, violence never solves problems. Only way to solve problems is through talk, dialogue. So again, as I mentioned earlier, respite others, even your enemy, brothers and sisters, they also have right to achieve their happiness, their goal. So here we have to sort of of develop concept of, the entire 7 human beings, one family. So the concept of real is part of we. Too much emphasis due to religious faith, due to national interest or some other things, create strong sort of concept of we and they. To that way, even within family, make the distinction, between husband and wife or parent and children, we, I, they. Then greater develop sort of a jealous, a jealous brings distrust. Distrust brings frustration. Frustrations eventually develop violence. So respect others, as a human being, they also need happy life. We have to sort of share something to them. So others happiness is one's happiness. Other's suffering is also one's own suffering. So here I think that, in the education field, I think in ancient times, I think we Tibetans, remain behind the Himalayan mountains, don't care what happened the other side. [ Laughter ] I think perhaps American also I think. What happened in Europe, okay, it doesn't matter, like that. Now that reality completely changed now. Something happens there, it has an effect there. So that clearly shows oneness of humanity. So you have to take care of well-being of others, physically, but reality, part of us. So I think that in education, we need, this is -- not much effect, but in education, sort of system,

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I think we should introduce some lesson, oneness of humanity. And any problem within that have to solve through talk. So that kind of concept that kind of real thinking should be part of the children's mind. Through that way, next generation, of course, my life will not see, but these young people, I tell people, maybe too long.

>> You can go as long as you want.

I don't think that anyone is going to --

[ Laughter ]

I'm not interrupting you.

>> So I tell those young people, I think most of us here I usually call our generation , belongs to 20th century.

You, you maybe in the 21st century, you maybe.

Any way those people who are of age below 20, these people generation of 21st century.

My age, 77, 77 years old, so I belong 20th century.

That century is gone.

So like me, they need to say bye-bye.

[ Laughter ]

So these young generation, you belong in the 21st century, so 21st century, the only-almost 11 years, 12 years past. 80 years yet to come. So past is past.

We can learn about past from past, some experience. Otherwise, nothing can be done. Now, future years to come, so the future depends on the present. So this generation, younger generation, you can make this century be much peaceful, prosperity, prosperity, and harmonious.

So therefore, I think that according to, judging the past century, I think this sort of -- plenty of reasons to be hopeful. So now with that hope, you should have vision.

This 21st century, what kind of century should it be?

So that will not come, I think last year, in Hiroshima, you also there, peace will not come from sky.

Or peace will not develop, not materialize through only prayer. Like this.

And peace, peace, peace. It will not come.

[ Laughter ]

Peace must come through our actions.

So, better world, entirely depends on your own action.

In order to carry action, the action should be realistic action in order to carry realistic, because action, you should have firm knowledge about the reality, so as you mentioned, you need a lot of questions.

Some people say, even government say, you should ask, you should develop remain skeptical

27

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attitude. 10:21:07:13  
Question, question, question. 10:21:08:04  
Through that way, you will find 10:21:09:09  
the real picture of the reality. 10:21:13:18  
Through one dimension. 10:21:17:01  
You can't see the reality. 10:21:18:18  
You must look at the reality, the 10:21:20:10  
fat from various angles. 10:21:25:21  
The facts from various angles. 10:21:28:18  
That means holistic view. 10:21:30:12  
Then, you get more sort of 10:21:32:12  
clearer picture about reality. 10:21:35:25  
Then your approach will be more 10:21:37:21  
realistic approach. 10:21:41:03  
So, you should pay more 10:21:42:12  
attention, more questions, and 10:21:48:06  
through that way, try to see the 10:21:51:06  
reality fully. 10:21:53:18  
Then no matter how difficult it 10:21:55:04  
is, how obstacles, determination 10:21:59:15  
willpower is very, very 10:22:03:19  
essential. 10:22:07:21  
Willpower comes from more 10:22:08:12  
compassionate heart. 10:22:10:22  
Some scientists say, those people 10:22:12:22  
who tell lies inside much more 10:22:16:12  
stress. 10:22:21:24  
Honestly, truthfully, they have 10:22:22:27  
nothing to hide here. 10:22:28:24  
Then you can carry your life 10:22:30:10  
transparent, through that way, 10:22:33:13  
you gain more self confidence. 10:22:35:03  
More inner strength and then, you 10:22:38:00  
can implement your action 10:22:41:21  
tirelessly. 10:22:47:06  
So that, perhaps I think, you 10:22:48:12  
should not say oh, of course, 10:22:52:21  
they'll never say that don't say 10:22:57:16  
that. 10:22:58:21  
Think more. 10:22:59:03  
Investigate by yourself more. 10:23:00:10  
That I think is very important. 10:23:05:00  
Okay. 10:23:06:10  
>> Okay. 10:23:07:24  
[ Applause ] 10:23:08:04  
>> So we have a number of 10:23:20:03  
questions from our audience both 10:23:21:19  
here in Syracuse and also from 10:23:23:03  
people all over the world who are 10:23:25:12  
watching via webcast. 10:23:27:09  
Your Holiness you answered a lot 10:23:31:07  
of them in your talk just now but 10:23:33:00  
there is a question from Amanda 10:23:34:18  
claypool, a Syracuse University 10:23:37:03  
student who asked the question, 10:23:40:09  
video Twitter. 10:23:42:06  
We as a humanity keep pursuing 10:23:43:09  
this quest for peace. 10:23:45:19  
What comes after peace? 10:23:48:03  
And this is to anyone who would 10:23:51:06  
like to answer it. 10:23:57:21  
Perhaps we'll start with you, 10:23:59:07  
Mr. Mohamed ElBaradei. 10:24:05:01  
>> I would like to follow up on 10:24:05:24  
his Holiness that we need to have 10:24:08:16  
our feet on the ground and we 10:24:11:24  
need to learn from experience. 10:24:14:15  
You know. 10:24:15:21  
But -- and we last year we 10:24:16:09  
discussed in Hiroshima that you 10:24:18:21  
cannot have peace by just talking 10:24:21:09  
about peace. 10:24:23:19  
But actually acting for peace. 10:24:24:12  
And what you need to do is change 10:24:27:07  
the environment and it is 10:24:29:21  
clearly, that I think is -- you 10:24:32:00  
cannot really talk about peace 10:24:34:16  
when we still have 11,000 nuclear 10:24:36:03  
WARHEADs. 10:24:39:06  
You know, when we still continue 10:24:40:00  
to rely in our security on who 10:24:41:21



has the biggest club. 10:24:45:25  
 That not going to get us peace. 10:24:47:18  
 You cannot talk about peace when 10:24:49:19  
 we know that three billion 10:24:51:09  
 people, just about half of our 10:24:54:10  
 humanity, live under two and a 10:24:55:27  
 half dollars a day. 10:24:58:19  
 It is not that we cannot change 10:24:59:27  
 that, but are we willing to do 10:25:01:06  
 that, to change that. 10:25:04:01  
 We spend one and a half trillion 10:25:05:16  
 dollars on armament every year. 10:25:08:06  
 Half percent on peacekeeping. 10:25:12:16  
 Do we talk to each other? 10:25:14:27  
 You know. 10:25:17:12  
 I mean, we have a couple of 10:25:18:09  
 major, three major issues that 10:25:20:09  
 Iranian situation, the Korean 10:25:25:04  
 situation, the Palestinian 10:25:26:13  
 situation that we talk to each 10:25:27:21  
 other. 10:25:29:00  
 Do we have a dialogue? 10:25:29:25  
 So we understand where we are 10:25:31:03  
 coming from. 10:25:32:24  
 So I would argue, I would tell 10:25:33:16  
 the young people that it is not 10:25:36:15  
 just we talk about peace and the 10:25:38:01  
 aftermath of peace, I mean, we 10:25:41:07  
 still have a long way to go for 10:25:42:27  
 peace and peace is a quantum. 10:25:44:06  
 You know, it is not a question 10:25:47:27  
 that we, it is like democracy. 10:25:49:06  
 You don't have a perfect 10:25:51:09  
 democracy. 10:25:52:06  
 You continue to refine what you 10:25:52:25  
 mean by democracy. 10:25:54:18  
 You know, you continue to learn 10:25:55:18  
 from your past experience. 10:25:57:03  
 How you would be free and how you 10:25:58:24  
 have a cohesive society. 10:26:00:27  
 But, you need to do a lot of 10:26:03:00  
 change of mindset before we 10:26:04:24  
 frankly can talk about peace. 10:26:06:24  
 You know, are we taking social 10:26:08:07  
 responsibility? 10:26:10:06  
 Are we consider our self each one 10:26:11:21  
 of us responsible for the war in 10:26:14:00  
 Iraq, for Afghanistan, for the 10:26:16:12  
 stereotyping of different people. 10:26:20:00  
 I mean, there's a lot that we can 10:26:22:07  
 do as civil society. 10:26:23:27  
 And I think that frankly, peace 10:26:26:01  
 is too important to be left to 10:26:27:25  
 government. 10:26:30:00  
 You know. 10:26:30:10  
 We need to work on it as human 10:26:31:03  
 beings. 10:26:33:04  
 [ Applause ] 10:26:33:15  
 >> It seems as though you are 10:26:34:19  
 embracing His Holiness's idea 10:26:41:21  
 that peace is something that each 10:26:43:15  
 one of us and that effort toward 10:26:44:21  
 making it happen is something 10:26:46:04  
 that is important that each one 10:26:47:07  
 of us finds a way to contribute 10:26:48:06  
 to. 10:26:50:18  
 That seems to be what you're 10:26:51:13  
 saying here. 10:26:52:18  
 So if I might ask you, Jim 10:26:53:15  
 woolsey, what can ordinary 10:26:55:27  
 Americans do to promote peace and 10:26:58:27  
 democracy Globally? 10:27:02:15  
 >> Well, there's a bumper sticker 10:27:03:18  
 you see from time to time if you 10:27:06:00  
 want peace, work for justice. 10:27:07:18  
 And I think there is some real 10:27:10:09  
 truth in that. 10:27:13:19  
 If you look at the work of the 10:27:16:13  
 American writer and political 10:27:19:15  
 scientist Morton Halprin who is 10:27:21:22  
 just cut to the chase no, he's 10:27:25:07

not in the okon, he would 10:27:27:18  
generally be regarded as a man on 10:27:29:18  
the left side of the political 10:27:31:03  
spectrum, he and three colleagues 10:27:32:03  
have written a wonderful book on 10:27:34:19  
democracy that is about two or 10:27:35:25  
three years old now. 10:27:38:03  
And it runs through the numbers 10:27:39:10  
on what happens when a country 10:27:42:19  
moves toward democracy and the 10:27:44:24  
rule of law. 10:27:47:06  
Stipulate democracies aren't 10:27:47:28  
perfect. 10:27:51:15  
They mess up all the time but 10:27:52:03  
generally speaking, your chance 10:27:53:22  
of having famines, of having 10:27:55:21  
revolutions, of having terrorism, 10:27:57:28  
are much below. 10:28:01:12  
The chances in dictatorial or 10:28:03:27  
autocratic governments by factor 10:28:05:25  
of two or three or four. 10:28:07:24  
So, it is not a sure bet, nothing 10:28:10:03  
in this life is. 10:28:14:09  
But at the same time, one is 10:28:15:21  
envisioning what all of us have 10:28:22:04  
to think and do as individuals, 10:28:25:19  
one also I think has to look at 10:28:29:12  
the institutional arrangements 10:28:33:00  
which take place. 10:28:36:24  
The world is gone, I used to be 10:28:39:15  
chairman of the board of freedom 10:28:41:27  
house and I tracked these numbers 10:28:43:01  
more closely than I have the last 10:28:44:24  
two or three years, but roughly 10:28:46:03  
speaking, the world has gone from 10:28:48:04  
20 democrats or so in 1945, to 10:28:51:06  
well over 100 today. 10:28:54:09  
Now, they are not perfect. 10:28:56:01  
Some of them came about very 10:28:58:01  
surprisingly like, for example, 10:29:00:13  
Mongolia's tribal structure 10:29:02:12  
worked beautifully with its move 10:29:04:16  
to democracy immediately after 10:29:05:25  
the cold war was over. 10:29:07:22  
There are a lot of ways to get 10:29:09:09  
there. 10:29:11:01  
But when you have these 10:29:11:12  
democratic institutions or rule 10:29:17:12  
of law, decency, fairness and 10:29:20:15  
above all I might say, decent 10:29:23:13  
treatment of women, there is no 10:29:25:27  
clearer indicator of a 10:29:29:06  
totalitarianism society as far as 10:29:30:21  
I'm concerned such as Saudi 10:29:33:28  
Arabia, and today's Iran, than 10:29:35:07  
their brutal treatment of women. 10:29:39:01  
[ Applause ] 10:29:42:27  
So in the midst of our own 10:29:43:09  
personal conduct, and our 10:29:53:18  
relations with others, and the 10:29:55:06  
wonderful approach toward this, 10:29:56:22  
that His Holiness and Mohamed 10:29:59:06  
ElBaradei and others have said, 10:30:03:24  
that bumper sticker if you want 10:30:06:09  
peace, work for justice, is a 10:30:08:21  
very good one. 10:30:10:18  
[ Applause ] 10:30:13:06  
Mr. Young, you wanted to add 10:30:13:22  
something briefly? 10:30:19:00  
>> Yes. 10:30:19:16  
I like to break it down as simple 10:30:20:03  
as possible, and the human body 10:30:23:10  
is 70% water. 10:30:26:15  
And if everybody had water, that 10:30:28:22  
is justice. 10:30:35:01  
And that's the simplist justice 10:30:36:24  
and that kind of justice is 10:30:41:06  
available. 10:30:42:18  
And if we took one percent of the 10:30:42:24  
money we have spent on destroying 10:30:46:12  
things, and just provided clean 10:30:48:18

32

33

water, I have often thought 10:30:51:15  
although it is not as simple now 10:30:55:27  
as it was, but a simple pipeline 10:30:57:06  
from the head waters of the Nile, 10:31:02:06  
that would irrigate Gaza and the 10:31:06:18  
west bank, and not really take 10:31:09:18  
much from Cairo. 10:31:12:18  
There is water under the earth, 10:31:17:10  
almost everywhere. 10:31:21:19  
We also have the capacity to 10:31:22:19  
desalinate, and if we had as an 10:31:23:27  
objective that everybody should 10:31:31:03  
be able to have clean, fresh 10:31:33:12  
water, that would wipe out about 10:31:35:03  
45 or 50 diseases. 10:31:38:03  
And peace for the wealthy is 10:31:41:07  
security. 10:31:47:15  
Peace for the poorest of the 10:31:48:01  
poor, is bread, and water. 10:31:50:21  
[ Applause ] 10:31:54:06  
>> Our time is becoming shorter. 10:32:01:16  
I know Ms. Shirin Ebadi you 10:32:05:01  
would like to make a quick 10:32:09:00  
comment. 10:32:10:03  
Go ahead. 10:32:10:15  
>> ? 10:32:11:01  
Order to respond to this question 10:32:20:09  
properly, we first have to see 10:32:21:18  
what we mean by peace. 10:32:23:09  
I don't believe that peace is 10:32:24:21  
absent of war, this means that if 10:32:37:24  
a country is not in war, it 10:32:40:12  
doesn't mean that it is 10:32:42:09  
necessarily at peace. 10:32:43:03  
Is there a difference between us 10:32:44:12  
being thrown out of our homes by 10:33:01:09  
the enemy who attacks us, and by 10:33:03:12  
being thrown out of our homes by 10:33:07:12  
the banks because of our 10:33:09:13  
inability to pay our mortgage 10:33:12:03  
payments. 10:33:14:12  
[ Applause ] 10:33:17:24  
Again does it make a difference 10:33:18:12  
if we're caught by the enemy, and 10:33:41:00  
taken in, or if we're taken in 10:33:43:13  
because of having written an 10:33:45:22  
article and we have to spend 10:33:47:27  
years in prison. 10:33:49:03  
We see that all of these are bad. 10:33:50:22  
I think that according to my 10:33:57:06  
vision, peace is a package of a 10:34:13:00  
condition where human beings can 10:34:17:13  
live with dignity, and freedom. 10:34:19:12  
And this is why at the beginning 10:34:22:01  
of my talk, I said, that peace is 10:34:37:21  
sustainable only where there is 10:34:41:00  
social justice, and democracy. 10:34:42:25  
The talk in here was that 10:34:44:19  
countries that have oil are being 10:34:52:03  
run by dictators. 10:34:54:15  
Although I accept this word but I 10:34:57:18  
have to state here that Norway 10:35:10:09  
has more oil than Iran, for 10:35:13:03  
example, but it is a democracy. 10:35:15:10  
Countries become non-democratic 10:35:16:27  
when their revenues did not come 10:35:33:21  
from the taxpayers' taxes but 10:35:36:06  
come from the revenues of 10:35:38:28  
national resources that are in 10:35:41:12  
their hands. 10:35:44:09  
In Norway, they save the oil 10:35:45:10  
revenue for the future 10:35:59:24  
generation. 10:36:01:03  
They have done this for over 25 10:36:02:12  
years. 10:36:04:06  
They think that the oil revenue 10:36:04:28  
belongs to the future generation. 10:36:07:00  
Their revenue comes from 10:36:09:27  
taxpayers' money. 10:36:11:12  
In Iran, 85% of the oil revenue 10:36:12:09  
of the government comes from oil. 10:36:28:16

And the government, therefore, 10:36:31:01  
has become a big cartel, has 10:36:33:19  
become a big employer or 10:36:35:18  
recruiter. 10:36:37:25  
In Iran, the government pays 10:36:38:24  
everyone, basically, and they do 10:36:59:27  
have mercenaries and this is why 10:37:01:24  
when something happens and people 10:37:03:25  
object, if people take on to the 10:37:05:12  
streets, the mercenaries will get 10:37:07:28  
on the street, and start beating 10:37:09:18  
people up. 10:37:11:13  
In Iran we have two kinds of 10:37:12:06  
police: 10:37:25:22  
One is a police which is dressed 10:37:26:09  
in police clothing, and the other 10:37:27:21  
is the government mercenaries who 10:37:29:16  
are paid by the government. 10:37:31:21  
The oil revenues being in the 10:37:33:15  
hands of the government in 10:37:45:27  
general has resulted in the 10:37:47:21  
changing of the situation in the 10:37:49:22  
Middle East. 10:37:51:24  
During the last year over \$6 10:37:52:06  
billion of the oil revenue has 10:38:09:12  
been sent to Syria as an aid, and 10:38:10:15  
the Iranian soldiers are there 10:38:13:12  
fighting the people of Syria. 10:38:16:10  
In Iran the government is not 10:38:17:19  
accountable to the people or to 10:38:32:09  
the Parliament because they have 10:38:34:06  
all of the revenue and they have 10:38:35:24  
the budget in their hands. 10:38:38:03  
Therefore, oil does not 10:38:39:21  
necessarily result in 10:38:59:15  
totalitarianism, however, if it 10:39:02:03  
is the revenue of the government, 10:39:05:06  
that comes only from the national 10:39:08:06  
resources, that can happen in 10:39:10:24  
dictatorships. 10:39:15:03  
I live in the Middle East and for 10:39:16:22  
over 45 years, I have been active 10:39:23:25  
in human rights issues. 10:39:26:09  
And I can say that if Iran 10:39:28:06  
becomes democratic, that would 10:39:38:09  
impact the whole area. 10:39:40:24  
>> All right, good point to make. 10:39:42:22  
[ Applause ] 10:39:46:07  
So we are now out of time, so let 10:39:46:18  
me just, however, ask you your 10:39:55:24  
Holiness for a one word answer. 10:39:58:18  
[ Laughter ] 10:40:02:10  
To Amanda's question which we 10:40:03:06  
never answered, she said, Amanda 10:40:09:01  
claypool of Syracuse University 10:40:12:09  
student has asked video Twitter, 10:40:14:04  
what comes after peace? 10:40:16:00  
>> Firstly, -- 10:40:18:28  
[ Laughter ] 10:40:30:03  
>> What is peace? 10:40:30:28  
Peace just absence of violence is 10:40:31:28  
not peace. 10:40:38:18  
Peace must be, this is something 10:40:40:00  
positive, not indifferent. 10:40:45:09  
So therefore, I always believe 10:40:48:18  
and also telling people, genuine 10:40:53:03  
peace must come through inner 10:40:55:13  
peace. 10:40:58:21  
As I mentioned earlier, taking 10:41:01:03  
care of others. 10:41:04:27  
That's the seed of peace. 10:41:07:06  
So that peace as I mentioned 10:41:09:07  
earlier, peace genuine peace, 10:41:13:16  
genuine lasting peace is through 10:41:16:09  
inner peace. 10:41:18:06  
So as soon as inner peace there, 10:41:19:18  
your health improves. 10:41:23:21  
You get more friends. 10:41:25:09  
[ Laughter ] 10:41:28:12  
You get more genuine smile. 10:41:28:22  
So your life becomes much more 10:41:31:19

35

36

happier. 10:41:34:03  
 Okay. 10:41:35:15  
 I think I'm not telling you, the 10:41:36:18  
 experience of older people, of 10:41:45:03  
 course I have to learn from you. 10:41:46:07  
 But those young people, perhaps I 10:41:47:16  
 may tell you, look at my own 10:41:52:06  
 body, 77 years old person. 10:41:55:00  
 And life passing through 10:41:58:21  
 difficult sort of life. 10:42:02:12  
 TURBULENCE of life. 10:42:05:00  
 Each at age 16 I lost my freedom. 10:42:06:18  
 Age 24, I lost my own country. 10:42:14:09  
 A lot of problems, a lot of sort 10:42:18:12  
 of disturbances of life and 10:42:22:12  
 inside Tibet also a lot of 10:42:27:10  
 problems. 10:42:29:24  
 However, my physical condition 10:42:30:10  
 quite okay. 10:42:34:10  
 That -- of course I take care as 10:42:35:06  
 I just mentioned, some physical 10:42:41:13  
 exercise, these things. 10:42:43:28  
 You do more swimming. 10:42:46:00  
 I never swim. 10:42:51:19  
 I never learned to swim. 10:42:53:09  
 But any? 10:42:54:15  
 Way, I feel, you see, the main 10:42:55:03  
 factor for good health, is peace 10:42:58:15  
 of mind. 10:43:00:21  
 So therefore, that's essential 10:43:02:00  
 for peace. 10:43:06:01  
 Clear. 10:43:07:01  
 You love smiles, you love 10:43:07:12  
 friends. 10:43:13:00  
 Do you prefer more friends or 10:43:13:10  
 enemies? 10:43:17:09  
 Anyone who really feels I need 10:43:18:06  
 more enemy, anyone? 10:43:21:12  
 I don't think. 10:43:23:15  
 How to clear friend, through 10:43:24:18  
 anger, money alone, through 10:43:31:09  
 power. 10:43:32:18  
 No. 10:43:33:06  
 Through warm heartedness you get 10:43:33:16  
 more friends. 10:43:37:00  
 More trusted friends. 10:43:38:00  
 That happens with inner peace. 10:43:39:27  
 So I think that peace of mind, is 10:43:45:09  
 very much linked with peace of 10:43:48:21  
 world. 10:43:51:06  
 World peace. 10:43:51:25  
 Peaceful family. 10:43:53:04  
 More warm heartedness there. 10:43:55:00  
 Each other. 10:43:58:15  
 Mutual respect, mutual love. 10:44:01:25  
 That love also not just, but love 10:44:04:21  
 with wisdom. 10:44:08:06  
 That kind of there, the family 10:44:09:04  
 happier, individuals healthier, 10:44:12:06  
 happier, community happier. 10:44:16:01  
 That's the way to build world 10:44:17:21  
 peace. 10:44:19:24  
 Not through order, but through 10:44:20:06  
 individual effort, so as you 10:44:25:06  
 mentioned, each of us, you see, 10:44:27:18  
 have this responsibility, and 10:44:31:00  
 also we have potential. 10:44:33:00  
 After all, change humanity, we 10:44:35:03  
 start, that work, that effort 10:44:39:25  
 must start from individuals. 10:44:43:06  
 So that I believe. 10:44:46:09  
 Thank you. 10:44:49:21  
 [ Laughter ] 10:44:52:21  
 [ Applause ] 10:44:54:25  
 >> Sorry. 10:44:56:09  
 >> So, I was just -- 10:45:00:00  
 >> Sorry, not one word. 10:45:01:19  
 [ Laughter ] 10:45:03:28  
 >> Well, actually I'm grateful 10:45:04:21  
 because I was just told that 10:45:06:03  
 while I was told to hurry I'm now 10:45:08:22

37

38

told that we have a little extra 10:45:10:15  
time. 10:45:12:13  
So let me ask you this question: 10:45:12:27  
If hate comes of fear, and causes 10:45:19:09  
violence as a contributor to 10:45:26:01  
violence, how can we be less 10:45:28:12  
afraid so that we can have the 10:45:30:04  
inner peace that you say will 10:45:33:06  
lead to greater world peace? 10:45:36:10  
>> I think fear, some fear with 10:45:38:03  
reason. 10:46:03:09  
Mad dog come, fear. 10:46:04:21  
That's good. 10:46:10:18  
[ Laughter ] 10:46:12:06  
You have to prepare. 10:46:12:18  
Protect yourself. 10:46:13:21  
Right. 10:46:15:18  
If necessary, run away. 10:46:15:28  
[ Laughter ] 10:46:19:03  
And if necessary, prepare one 10:46:19:22  
stone, ready to defend yourself. 10:46:26:12  
But many other fears, actually 10:46:32:03  
your own mental suspicion. 10:46:35:01  
Or jealous. 10:46:39:04  
Jealous. 10:46:41:21  
So once you have more as I 10:46:44:09  
already mentioned, you see, inner 10:46:48:19  
peace, with inner peace, more 10:46:51:04  
inner strength, self confidence. 10:46:53:03  
That that automatically reduces 10:46:55:18  
fear. 10:47:02:06  
And also you stand firmly on 10:47:02:10  
principle, moral principle, if 10:47:05:15  
something, if someone -- then 10:47:08:18  
there is sort of real possibility 10:47:14:07  
that you develop compassion about 10:47:15:22  
that person. 10:47:21:06  
You stand honesty with principle 10:47:21:24  
and truthful, transparent, so you 10:47:27:06  
have full confidence. 10:47:30:27  
So even someone you see creates 10:47:35:04  
some problems, in sort of anger, 10:47:37:18  
in frustration, you may develop 10:47:40:09  
feeling of sense of concern. 10:47:44:27  
Oh, how foolish that person. 10:47:47:04  
So more anger, is essentially 10:47:49:09  
self destruction. 10:47:55:18  
More fear, more destruction, is 10:47:56:18  
self destruction. 10:48:00:07  
So that's my view. 10:48:01:21  
>> One self for anger, one is the 10:48:07:27  
same thing that helps contribute 10:48:12:15  
perhaps to inner peace, and 10:48:14:19  
that's music. 10:48:16:27  
I hope you like music, your 10:48:18:03  
Holiness, because, we're now 10:48:20:21  
going to hear a group that's been 10:48:22:18  
inspired by the Arab spring. 10:48:24:00  
They are northern as the 10:48:26:15  
Ambassadors of love. 10:48:27:27  
Please welcome, Teal One97. 10:48:30:28  
I'll welcome them as soon as the 10:48:35:12  
equipment is out. 10:49:07:00  
Hello, welcome. 10:49:08:13  
Come on in. 10:49:19:16  
I'm participating now in 10:49:20:12  
equipment remove a anything else? 10:50:06:06  
No, okay. 10:50:08:06  
All right. 10:50:08:28  
. 10:50:09:04  
Hello, everybody. 10:50:09:10  
How are you? 10:50:32:21  
>> It is that kind of party. 10:50:58:27  
It is that kind of party. 10:51:02:12  
Well, good morning first of all. 10:51:08:18  
While we're waiting I want to 10:51:10:00  
thank everyone on behalf of 10:51:11:09  
ourselves, Teal One97,. 10:51:13:06  
We like to thank Syracuse 10:51:18:00  
University, and actually first 10:51:19:06  
and foremost Mr. Sam Nappi and 10:51:21:16

one world harmony productions and 10:51:24:03  
of course, his Holiness, the 10:51:26:24  
Dalai Lama. 10:51:28:21  
For having us here. 10:51:29:09  
>> Well, whether you're from 10:51:33:27  
Palestine, whether you're from 10:51:36:03  
Tunisia. 10:51:38:28  
>> Or Morocco. 10:51:40:18  
>> Iraq. 10:51:42:09  
>> Or the U.S. 10:51:43:01  
>> Uzbekistan. 10:51:43:24  
>> from all over the world. 10:51:44:28  
>> United States. 10:51:46:01  
>> All of us together, make Teal 10:51:46:12  
One97, we all make one world. 10:51:49:24  
[ Applause ] 10:51:53:27  
There is a day on the horizon for 10:51:54:09  
you and me. 10:53:51:10  
There is a new star for all to 10:53:52:09  
see. 10:53:54:01  
Yes it's a new day for you and 10:53:54:24  
me. 10:53:56:21  
Yes it's a new day for you and 10:53:57:18  
me. 10:53:59:19  
>> I have found my wounds today 10:54:05:06  
(music). 10:54:15:09  
(music). 10:54:17:27  
[ Applause ] 11:00:23:22  
>> Thank you. 11:00:27:15  
>> Thank you so much to Teal 11:00:36:21  
One97. 11:00:38:21  
>> Thank you. 11:00:40:09  
Thank you so much and now it is 11:00:41:01  
time to simply thank you, thank 11:00:50:12  
for being here. 11:00:54:09  
Thank all of our panelists for 11:00:55:15  
their wonderful perspectives. 11:00:57:24  
It has been valuable to listen to 11:00:59:28  
you. 11:01:01:15  
Thank you, His Holiness, for your 11:01:01:27  
wisdom, and for your presence. 11:01:03:22  
And as I speak and you put on 11:01:06:01  
your shoes, I will simply say 11:01:08:10  
thank you also to everyone 11:01:11:09  
watching here and also via 11:01:13:00  
webcast all over the world, and 11:01:15:27  
hopefully, there has been 11:01:17:24  
something that has been gained 11:01:19:04  
here in your knowledge about the 11:01:20:18  
importance of working for justice 11:01:24:12  
as these people in the panel have 11:01:25:24  
done. 11:01:27:28  
And how that contributes to 11:01:28:09  
peace. 11:01:30:15  
The peace, the time that we all 11:01:31:18  
wish for. 11:01:33:01  
We all have inner peace. 11:01:34:00  
Thank you very much for being 11:01:36:00  
here. 11:01:38:01  
[ Applause ] 11:01:38:07  
11:01:39:00