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## **International ethecon Blue Planet Award 2012 for corporate critic and anti-globalisation activist Jean Ziegler / Switzerland**



### **About the cover photo**

The cover photo depicts corporate critic and anti-globalisation activist Jean Ziegler, honoured with the International ethecon Blue Planet Award 2012, at a protest against the G8-Summit in 2007 in Heiligen-damm/Germany.

Yes, I dream of a better world.

Why would I dream of a worse one?

Otto Piene  
Artist who created the trophies of the  
International ethecon Blue Planet Awards  
from 2006 until 2009





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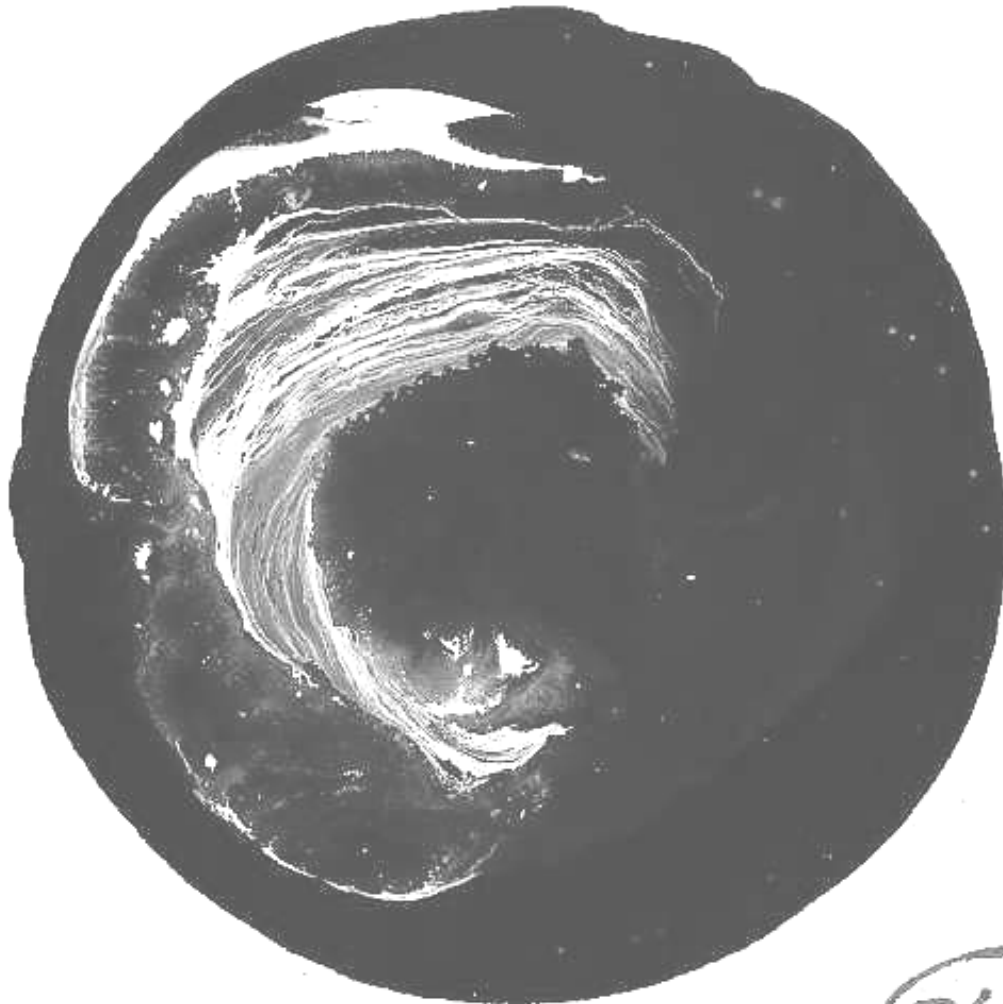
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### **Picture on Page 3**

The picture depicts the „Blue Planet“ painted by Otto Piene as well as the motto of the cycle of his works titled „Blue Planet“.

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*Pieno*

*¡El planeta azul debe mantenerse verde!*

*Keep the Blue Planet green!*

*Der Blaue Planet soll grün bleiben!*

**Axel Köhler-Schnura<sup>1</sup>**

**The International ethecon Blue Planet Project  
and the two International ethecon Awards<sup>2</sup>**

Ladies and Gentlemen,  
Dear friends,

Since 2006 ethecon – Foundation Ethics & Economics has bestowed two international awards annually. Today we are here to present the awards for 2010.

What are these awards? What are the ethecon awards all about?

In order to answer these questions, I must expand a bit.

My fellow founders of ethecon, the sustaining members, donors and of course myself, along with Mrs. Rehmann, both of us founding sponsors of ethecon, established the foundation in 2004. As individuals who are not willing to sit back and watch fundamental ethical principles be trampled upon, who resolutely take a stand against the fact that profit is increasingly the sole motivating force in our society and in managing the environment - for the sole purpose of making the rich richer, to the detriment of mankind and society with the risk of complete human, social and ecological ruin. We are looking at the social and ecological destruction of the planet caused by the disintegration of fundamental ethical principles on the part of those responsible for the economy.

The idea to encourage efforts to save and preserve ethical principles and respectively to pillory those who have contempt for the same, matured in our founding year 2004. There are and have been many awards honouring "achievements" in various areas of society, but far too few prizes acknowledging resistance against the abuse and ruin of ethics and morals, and the subsequent environmental destruction, war and exploitation.

Our idea coincided with the art cycle "Blue Planet" created by the artist Otto Piene. Otto Piene – born in 1928 – is one of the major artists of the 20th century. Art connoisseurs well know that together with

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<sup>1</sup> Axel Köhler-Schnura, Dipl.Kfm., Düsseldorf/Germany, born in 1949, married, four children (one deceased); studied business administration, sociology, computer science, various languages: Until 1976 economic sociology research within the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft/DFG (German Research Institute). After that various positions in private industry, the last position in the executive management of a polygraphical company. Since 1988 owner of companies in the field of ecology. Substantially involved in the founding of organizations as Dachverband der Kritischen AktionärInnen (Association of the Critical Shareholders), Pestizid Aktionsnetzwerk (Pesticide Action Network Germany/PAN) and the Coordination gegen BAYER-Gefahren (Coalition against BAYER-Dangers/CBG). Active as a volunteer on the board of Edition Kunst gegen Konzerne (Edition Art against Corporations), the Alternative Savings and Solidarity Fund ProSolidar and the international network of the Coalition against BAYER-Dangers. Founding donor and chairperson of the board of directors of the International ethecon Foundation Ethics & Economics; formerly in the German Coordinating Circle of the European Social Forum. Frequent publications. Awarded with the Business Crime Award 1998, the Prize for Civil Courage 2000 and the Henry Mathews Award in 2011; in 2008 nominated for the Alternative Nobel Prize. (Quoted from inter alia Who's Who/Edition for Germany and Wikipedia/Germany)

<sup>2</sup> Speech on the occasion of the bestowal of the two International ethecon Awards 2010 on November 20, 2010 in Berlin.



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Heinz Mack and Günther Uecker he founded the epochal ZERO-Kunst (the art group ZERO) and is the creator of Sky Art.

Piène's message in his blue planet cycle: "Keep the Blue Planet green!" His creed is as simple as it is amazing: "Yes, I dream of a better world. Why would I dream of a worse one?"

With their main focus on an international award, Piène and ethecon launched the "International ethecon Blue Planet Project". During the ensuing discussions it became apparent that it is not enough to acknowledge ethically and morally sound actions intended to bring about a better world. It is equally important to condemn misdeeds and dealings which violate and ignore ethics and morals and which are therefore responsible for the ruin of our "Blue Planet." The idea of two complementary prizes was born: the international ethecon-prizes, the positive "Blue Planet Award" and its negative counterpart, the "Black Planet Award".

The two awards are an entity, two sides of the same coin. Together they mirror the status of the ethical principles that define our world. At the same time they illustrate a vision of ethical and moral principles which make possible a world without exploitation and oppression. They denounce ruthlessness, greed, war and environmental destruction; pursue the ideas of solidarity, freedom, environmental protection and justice; call for resistance, change and commitment in the interest of these ideals; strive for a sustainable future for our world.

One prize commends commitment to the preservation and rescue of the "Blue Planet" and points out prospects and possible actions, the other condemns the desecration of our world, points out the imminent dawn of a "Black Planet" and exposes complacency and ignorance.

Together, the two international ethecon awards show one thing: there are grounds for hope. Or, in the words of Piène: "More light, more green!"

As a matter of principle, the international ethecon prizes are awarded only to individuals and not to institutions. This is to counteract the increasing systematic anonymization of decision-making for, in a positive as well as a negative sense, it is always individuals who carry responsibility. Especially in the case of negative developments, personal responsibility is gladly hidden behind the facade of institutions and excused by alleged practical constraints which serve as grounds for decisions.

Another important feature of the "Black Planet" trophy is that it is not a valuable piece of art. Instead, it is a cheap disposable product, created by a teenager. Because it is the younger generation whose future is being destroyed. It is the intention of ethecon to show young people that there are adults who take responsibility for their welfare, who care about their future and who make all efforts necessary to assure that the planet is not left to our children and grandchildren as a barren desert.

The international ethecon prizes are awarded annually, within a ceremony open to the public, like today. We invite as many socially active personalities as possible to take part. At today's ceremony members of the Anti-Castor (nuclear transport) movement are present, as well as Stuttgart21 (a controversial construction project) activists; we have statements from Greenpeace, Amnesty International, Pro Asyl and other groups from Germany and abroad.

The recipient of the "International ethecon Blue Planet Award" is invited to attend the ceremony and has the opportunity to give a short speech. After a statement by an ethecon representative, explaining the reasons for the choice of the recipient, he or she is then presented with the award. As a guest of the foundation we also offer him or her the possibility to co-operate with the foundation or within our network. The bestowal of the "International ethecon Blue Planet Award" is documented in a dossier, which is translated into three languages and distributed internationally.

The process differs for the "International ethecon Black Planet Award": during the ceremony the bestowal is simply announced. The award winners are informed by means of an open letter circulated internationally in three languages. The detailed justification statement is published in a brochure, which is also distributed in three languages throughout the world. Within six months the recipients are presented with the award during a public demonstration, staged as sensationally as possible. Included in this protest gathering are as many individuals and organisations from international social movements as possible.

It is a telling fact that, as a rule, the individuals "honoured" with the international ethecon Black Planet Award" disdain the trophy. Not one of these censured persons has personally accepted the award and thereby stood up to public criticism. Up until now, only once – in the case of Peter Brabeck-Letmathe, Liliane de Bettencourt as well as other executives and major shareholders of the food industry giant Nestlé in 2006 – was the trophy voluntarily accepted by the recipients. And then by a representative of the press department in front of the main gate to the corporate headquarters in Switzerland. We have no knowledge of what happened to it after that.

In the case of the bestowal of the International ethecon Black Planet Award 2009 onto the major shareholders and executives of the Taiwanese chemical and genetic engineering firm Formosa Plastics Group we were witnesses to the destruction of the trophy by security forces, who in a very angry and demonstrative manner threw the award into the rubbish bin.

Ladies and Gentlemen,  
Dear friends,

"ethecon – Foundation Ethics & Economics" is a grass-roots foundation within the world-wide anti-corporate and anti-globalisation movements for environmental protection, peace and justice and sus-

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tained by activists against corporate power, exploitation, war and environmental destruction. It is connected to world-wide networks and committed to the principles of international solidarity.

The "International ethecon Blue Planet Project", with its two international ethecon prizes, sees itself accordingly as a symbol of this solidarity and these principles. This is expressed not only through the nature of the project and the awards and through the character of the award recipients, but also in the selection procedure for the annual prizes.

The award winners are not selected by the foundation boards alone, but rather in a process of international solidarity. Each spring, thousands of individuals and groups who work actively throughout the world in the fight for peace, justice and environmental protection are asked to suggest award nominees. Later, the names of the award winners and information about the bestowal ceremony are conveyed back to these critical groups.

The integration of the foundation in international movements for peace, environmental protection and justice may be clearly seen in the increasing participation of other groups in the presentation "ceremony" for the "International ethecon Black Planet Award", the networking among these groups becoming consistently better and better. The award is presented in the recipient's city of residence, accompanied by visible protests staged by an increasing number of activist groups. The public flogging of the "Black Planet Award" recipients has become more and more effective through the power and energy of these international movements. In Taiwan, for example, the "International ethecon Black Planet Award 2009" was the object of widespread media coverage for weeks. The defaming of the executives of Formosa Plastics was reported without exception by all the regional media at least twice.

The selection of the annual award receivers on these basic principles, the annual bestowal ceremony in the course of a conference with varying themes pertaining to our responsibility for the preservation of a liveable world, the presentation of the "International ethecon Black Planet Award" - accompanied by international publicity actions - this is the essence of the "International ethecon Blue Planet Project".

When the Blue Planet Award was born in 2005, we needed an accompanying trophy. Otto Piene agreed to cooperate with us and starting in 2006 he created a new trophy each year, the "International ethecon Blue Planet Award", as a valuable and unique glass and wood sculpture.

That is, until the year 2009. Then he asked us – having in the meantime reached the age of 82 – to be relieved of this role. In the person of Katharina Mayer, the great photographic artist and Becher pupil, born in 1958, we found someone who will worthily continue the Blue Planet Project, founded by ethecon and Piene. We are proud to have Katharina Mayer on our team. We will learn more about her later in the programme.



Ladies and Gentlemen,  
Dear friends,

I know we are all curious about this year's award winners, but also about Katharina Mayer, who will speak to us today about the new "International ethecon Blue Planet Award" trophy. In this spirit I wish all of us an engrossing afternoon.

Thank you very much.



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**Excerpt from the statement of ethecon - Foundation Ethics & Economics  
justifying the bestowal of the International ethecon Blue Planet Award 2012  
on the anti-globalisation activist Jean Ziegler/Switzerland<sup>3</sup>**

“ethecon view Jean Ziegler’s dedication against hunger, exploitation and oppression, his endeavour against oppression and greed for profit, his struggle against corporate dictatorship and capital power as well as his relentless activity for humanity and his efforts to give a voice especially to people from developing countries as a paramount ethical contribution to saving our “Blue Planet”.

For this outstanding achievement of human ethics ethecon – Foundation Ethics & Economics assigns the International ethecon Blue Planet Award 2012 to Jean Ziegler.”

...”

Berlin, September 01, 2012<sup>4</sup>

**The well-known civil and human rights activist Angela Davis/USA, International ethecon Blue Planet awardee 2011, writes on the bestowal of this year’s International ethecon Blue Planet Award on Jean Ziegler/Switzerland:**

„No life has been more dedicated to the eradication of world hunger than Jean Ziegler’s. Thanks to his contributions in many arenas ... people around the world are becoming aware that famine is never a natural disaster. ... It is a great honor to stand with Jean Ziegler as an ethecon Blue Planet Awardee.”

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<sup>3</sup> The complete explanatory statement can be found on page 22 of this brochure.

<sup>4</sup> The ethecon Foundation has deliberately chosen September 1<sup>st</sup> as the date for the announcement of the winners of the two annual International ethecon Awards. September 1<sup>st</sup> is World Peace/Anti-War Day in Germany.

## Life and work of Jean Ziegler

Jean Ziegler, the critic of globalisation and enterprises, was born on 19<sup>th</sup> April 1934 in Thun, Switzerland, and named Hans Ziegler.<sup>5</sup> Ziegler grew up in an extremely conservative environment and already as an adolescent he was active in the youth parliament for the Farmers Trade and Citizens Party. He became a winger and a captain of the Boy Cadets.<sup>6</sup> His father was a German-speaking chief judge of a district court. During his law studies he joined the Swiss Zofinger Club, also called Zofingia.<sup>7</sup>

After passing his A levels at the age of 18, Jean Ziegler escaped from this bourgeois environment and went to Paris. There he managed to survive by piling up crates in the market halls. He got to know a group of students who were politically active gathered around the writer Jean-Paul Sartre. He read Marx, Luxemburg and Plechanow. At that time, Sartre published a magazine called "Les Temps Modernes" which was "something like the word of God" to Ziegler.<sup>8</sup>

Just like every Swiss man he also had to go to the army. After he distributed leaflets in his second week at the school of recruits he was jailed for three months and was then discharged from military service.<sup>9</sup>

Having finished his studies Ziegler went to Congo for two years in 1961 as the assistant of a UN special envoy. It was this time he spent in Africa – immediately after the murder of the Congolese Head of State Patrice Lumumba in 1961 - and it was particularly the hunger and misery in that place which caused a radical change of his fundamental beliefs (which used to be conservative): "At that moment I swore to myself to never again - not even accidentally - stand on the side of the hangmen."<sup>10</sup> After his time in Africa he was invited by Sartre who asked him profound questions about the African struggles for independence. Sartre asked Ziegler to write about this topic. This is how he became the author of his first article. Sartre's partner, the writer Simone de Beauvoir, suggested to him that he should publish it under the name Jean Ziegler.

After his return to Switzerland he worked in the newly-founded Africa Institute in Geneva. He also made a doctors degree in law and sociology and qualified as a professor. Working with an international brigade in Cuba he got to know Che Guevara. When the latter came Geneva less than two weeks later to take part in a conference Ziegler was in charge of him as his driver. Ziegler offered to accompany him

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<sup>5</sup> Unless it is indicated otherwise this information is taken from Wikipedia cf. [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean\\_Ziegler](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean_Ziegler), from "I am a white Negro", interview with Jean Ziegler, Die Zeit dated 03/01/2011, <http://www.zeit.de/2011/01/DOS-Ziegler> or from "I am a Weapon", dispute between Jean Ziegler and his biographer Jürg Wegelin, Die Zeit dated 22/09/2011, <http://www.zeit.de/2011/39/CH-Streitgesprach-Ziegler-Wegelin>.

<sup>6</sup> "A Drummer of Outrage", Interview with Jean Ziegler, DER SPIEGEL dated 21/01/2002, <http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-21251278.html>.

<sup>7</sup> Which is a non-duelling students' fraternity with the motto "For the fatherland, for friendship, for academic science" which abstains from any party politics cf. <http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zofingia>.

<sup>8</sup> See "I am a white Negro" *ibid*.

<sup>9</sup> "A Drummer of Outrage" *ibid*.

<sup>10</sup> "A Drummer of Outrage" *ibid*.

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in the African guerrilla war. But Che Guevara pointed at the banks and corporate branch offices in the city and said: "Your place is here. The brain of the monster is here. Here is where you must fight."<sup>11</sup> Even though at that time Ziegler was hurt by this statement, in the course of the following five decades of his life he understood its meaning, after all. And that was exactly the battle he fought.

From 1967 until 1983 and from 1987 until 1999 he was a Social Democratic Party member for the Geneva constituency in the National Council which is the greater chamber of the Swiss Confederation's Parliament.<sup>12</sup> Until he became an emeritus in the year 2002 he was also a professor of sociology at Geneva University as well as a permanent visiting professor at Sorbonne University in Paris.

From the year 2000, Ziegler acted as United Nations Special Rapporteur on the right to food for 9 years. 6 or 7 times a year he used to travel on missions to the world's various hotspots to have a first-hand impression of the situation of the country in question. There he had access to prisons, refugee camps and orphanages, and he talked to the affected people as well as to politicians and scientists before he presented his report to the UN General Assembly. He was suggested for this post by the then United Nations General Secretary Kofi Annan. The western countries voted against him almost unanimously: "I was elected because many Ambassadors from the south knew me personally. Some of them had even been my students. They knew that I would give them a voice."<sup>13</sup>

For a long time Ziegler was among the steering committee of the World Social Forum which is held as a counter summit of the Davos World Economic Forum.<sup>14</sup>

Ziegler has written about 20 books up to now. Many of these are international bestsellers where he criticises "the refeudalisation of the world"<sup>15</sup> as well as the multinational companies who act unethically for reasons of maximum profit and without regard for human rights and environmental protection, carrying a major part of the responsibility for world hunger. He views the massive influence of these companies in politics as a threat to democracy: "Last year, the 500 biggest transnational companies controlled 52.8 percent of the world's entire gross national product according to the World Bank. These companies have more power than any Kaiser, King or Pope ever had before them."<sup>16</sup> That is why to

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<sup>11</sup> "I am a white Negro" *ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> Together with the smaller chamber, the Council of States, the National Council forms the United Federal Assembly domiciled in the "Bundeshaus" in Bern. See: [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nationalrat\\_\(Schweiz\)](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nationalrat_(Schweiz)).

<sup>13</sup> "I am a white Negro" *ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> "And the grass is growing", Interview with Jean Ziegler, WOZ Die Wochenzeitung dated 25/08/2011, <http://www.woz.ch/1134/jean-ziegler/und-das-gras-waechst>.) Opponents of globalisation love him, American UN envoy hate him – according to Ziegler<sup>14</sup> (See "Speculation with foodstuffs is a crime against humanity", Interview with Jean Ziegler, Süddeutsche Zeitung dated 21/09/2012, <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/wirtschaft/2.200/jean-ziegler-im-gespraech-nahrungsmittelspekulation-ist-ein-verbrechen-gegen-die-menschlichkeit-1.1469878>).

<sup>15</sup> See Jean Ziegler, "The Empire of Shame. The struggle against poverty and oppression" Bertelsmann 2005.

<sup>16</sup> See "Hunger is man-made", interview with Jean Ziegler, Lippische Landes-Zeitung dated 29/30/09/2012.

him, the struggle against corporate power is equally important as speaking unpleasant truths: "The big companies are the main culprits, and we are their accomplices."<sup>17</sup>

Time and again he also keeps criticising Switzerland in a very resolute manner. On the one hand this is due to the country's historic role, i.e. its behaviour during the Nazi era when, according to him, its exchange of capital and goods with the German Reich helped to prolong WW II. On the other hand his target are today's Swiss politics, their economy and financial institutions, which is why he is often named a "traitor of the country" and threatened with lawsuits. Correct statements such as "Switzerland is a country colonized by the banks' oligarchy. Their interests are diametrically opposed to common welfare."<sup>18</sup> are the reason why he does not make friends on all sides.<sup>19</sup> "One Switzerland – above suspicion" was a pamphlet, a philippic and a bestseller published as early as 1976. Millions of copies were sold and translated to 20 languages.<sup>20</sup>

It is not only due to his critical remarks about Switzerland that there have been a multitude of court cases filed against him both in criminal law and in civil law. Again and again, international courts have sentenced him to pay compensation to politicians, bankers and speculators – no matter how right he was with his claims. He had to pay a fine to the Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet, for instance, because Ziegler called him a fascist on account of his rule which lasted almost 17 years, terrorising the country with torture, disappeared people and political murders.<sup>21</sup>

Ziegler is also very outspoken in his criticism of speculation with agricultural products emanating from international financial markets. This has caused price hikes of staple foodstuffs such as rice and maize in the range of 300 percent in recent years with catastrophic consequences especially in developing countries. Ziegler calls this phenomenon "silent mass murder".<sup>22</sup>

The facts put forward by Ziegler most frequently are the following: "Every 5 seconds, a child under the age of 10 dies of starvation. 37.000 human beings starve to death every day. Another billion is permanently undernourished. At the same time, agriculture could feed 12 billion human beings in a normal way. There is no inevitable disaster. A child who dies of hunger is being murdered."<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> "Companies are pirates and looters", interview with Jean Ziegler, Profil dated 20.09.2012, <http://www.profil.at/articles/1238/560/342433/krise-jean-ziegler-konzerne-piraten-pluenderer>.

<sup>18</sup> "I am a Weapon" *ibid*.

<sup>19</sup> 16 countrymen of his filed a lawsuit against the professor: Ziegler is supposed to have attacked the independence of the Confederation and Switzerland's security with his libellous inventions and slander. Ziegler the traitor to the country. Those 16 compatriots were shareholders of the country's biggest bank, Union Bank of Switzerland, UBS. See "Drummer of Outrage" *ibid*.

<sup>20</sup> See *ibid*.

<sup>21</sup> A recent internet research goes to show how absurd this fine is: There are 81.100 references after entering the two terms "Pinochet" and "fascist".

<sup>22</sup> See "Occasionally the Carcas of a Cow", Der Freitag dated 02/09/2010, <http://www.freitag.de/autoren/the-guardian/gelegentlich-der-kadaver-einer-kuh>.

<sup>23</sup> Quoted from "I am a Weapon", *ibid*.



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Jean Ziegler / Switzerland

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He intended to confront those responsible with these facts on the occasion of his opening speech of the 2011 Salzburg Festival. Because he harbours “a foaming anger for international corporate executives, big bankers and the irresponsible super-rich”.<sup>24</sup> At the Festival “they would have sat in front of him in their dinner jackets and would have had to listen to what he had to tell them.”<sup>25</sup> Obviously, they had no intention to do so: Ziegler’s invitation to that festivity was cancelled, the Swiss foodstuff enterprise NESTLÉ and the Swiss bank CREDIT SUISSE being among the main sponsors. There is an official denial, of course, that there was any pressure exerted by these sponsors. As a reason, old rumours were dug up that Ziegler once received a dubious human rights award from the former Libyan dictator Muammar al-Gadhafi. Ziegler never took that award, however, and called the tyrant “a headcase”.<sup>26</sup> Allegedly, the cancellation was supposed to protect Ziegler from this discussion. But Ziegler has a different view, and once again his explanation of the events is quite outspoken: “These Zurich fat cats didn’t want to be forced to listen to me at the festival.”<sup>27</sup>

This is not surprising in the sense that he intended to attack them in his speech without any sugar-coating: “Many of the rich and beautiful, chief bankers and the world’s corporate moguls have gathered in Salzburg. They are the persons responsible and the masters of this cannibal world order.”<sup>28</sup> But these words did not remain unspoken in spite of the cancelled invitation. The speech was published as a booklet entitled “The Uproar of Conscience”.

He constantly proves that it is impossible to shut him up. Instead, he tells names of big companies and their corporate executives - in spite of all those lawsuits which caused him seven-digit debts - and he is adamantly revealing the hard facts e.g. in “Empire of Shame”<sup>29</sup> :

“Josef Ackermann, the ruler of Deutsche Bank, receives 11 million Euro per year. His colleague the head of J.P. Morgan Chase Manhattan Bank earns tree times as much. The chieftain ruling the pharmacy company Novartis, Daniel Vasella, is happy about an annual salary of 20 million Swiss Francs. His colleague from Nestlé, Peter Brabeck, receives a similar amount. The president of the United Bank of Switzerland, Marcel Ospel from Basel, receives a modest annual salary of 21.3 million Swiss Francs.”<sup>30</sup>

There are 1.8 billion people living on our planet in utter misery today on less than a Dollar a day. Whereas 1% who are the richest inhabitants earn as much as the 57% who are the poorest on earth.”<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> “We better don’t. Salzburg Festival cancelling the invitation for their opening speaker”, Die Zeit dated 07/04/2011, <http://www.zeit.de/2011/15/Salzbürger-Festspiele-Ziegler>.)

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> Jean Ziegler: “Uproar of Conscience. The un-held Festival speech of 2011”, Salzburg 2011.

<sup>29</sup> The Empire of Shame, Munich (Bertelsmann) 2005, 6th ed.

<sup>30</sup> *ibid.*, p. 215.

<sup>31</sup> *ibid.*, p. 34.

Likewise, he never minced his words in countless interviews e.g. in the West-German magazine STERN<sup>32</sup> :

“A new power without any morale and decency has taken over governments. It has a tight grip on the states, conducting world politics in the interests of big companies.”

“For 60 years there have been the UN. ...But now they are under attack from the American Government, cold and brutal. I am afraid they intend to dissolve the UN. ...The Americans – actually the Bush government – shatter basic achievements of mankind. They say good riddance to human rights. They do not give a hoot about the Geneva Convention. They push international law aside.”

Jean Ziegler now ranks among the most well-known critics of globalisation<sup>33</sup> He has a son from his first marriage with an Egyptian Lady, and nowadays he lives together with his second wife, the arts historian Erica Deuber-Ziegler, in the village of Russin in the Geneva canton of Switzerland. He is a member of the advisory committee of the UN Human Rights Council since August 2009 and travels the world frequently. He holds many speeches and writes a book almost every year. Furthermore, he is among the advisory board of the civil rights and human rights organisation Business Crime Control. He has received many honours and distinctions.

Ziegler paid a high price for his activities in the course of fifty years, even though today he says: “The worst is over: My family’s fear to go under in that flood of lawsuits, the fear of losing the professorship, the murder threats, police protection. It could have gone very quick, after all: I am signing a book in some place and ... bang!”<sup>34</sup>

ethecon view Jean Ziegler’s dedication against hunger, exploitation and oppression, his endeavour against oppression and greed for profit, his struggle against corporate dictatorship and capital power as well as his relentless activity for humanity and his efforts to give a voice especially to people from developing countries as a paramount ethical contribution to saving our “Blue Planet”.

For this outstanding achievement of human ethics ethecon – Foundation Ethics & Economics assigns the International ethecon Blue Planet Award 2012 to Jean Ziegler.

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<sup>32</sup> STERN 49/2005

<sup>33</sup> There are more than a million entries shown after typing his name into an internet search machine.

<sup>34</sup> See “I am a white Negro”, *ibid.*

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Jean Ziegler / Switzerland

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### **Awards and distinctions for Jean Ziegler**

- 1966     Stevenson-Gedächtnispreis
- 2000     Bruno-Kreisky-Preis for the political book
- 2000     Chevalier dans l'Ordre National des Arts et des Lettres
- 2008     Prix littéraire pour les droits de l'homme
- 2008     Salzburger Landespreis for futures studies
- 2008     Honorary degree of the University of Brussels
- 2009     Thunpreis of the city of Thun
- 2011     Award for the (not held) opening speech at the Salzburg Festival 2011 as „Speech of the year 2011“ by the rhetoric seminar of the University of Tübingen

### **Selection of publications by Jean Ziegler**

Sociologie de la nouvelle Afrique ("Sociology of the New Africa"), Gallimard, 1964.

Sociologie et Contestation, essai sur la société mythique ("Sociology and Contestation"),  
Gallimard, 1969.

Le pouvoir africain ("The African Power"), Seuil, 1973, new edition 1979.

Les vivants et la mort ("The Living and the Dead"), Seuil, 1973. New edition 1978.

Une Suisse au-dessus de tout soupçon ("Switzerland Exposed"), 1976.

Main basse sur l'Afrique ("Pillage on Africa"), 1978. New edition 1980.

Retournez les fusils! Manuel de sociologie d'opposition ("Turn the Guns Around"), Seuil,  
1980. New edition 1991.

Vive le pouvoir! Ou les délices de la raison d'état, Seuil, 1985.

La victoire des vaincus, oppression et résistance culturelle ("The Victory of the Defeated"), Seuil, 1988.

La Suisse lave plus blanc ("Swiss Whitewash"), 1990.

Le bonheur d'être Suisse ("The fortune of being Swiss"), 1994.

Charles Baudelaire, co-authored with Claude Pichois, 1996.

L'Or du Maniema ("The Gold of Maniema"), Seuil, 1996.

Les rebelles, contre l'ordre du monde ("The Rebels, Against World Order"), 1997.

La Suisse, l'or et les morts ("The Swiss, the Gold, and the Dead"), 1997.

Les seigneurs du crime: les nouvelles mafias contre la démocratie ("The Crime Lords: the New Mafias  
against Democracy"), Seuil, 1998.

Le Livre noir du capitalisme ("The Black Book of Capitalism"), co-authored,  
Temps des Cerises Edition, 1998.

La faim dans le monde expliquée à mon fils ("World Hunger Explained to my Son"), 1999.

Les nouveaux maîtres du monde et ceux qui leur résistent ("The new rulers of the world and those who  
resist them"), 2002.

Le droit à l'alimentation ("The Right to Adequate food"), Fayard, 2003.

L'empire de la honte ("The Empire of Shame"), 2005.

"UN: Still Hungry to Bed", 2001.



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La haine de l'Occident ("Hate For the West"), 2008.

Der Aufstand des Gewissens: Die nicht-gehaltene Festspielrede, Salzburg 2011.

Destruction massive: Géopolitique de la faim, Seuil, 2011.



### **Contact details for Jean Ziegler**

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### **Selected internet links concerning Jean Ziegler**

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean\\_Ziegler](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean_Ziegler)

[http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean\\_Ziegler](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean_Ziegler)

<http://www.freitag.de/autoren/the-guardian/gelegentlich-der-kadaver-einer-kuh>

<http://www.profil.at/articles/1238/560/342433/krise-jean-ziegler-konzerne-piraten-pluenderer>

[http://www.randomhouse.de/Autor/Jean\\_Ziegler/p26739.rhd](http://www.randomhouse.de/Autor/Jean_Ziegler/p26739.rhd)

<http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-21251278.html>

<http://www.sueddeutsche.de/wirtschaft/2.200/jean-ziegler-im-gespraech-nahrungsmittelspekulation-ist-ein-verbrechen-gegen-die-menschlichkeit-1.1469878>

<http://www.woz.ch/1134/jean-ziegler/und-das-gras-waechst>

<http://www.zeit.de/2011/01/DOS-Ziegler>

<http://www.zeit.de/2011/15/Salzbürger-Festspiele-Ziegler>

<http://www.zeit.de/2011/39/CH-Streitgespräch-Ziegler-Wegelin>

## **Selected organisations**

- > Attac International  
21 ter, rue Voltaire  
75011 Paris  
France  
Fon            +33 (0)1 - 56 06 43 60  
eMail        [www.attac.org/de/contact](http://www.attac.org/de/contact) (Kontaktformular)  
Internet     [www.attac.org](http://www.attac.org)
  
- > FIAN Deutschland  
FoodFirst Information- & Actions-Network  
Briedeler Str. 13  
50969 Köln  
Germany  
Fon            +49 (0)221 - 70 200 72  
Fax            +49 (0) 221 - 70 200 32  
eMail        [www.fian.de](http://www.fian.de) (Kontaktformular)  
Internet     [www.fian.de](http://www.fian.de)
  
- > Kairos Europa – Towards a Europe for justice  
International office  
Willy-Brandt-Platz 5  
69115 Heidelberg  
Germany  
Fon            +49 (0)6221 - 43 33 622  
Fax            +49 (0)6221 - 43 33 629  
eMail        [www.kairoseuropa.de/wir/kontakt/index.html](http://www.kairoseuropa.de/wir/kontakt/index.html) (Kontaktformular)  
Internet     [www.kairoseuropa.de](http://www.kairoseuropa.de)
  
- > medico international  
Burgstr. 106  
60389 Frankfurt am Main  
Germany  
Fon            +49 (0)69 - 944 38 - 0  
Fax            +49 (0)69 - 43 60 02  
eMail        [info@medico.de](mailto:info@medico.de)  
Internet     [www.medico.de](http://www.medico.de)



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- > Oxfam Germany  
Greifswalder Str. 33 a  
10405 Berlin  
Germany  
Fon            +49 (0)30 - 42 85 06 21  
Fax            +49 (0)30 - 42 85 06 22  
eMail        info@oxfam.de  
Internet     www.oxfam.de
  
- > SOS Faim  
Rue aux Laines 4  
1000 Brüssel  
Belgium  
Fon            +32 (0)2 - 548 06 70  
Fax            +32 (0)2 - 514 47 77  
eMail        info.be@sosfaim.be  
Internet     www.oxfam.de
  
- > terre des hommes Germany  
Ruppenkampstr. 11 a  
49084 Osnabrück  
Germany  
Fon            +49 (0)541 - 71 01 - 0  
Fax            +49 (0)541 - 70 72 33  
eMail        post@tdh.de  
Internet     www.tdh.de
  
- > WEED Weltwirtschaft, Ökologie & Entwicklung  
(World Economy, Ecology & Development)  
Eldenaer Str. 60  
10247 Berlin  
Germany  
Fon            +49 (0)30 - 275 82 163  
Fax            +49 (0)30 - 275 96 928  
eMail        weed@weed-online.de  
Internet     www.weed-online.de

**International ethecon Blue Planet Award 2012 honours  
the anti-globalisation activist Jean Ziegler/Switzerland  
(Justification by ethecon - Foundation Ethics & Economics)**

Since the year 2006, ethecon Foundation Ethics & Economy has been awarding two international prizes:

The International ethecon Blue Planet Award intended to honour outstanding ethical achievements for saving and safekeeping the Blue Planet.

The International ethecon Black Planet Award as a malediction of ethically outrageous wrongdoings which ruin and destroy the Blue Planet, turning it into a Black Planet.

Every year in February, there is an international request to submit suggestions for both awards. The foundation names the awardees until the month of August following a thorough selection process.

The 2012 International ethecon Blue Planet Award will be given as an honour to Jean Ziegler, the Swiss anti-globalisation activist.

The ethecon management and board of trustees sum up the reasons for their decision as follows:

Having finished his studies Ziegler went to Congo for two years in 1961 as the assistant of a UN special envoy. It was this time he spent in Africa – immediately after the murder of the Congolese Head of State Patrice Lumumba in 1961 - and it was particularly the hunger and misery in that place which caused a radical change of his fundamental beliefs (which used to be conservative): "At that moment I swore to myself to never again - not even accidentally - stand on the side of the hangmen."

Working with an international brigade in Cuba he got to know Che Guevara. When the latter came Geneva less then two weeks later to take part in a conference Ziegler was in charge of him as his driver. Ziegler offered to accompany him in the African guerrilla war. But Che Guevara pointed at the banks and corporate branch offices in the city and said: "Your place is here. The brain of the monster is here. Here is where you must fight."<sup>35</sup> Even though at that time Ziegler was hurt by this statement, in the course of the following five decades of his life he understood its meaning, after all. And that was exactly the battle he fought.

From the year 2000, Ziegler acted as United Nations Special Rapporteur on the right to food for 9 years. 6 or 7 times a year he used to travel on missions to the world's various hotspots to have a first-hand impression of the situation of the country in question. There he had access to prisons, refugee camps and orphanages, and he talked to the affected people as well as to politicians and scientists before he presented his report to the UN General Assembly. He was suggested for this post by the then

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<sup>35</sup> See "I am a white Negro", *ibid.*

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Jean Ziegler / Switzerland

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United Nations General Secretary Kofi Annan. The western countries voted against him almost unanimously: "I was elected because many Ambassadors from the south knew me personally. Some of them had even been my students. They knew that I would give them a voice."

For a long time Ziegler was among the steering committee of the World Social Forum which is held as a counter summit of the Davos World Economic Forum. Opponents of globalisation love him, American UN envoy hate him – according to Ziegler.

Ziegler has written about 20 books up to now. Many of these are international bestsellers where he criticises "the refeudalisation of the world" as well as the multinational companies who act unethically for reasons of maximum profit and without regard for human rights and environmental protection, carrying a major part of the responsibility for world hunger. He views the massive influence of these companies in politics as a threat to democracy: "Last year, the 500 biggest transnational companies controlled 52.8 percent of the world's entire gross national product according to the World Bank. These companies have more power than any Kaiser, King or Pope ever had before them." That is why to him, the struggle against corporate power is equally important as speaking unpleasant truths: "The big companies are the main culprits, and we are their accomplices."

Ziegler is also very outspoken in his criticism of speculation with agricultural products emanating from international financial markets. This has caused price hikes of staple foodstuffs such as rice and maize in the range of 300 percent in recent years with catastrophic consequences especially in developing countries. Ziegler calls this phenomenon "silent mass murder".

The facts put forward by Ziegler most frequently are the following: "Every 5 seconds, a child under the age of 10 dies of starvation. 37.000 human beings starve to death every day. Another billion is permanently undernourished. At the same time, agriculture could feed 12 billion human beings in a normal way. There is no inevitable disaster. A child who dies of hunger is being murdered."

He constantly proves that it is impossible to shut him up. Instead, he tells names of big companies and their corporate executives - in spite of all those lawsuits which caused him seven-digit debts - and he is adamantly revealing the hard facts. But Ziegler paid a high price for his activities in the course of fifty years.

Jean Ziegler now ranks among the most well-known critics of globalisation (fn: There are more than a million entries shown after typing his name into an internet search machine.) He has a son from his first marriage with an Egyptian Lady, and nowadays he lives together with his second wife, an arts historian, in the village of Russin in the Geneva canton of Switzerland.

He is a member of the advisory committee of the UN Human Rights Council since August 2009 and travels the world frequently. He holds many speeches and writes a book almost every year. Further-

more, he is among the advisory board of the civil rights and human rights organisation Business Crime Control. He has received many honours and distinctions.

ethecon view Jean Ziegler's dedication against hunger, exploitation and oppression, his endeavour against oppression and greed for profit, his struggle against corporate dictatorship and capital power as well as his relentless activity for humanity and his efforts to give a voice especially to people from developing countries as a paramount ethical contribution to saving our "Blue Planet".

For this outstanding achievement of human ethics ethecon – Foundation Ethics & Economics assigns the International ethecon Blue Planet Award 2012 to Jean Ziegler.

The management and board of trustees of ethecon – Foundation Ethics & Economy further declare:

Since the year 2006, the annual International ethecon Blue Planet Award has been a mark of excellence for people's outstanding efforts for the protection and defence of human ethics in the conflicting area of ethics and the economy, whereby they fight for saving and safekeeping our Blue Planet. This is a logical addition to the annual International ethecon Black Planet Award intended as a simultaneous slander of persons who disregard and trample on human ethics in the conflicting area of ethics and the economy, thereby promoting the ruin or the destruction of our Blue Planet, turning it into a Black Planet – the Blue Planet comprising the entire animate and inanimate world.

With the International ethecon Blue Planet Award, the foundation honours persons with integrity who are courageous, consistent and incorruptible. Persons who are ready to display their civil disobedience in defence of peace, justice and ecology. Persons who are willing to be contrary to the prevailing set of rules and laws. Persons who, in extreme situations, would go to the length of accepting punishments and disadvantages for their own physical integrity. Such persons show what is generally demanded and called the courage of their convictions; that is the courage to stand up for morality and ethics, for the ideals and interests of humankind without regard for any possible personal disadvantage. It is such people who uphold, look after and defend that sensitive little plant called human ethics. It is to them that mankind owes peace, human rights, social security and environmental protection.

Very much like David against Goliath, the International ethecon Blue Planet Award winners are facing a world which is geared towards profit as the only remaining criterion for decisions and development. They are facing powers with a disregard for the interests of the majority of mankind in justice, peace and an intact environment, powers who ruin the conditions to mankind's life and existence. They endure to be discriminated against, to be persecuted and marginalised in many ways. Quite often they are even threatened by assaults on their existence, their health and their lives. They need support, help and solidarity from all of us.



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Accordingly, the concept of the annual International ethecon Blue Planet Award is also a concept of mobilisation to stand up for peace, justice and environmental protection. Together with the Black Planet Shame-Award it is intended to raise the sensitivity and awareness of the general public in the above mentioned sense, to disclose coherences and people responsible and to strengthen the resistance against environmental destruction, war and injustice.

The public festivity for handing over the International ethecon Blue Planet Award 2012 to the Swiss anti-globalisation activist as well as the connected International ethecon Black Planet Award 2012 to Ivan Glasenberg (CEO), Simon Murray (Chairman), Tony Hayward (member of the executive committee for environment, health and safety) as well as to the major shareholders of the commodity multinational GLENCORE of Switzerland will take place in Berlin on 17th November 2012, commencing at 2 p.m..

Berlin, September 01, 2011<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> The ethecon Foundation has deliberately chosen September 1st as the date for the announcement of the winners of the two annual International ethecon Awards. September 1st is World Peace/Anti-War Day in Germany.



Jean Ziegler (middle), being handed the  
ethecon Blue Planet Award 2012  
by Katharina Mayer (left/photo artist,  
who created the trophy) and  
Axel Köhler-Schnura (right/co-founder  
and chairperson on the board of directors)  
(Photo Anabel Schnura)

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Jean Ziegler / Switzerland

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**Laudatory speech  
on occasion of the bestowal of the Blue Planet Award 2012  
on the anti-globalisation activist Jean Ziegler / Switzerland  
by Prof. Dr. Hans See (Germany)<sup>37</sup>**

**The Lifesaver**

Dear Jean Ziegler, distinguished guests, dear friends of Jean Ziegler! Dear founders of ethecon!

There was an announcement that I was going to hold a speech, which is also called a eulogy in praise of Jean Ziegler. But praise is not one of my strong points. I have a closer relationship with criticism - just like my cherished friend Jean Ziegler. Still I am pleased to be given the opportunity of delivering a little public speech about him and for him on the occasion of the ethecon honorary award ceremony – and even in his presence. It will be critical as well as solidaric, of course. Within half an hour which is all I got I would like to give a more or less appropriate appraisal of his thoughts and his actions, his theory and his practice as well as their significance in society and in politics. That is what I am about to try. I doubt if I am going to succeed in the limited available time. All the same I shall give it a try.

This speech is entitled “The Lifesaver”. Anyone who dwells Ziegler’s life and work in the course of the past four decades will understand that the term “Lifesaver” can be seen as a recurrent leitmotif running through his entire work – as if it was almost tangible. Academic life needs tangible terms. And academic life needs a proper method for analysing a matter. That is why in this speech I will try a combination of Ziegler’s terms and my own terms and of the exemplary method of which Ziegler is such an admirable master. Besides an abundance of dry statistical material he always manages to come up with examples which make it easy to grasp the structures which are important to him, never jeopardizing the insight into these structures by personalisation – though personalisation is something he also can’t and doesn’t want to do without.

But obviously there is another goal he tries to achieve with all of the examples he gives. It is not only trying to reduce the abundance of the subject matter he wants to pass on to us. With his clever choice of examples and explanatory digressions he liquefies the hard statistical material for us, making it easier for us to swallow all those bitter truths of which he sometimes administers a heavy dose which is difficult to digest in order to make us give up all those prejudices we have grown so fond of. He says: Man is Man’s medicine. I will have to find a homoeopathic solution for the amount of subject matter. Unfortunately, I will only be able to shed some light on a few exemplary problem fields of his revolutionary project. That is why I am going to point at problems which have remained underexposed or completely ignored in most of the appraisals of his books. I suppose those of you who have come here and know

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<sup>37</sup> Hans See is a political scientist who conducted research into business crime and used to work with Frankfurt/Main University of Applied Science. He is the founder of the NGO called Business Crime Control. Jean Ziegler is member of their board of advisers. This is the unabridged version of the laudatory speech. Parts of it were left out in the oral presentation due to lack of time.

Jean Ziegler and probably me do not care much for the usual flattery which goes with many of these award ceremonies. I take it that what you want to hear from me is some substantial information about this extraordinary man and his extraordinary work. So now let's tackle it:

## **1. The scientist and academic life**

I was often asked the question: "Why does this man do that to himself?" The question is often asked by people who are aware what it can lead to if someone challenges the most powerful owners of capital, managers and their mercenaries in big parties, in parliaments, in state bureaucracies and in commercialized enterprises of science.

I also don't really what it is that drives him. But I have some indications which are not generally known and which are highly interesting.

Let us start by taking a look at Jean Ziegler the academic and at academic life. Academic life, as everybody knows, is more than ever fed by a drip from the economy. But in order to be taken serious it has to keep spreading the lie that academic values are neutral. And here comes the social scientist Jean Ziegler and he takes sides unilaterally. That would not be a problem if he took the side of the "Rulers of the New World Order". But to take the side of their victims, the downtrodden, the manipulated, the defeated of an economy which doesn't shy away from any crime for the purpose of sheer profit – that can't possibly be serious science! Even less if in his works there is talk of "bank banditism" and "rogues" instead of "irregularities in banking" and "sinners". You have probably noticed that with us, there are no tax criminals, only tax sinners.

But Ziegler might still get away with his criticism if it took the side of the poor, of the hungry in one's own country and elsewhere – like so many others – in the guise of an extensive research on poverty of which there has been a virtual flood. That is because these studies rarely ever go beyond the generally accepted lines of social-political argument and beyond charitable moral declarations of one's intentions. Contrary to that, Ziegler's science reminds of the "Country Messenger of Hesse" which is also spiced with statistical data. As we all know, it carries the headline "Peace unto the Huts, War unto the Palaces". Or of the "Communist Party Manifesto" which I am sure Ziegler would have ended with the plea: Defeated of all countries, unite! Ziegler's books remind you of these great examples of revolutionary literature. This is not only because they are masterpieces of language, but it is because he is concerned about the "victory of the defeated", according to the title of one of his most thrilling books. Giving encouragement to the defeated to remove their exploiters from power, giving them the weapon of the arguments to enable them to win a lasting victory, a true coup de liberation – that is going too far, after all, for those who compile value-free

(I would say worthless) expertises with horrific fees for the exploiters in the state apparatus and the corporate executive.



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Jean Ziegler / Switzerland

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We know that these expertises are proved wrong by reality even before they are known to the general public. Now I ask you: Is that science? In order to show the defeated that they need not be discouraged by the defeats inflicted on them by the agents of counter-enlightenment Ziegler keeps going back to the historical experience of the great bourgeois revolutions. He enjoys quoting Gracchus Babeuf. Here is an example from a letter written by Babeuf in 1791: "The fight for equality and property must begin at last. The people must topple all institutions which have existed for a long time. Until now, in the war of the rich against the poor all boldness was on the one side and all cowardice on the other side. Now that will have to change. Yes, I repeat, all the evils have reached their peak, they could not get any worse. They can only be removed by a complete overthrow. Let us have our eyes on justice as our goal and let us set out to change these barbaric laws after 1000 years."

## **2. Ziegler's struggle for the victory of the defeated**

Ziegler displays great courage – an admirable courage of his convictions. At an early stage, he put his own existence at risk for Freedom of Speech. And he has never stopped showing us that revolutions are possible and necessary and that it is possible to make civil rights and human rights prevail in spite of all defeats and reactionary oppression. For Ziegler, it is the defeated who carry hope with them, and he doesn't only mean the defeated of the Third World who would be called "losers" (what a terrible word) in today's right-wing youngsters' lingo. It is in their struggles for liberation, their emancipation, their possible victories – which are only possible with the support of all progressive forces in developed societies, of course – where he sees the better future, the other world which is possible. Ziegler's research, his teachings, his struggle – they all serve that one great goal: Victory of the Defeated.

That is why their worst enemy must be defeated first which is hunger. He fights with a particular resolution for this necessary victory over hunger. He describes a world without hunger. In that respect he is a great visionary. And we all know what former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt had to say about people with visions when he was still quite young: "Anybody with visions should see a doctor." That was the joke of a right-wing social democrat which from my point of view is a shameless denunciation of the SPD and its long history of struggle for democratic workers' rights. Quite contrary to that, Jean Ziegler strives to save the lives of people who are in danger to die of hunger, in danger of losing their visions, about to be deprived of their last glimpse of self-respect by the 24-hour brain-washing machines of those who are in power.

It is not the poor who are socially deprived. A crying shame I had to learn this from the comedian Hagen Rether. (It should have been my idea.) Rather it is the gentlemen in the corporate executive suites who are socially deprived. It is them who loot those who are already economically weak, making conscious decisions which lead to more poverty and misery even in the the richest countries of the world, but to famines and people starved to death in the Third World countries. These socially deprived

gentleman know perfectly well what they are doing. Ziegler points to the fact incessantly that they don't just act unscrupulously but against the law. Unscrupulously they misuse their power and the law. They misuse their power for blackmailing politicians with threats to go elsewhere unless alleged "obstacles to investment" are removed. These are the laws on social security, protection of labour and environmental protection in particular – all of them the results of hard struggles. They will simply keep pursuing their antisocial maximum profits without regard for the law, even the law relating to economic offences, if they do not manage to have them legalized. This is how an underground capitalism was created.

### **3. About the legal and the illegal economy**

Underground capitalism requires us to heighten Marxist criticism of the political economy. That is why Jean Ziegler is my support when I am advocating its extension with a criticism of the criminal economy. I basically agree with the objection that – even without economic offenders – capitalism is a menace to mankind and nature, to democracy and culture. Such a statement is of little use in practical politics, however, even less in the struggle for the defence and further development of the rights of those who are in a weak economic position. The same is true for the opinion which is widespread among leftwingers (although it is false) that the entire capitalism is criminal. It is not. It is the rich and the influential having the greatest influence on whether something is legalized or penalized by lawmakers. That is why in any system it is only some carefully selected economic practices which are penalized.

Unlike for elected politicians, the only chance for a responsible citizen to attack the mighty people in the market economy with some chance of success is to prove they inflicted business practices which are penalized or, even better, laws relating to economic offences. But there is still a great number of business practices which are extremely harmful but perfectly legal. Legalized by elected representatives of the People. Harmful business practices cannot be attacked with a promise of success before the masses of the population become aware that democratic control of the state is of little use as long as the executive suites are democracy-free zones and parliaments elected freely by the people limit themselves to adorning economic life with a golden frame, i.e. a frame with democratic legitimacy, which is possible to trespass at any time with impunity.

There is not a single critical economic author of renown apart from Jean Ziegler who – if at all – has carved out more clearly that the mighty people in the economy have long ago gambled away not only their moral legitimacy, but their legal legitimacy as well. If competent opponents like him are able to prove to private enterprises and entrepreneurs that they are not going to shy away from any breach of the law and of human rights in order to maximize their profits, then there is a rising chance for the defeated to carry away not only moral victories but also some tangible judicial victories. In order to advance in that judicial direction, the public who are critical of capitalism or anti-capitalist will also have to name and shame state attorneys and courts who tick off economic offences, even serious ones, as

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petty misdemeanours. Most of the far too few economic offenders still end up on the winner's rostrum at the end of a court case.

Those who were cheated by the economy and had their livelihoods destroyed, on the other hand, they often find themselves humiliated once over by the courts. That means victory of the defeated is still a long distance away even in places where the Rule of Law is spelt with capital letters. Ziegler hopes for their victory but he is realistic enough not to play the prophet who promises their victory. They will have to fight. Yes, he admits that nobody is able to predict the outcome of these struggles, that history will see to it in the end. The fact that the future is so uncertain makes the human existence appear absurd to him. And he is appalled by the fact that we live in order to die. But the right to fight for a life with human dignity, for democracy, which means control of those in power by the population, that is not negotiable for him.

#### **4. How to give life a meaning**

In the updated preface of his book "The Living and the Dead" which was first published 24 years ago Ziegler lets us know that he wrote the book out of fear of his own death. And that he hasn't lost the fear of this incomprehensible own personal death after that long time. In his own words: "In order to minimize at least part of the fear of one's own death there is only one path which I am struggling to go: "Every day, through thoughts, deeds and dreams – to create as much happiness, as much meaning for oneself and for others, so that at the end of life this life can counterbalance its own negation with as much meaning as possible." And he continues: "This quite rational endeavour of giving meaning is accompanied by recurrent intuitions. The perception of one's own life is not merely guided by reason. There a rare, but recurrent moments when I feel that there is infinity inside me – a power which might be called love."

According to Ziegler's conviction it is only the consciousness of the identity of all human beings which enables the individual to have feelings of love, compassion and solidarity. Living at the expense of others is what many people do and even more people dream of. But by doing so they block their access to life, as paradox as it may sound. From this he has drawn a radical consequence for himself: "Everybody is responsible to everybody for everything." And then follows a sentence which makes me feel compelled to go through the entire culture and history of orient and occident with him. Because he says: "Man is what he does." I will only hint at the fact that the myths of monotheistic religions tell us: In the beginning was the word. This word was spoken by God who has no beginning and no end, else he would not be the eternal God. This word of God was perceived as the spiritual origin of every existence on earth and it remains the foundation of monotheistic idealism until the present day.

But Goethe – he was still mostly presented to us as an idealist at school even though he was already an enlightened materialist – makes his Faust say during a crisis of faith: "In the beginning was the

deed." One generation later, young Marx would say in his 11th thesis on Feuerbach: "The philosophers have interpreted the world in various ways. What matters is to change it." Now if Ziegler says: "Man is what he does", he states nothing else but Marx in the year 1845 with his 11th thesis on Feuerbach when Marx had not fully phrased his theory of dialectic materialism yet and had heard practically nothing yet about criticism of the political economy except a few writings by Engels about the national economy.

## **5. Who is man and what does he eat?**

Ziegler is able to talk about changes in the world with a much greater historical experience than Marx; and with a wider historical awareness, too. To begin with, this is because he knows Marx and the working class movement which was inspired by his ideas as well as its history. And because he has his own unique knowledge based on experience and an awareness of the world which Marx could not possibly have – in spite of his foresight and his incredible educational background. Hunger has been a key topic in Ziegler's books from the very beginning besides death as the existentialist challenge for all those who are alive. So I asked myself why he didn't go that one step further and agreed with Feuerbach's provocative statement: "Man is what he eats."

Wouldn't this thesis by Feuerbach be more in line with the theme of Ziegler's life? I shall read a quotation of Feuerbach at greater length which is very much in the sense of Ziegler: "He wrote: "At the same time we see..., what an important ethical as well as political significance the teaching of the people's foodstuffs has. Food turns to blood; blood turns to heart and brain, to thoughts and to the stuff attitudes are made of. Human food is the basis of human education and attitude. If you want to improve the people, give them better food instead of declamations against sin. Man is what he eats." That is a wonderful explanation of how food turns to education and attitude. "Food turns to blood; blood turns to heart and brain, to thoughts and to the stuff attitudes are made of. Human food is the basis of human education and attitude." <sup>38</sup>

Knowing Ziegler's speeches and writings one could easily imagine that thesis by Feuerbach as their leitmotif. The sentence "Man is what he eats." Is the image of a bridge between matter and mind which is the central topic of Ziegler's practical political work and of his intellectual work. As we know today, and as we have learnt from Jean Ziegler in particular, such a sentence is by far no longer such a vulgar materialistic sentence as our idealistic philosophers still like to believe. The struggle for a life with human dignity starts with a healthy diet. And with this, according to Ziegler's experience, it is not possible to win against the fear of death, but it is possible to win against death. As early as in 1975 this was the central thought in his book "The Living and Death" which I shall repeat here: "Every day, through thoughts, deeds and dreams – to create as much happiness, as much meaning for oneself and for oth-

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<sup>38</sup> See Hans Werner Ingensiep, Food and the Culture of Food from an Anthropological Point of View – to be found in the internet.

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ers, so that at the end of life this life can counterbalance its own negation with as much meaning as possible.”

But in order to do that man must have enough to eat. Ziegler has been fighting for that ever since he had his key experience in Congo. Ziegler’s concept of giving a meaning to life through thoughts, deeds and dreams, of achieving something which lasts beyond certain death may be very rational, but he writes that he discovered within himself “at rare, but recurrent moments when I feel that there is infinity inside me – a power which might be called love.” But that also means to him that: “To live at the expense of others, with competitive jealousy, greed for profit, deceit and indifference – it will block the access to life.” And I may add also for those who always eat until they are too satisfied, who overeat and suffer from their self-inflicted fatness.

In spite of that Ziegler doesn’t say that man is what he eats, instead he says: “Man is what he does.” That is also how he judges others. He watched the victory parade of evolving new societies in the Third World countries during the process of decolonisation. For him, resistance of the liberation movements against the destruction of their own culture was at the center. People defend their culture against a theory and a practice which are inseparable from our classical concept of enlightenment. The resistance of these impoverished human beings plagued by diseases caused by famine is directed against bourgeois enlightenment. So it doesn’t simply follow our occidental capitalist logic. In the course of the struggle, often filled with great hatred against the West, new societies, new cultures come into being which preserve what is valuable about the past together with a careful inclusion of new things. Ziegler wrote in the year 1988, after the post-war period of anti-imperialist decolonisation with a great loss of life: “Today, new and unexpected societies come into being in the Third World which we have never seen before. The values which they bring forth, the meaning they give to their existence will open new horizons to the human adventure. For us, the people of the West, these values take the dimension of a last resort and salvation.”

It is fascinating how at a young age Ziegler carried out his own so-called ethnological field studies in Africa and Brazil about archaic tribal rites, trying to figure out the relationship of strange old cultures with death. I cannot go into the details of Ziegler’s presentation of this logic which is strange to us. All I can say is that he builds a walkable bridge to our own death rites which are dominated by capitalist interests of utilisation, where death is made a taboo in many intricate ways. The interests of utilisation have outsourced death to hospitals and hospices and turned the fear of death into big business with a gigantic pharmaceutical industry and a trade with human organs, some of which is extremely criminal, as we all know. This is where Ziegler discovers the shareholder interests which are possible to be traced back to mechanisms of selection with a racist motivation, these being one of the characteristics of fascist euthanasia.

## **6. The limits of Enlightenments with an occidental influence**

Ziegler has a more profound understanding than many politicians and academic experts who are nowadays held in high esteem for their competence in social science, economics and Arts that neither bourgeois Enlightenment nor socialist Enlightenment are able to provide a sufficient answer to questions which contemporary man asks to the state, to society, to his own life. He is aware that Enlightenment is not simply an epoch but an ongoing historical process which is also marked by terrible errors and aberrations which destroy human values, cultures, identities and legal rights of paramount importance, for instance. That is why he carries out research into archaic tribal rites where clear relics are kept of how Man came into being and of human existence. That knowledge, and teaching it to us who are strangers to ourselves, helps him to take the dignity of all human beings serious, to respect their identity and their dignity in order to tell us that it is not enough to uphold with our words the necessity of Enlightenment.

The way I read Ziegler's message one has got to be able to read the Enlightenments and most of all one has to consider the qualitative leaps of Enlightenment. Our occidental history taught us that bourgeois Enlightenments and bourgeois revolutions with all their successes and defeats, shifts of borders, broadening of consciousness and taboos got their own shapes and contents and that after the anti-human utilitarian logic of capital it brought forth socialist Enlightenment which was intended as an addition, although it was antagonized by the former. Socialist Enlightenment brought forth some revolutionary and reformist forces who turned and had to turn anti-bourgeois as a result of that antagonism. But they opened new roads to emancipation for those who were immature through no fault of their own.

The anti-bourgeois concepts of the classic worker's movement have turned out to be too limited to suffice the universal claim of the original ideal of bourgeois Enlightenment which – together with the spirit of free trade of commercial capitalists – constitutes the basis of socialist internationalism. They ignored that there are general human rights which may not be limited by state or social boundaries, by no exclusion of any kind or system. I will try to be a little more specific with my concept of a necessary Third Enlightenment. It is founded on Jean Ziegler's thinking, although not literally because he was guided by his fight against hunger. The decisive fact for me is that he doesn't blot out the problem of the criminal economy. Instead, he keeps pointing at it with the necessary perseverance. It is due to that single fact that I can declare today: I owe it to Ziegler's analysis of today's global capital relations and of the individual and collective problems of this planet which are their result that I could even begin to think about the possibility, yes about the urgent necessity of a Third Great Enlightenment.

## **7. Remarks about three Enlightenments**

The first Enlightenment summoned the affluent and/or educated bourgeoisie against nobility and clergy in the days of feudalism. They dared to make those Great European Bourgeois Revolutions against absolute feudal masters in Church as well as in the state, overcoming no more than "immaturity

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due to one's own fault" – in spite of the General Declaration of Human Rights. Starting with Kopernikus and going on to Columbus, Luther and Calvin, Voltaire and Rousseau. Kant as a proponent of the bourgeois Enlightenment and the revolutionary bourgeoisie have done a good job. And Ziegler appreciates these achievements.

We the Europeans, at least, must not fall behind this progress which the revolutionary bourgeoisie has fought for, particularly not behind the General Declaration of Human Rights. Or else fascism taught us what to expect. Kant was the proponent of the Enlightenment, of a religion of reason, in Germany which was divided along religious bias and hence a delayed country. Unfortunately, he only summoned his coward compatriots of the same class to dare and start to think for themselves at long last and to acquire an awareness of their own power. As radical as he may have been – unlike his admirer, the poet of freedom Friedrich Schiller, he did not dissociate himself from the Jacobins, for instance, when they beheaded their King. But Kant was only a bourgeois citizen, after all. What was important to him was to get Church and state under the control of the Third Rank in order to put an end to their immaturity through their own fault and in order to be in control of political power.

In the course of this conquest of state power by the revolutionary bourgeoisie – wherever it was a success – it turned out that there also was an immaturity through no fault of one's own. It was a heritage of bygone God-sent feudalism, and the bourgeoisie only appeared to have overcome this in a formal manner by turning bondsmen who used to live in slavish dependence into wageworkers. In fact this new constitutional freedom of those without possessions (i.e. the freedom to be allowed to sell their manpower to the employer who paid the highest price if there was a need for it) became the legal basis of exploitation in capitalist industry, of exploitation of a workforce who would now market themselves in competition against each others. As they saw the resulting misery of early capitalism, a part of the enlightened bourgeois citizens such as young Marx and young Engels took up the political fight against this immaturity of the proletariat through no fault of their own.

That is how the Second Enlightenment reached its first point of culmination. The program for the fight of the emancipation of the so-called proletariat. Those who were rendered immature by the bourgeoisie – on legal grounds – were the true and the potential wageworkers i.e. those who were forced to do dependent work as they lacked their own means of production. The fact that they were actually without any rights was a precondition for them to develop – because of Marx - an understanding of themselves as a deprived and manipulated class who are alienated from their proper interests able to organize in order to gain strength and fight for their rights with self-confidence. (Initially, the bourgeoisie used to refer to them as the "Fourth Rank".)

The organized working class movement had turned into a revolutionary subject of history. This political struggle, the fight for emancipation and against the immaturity and manipulation of the industrial

workforce (at first for the right to vote, then for social rights and finally for the abolition of capitalism) was mainly fought by members of the educated bourgeoisie who were avowed revolutionary socialists. Marx found the task of his lifetime in the struggle for the emancipation of the waged workers' class. What he has achieved in many fields and likewise the thinkers, scholars, writers, leaders and activists of workers' parties and trade unions who carried on resistance against the bourgeoisie organizing the workers' movement – that is what I call the Second or socialist-communist Enlightenment.

In theory as well as in practice, Jean Ziegler ties in with both these two Enlightenments but he systematically drives them beyond their own limitations by strictly including the miserable, the impoverished, the starving peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the solution of the social question. Such a truly cosmopolitan, or internationalist approach from the European workers' movement's point of view, it does not remain an ethical proclamation of his but it is part and parcel of his political practice, of his incorruptible criticism of the existing state of affairs which he lived at grass-roots level and carried all the way to UN summits. This specific kind of criticism showed me the limitations of the two Enlightenments and inspired me to carry out some systematic research looking for possibilities of a Third Enlightenment. As I don't receive any research funds I founded a civic human rights organisation to provide at least a narrow material basis as well as the quarterly magazine BIG Business Crime as a forum for the academic debate about the social and environmental harm done by economic crime. Alliances with NGOs such as Coalition against BAYER dangers and the ethecon Foundation are part of that.

## **8. The struggle for general human rights**

Jean Ziegler makes general human rights the central issue. The life of every single human being is more important to him rather than committing himself for good or for evil to a religion, an ideology, a system or an academic theory. That is how the boundaries between the First and Second Enlightenment lose their importance in his line of argument. But in the end you know that the positive aspects of both, of bourgeois as well as of marxist, can only take effect in a context of human rights.

And what is equally important: That their historic significance cannot be overrated.

Or more to the point: In spite of their serious shortcomings and aberrations, Bourgeois Enlightenments along with their revolutions can no longer be reversed or missed out without doing damage to the civil societies where they took place and where their culture is based on.

The Second Enlightenment, for instance, forced the ruling classes of early capitalist democracies to come to terms with social-capitalist democracies some of which were won in struggles after WW I, though most of them after WW II. I share the important statement of my teacher Wolfgang Abendroth that social states are the result of a class compromise, or some sort of ceasefire. But the model of the democratic social state thus created was highlighted – if I may say so – as an imperialist world culture with a claim to be applicable worldwide: Conservatives and Liberals refer to it as a "social market econ-



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omy". For them, that stage seems to mark the end of history. Social Democrats, if there still are any, prefer the term "social state". But they have long ago given up thinking beyond it.

Their democratic socialism is oriented on nothing more than the state. The topic of democracy in the economy is a thing of the past for them. The historic compromise was only possible in advanced industrialised countries, however. In these countries, the classes with property (i.e. the national bourgeoisie – usually in alliance with the gentlemen of the feudal system which was in historic decline) made considerable social and democratic concessions along with their "(Anti-)Socialist Laws" against "fellows without a fatherland" from the second half of the 19th century onwards for fear of the rising strength of the working class movement. This model of the social state (introduced in Germany by the founder of the Reich Bismarck against the Social Democrats) turned to a powerful moral weapon during the Cold War deployed with sweeping success by the capitalist democracies of Western Europe against all the existing socialist countries and against movements who were critical of capitalism or even anti-capitalist inside the capitalist societies.

It is a paradox that German fascism tried to sell as socialism, mind you as national socialism. National socialist anti-capitalism was an antihuman racist struggle. In fact it was class struggle along ethnic lines. Anti-Jewish prejudice from the Middle Ages was "modernised" biologically to a racist anti-Semitism. Every crime, economic crimes in particular, were blamed on this – keyword "Jewish mammonism". With the help of the most developed machines and weapon systems of modern times German fascism tied in with the idea of a God-given empire which had been its pillar for about 1000 years and attempted to jump over the unsuccessful Second Reich of Kaiser Wilhelm and to rebuild the Third, the thousand-years Reich as a colonialist world power against Western capital imperialism by conquering Europe, spreading it as far as the Ural under German rule. That meant the First and the Second Enlightenment had to be reversed by force throughout Europe.

Fortunately, this thousand-years Reich lasted only 12 years. It was possible to shatter it by an alliance of the new world powers USA and USSR who had entered history in the Great War. Whether they were justified or not – the US as a liberal capitalist democracy referred at the time and still refers to the First whereas the stalinist dictatorship USSR referred to the Second Enlightenment i.e. to Marx and the working class movement. Thanks to the military alliance of the US and the USSR, who were in fact class enemies, it was possible to stop the fascist miscarriage of a counter-Enlightenment which was directed against both of them. But that didn't put an end to the antagonism of the two systems. Fascism pretended to save "Germany" (whatever the nazis imagined it to be) from liberalism which was supposedly invented by Jews and from communism which likewise was supposedly founded by Jews.

The incredible crimes committed by fascists on the one side and by stalinists on the other side in an attempt to enforce their antagonistic revolutions against inner enemies and to protect them from outer

enemies have obviously and unforgettably revealed the limitations of both models of Enlightenment. Only an interpretation of the world and its history like Jean Ziegler's which is oriented towards Man, human dignity and human rights was able to free me from the patterns of argument I developed against militant anti-communism of the bourgeois centre during the Cold War. For that I am grateful to him.

## **9. Accumulation and the criminal economy**

It was when I read Ziegler's ethnological studies which are critical of capitalism about archaic tribal life in his book "The Living and Death" when I fully grasped – and I hope he will make all the other euro-centrics grasp – the significance and the inertia of collective identities of ancient formations of society and what these have got to do with the relationship between the living and death. Without the incredible crimes which went on for centuries which Marx described in the famous 24th chapter of his magnum opus "Das Kapital" (Vol. 1) which deals with "the so-called original accumulation" i.e. the creation of equity capital by way of robbery, the capitalist industrial development would be absolutely unthinkable which made the scientific and technical headstart of Europe and the US possible.

This economic headstart is attributed to capitalism, but in reality it was made possible by the support of the merchant capitalist bourgeoisie from the part of Christian overlords contrary to all existing norms and values of the Christian feudal order. It was the naval, logistic and military superiority mainly developed by the urban bourgeoisie of the late Middle Age which enabled the feudal masters to build the vast colonial empires. Their settlement and exploitation formed not only the economic but also – comprehensible from the foundation of the USA against England – the emancipatory basis of modern imperialist industrial capitalism brought forth by the bourgeoisie of education and wealth which later on turned to global strategic financial capitalism. There is hardly anybody else than Jean Ziegler who can explain to us Europeans more clearly that the peoples threatened by this development were forced to become desperate defenders of their identity, organizing militant or even terrorist action of defence.

Exploitation by means of robbery with the blessing of the respective authorities – quite often missionaries – went along with the systematic destruction of inherited collective values which were deeply internalized which formed the basis of collective identities. If, like in underdeveloped countries, the process of destruction of entire cultures due to the acquisition and utilisation of capital takes place mainly with foreign capital acting beyond control, then you have a highly explosive brew of not only rational but also irrational resistance movements. Ziegler's warnings to the West are well known.

His findings are usually neglected even in knowledgeable theories of fascism or in attempts to explain stalinism. When the Sowjet Empire had imploded Ziegler edited (together with Uriel da Costa) a letter of defence with the courageous title: Marx we need you! There he applies his criticism which is indispensable for the Third Enlightenment to communist revolutionary leaders. He accuses them to have invalidated the "right to live" with their practice and to have "denied the dignity of Man because they

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deemed the unalienable right of every individual to happiness to be worthless.” And I may add: Communist leaders overlooked that socialised means of production, too, can be misused for exploitation. Wherever it happened they tried to play it down as a birthmark of the capitalist heritage.

Ziegler says: By abolishing the freedom of choice, by denying the need for transcendence and hence for religion (contrary to Marx, by the way), by making their state leaders virtual religious cult figures communists did not bring about the liberation of workers and farmers from the capitalist yoke. Instead, they created the false consciousness among people that in the end capitalism with its cannibal world order might be the only road to a life with human dignity.

As right as the criticism from the point of view of a radical humanist like Jean Ziegler may be, and as easy it may be for him to summon young Marx as a witness against that stalinist communism because without a doubt that communism was a murderous development dictatorship – I myself ask myself a question. My key experience wasn't the African Congo. It was the German Congo i.e. Germany under fascism. I ask myself what would have become of us Europeans if Hitler's armies in the vast space of Russia had met with a humane democratic socialism; if he had flattened them and gobbled up the entire East into his thousand-years-Reich, maybe one day Switzerland. This is where I look at the historic role of the USSR a little differently.

Well of course nobody can answer the question what would have become of us if Hitler had reached his goals. But it is allowed to ask that question, also to our friend Jean Ziegler who was only right to point not only at the brutality of the capitalist exploitation system, but also at the incomprehensible crimes of those who in the name of Marx sought to catch up with the original accumulation of capital - something which for millions of people was nothing but a terrorist development dictatorship.

## **10. Critique of the criminal economy as a theory of the Third Enlightenment**

A development intended to catch up, to make up leeway, by whoever pursues it and whatever the ideals – whether or not such a development is allowed to be at the expense of human lives, Jean Ziegler has answered that question for himself with a clear No. Born as a child in Nazi Germany, I lived through the psychological terror of the crowd with the brown shirts at school and in the kindergarten, through night-time searches of my father's home who was under suspicion to be resistant, through terrible hunger after the end of the war.

Stalin's armies liberated us from the bourgeois barbarian of the Nazi regime. That is why the result of my overall judgement of the historical significance of communist revolutions is a little different from that of my Swiss friend Jean. But it goes without saying that I could also never agree with Stalin, Pol Pot, Ceausescu and other supposed marxist setting up dictatorships which banned millions of people to work camps and, if I am not mistaken, had more communists killed than the capitalists.

So as a result, Ziegler made a strict separation between that communism and what Karl Marx stood for. He defends Marx against Lenin and even more so against Stalin. He emphasizes Marx' ethics of the resistance which allows the individual to be liberated, and to save a person's health, life, individual faith which is not imposed from above and individual pursuit of happiness from capitalist utilisation. It is the values which are not marketable which have absolute priority for Ziegler over any other opinion no matter how right they may seem in theory.

Ziegler cannot imagine that liberation of mankind, the victory of the defeated, without Marx. He hates all dogma, also marxist dogma. He looks at Marx as prophet of resistance, not as a pope. That is why his criticism is aimed at marxist theologians who only interpreted the philosopher Marx but did nothing or the wrong thing to change the world. Together with Ziegler I am fully convinced that it is not going to lead to a world as Marx would have imagined it if one deducts principles or rules of action from Marx' critique or even orders which must be obeyed at the risk of death. In Marx' work, for instance, Ziegler finds "not a trace of a theory of a planned economy, leave alone a theory of the state. So Marx is not "outdated". We need him. If Marx' critics think they have to declare him and marxism dead only because political-economical systems whose leaders referred to Marx have perished, then they didn't understand him.

For him, Marx is a proponent of the Enlightenment and a visionary revolutionary. But to blame on him the mistakes and the crimes which many revolutionaries committed who referred to Marx long after Marx was dead is, from his point of view, a similar nonsense as "claiming that the crusades and the Spanish inquisition were the result of the Gospel" (Marx p. 13) that the rule of terror by the church was "the intentional ascertainment of the Christian teaching" or "the word of God turned into social practice". The works of Ziegler inspired me to suggest that we add an open theory of critique of the criminal economy to the two Enlightenments, to the bourgeois and to the marxist one, the limitations of which are now known, but we ought not to treat them as outdated – and be it only for the non-synchronism of objective and subjective developments. Ziegler's complete works can supply the needed empirical material and the moral armour.

I think that we, the "improvers of the world" would succeed in a giant leap ahead if we followed Jean Ziegler by forming an amalgam of Kant's critique based on reason, Marx' critique of the political economy and his own critique of hunger in the world which would be a new quality of a truly cosmopolitan concept of Enlightenment.

A pivotal element of such a Third Enlightenment will have to be the critique of the exploitative policy of globalisation which is called "western" though it is now long-standing practice of China with her (still) communist government. It is because the great evils of the post-stalinist epoch reached their climax

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with those deadly neoliberal recipes of privatisation, deregulation, depoliticisation and dedemocratisation.

Things could hardly be worse. One only needs to mention the ecological question. Coming to think of it, these evils can only be remedied by an overthrow of the existing power structure. Ziegler has given me the central arguments for the Third Enlightenment which is necessary for this. They have their firm place in my critique of the criminal economy. Ziegler's eloquent accusations will be decisive for the victory over hunger in the world. And instrumental for the historic achievements of two great European movements of Enlightenment which now have a worldwide impact not to be mismanaged by unharessed strategists of capital.

### **Some final remarks**

Finally I simply can't refrain from saying something about the Salzburg speech which was never held. We know that in 2011 Jean Ziegler was invited to hold the opening speech for the Salzburg Festival, that the invitation was cancelled and that our brand-new Head of State Gauck obviously thought it to be quite OK to hold a speech in lieu of Jean Ziegler. I am not going to say anything about these speeches. You can read them and you really should. But I would like to let you know two thoughts about these events.

First of all, nothing better could have happened to Jean Ziegler than this disinvitation. Because of this his speech was so widespread and caused an attention it would never have had without that declaration of bankruptcy of our cultural scene.

And secondly: Now we have a direct comparison between the sort of enlightened spirit which the representatives of capitalist democracies think they are still able to afford and a representative of the victims of the world of free trade which Ziegler called a cannibal world order, of a kingdom of the dead of the kind which is displayed every year in Salzburg in Hugo von Hofmansthal's "Jedermann" (Everyman) to an audience of educated and wealthy bourgeois who are deeply moved.

I had a vision when I heard that President Gauck would stand in for Ziegler. He had the idea that – like one of his predecessors – he might call upon Germany to pull itself together. But for that he would have needed to give his idea of freedom an update after the end of the GDR i.e. he would have needed to read Ziegler.

So then he would have pulled Ziegler's speech from his pocket about the uprising of conscience and – after an initial remark about his new concept of freedom and human rights developed from Ziegler's revolutionary practical social ethics – would have read it to the bigshots of the Arts business. Maybe these fine people would have told the difference between saving capitalist freedom, which is Gauck's task of his lifetime, and saving life from starvation caused by capitalist freedom which you, dear Jean,



regard as the meaning of life which overcomes death and would have drawn the necessary consequences. I hope that we in this audience understand you and are going to draw the right consequences. I myself will keep following you with your decision never to stand on the side of the hangmen – not even accidentally.

My dear Jean, congratulations from all my heart for this award. I thank you for your friendship and I wish you that soon you will also be chosen for the Peace Nobel Prize.

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for corporate critic and anti-globalisation activist  
Jean Ziegler / Switzerland

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## **Greetings**

**on occasion of the bestowal of the Blue Planet Award 2012  
on the anti-globalisation activist Jean Ziegler / Switzerland**

**Konstantin Wecker (Germany)<sup>39</sup>**

Dear and venerable Jean Ziegler,

I would so had loved to have seen the looks on the faces of the sponsors and „friends“ of the Salzburg Festival had you been allowed to tell them the plain truths you had intended for them. This pleasure was denied both your supporters and us.

We were then able to read and in turn propagate your unheld speech on the internet and whilst doing so the did have the enjoyment of imagining how the speech would have affected all those persons who believe that the arts have solely a decorative purpose, a kind of wellness package for the affluent and are to be kept out of the political arena.

These were never your sentiments, dear Jean Ziegler, quite to the contrary. For you, the arts are an important factor in the transformation of society. You have always spoken to the point. And in doing so have always impressed and encouraged us artists and activists in the many peace, ecological and social movements. But simultaneously we were left with the challenge of contemplating our own measure of courage to act.

Indeed, despite the „Süddeutsche Zeitung“ being of the opinion that you had become “ordinary” you remained specific and thus open to attack. In Switzerland you were forced through extensive court ordeals. Your livelihood basis was near but ruined. There have been repeated and ongoing efforts to scandalize you even if the methods once used by Joseph Goebbels or Joseph McCarthy are no longer in use. But it for sure holds true for the one or other of us activists and fighters that stock market speculation is preferable to the fear of a bullet.

But at the end of the day it boils down to the one Archimedean point – the one judicial moment in which the words „ Here I stand and cannot do otherwise“ are spoken.

Or, phrased in a more aristocratic manner: “Here I stand. I could differ but choose not to.”

Rosa Luxemburg once said that all revolutionary action begins the instant the prevailing conditions are clearly named.

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<sup>39</sup> Konstantin Wecker is a well-known German musician, songwriter, composer, actor, author and progressive political activist e.g. in the peace movement; see [www.wecker.de](http://www.wecker.de).

„Here is the head of the monster and here is your place - hence here you must struggle.“ Che Guevara's legendary statement at the Geneva United Nations should be the gauge for more journalists, authors, artists and scientists today.

The current banking crisis in Europe is closely linked to two names of institutions like Goldman Sachs and Deutsche Bank and was not the result of the greed of an odd social State such as Greece, Italy, Spain or Portugal but stems from the inherent greed of the monopoly capital and thus from the nature of imperialism - which we know refrains neither from war or Fascism, nor from hunger catastrophes, famine or drought if speculation be their interest and goal.

Bertold Brecht once said that it would become necessary to destroy the hands and means of those who publically have declared their willingness to devastate thousands.

Applied to the current crisis this would mean the transference of private credit institutions into publically controlled banks – similarly to the manner of the German Sparkassen system. And after having read only one of Jean Ziegler's books it would seem nearly impossible to simply accept their solely financial logic - as if it were an easy mathematical task posed by the business section of the local newspaper or a parliamentary committee. Those who consciously have come to terms with the power of these institutional mass murderers are no longer innocent of the deaths of thousands.

As long as just very few people can exercise the controlling power to eradicate humanity by the snip of a finger we haven't even begun the history of civilization.

And this, too, is a lesson an unbending Jean Ziegler has taught us. Whoever refrains from speaking is party to the guilt heaped on the debit side of mankind's history on all five continents.

Dear Jean, you were once queried on your vision. Your answer was of fundamental importance to me and with me to many other songwriters, actors and authors. And as we organized ourselves as „artists for peace“, at that time more explicitly against atomic warfare, and as we then began to struggle with the trade unions against mass deployment and as we then began to make music with and for the Occupy movement we increasingly realized that these activities fell short of the mark – they remain short lived impulses in the artisans dichotomy of striving to develop enduring policies in opposition to mainstream politics and at the same time in the humoring of audiences.

Pablo Neruda was once asked why he was so dedicated to anti-capitalist policies rather than solely to the arts. His answer was the poem entitled „Come: Look – See the Blood in the Streets“.

Humanity's enemies are so dangerous because they often appear naive – as if incapable of encompassing the final balance or the piles of corpses lining the pockets of their financial speculation. The media is intent on supporting these persons as they are gratified in return – the reason your friend Pierre Bourdieu called these journalists the „Trojan horses of Neo-Liberalism“.





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And it is thus mighty bankers have become increasingly dangerous, more successful more influential. They have succeeded in degrading whole continents to a global force of losers of whom you are ambassador. And now, as in Latin America, despite their weaknesses and mistakes they begin to rise up.

But we know that it is feasible they lose their struggle in the metropolises. And we know that the times of the "blacklists" of versewriters, speakers and actors who are raising their voices in opposition are not yet over, even when these blacklists, censors and inquisitors in the media have become more subtle. This is why I would like to finally cite your answer to the question of your vision and have it stand as the challenge to take a stance, not just on occasion but organizedly and in permanence against speculative banking forces.

You answered the question of your vision as follows: „Music, theater, poetry – in short the arts - transcend their own realms. Art has weaponry not defeatable by sole analytical reasoning: music, lyrics, words can deeply disturb an audience and permeate the thickest cement wall of egoism, estrangement or distance. Poetry, music, lyrics reach human beings in their deepest core – causing unfathomed emotions. And thus suddenly the protective walls of self-righteousness come tumbling down. The neoliberal profit craze will fall to dust and ashes.“

I thank you for enabling us to, in past in present and in future, to read, to hear to sing this out.

Yours truly,  
Konstantin Wecker

**Susan George / Attac (France)**<sup>40</sup>

My dear Jean,

The Foundation Ethics & Economics has informed me of the joyful news that they have given you this year's Ethecon Blue Planet Award. Everyone who knows you and nearly everyone who doesn't will say the same things, such as "Well done", or "No one could have deserved it more than you". Naturally I would agree with them. However, like every other award, this one recognises the work you have done in the past. I prefer to focus on the future. Don't think I'm trying to be funny, I'm not, I'm perfectly serious. We were born in the same year, you in January, I in June but we are both 78 and we know what growing older is like. But we also have a certain amount of accumulated experience and perhaps even the beginnings of wisdom.

In my life, and I expect it has been the same for you, I have encountered basically two sorts of people. There are those who start out on the left, as progressives, or at least what they think of as being progressive and on the left - and then move gradually but unfailingly to the right, often becoming the worst sort of reactionary. They begin by caring about what happens to other people but end up caring only about their own position. They start their active adult lives understanding that wealth and power are driving forces in human affairs and swear that they will take up arms for the disadvantaged who have neither; they end by merging with the very forces they once despised. They can often be found in such places as Davos every January. Examples abound—one of the more egregious of our own time and place being the former Maoist J-M Barroso who now seems to take pleasure in punishing the ordinary people of Greece, Spain and his own country, Portugal for crimes they did not commit. We could both name many others and unfortunately, this category is by far the most common.

The other sort of person may start out with a family and educational background that does not - or should not - incline them to radicalism of any kind. Even so, through their own efforts, they discover more than most people about what makes the world tick and because of that understanding they move further and further to the dangerous ground of the left. Stephane Hessel, now 95, is a good example on the side of the angels. This is the category of the people both you and I admire and love and for me you are one of them.

I have heard you say things I wouldn't have dared utter - for instance when we were both on same programme of the Television Suisse romande with a couple of ignorant, self-satisfied - I won't say "bastards" but you see what I mean. And you drenched them in verbal acid. When you had finished, they hadn't a leg to stand on. I was breathless with admiration, especially because I'm no good at that kind

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<sup>40</sup> Susan George is a Franco-American political and social scientist, activist and writer on global social science, Third World poverty underdevelopment and debt. She is one of the founding members of Attac. From 1999 to 2006, she was vice-president of Attac France; today she is their honorary president. She is a fellow of the Transnational Institute (TNI), a worldwide fellowship of scholar activists; see [www.tni.org/susangeorge](http://www.tni.org/susangeorge).



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of thing. You're a sociologist too, but you don't make the mistake that a huge proportion of social scientists make, which is to believe that they are genuinely scientific, that is to say, objective and neutral. You are neither objective nor neutral, thank God. You accept it and make clear from the outset to others where you stand. This is one reason you have been able to write such searing and scathing and I have to say readable books. I don't always think you are 100 percent right, but I know you are telling the absolute truth as you see it.

All this is why I want your Blue Planet award to be about the future, not the past. You will not just continue but deepen your concern for the fate of people and of the planet. Over the years, you have earned the right and the duty to speak out because you will be heard, as so many who believe in the same things you do are not heard and, because are unknown, are condemned, at least in public, to silence. No one can deny you a platform: they may not like you or what you say but they can't ignore you. And as I'm sure you have heard from many younger people, you radiate courage and you give courage to others. I have no doubt that you will for many more years be showering your gifts on the rest of us.

Thank you, Jean, and congratulations.

With love and admiration,  
Susan

**Prof. Dr. Ulrich Duchrow / Kairos Europa (Germany)<sup>41</sup>**

My dear and venerable Mr. Ziegler,

on several occasions I have supported the initiative by colleague Hans See to suggest you for the Peace Nobel Prize – but alas so far it was without success. So it is an even greater pleasure to me that now you are about to be awarded the Blue Planet Award. Let me take this extremely joyful opportunity to thank you for being such an untiring and courageous advocate of the impoverished and starving people of this world – and I am sure to speak in the name of many activists from social and oecumenic movements.

It is not just the fact that you are active like this – it is the way you go about it which is such an incredible boost to all of us. Normally, voices become more subdued as soon as someone holds a public office. Consideration, diplomacy and often even opportunism can mislead a person to conformance. You are one of the few who made use of important public offices to tell the truth about reality in public. Your clear language can not be overheard: “A child who dies of hunger is being murdered.” Now you have once again published this truth in a book: “We let them starve. The holocaust in the Third World”.

Speaking as somebody who has tried to express this truth not in politics, but in the Church I know how depressing it is when such a scandal does not provoke everybody - or at least a majority – to turn around and act. May the award strengthen your power of endurance.

We will continue to need your voice in the future. It is a vital boost to all grassroots movements.

I am happy for you and send my greetings of solidarity.

Yours

Ulrich Duchrow

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<sup>41</sup> Prof. Dr. Ulrich Duchrow is 1st chairman of Kairos Europe, an non-denominational network of various church groups, societies and personalities inspired by the theology of liberation who work for the environment and a just world order: [www.kairoseuropa.de](http://www.kairoseuropa.de).

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### **Marion Lieser / Oxfam (Germany)<sup>42</sup>**

From the point of view of Oxfam Germany the presentation of the Blue Planet Award to Jean Ziegler is an important sign in the struggle for a just world without poverty and hunger. It is a highly-deserved recognition of Jean Ziegler's consistent activity in that direction.

The name Jean Ziegler is closely linked to the human right to food – from 2002 until 2008 he made a lasting impression as the first-ever UN special rapporteur on that topic. When he took office, the emphasis on this fundamental human right was still under pressure to be justified. The traditional concept of human rights used to be centred around civil rights and political rights. Fortunately, the situation is quite different today: A great number of politicians, governments and institutions recognize the human right to food – at least verbally. At times one even has to worry about the inflationary use of that term as if it was intended to make us forget the deficits of its implementation. Because never before more people have suffered from chronic undernourishment than today: almost a billion women, men and children.

Without a doubt it is an important achievement by Jean Ziegler to have put the human right to food on the international agenda with so much vigour: for the United Nations, for many governments, but particularly for those many organisations of people who are affected by infringements of their human right to food. For them, Ziegler has made the tools which the United Nations have at their disposal - and indeed these are not always sharp enough - more understandable and attractive. More and more human rights organisations present their experiences with bad conduct of their government to the UN in so-called parallel reports.

Oxfam, too, go about their projects and campaigns with a "rights based approach". Our latest campaign entitled "MEAL!" is intended to denounce mass starvation as well as a system of nutrition and agriculture which is falling apart. It is intended to make decision makers in politics and the economy look for feasible solutions for today and for future generations – together with the victims of misguided developments.

We know how difficult it is to create an understanding and solidarity with people affected by hunger, discrimination and the denial of their human right to food – at least in the affluent urban world of Europe. Maybe this has to do with the fact that we the development organisations, just like most media and politicians, tend to take hunger for granted by presenting it as something abstract? With regard to that, Jean Ziegler chose his words very drastically:

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<sup>42</sup> Marion Lieser is managing director of the German section of Oxfam which is a development organisation with worldwide activities against hunger, poverty and social injustice: [www.oxfam.de](http://www.oxfam.de).

“Every 5 seconds there is a child under the age of 10 who starves to death. 37.000 human beings starve to death each day and almost a billion people are permanently and seriously undernourished. And the same FAO World Food Report which reports these figures every year states that world agriculture at its present stage of development could easily feed twice the world population in a decent manner. So we come to the conclusion that there is no actual scarcity; it is not just fate causing the daily massacre of hunger which is the icy order of the day. A child who dies of hunger is being murdered.” (From a speech which was never held on the occasion of the opening ceremony for the 2011 Salzburg Festival. Source: Süddeutsche Zeitung 24th July 2011)

On several occasions, Jean Ziegler has put this context in perspective in recent years by speaking these clear words. By doing so he has awoken many people, made them aware of one of the worst phenomena of injustice and made them stand up against it.

“A child who dies of hunger is being murdered.” Let us remember these words of Ziegler – but not only when media reports of the next big so-called hunger catastrophe reach our living rooms. Because hunger is an everyday fact. It affects countless marginalized farmers’ and indigenous families, people without land, refugees, plantation workers, slum dwellers – and it is always the women among them in particular. In most cases hunger is caused by man. Time and again Jean Ziegler, the professor from the rich city of Geneva, has advocated the cause of people living in poverty whenever they were victimized by a concept of development which is oriented to naked growth figures, like recently when he voiced a sharp criticism of speculation with foodstuffs. Financial institutions such as the Swiss UBS, British Barclays, US-American Goldman Sachs or Deutsche Bank and Allianz insurance company – all of them invest billions, but in order to speculate with foodstuffs rather than to defeat hunger. And what are the consequences? It triggers price spikes on the world market making food unaffordable for the poor of this world. Once again they are made to suffer from the violation of their right to food.

Such a criticism of those who are in power in the economy and in politics is not too comfortable; it is not always mainstream – Jean Ziegler was made to feel this on many occasions. And that is exactly why it is so important that he receives the Blue Planet Award in order to make our planet more worth living in and to assure this for all and forever after. That is a great dream shared by Oxfam which Jean Ziegler has brought a little closer to reality with his comprehensive activity as a professor, as a human rights activist, as a critic, as a writer and as a courageous citizen.

Because of that he has our highest esteem!

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### **Danuta Sacher / terre des hommes (Germany)<sup>43</sup>**

“A child who dies of hunger is being murdered.” Jean Ziegler recently made this shocking public statement. Such a drastic statement is typical for his way of coming straight to the point in order to draw attention to the structural causes of hunger in a world of abundance. It is typical for this Swiss citizen who never shied away from a dispute: He is very outspoken in his unerring battle for justice and against exploitation.

Such a spirit makes Jean Ziegler a good and worthy awardee of ethecon – Foundation Ethics & Economics. People who are active in this foundation strive for the same goals as Jean Ziegler: In our society and in our economy, ethical, ecological, social and human rights principles must have priority over greed, profits and ruthless exploitation of the weakest. Ziegler never stopped advocating these principles as a councillor in the Swiss Parliament and as special UN rapporteur on the right to food and today he keeps doing so as a private citizen.

terre des hommes as an international charity organisation for the children have always felt close to Jean Ziegler. In his book entitled “The Empire of Shame” which he wrote in 2005 he describes his encounter with Edmond Kaiser, founder of terre des hommes Switzerland. He was very touched by what Edmund Kaiser said about the misery in the world: “If someone lifted the lid from the world’s kettle, all of that wailing would make heaven and earth back off. Because neither the earth nor heaven nor anyone of us is able to comprehend the appalling amount of suffering of the children nor the impact of the forces which crush them.” For decades and in different ways, with different approaches and holding different positions, terre des homes and Jean Ziegler have stood up to bring about a change of the mentioned situation. Jean Ziegler did so as an eloquent diplomat, politician and writer. terre des hommes do so as a charitable organization of concerned active people who do not wish to remain idle in the face of need and misery but who want to speak up for political change, for conquering misery and injustice. One way to achieve this end is calling for donations for aid projects.

Jean Ziegler’s rhetorics and speeches about worldwide justice and solidarity may seem outdated to some. Mind you there has been no improvement in this world since Ziegler spoke his drastic words – quite on the contrary: Foodstuffs are commercialized to an extent which is unheard of as an object of speculation at the stock exchange and through “land grabbing” in African countries. Food becomes a commercial commodity. Land is private property. Human beings are forced to stay out and go hungry. Children are most affected by this situation. There are protective shields for banks and other “systemic” financial institutions but none for those who did not cause the crises and who suffer most from the crises – these are the poorest people of this world. Never to accept this, to stand up in protest against this

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<sup>43</sup> Danuta Sacher is chairwoman of the board of Germany’s terre des homes, which is a charitable organisation for the benefit of children and engaged in politics of development: [www.tdh.de](http://www.tdh.de).



and to advocate worldwide justice – it is this conviction which unites Jean Ziegler, ethecon and terre des hommes. It is most encouraging that our initiatives and organisations are supported by so many people who think and act according to Jean Ziegler.





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## **Markus Henn and Peter Wahl / World Economy, Ecology & Development / WEED (Germany)<sup>44</sup>**

We herewith send our sincere congratulations to Jean Ziegler. We would also like to commend ethecon on their choice: Jean Ziegler is an honorable nominee for the Blue Planet Award.

Jean Ziegler is one of those persons who have untiringly denounced the scandalous permanence of world hunger today. This he does with both the passion of a 20-year old and the expertise of an experienced scholar. And where others prefer packing their UN-speeches in diplomatic wool in order to not offend those more privileged in wealth and power Jean Ziegler speaks to the point – whether in addressing the General Assembly of the United Nations or the 2000 activists at the alternative G-8 summit meeting in Heiligendamm.

Ziegler doesn't just describe the conditions – he has a clear understanding of their inherent causes. He knows it is impossible to speak on poverty and remain silent on in the subject of wealth.

Long before the current financial crisis was immanently tangible he spoke out against targeting basic nutrients for speculative purposes. He pointed out how the pin-striped façade of supposed sobriety hides highly profitable yet deadly practices.

Jean Ziegler spoke on capitalism long before the present crisis – back in times when the mere utterance of this word placed him in the GULAG league. Even then it was for sure Ziegler hadn't forgotten Goethe's famous aphorism: the spirit of an era mainly reflects the morals of the powerful.

Ziegler remained upright as others fell into their opportunistic stances. And indeed, he named those he accused of immoral action: the agricultural business sector and transnational commerce; banks, funds and tutti quanti. This takes courage, especially when holding a sensitive and public position within a UN institution. And in doing so he naturally made himself enemies. But be they the Bush Administration or the Nestlé Corporation, the Swiss Banks or the cultural administrators of the Salzburg Festival the maxim the more enemies the greater the honor holds true.

Jean Ziegler stands in the laudable tradition of European intellectuals in their common propagation of Enlightenment values and emancipatory social movements he has always been on friendly terms with.

It is thus he has encouraged many young adults in the critical globalization movements: Occupy, Indignados organizations purporting a just and peaceful change of society.

We hope for us all that Jean Ziegler will continue this venue for a long time to come.

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<sup>44</sup> Markus Henn works for WEED as their expert for the international financial system and speculation with foodstuffs. Peter Wahl is chairman of the board and the expert for regulation of the international financial system. WEED is an NGO advocating a globalisation with social justice and ecological sustainability: [www.weed-online.org](http://www.weed-online.org).

## Statements from previous ethecon Blue Planet Award awardees

**Angela Davis / USA<sup>45</sup>**

### International ethecon Blue Planet Award 2011

No life has been more dedicated to the eradication of world hunger than Jean Ziegler's. Thanks to his contributions in many arenas – including meticulously-researched scholarship and powerful advocacy through the United Nations – people around the world are becoming aware that famine is never a natural disaster. He has exposed the part played by transnational corporations in producing starvation and has never succumbed to governmental or corporate pressure. It is a great honor to stand with Jean Ziegler as an ethecon Blue Planet Awardee.

**Elias Bierdel/Austria<sup>46</sup>**

### International ethecon Blue Planet Award 2010

Jean Ziegler knows the global system of exploitation right down to every deceitful nook and cranny – and he has always been very outspoken about it. It is only logic for his invitation to the Salzburg Festival to be cancelled. And it is even more logic that he is now awarded the Blue Planet Award. Ziegler is a key witness against murderous obscenities of capitalism. He is a brilliant mind and he is reasonably furious. But he is never bitter. Instead, he is full of passionate love for fellow man.

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<sup>45</sup> The Afro-American civil and human rights activist Angela Davis is the awardee of the International ethecon Blue Planet Award 2011 and Professor emerita for History of Consciousness and Feminist Studies at the University Santa Cruz in California. See the dossier by the ethecon Foundation „International ethecon Blue Planet Award 2011 for the civil and human rights activist Angela Davis/USA“, Berlin 2011 and [http://www.ethecon.org/download/Dossier\\_Blue\\_Planet\\_Award\\_2011\\_English.pdf](http://www.ethecon.org/download/Dossier_Blue_Planet_Award_2011_English.pdf).

<sup>46</sup> The refugee- and human rights activist Elias Bierdel is the winner of the International ethecon Blue Planet Award 2010. The journalist and author was the director and chairperson of the relief organization, „Komitee Cap Anamur/Deutsche Notärzte e.V.“ („Cap Anamur/German Emergency Doctors“). As such he was involved in 2004 in the rescue of 37 African refugees who had come into sea distress during their crossing to Europe. After their arrival in Italy, Bierdel as well as the captain Stefan Schmidt and the first officer were arrested under the charge of smuggling immigrants. They faced four years of imprisonment and a fine of 400 000 euros. They were acquitted after five years. He was not re-elected by the members of the board of „Cap Anamur“. Under the impact of this experience Bierdel and Schmidt founded „borderline-europe - Menschenrechte ohne Grenzen e.V.“ (Human rights without borders) in 2007. Since March 2010, Bierdel has been working at the Schläining Peace Castle for the „Österreichisches Studienzentrum für Frieden und Konfliktlösung/ÖSFK“ („Austrian Study Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution/ASPR“) where he is responsible for the International Civilian Peace-keeping and Peace-building Training Program.



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**Diane Wilson/USA**<sup>47</sup>

**International ethecon Blue Planet Award 2006**

Jean Ziegler is a unique, talented international figure who is aptly deserving of ethecon's Blue Planet Award that celebrates the life, work, and dedication of men and women who have made this a better planet Earth. Through Mr. Ziegler's books and position with the United Nations, he has not only highlighted the causes of hunger, poverty, and other food issue, but advocated for their cessation. Jean Ziegler is a champion of the poor and the disenfranchised, and as such has taken on the Olympian task of pointing out the injustices of government actions. For this Jean Ziegler has faced enormous international criticism and hostility and it speaks well for ethecon, that through their Blue Planet Award, they have shown the clarity of vision and fortitude to honor such a planetary hero as Jean Ziegler.

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<sup>47</sup> Diane Wilson is an American environmental and political activist as well as the winner of the International ethecon Blue Planet Award 2006 (see <http://ethecon.org.de/976>). A fourth-generation shrimper and the mother of five children, she adamantly advocates for the implementation of ethical principles. As a result, she has been arrested frequently, has served nine jail sentences and went on hunger strikes about 20 times. She is a union representative of workers whose health has been damaged due to working conditions in various chemistry plants in her home region in Texas ("Injured Workers United"). She is also one of the founders of the American Women and Peace organization Code-Pink (see <http://chelseagreen.com/blogs/dianewilson/>.)

**Acceptance speech  
by corporate critic and anti-globalisation activist Jean Ziegler (Switzerland)  
on the occasion of bestowal with the International ethecon Blue Planet Award 2012<sup>48</sup>**

Ladies and Gentlemen, dear friends – I do not dare to say comrades although it is the most beautiful address I can think of.

My thanks from all my heart go to the award committee - most of all to Axel Köhler-Schnura, of course – for the extraordinary honour which is bestowed upon me here.

I thank you from all my heart. Because it isn't just an honour – no, absolutely it is also a weapon in the struggle I am fighting in the human rights council from what is very much a minority position. It is a strengthening of this struggle and I am extremely grateful for this solidarity. I am also very happy to be here today, and most of all I my friend Hans See for the brilliant and very, very witty speech in my praise.<sup>49</sup> I am very, very grateful.

If there is anything I would like to say about my person it will be with the words of Jean Paul Sartre. The final words of his autobiography "Les mots" are: "Un homme, fait de tous les hommes et qui le vaut tous et qui vaut n'importe qui." That means:

"A man, made by all human beings, who is equal to everybody and bound to everybody." That is the way I look at it, too – I am a quite ordinary person, after all – and mind you what disturbs me most is my own lack of efficiency. Yes indeed! My lack of efficiency, and I am going to prove it to you straight away.

The topic for the half hour I've got was the daily massacre of hunger. – Where is hope? The theses of my latest book "We let them starve – the holocaust in the Third World". A concise topic and a precise topic. We are descending ten floors from the conceptual analysis and the wise words of Hans See down to a limited matter-of-fact topic.

There is one preliminary remark: The definition of the human right to food as stated in the UN accord about economic and social rights goes like this: "The right to food is the right to a regular, lasting and unhindered immediate access or access through financial means to nutrition of sufficient quality and quantity which is appropriate to the cultural traditions of the consumer's own people, enabling him/her to lead a physical and psychological, individual and collective, satisfying life with human dignity and free from fear." Out of the 31 human rights in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights dated 10th December 1948 this is certainly the one human right on this planet which is violated most brutally and most permanently.

<sup>48</sup> This is a slightly edited transcript of the free speech held by Jean Ziegler. The original speech can be listened to and watched on [www.youtube.com/watch?v=R47Q\\_2V70sy4](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R47Q_2V70sy4).

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Laudatory speech in this dossier on page 27.

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You all know the extent of the disaster: Every 5 seconds – according to last year's WFO World Food Report – every 5 seconds a child under the age of 10 dies from starvation. 57.000 human beings starve to death each day and a billion people are permanently and most severely undernourished, crippled by permanent severe undernourishment – no life with human dignity, no sex life, no work life etc.. And in that same World Food Report stating the number of casualties which are not disputed by anyone, it says that world agriculture at its present stage of development of productive forces could feed 12 billion people without a problem with 2.200 calories per individual per day. So that is almost twice the world population. At the beginning of this millennium there is no longer an actual shortage.

Things were different 100 years ago when people emigrated from Tyrol, Baden-Württemberg, the Engadin valley in the Alps, across the sea, in order to escape from hunger. Marx died on 14th March 1883 fully convinced that the damned twosome, as he used to call it, of master and slave would stay with humankind throughout the centuries i.e. the struggle for those few insufficient goods needed to satisfy one's basic needs. Contrary to Marx' assumption the actual shortage is no more thanks to an unbelievable series of industrial, technological and electronic revolutions which gave an unbelievable boost to man's productive forces in the course of the last 4 or 5 generations.

A child who dies of hunger at the very moment we talk here is being murdered. It is not about production of food – it is about access to food and access to the food economy i.e. purchasing power.

I could quote more figures, but tonight I do not want to bore you with figures. Just one more figure from the UN statistics, from the World Bank statistics, to be exact. You know that mankind loses about one percent of its substance per year. We are 7 billion people, so if you add up all causes of death 70 million people leave this planet in one year. Last year, out of the 70 million people who left this planet due to whichever cause of death, who died, 18.2 million died of hunger or the immediate after-effects. On this planet which overflows with wealth! Still at this very moment hunger is by far the most common cause of death.

Who are the murderers? Who are the accomplices? It is us who are the accomplices as long as we keep silent. And it doesn't have to be that way. I am going to say some more about that at the end. We let them starve. Who are the offenders?

First of all I would like to differentiate between two categories – professors are like that, you know. So allow me to make a general pedagogical differentiation between rural population and urban population. About half of the world's population which is round about 3.9 billion people live in the country and in theory, they produce their own food. And the other half which is the urban population have to buy their food.

The murderous mechanisms are different for these two types of population. I have to correct the statement I made – Sartre said that "La réalité est toujours impure" (reality is always impure.) If you dis-

cern between the two categories and try to compare them you tend to forget that once in every year 43 percent of the small farmers, leaseholders and day labourers also need to buy their food on the market for a period of 4 to 5 months which is called “la soudure” in French (the time to sweat) i.e. the time between an empty storage and the new harvest. And by doing so they usually have to pledge the next harvest. So I will stick to my differentiation purely for pedagogical reasons for us to make quick progress. But it isn’t exact.

Today there is 10 international companies controlling 85 percent of all foodstuffs which are traded. I am mainly talking about staple food such as maize, rice and grain which, for their part, cover 75 percent of world consumption. About half of that is rice. I went through plenty of lawsuits for libel and slander and I keep stating this very clearly: It is these companies who decide every day who is to eat and live and who is to starve and die. And: It is normal and it is legal. Companies work according to strategies for maximum profit. They don’t exist in order to fight hunger in the world. It is also not about psychological analyses like Hans See who is the good guy and the president of CARGILL who is the bad guy. It isn’t as simple as that. Let me take Peter Brabeck, the president of NESTLÉ which is the world’s biggest food company. That is rather a civilised man. At times I meet him skiing in the Upper Savoys. We don’t talk much but we greet and stuff like that. He is able to read and write and he is rather a civilised man – but if he didn’t boost the shareholder value every year by so and so many percent which is the interest yield from invested capital – then within three months he would no longer be president of NESTLÉ. The cannibal world order of capitalism is about structural violence, not about psychological motivation. It is about structural violence and that is what must be broken. In my third series of remarks I am going to explain how to go about it.

Now let’s talk about the causes: What is it that kills the farmers, the leaseholders, the producers of food in places where the worst hunger is raging. There are mainly three chains of causes, three murderous mechanisms.

First of all there is certainly agricultural dumping. You know that last year, the industrialised OECD countries spent 349 billion Dollar on export and production subsidies and that the EU gets rid of their surplus production in Africa, the Caribbean, the Andes in America and in Southern Asia on a massive scale. Today – depending on the season – you can buy German, French, Greek vegetables, poultry, fruit on every African market in Dakar, in Niamey, in Cotonou at half or one third of the price of equal domestic African products. And a few kilometres further on there is the Wolof, Mossi or Bambara farmer standing in the scorching sun for ten hours with his wife and children toiling away without even the slightest chance of earning a living. 37 out of the 54 countries on the African continent and its islands are agricultural countries. The hypocrisy of the commissioners in Brussels is abysmal. On the one hand they produce hunger in Africa – 35.2 percent out of the one billion people of the African population are most severely and permanently undernourished today and the figures are rising – and on the other

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hand they persecute with military means those hunger refugees who attempt to come from 2.000 kilometres away across the South Atlantic, the Canary Islands or from the Maghreb to Lampedusa or Malta to the southern border of Europe. By military means, by the FRONTEX organisation, by night radar, helicopters and so on they are driven back into the sea where thousands of them drown. Therefore, agricultural dumping is one of the murderous mechanisms for the rural population.

The second one is low productivity – and here I am glad that we can discuss because the ideological enemy is very, very strong with this one. It is true that in the Sahel region, for example, in the 8 countries of the Sahel region, productivity is very low. In normal times – i.e. in times without war, without locusts, without climate disaster, without a draught like those 5 years of draught around the horn of Africa where more than 18 million people are on the verge of the abyss – in normal times which are rare in this part of the world a hectare of grain, which would be sorghum in the Sahel, would yield 600 to 700 kilo. In Baden-Württemberg or in Brittany this is 10.000 kilo. This is not because the German or French farmer is so much more hard-working or competent than the African farmer. The African continent is covered with great ancient farming civilisations with knowledge about the ground, geological knowledge etc. It is not a question of productive capability, it is a question of investment. As for the crushing foreign debt: By 31st December last year the 122 so-called developing countries had accumulated a foreign debt of 2.200 billion or 2.2 trillion US-Dollar. Everything the poorest countries earn with a little export of cotton, peanuts or sisal (peanuts from Senegal, cotton from Mali, sisal from Tanzania), it goes straight to the banks of the creditors in Frankfurt, London, New York, Paris or Zurich for covering the debts or interest or repayment. As a result, there is no capital left for investment in this subsistence agriculture. There are fewer than 250.000 draught animals on this continent, hence there is hardly any mineral manure. And you can forget about selected seed. No more than 3.8 percent of Black African soil has artificial irrigation. The rest is rain agriculture like 5.000 years ago. And now come the World Bank.

By the way: The World Bank and the European Development Bank, African Development Bank, European Investment Bank, they are public banks. They are paid by tax money of the industrialised countries – by you and I. And these banks finance the robbery of land which is called land grabbing. Last year, 41 million hectares of land were torn away from African farmers. Usually it is through completely transparent structures, completely intransparent contracts, through corruption. Corruption on the part of the local government is part of the game in almost every case. It is by means of 99 year lease or purchase contracts.

I will give you an example: My book was translated to Norwegian. So I was invited by Norwegian socialists, by the Stoltenberg government. They are socialists – yes, there still are a few of them in Europe! And they are very special ones. They are Lutherans, highly moral people. And at the end of the discussion someone raised the hand and said: “Well, how can it be that we can buy Saudi-Arabian pota-

toes in the shops of Oslo?" I said: "I don't believe you. It can't be." The following morning 5 trade unionists came to see me in the hotel. Three women and two men. They collected me and we went to the department stores. In Norway, the country of origin must be written in English and in Norwegian. Pyramids of shiny potatoes, beautiful big potatoes: "Saudi-Arabian Potatoes". When I had returned to Geneva I gathered my staff and said: "Where does this come from? Please have a look." They found out immediately: In Gambela, on the banks of the upper Nile, the Saudi-Arabian Development Corporation of Sheikh Mohamed A-Amoudi "received" 550.000 hectares of land. And the Ethiopian army had driven the Nu and Aruak who lived there away. They were to ancient farming societies from the Nile valley. Where to? To the tin can cities, to the slums of Arragué, Siramo, Addis Abeba. Child prostitution, undernourishment, unemployment, destroyed families – that is the normal fate of farmers who were driven away. Sheikh Al-Amoudi brought migrant workers from Sri Lanka, for extremely low wages, of course. He produces roses and potatoes for export. Where to? Where there is purchasing power: To Western Europe, Scandinavia and Japan.

Land grabbing is extraordinary. That's why I am glad we can talk about it. The meanest theories of our opponents are those where they have a first argument going for them which can be verified empirically. Like I said, it is true that there is a productivity gap. But the conclusion which is drawn from this is murderous. It is not the point to drive the small African farmer away, to ruin his existence and to hand over the land to the hedgefonds: the point is to enable the small farmers to make some minimal investments in their subsistence agriculture. For this it is necessary to drop and delete the debts – I mean a radical deletion of the foreign debt, for the poorest 50 countries, anyway.

There is a second element to the foreign debt relief which is necessary: The IMF, the International Monetary Fund administers the foreign debt. Foreign debt cannot be repaid in local currency (such as Gourdes or Bolivianos). One has to pay in hard currency. That is what the banks demand. So as a result of that, when the "Black Ravens" from Washington come flying in when there is another country once again on the brink of insolvency, and when, once again, the IMF talks about refinancing, a debt moratorium etc., then they will say: "Look, we respect your sovereignty. But if you want a new credit or a new moratorium or a delay of your payments, then you will have to carry out such and such a structural reform." And then they will go on about those infamous structural realignment programs. Invariably, there is never a reform of military spending and the fiscal structure. But invariably, there will be an extension of farmland for export crops. It is possible to generate foreign currency with cotton, with sisal, with peanuts etc.. But there will be no cassava growing where there is cotton. Where there are peanuts, there will be no rice. That means the extension of farmland designated for export destroys or reduces the capability to produce one's own food.

And now let us turn to the murderous mechanisms which threaten the urban population – especially those 1.2 billion people who are called "extremely poor" by the World Bank, who have to get by with



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less than a Dollar a day. There are specific mechanisms which are murderous for these 1.2 billion extremely poor people living in the slums of the world, in Lima's Calampas, the Favelas of Brazil, the slums of Karachi, in Manila's Smoky Mountains.

Speculation with foodstuffs can certainly be named as the first mechanism. You know that the so-called financial crisis, bank banditism, wiped out assets to the amount of 85.000 billion, that is 85 trillion US-Dollar at the financial stock exchanges in 2007/2008. As a result of that, the big hedgefunds, big banks and big speculators changed over from the financial stock exchanges to the commodity stock exchanges and to the foodstuff stock exchanges in particular. Today, Goldman-Sachs once again offer derivatives, which are complex, intransparent commercial papers, not only on real estate, but also on rice, sugar, soybean, maize, wheat, sorghum etc.. At the Chicago Commodities Stock Exchange, the hedgefunds are making astronomic profits with the usual stock exchange instruments, i.e. short selling, leverage, futures etc. which is absolutely legal. In the course of the first 8 months of this year until 1st September, the price of maize went up on the world market by 63 percent. The current price of a ton of wheat has doubled to 271 Euro. And the world market price of a ton of Philippine rice went up from 110 Dollar to 1.200 Dollar in those same 8 months. The children are dying in the tincan cities of the world where mothers have to buy their children's daily food with very little money.

I will tell you a short story in order to make quick progress. Recently, in June, I was in Bolivia on a UN mission. There you reach El Alto at an altitude of 4.200 metres. One can hardly breathe there. I usually stay two or three days down below in Lima prior to making that trip. In Lima, I know a Calampa, one of these tincan cities, a slum. There are people I know, I can even say friends. At sunset, the mothers gather outside the rice depot. I was there. I stood there until midnight. None of these women even bought half a bag of rice, no matter what is the size of their family; none of them bought one kilo. All of them merely bought the rice in paper cups. Afterwards the woman walks home, lights a fire under the pot, and when the water is simmering she will empty the cup into the boiling water. Then you have a few grains of rice swimming on the water. And that is the food for children for the day. That is the situation today. Speculation with foodstuffs is responsible for death.

The World Bank say it has been about 162 million human beings since the beginning of the year – I think they are many more. And I may add – in brackets, so to speak – that only the coincidence of biological birth separates us from them. So when I speak about the victims I might as well talk about us.

And the speculators are responsible for yet another crime – looking at it from the point of view of morality and criminal law. They forced the industrialised countries to cover their losses with public money in order to restart the crediting of banks. This is money which is missing for financing the World Food Program. The WFP lost about half of the budget in 2009 because payments were cut accordingly.

You know there is – UN language is incredibly bureaucratic, worse than the military – there is structural hunger, “silent hunger”, invisible hunger which is implicit, as a manner of speaking. The daily massacre is inseparably linked to underdevelopment of structures, of production structures in the developing countries. And then there is cyclical hunger, famine, visible hunger. If you are lucky you will even get to see it on German or Swiss television for two or three seconds. Then you get to see a child in Sudan, in Darfur. When an economy is destroyed by a war or a climate disaster, then there is talk about cyclical hunger. And that one is visible – or anyway it could be visible if people care to take a look.

Visible hunger falls within the responsibility of the World Food Program for immediate humanitarian aid. Recently I went to Nyala which is one of the 17 hunger camps in Western Sudan. For four years, an Islamic dictatorship has been causing terrible suffering there among 3 African Peoples called Massalit, Zaghawa and Fur. In the Nyala camp where there are 160.000 people squeezed in behind barbed wire and guarded by blue helmet soldiers – if the white Toyota trucks of 27 tons each with the blue UN flags don’t arrive there every 3 days with bags of flour, with containers of water, with bags of rice, then people are dying. Full stop.

A woman who ventures out 500 metres outside the barbed wire to get water or to collect firewood run a high risk to be caught and taken prisoner by the Djandjawid, the militia on horseback, the mercenaries of Omar Bashir, to be raped and in many cases to be killed. Immediate humanitarian aid cannot prevent that sort of thing from happening.

The World Food Program used to have an annual budget of 6 billion Dollar in 2008. Today, the budget is 2.8 billion. This is because the industrialised countries made very, very deep cuts in their WFP-contributions or they cancelled them altogether due to their financial obligations towards the banks. Now this is not an accusation against Mrs. Merkel or Mr. Cameron or anybody else. Mrs. Merkel was elected for keeping the German economy going. – This is not about accusations. It is Mrs. Merkel’s job. The children of Darfur do not die on Kurfürstendamm in Berlin, after all. You don’t see them. They don’t vote, too. Mrs. Merkel, Mr. Cameron, Mr. Hollande etc., whatever these philanthropists are called, they weren’t elected for keeping the dying children from Somalia, Ethiopia, Djibouti alive, you know, but - I repeat – to restart their own economy or to keep it going. But it is absolutely certain that this is where the speculators kill for a second time. And for this they ought to face a tribunal, an international tribunal for crimes against humanity.

Fuel from agriculture is another thing. It is the second murderous mechanism. Let me take the biggest producer which is the United States of America. Last year the Obama government burnt 138 million tons of maize with plenty of subsidies. That is 42 percent of the American harvest. Plus hundreds of million tons of grain for producing bio-ethanol and bio-diesel. Once again I am glad that we can discuss here because at a first glance, the theory of legitimacy for this agro-fuel production sounds convincing.

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It is true that there are negative changes of the climate. It is true that this negative change is caused by fossil fuels (CO<sub>2</sub>, ozone layer etc.). It is true that at a first glance, replacement of fossil energy with vegetable energy appears reasonable. This is added by a strategic consideration on the part of Obama which isn't simply cynical. One cannot simply say that he ignores or doesn't care about millions of people who are starving. That would be a quite an unmarxist view. America with 330 million inhabitants continues to be the world's biggest industrial power in spite of its relatively small population. Every fourth industrial product on this planet is produced by Americans. The raw material is crude oil. 20 million barrel a day are needed in America to keep this unbelievable impressive machine going. Out of these 20 million barrel, only 8 million are produced between Alaska and Texas i.e. within the US; 12 million – a little more than that, 61 percent – need to be imported. From regions which are very unstable: the Niger-Delta, Central Asia, the Middle East etc.. Which in turn forces the Americans make available and to maintain an astronomic military budget. Rumsfeld the war criminal once said: "America must be able to wage 4 wars on 4 continents at the same time." For this crude oil and other important commodities. The USA pay billions to their mercenary state Israel, for instance, and they maintain the corrupt Gulf emirates. And Obama will not be able to finance any social program nor a health insurance unless he reduces the Pentagon defence budget. But he can only reduce the Pentagon budget if he reduces crude oil imports. He can only reduce crude oil imports if he replaces them with vegetable energy as far as possible. I understand that.

But let's say you own a car which can run on bio-ethanol, which is already quite common in Scandinavia, and let's say that car got a 50 litre tank. If you fill it up with bio-ethanol or bio-diesel you have to burn 352 kilos of maize. In Zambia or Mexico where maize is a staple food, a child will live for a year on 352 kilos of maize. Whatever the theoretical reasoning for the legitimacy may be of agricultural fuel production by way of burning millions of tons of food – it is a crime against humanity and it is not acceptable. There are different ways of fighting the climate disaster – public transport, saving energy, solar energy, aquatic energy, helio energy etc..

I intentionally took a little time for the analytical presentation of these remarks. All of these problems, the justification of legitimacy etc.. That is also what I did in my book. For 8 years, I used to be the first UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food. So in fact the book is a report of my experiences. But at long last it is possible for me to say who are the culprits, in the book or wherever I want. I no longer have to walk into this presidential palace, or that multinational chamber of commerce or the World Bank Head Office for negotiations. In the book I also state where I was a traitor – that has happened, too – and at the end I say where there is hope. The book is intended to be a weapon for the uprising of conscience.

At present I am Vice President of the Advisory Committee of the UN Human Rights Council. Against this background, too, I say that it isn't easy to be evil. You always need a justification of legitimacy for

that. The World Bank can't simply practice land grabbing, the robbery of land, out of sheer cynicism; they need a justification of legitimacy for it. A justification of legitimacy is also needed for producing agricultural fuel. Likewise in order to maintain debt bondage. And that's why it is important – it would be important – for us to discuss how these justifications of legitimacy work and how they govern public opinion to a large extent. With the words of Sartre, we haven't lost the theoretical class struggle, but at present we are certainly in a minority position. There is the material class struggle, you know that; and there is the theoretical class struggle which is just as important. It is the fight over the justifications of legitimacy as practiced by the ruling class. It is this theoretical class struggle which we have to fight with maximum intensity where the daily massacre of hunger is concerned.

Now where is any hope? For many years I was a member of the bureau of the Socialist Internationale as well as a member of the Confederate Parliament for the Geneva constituency. That was absolutely useless. I used to believe Willy Brandt 200 years ago when I was young that collective consciousness would be constantly on the rise – demandable consciousness, as Adorno put it. That there would be a growing general feeling of justice with the result of growing majorities of voters, and that this would inevitably bring about Democratic Socialism like a golden rain. Today I no longer believe in that at all. Instead, I believe in subversive integration into existing structures. I will come back to that later. Willy Brandt kept telling us that whenever and wherever you speak in public it must be a crystal-clear analysis, but at the end there must be hope. Nobody is allowed to leave the hall without hope. If there is only one person who leaves without hope then you had better stayed at home.

Where is hope? Now I don't say Hegel's hope for the negation of the negation nor the utopian hope for the negation of everything in existence. It is about a tangible political project with an immediate feasibility. Take any of these murderous mechanisms which are responsible for the millionfold massacre of human beings on this planet year after year through hunger. Each of these mechanisms is man-made and it can be broken by man.

By the way there is a paradox which I would like to mention, if I had a minute of extra time, because it surprised me very much. I grew up in the Calvinist middle-class in the Highlands near Bern, with Alsatian parents, my grandfather was a country doctor who was a refugee from Alsace and my father was a Chief Judge. Like most of you I had always thought that death through starvation is like fading away, fading away slowly. Life's energy is spent when you work, when you live, when you breathe, when you move, and it has to be replaced by new energy, by calories, protein etc. in order to be rebuilt. And if that is missing or if there is a lack of it, I had always thought that there was a weakening and a slow fading away like a candle which is extinguished – and that that was death through starvation. But that is not true at all. Death through starvation is one of the most awful ways to die you can think of, one of the most painful and horrible ways to die. One thing is quite certain, that agony always follows four successive stages, whether it is about Mongolia or whether I saw it in Bangladesh, in a tincan city in Dakar,

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or among the severely undernourished Maya farmers in Guatemala at an altitude of 2.200 metres. The agony is always the same. The causes which lead to death are manifold. The chains of causes differ. The agony is always the same. You know that man can survive three minutes without breathing, is able to survive normally without any liquid for three days and without any food for three weeks. After that one starts to degenerate. At first the reserves of fat and sugar are used up. Then the victims become lethargic, losing weight rapidly, the immune system collapses, infections of the area around the mouth are next and of metabolism, bloody diarrhoea which is already very, very painful – the pains are terrible. The muscles are depleted next. Then the skin changes. Children look like aged persons, lying in the dust unable to stand up. And then comes death. That is a horrible and very, very painful death.

I will say it again: We are talking about mass murder. We are not talking about a natural disaster – unnecessary for me to say it here. We are talking about mass murder with perpetrators and accomplices, and it would be possible to put an end to it by tomorrow morning. Take any one of these murderous mechanisms, each of them is man-made and can be broken by man. While we are talking about democracy with the rule of law. If we were discussing in Honduras or in Peking, that would be something else. We are talking in Berlin. In my opinion Germany is one of the liveliest democracies on this continent, and the No. 3 economic power in the world on top of that, and there is no powerlessness in democracy. Tomorrow morning we can force the Bundestag to revise the law about stock exchanges. No stock exchange in the world works in a space which is devoid of the law. All of them are subject to normative regulations by means of a national law. Just add one section: "Speculation on staple food which is not carried out by a consumer or a producer is unlawful." We can ask that much.

Mr. Schäuble didn't fall from heaven. Maybe that's what he thinks, but it isn't so. The reason why he is there is because he was placed there by delegation of the people for a limited period of time – indirectly, via a majority of the Bundestag. When he flies to the General Assembly of the World Monetary Fund in Washington in January we can force him to no longer vote for the creditor banks in Frankfurt and elsewhere in the world and to vote for the starving children instead i.e. for a total debt write-off for the 50 poorest countries of this world. In addition to that, Germany is a big power in the World Monetary Fund. You know the UN consists of 195 states which is all the states of the world except the Vatican – but we can do without that sinister guy in Rome. In the UN, the principle is "One state, one vote." The smallest UN member state is Vanuatu in the South Pacific with 55.000 inhabitants. The biggest is the Peoples Republic of China with 1.3 billion people. China and Vanuatu have one vote each. That is good. That is civilisation. But in the World Monetary Fund it is different: It's "One Dollar, one vote." There it is the financial power of a member state which counts, and Germany has a decisive vote there. We can force Mr. Schäuble to adopt a completely different behaviour.

We could force the ministers of agriculture to demand a ban, a stop of agricultural dumping next time they meet in Brussels. We can enforce that. Germany is not a producer of agricultural fuel, but an

importer, and complied with the new European rule which demands that 5 percent of the energy which is used on the continent should be vegetable. With a law for Customs we can ban the import of agricultural fuel made from burnt food.

Che Guevara once said: “Even the strongest walls will fall as a result of cracks.” Hans See has pointed out beautifully that revolutionary processes are absolutely mysterious. And there is nothing worse than an intellectual who stands up saying: “Now I will tell you how history will continue.”

The lesson I learnt from my 8 years as a rapporteur on world hunger is a very contradictory one. The empirical experience of injustice is getting worse and worse. If you take the demographic curve, then the increase of the hunger curve is less sharp than that of the demographic curve which allowed “Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung” to write that “yes, hunger is on the decline”; but that is quite untrue! The absolute figures of hunger are on the rise. On every continent. And now it is also rising here. The jungle is approaching Europe.

I was in Spain in May and there Cayo Lara of Izquierda Unida took the initiative against speculation with foodstuffs, same as the Swiss Young Socialists. It coincided with the publication of the UNICEF report entitled “Niños en Espana” about the situation of children in Spain. 2.2 million children in Spain under the age of 10 are severely and permanently undernourished. Due to Rajoy’s terrible policy of austerity as prescribed by Mrs. Merkel all school meals have been cancelled and 90 percent of social benefits for the poorest families have been cut. There is a survey by Oxfam about England. Oxfam carried out a countrywide survey in Elementary Schools. That was early this year. 55 percent of the teachers said they take food to school because some or several children without breakfast arrive in school all pale and unable to follow classes. And that is why teachers need to bring food and milk to school so that these children can follow classes. I heard similar things from Berlin. A friend of mine works with Tageszeitung and his wife is a teacher in the Prenzlauer Berg area. And she also reports about children arriving in school hungry without breakfast. So the jungle is coming nearer – also in Europe.

That gives me hope for two reasons: First, the Europeans now learn what they have done to the people of the South for centuries. White people – that’s us – today are 13.8 percent and never accounted for more than 15 percent in the entire history of mankind. And for 500 years these white people have been ruling over this planet with renewed systems of exploitation and oppression, slavery, direct territorial occupation etc.. And now, slowly, slowly, slowly, there is an identity of experience. That supports the feeling of identity. Immanuel Kant – much criticised by Hans See – said: “The inhumanity done to somebody else destroys the humanity inside me.”

If you look around yourself – the cracks Che Guevara talked about: Unbelievable progress, beyond the institutions. I believe that institutions as we know them today will slowly die out. Planetary civil society is a new historical subject: Attac, Greenpeace, Via Campesina, the women’s movement etc.. It is



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quite a number of fronts against predatory capitalism. They are constituted in sectors. They gather once a year in the World Social Forum where there is no Central Committee, no program, no party line, nothing; not even a vote about a final declaration, just a procession at the end where this brotherhood of the night suddenly becomes visible. And there is unbelievable, miraculous progress. 12 years ago I was present in Berlin Technical University when Attac was founded, a movement with the intention of taxing financial capital by means of the negative James Tobin Tax, gradually, in order to slow down its circulation. In those days it used to be referred to as the Attac-tax. People said "Pure utopia, what this Nobel Prize Winner, this James Tobin, invented in 1972. A pipedreamer from Princeton, and a few German youngsters believe in that. Pure utopia". Today, it is being discussed in the EU and Germany and France are in favour. So the cracks are developing. Karl Marx said: "The revolutionary must be able to hear the grass grow." That is why I am full of hope. The uprising of conscience is imminent. The question is what shape it will take in the ruling countries. One thing is for sure: According to the constitution, all of us have the weapons to break this cannibal, murderous world order.

I would like to finish with a quotation by Pablo Neruda, the friend of Allende who died on Isla Negra three weeks after the violent death of Allende, so after the 11th September 1973, most probably poisoned by that heavy criminal Pinochet. At the end of "Canto General", this unbelievable epic poem about how Latin America came into being, Pablo Neruda writes the verse: "Pueden cortar todas las flores, pero jamás detendrán la primavera. – They (our enemies) can cut all the flowers but they will never hold back the spring."

I thank you

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### **Hall of Fame**

#### **Internationaler ethecon Blue Planet Award**

##### **2012**

Jean Ziegler / anti-globalisation activist / Switzerland

##### **2011**

Angela Davis / civil and human rights activist / USA

##### **2010**

Elias Bierdel / refugee- and human rights activist / Austria

##### **2009**

Uri Avnery / peace and human rights activist / Israel

##### **2008**

José Abreu / engineer / Venezuela and Hugo Chavez / revolutionary / Venezuela – under the name of "El Sistema" they set up a worldwide unique and widely publicized programme against poverty, drugs, social negligence and crime that guarantees every child in Venezuela the right to learn to play a musical instrument

##### **2007**

Vandana Shiva / peace and environmental activist / India

##### **2006**

Diane Wilson / environmental and peace activist / USA

### **Hall of Shame**

#### **International ethecon Black Planet Award**

##### **2012**

Ivan Glasenberg (CEO), Simon Murray (chairman), Tony Hayward (member of the board, committee for environment, health and safety) and other accountable executives and major shareholders of the commodity group GLENCORE / Switzerland

##### **2011**

Tsunehisa Katsumata (chairman), Masataka Shimizu (former president), Toshio Nishizawa (president)



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and other accountable executives and major shareholders of the energy company TEPCO (Tokyo Electric Power Company) / Japan

**2010**

Tony Hayward (CEO), Bob Dudley (CEO-designate), Carl-Henric Svanberg (chairman) and other accountable executives and major shareholders of the oil- and energy company BP / Great Britain

**2009**

Owner family Wang, Lee Chih-tsuen (CEO) and other accountable executives of Formosa Plastics Group / chemistry, genetic engineering, electronics / Taiwan

**2008**

Erik Prince (owner) , Gary Jackson (president), Cofer Black, Chris Taylor, Robert Richter, Brian Bonfiglio, Chris Bertelli (spokesperson) and other accountable executives of the Blackwater company (for reasons of public reputation renamed to Xe Services LLC) / service provider for the military / USA

**2007**

Peter Brabeck-Letmathe (CEO) and Liliane Bettencourt (major shareholder) and other responsible managers and major shareholders of the Nestlé company / food industry (genetic engineering, privatization of water) / Switzerland

**2006**

Shareholders and the management of the MONSANTO company / agricultural technology (genetic engineering, pesticides, chemical warfare agents) / USA

## **The ethecon Foundation**

Our blue planet is in serious danger. This is no longer denied, not even by politics and science. But the underlying cause continues to be ignored: the greed for profit connected with the worldwide dominant economic system.

This profit-based system is responsible for injustice, exploitation and ecological destruction. The lust for profit is becoming more and more the sole motivational force in our society and in our management of the environment. The devastating consequences of this development may no longer be overlooked: massive unemployment, the breakdown of the health-, education- and social security systems, destitution, poverty and homelessness, egoism, crime and ruthlessness, weapons production and war, climate change and the collapse of ecological systems.

A different world, a just world, may only be achieved through the development and the implementation of ecologically-sound and humane economic and social models not based on profit maximization. To reach this goal, we must start at the roots, that is, within the competing interests of ethics and economics. We must stand up against those who profit from the globalization process and social decay. For the good of ecology and society, the primacy of ethical principles over economics must be asserted. The rescue of our planet will only be possible when the supremacy of the profit principle is replaced by an economic system based on ethical principles.

The transformation of our society in the direction of a just and fair social system with an intact environment and the overcoming of the profit principle cannot be achieved overnight. This requires perseverance and endurance. In order to achieve this necessary change, broad social movements must be established and fragmented forces united. However, good ideas and voluntary commitment alone are not enough. They must be backed by sufficient financial means.

This is where "ethecon - Foundation Ethics & Economics" comes in. Whereas other groups and organizations – in a historical context – are active for a short time only, ethecon follows the insight, that successful work for the implementation of ethical principles in the interest of ecology and society must be designed to operate on a long-term basis, continuing past the current generation. The legal form as a foundation was deliberately chosen in order to ensure the necessary on-going financial basis for the securing and defence of the principle of solidarity as opposed to the principle of profit.

In order to bequeath future generations with a strong foundation, ethecon needs further endowment contributions, donations and sustaining members. Founded in 2004, the foundation was able to increase its initial capital of 85,000 Euros fourfold through the aid of subsequent endowment contributions (the latest figures may be found in the foundation's brochure "For a World without Exploitation and Oppression" or on <http://www.ethecon.org>).

International ethecon Blue Planet Award 2012  
for corporate critic and anti-globalisation activist  
Jean Ziegler / Switzerland

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ethecon seeks people who, in light of the current devastating ecological and social developments, wish to use their financial resources in a responsible way. Many people want not only to talk about a just world, but to find ways to realize it, always with the goal of a sound environment, peace and humane working conditions for coming generations.

### **Please act now!**

Here is where you can help. If you agree that the prevailing profit-defined conditions must be opposed on a long-range basis, beyond the current generation, then please support "ethecon – Foundation Ethics & Economics". If an endowment contribution (from 5,000 euros) is not possible, your donation or, even better, your sustaining membership (from 60 euros per year) would be greatly appreciated. It is now possible to make an endowment contribution over a longer period of time, with monthly payments starting at 20 euros. All contributions are tax-deductible (national laws may differ on this point). In Germany, the tax-exemption limit is much higher than for regular donations and also more advantageous than for donations to political parties.

Please act now! ethecon needs you, as an endowment contributor, donor or sustaining member. You may reach "ethecon – Foundation Ethics & Economics" on the internet at <http://www.ethecon.org> or here:

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