



**ATHENS
DEMOCRACY
FORUM**

IN ASSOCIATION WITH *The New York Times*

10
YEARS

10
YEARS

The Athens Democracy Forum 10th Anniversary Now What? Shaping the Next Decade

The Athens Democracy Forum is marking its tenth anniversary this year. But while the Forum can celebrate, democracy cannot.

When the first ADF was convened, whatever problems democracy was encountering seemed offset by good news from many corners of the world. The United States was about to re-elect its first Black president; the Arab Spring seemed to confirm that people's craving for freedom and democracy could drive out dictatorial strongmen; China's Communists picked a new leader, Xi Jinping, who pledged to clean up corruption; Poland's capable prime minister, Donald Tusk, was about to become president of the European Union.

How much can change in a single decade! Mr. Obama was followed to the White House by Donald Trump, and American democracy is massively polarized and battered. The Arab Spring descended into wars in Syria, Yemen and Libya and other countries largely worse off than they were before. Xi became an all-powerful, vindictive and dangerous dictator; Poland has slid backwards under a nationalist government... And now Russia has ignited a war in Ukraine and a crisis of global proportions.

There are counterexamples, to be sure: including Greece, our host country, which was sunk in deep

depression a decade ago and turned to a populist government in despair. Today the worst of the debt crisis is over, and democracy seems back on track. Elsewhere, there are clear examples of fundamental change: the city of Paris now has a standing Citizen's Assembly; and Chile will be voting on the proposals of a citizen-led constitutional convention.

Overall, it seems two trends are emerging at the same time. Democracies are in dire trouble, but an exciting renewal is also taking shape. At this year's Athens Democracy Forum we will try to learn what went wrong – and most importantly, what we can do about it. Were we wrong in our presumptions about liberal democracy and what it requires? Are the ever-changing forces of global finance, information technology, the climate disaster and illiberal politics generating challenges that traditional democratic tools cannot counter? Our task in Athens will be to explore the innovative approaches needed to overcome these hurdles. Sessions analyzing the **future of specific regions and issues** will alternate with tutorials on emerging democratic practices and methods. We will call on a diverse group of the brightest – and often youngest -- minds in academia, politics, business and civil society to come up with a **prescription for a new breed of democracy**, one that recognizes that only bold action will have a chance against malignant threats.

Affiliated Event | Tuesday, September 27

Venue: Zappeion Megaron | Address: Leof. Vasilissis Olgas

20.00 – International Premiere of “I, Too” Documentary Film by Carol Anderson

22.00 Produced by Bertelsmann Foundation and Humanity in Action

20.00 Cocktail Reception

20.30 Film Screening

21.30 Conversation with New York Times bestselling author, **Carol Anderson**, and **Roger Cohen**, Paris Bureau Chief, The New York Times and Host of the Athens Democracy Forum

Wednesday, September 28

Venue: Zappeion Megaron | Address: Leof. Vasilissis Olgas

09.15 Transportation via mini vans from Syntagma Square to Zappeion Megaron is provided (10 minute walk)
Meeting point outside of the Grande Bretagne Hotel.

Democracy & Culture Foundation Pre-Plenary Event: Think. Talk. Do.

08.30 – **Breakfast Briefing: Climate Hub** *(by invitation only)*

10.00

Anthony Kefalas, Vice Chair of the Board, Democracy & Culture Foundation

Dr. George Dikaos, Research Fellow, Institute of European Integration and Policy, NKUA & ELIAMEP

Prof. Emmanuella Doussis, Professor of International Institutions UNESCO Chairholder on Climate Diplomacy

Konstantina Karydi, Senior Director/Advisor Resilience & Global Urban Affairs, Urban Innovative Actions Expert

Maria Logotheti, Economist, Senior Policy Advisor; Economist; Minister Counsellor ad honorem, ELIAMEP

10.00 – **Building Blocks of Democracy – The Power of... People, Executive, Information, Parties, Voting**

12.45

Luca Belgiorno-Nettis, Founder and Director, new Democracy Foundation

Amir Kochari, Hod Hasharon Mayor, Member IDEA

Marcel Schepp, Konrad Adenauer Foundation

Ji Hye Shin, Senior Research Fellow, Taejae Academy

Anthony Silberfeld, Director of Trans-Atlantic Relations, Bertelsmann Foundation

Moderated by **Anthony Kefalas**, Vice Chair of the Board, Democracy & Culture Foundation and **Kim Conniff Taber**, Editorial Director, Democracy & Culture Foundation

Reflection Group: **Dr. Nikiforos Diamandouros**, **Prof. Panos Doudonis**, **Prof. George Pagoulatos**, **Dr. Charalambos Tsekeris**, **Mr. Yannis Mastrogeorgiou**

Youth Hack: **Michele Castrezzati**, **Larissa Möckel** and **Elena Vocale**, International Youth Think Tank Fellows

12.50 – **Curated Lunch: The Athenian Charter for a New Business Ethos**

14.20

Talk: Markets & Business Ethics

Grace Peters, EMEA Head of Investment Strategy, J.P. Morgan

Introduced by **Anthony Kefalas**, Vice Chair, Democracy & Culture Foundation

Panel Discussion: Creating a New Ethos

Alberto Alemanno, Jean Monnet Professor of European Union Law, HEC Paris

Susanna Cafaro, Jean Monnet Professor of European Union Law, University of Salento

Moderated by **Patricia Cohen**, Global Economics Correspondent, The New York Times

Youth Hack: **Amay Gangul** and **Jordan King**, Global Liberal Arts Alliance Students

14.25 – **Digital Tool Kit – Deliberative Democracy and Citizen Engagement**

15.35

Leonidas Christopoulos, Secretary General of Digital Governance and Simplification of Procedures, Ministry of Digital Governance, Hellenic Republic

Dawn Nakagawa, Executive Vice President, Berggruen Institute

Moderated by **Noa Landau**, Deputy Editor-in-Chief, Haaretz

Youth Hack: **Valentina Rodríguez** and **Aoi Watanabe**, Global Liberal Arts Alliance Students

14.25 – **Digital Tool Kit – Deliberative Democracy and Citizen Engagement**

15.35

ORBIS: An-AI boosted solution for Deliberative Democracy

Nikos Karacapilidis, Professor of Management Information Systems at the Department of Mechanical Engineering and Aeronautics, University of Patras, Greece.

Dimitris Tsakalidis, Co-founder, NOVELCORE

15.40 – **Teens for Democracy: Bridging the Intergenerational Gap**

16.15

Avishai Ben Aharon, Founder and Leader, HeChalutz

Dr. Jim Clarke, Researcher, Sapienship

Olga Siokou-Siova, Head of Communication, United Nations Children's Fund in Greece

Moderated by **Alexia Papageorgiou** and **Ines Saltiel**, founders of Teens ADF

Evening | Venue: Zappeion Megaron | Address: Leof. Vasilissis Olgas

17.30 Transportation is provided via mini vans from the meeting point at the entrance to Hotel Grand Bretagne to Zappeion Megaron (10 minute walk).

18.00 – **Registration and Welcome**

18.30

18.30 – **Official Opening of the Athens Democracy Forum | Welcome Remarks**

18.45

H.E. the President of the Hellenic Republic, Katerina Sakellaropoulou

Introduced by **Achilles Tsaltas**, Founder and President, Democracy and Culture Foundation

18.50 – **Aristotle-Confucius Dialogue**

19.20

If Aristotle and Confucius were able to come together to talk about globalization today, could they ultimately resolve some of its most pressing challenges? This dialogue imagines the two philosophers debating and determining the ways models of democracy and governance need to evolve.

Ban Ki-moon, 8th United Nations Secretary General and Chair, Ban Ki-moon Foundation for a Better Future

Jeffrey Sachs, Director, Center for Sustainable Development, Columbia University

Moderated by **Roger Cohen**, Paris Bureau Chief, The New York Times and Host, Athens Democracy Forum

19.25 – **Opening Panel on the State of Democracy**

20.05

The events of the last year have shaken democracy to its core, and upended a world order that was already unsettled. Looking ahead, it's anybody's guess as to just how the geopolitical puzzle will fit together again. What might be the new balance of power, and how much weight will democracy have in it?

Mo Ibrahim, Founder and Chair, Mo Ibrahim Foundation

Mehdi Jomaa, Former Prime Minister of Tunisia and Member, Club de Madrid

Yascha Mounk, Writer and Academic

Ece Temelkuran, Novelist and Political Thinker

Moderated by **Roger Cohen**, Paris Bureau Chief, The New York Times and Host, Athens Democracy Forum

20.10 – **City of Athens Democracy Award**

20.30

People of Ukraine and President **Vladimir Zelensky** *(virtual)*

Bestowed by Mayor of Athens **Kostas Bakoyannis**

20.30 – **Cocktail dinatoire**

21.45

21.45 Transportation is provided via mini vans from Zappeion Megaron to Hotel Grand Bretagne (10 minute walk).

Thursday, September 29

Venue: Zappeion Megaron | Address: Leof. Vasilissis Olgas

8.30 – 9.20 **Breakfast Briefing on Migration: A Better Future for Unaccompanied Minors** *(by invitation only)*

Gelly Aroni, Head of the Unit for Integration and Support of UAM's Secretary Special for the Protection of Unaccompanied Minors, Ministry of Migration & Asylum

Heracles Moskoff, Secretary Special for the Protection of Unaccompanied Minors, Ministry of Migration & Asylum

Marilyn Polena, General Manager, Solidarity Now

Stelios Zavvos, Chairman of the Board of Directors Solidarity Now

Jeffrey Sachs, Director, Center for Sustainable Development, Columbia University

Moderated by **Daniel Höltingen**, Director of Communications and Spokesperson for the Secretary General, Council of Europe

08.45 Transportation is provided via mini vans from Syntagma Square to Zappeion Megaron
Meeting point outside the Grande Bretagne Hotel (10 minute walk)

09.30 – 09.40 **Opening Remarks**

Achilles Tsaltas, Founder and President, Democracy & Culture Foundation

09.40 – 09.55 **Opening Provocation**

Claudia Chwalisz, Founder and C.E.O., DemocracyNext

10.00 – 10.35 **A Decade of Democracy: China and Russia**

Ten years ago, Xi Jinping ascended to national leadership in China and Vladimir Putin began his second stint as Russia's president. Over the next decade, both have consolidated power over countries and, today, both unapologetically and jointly proclaim their autocratic, ruthless, macho rule as a more effective model of democracy, winning admirers and imitators the world over. As Putin has pushed this model to unthinkable extremes, what has the effect been on fellow and aspiring autocrats? What is the best way to prevent the template from replicating even further?

Jaroslav Kuisz, Editor in Chief, Kultura Liberalna

Jeffrey Sachs, Director, Center for Sustainable Development, Columbia University

Su Yun Woo, Postdoctoral Researcher, Institute of Political Science, University of Zurich

Moderated by **Steven Erlanger**, Chief Diplomatic Correspondent, Europe, The New York Times

10.40 – 10.55 **Citizens of Kyiv**

A Conversation with **Alexander Chekmenov**, Photographer

Moderated by **Liz Alderman**, Chief European Business Correspondent, The New York Times

10.55 – 11.20 Break

11.20 – 11.35 **Tools of Democracy Tutorial: Direct, Deliberative or Digital? Seeking the Perfect Model**

An expert shares the latest examples and knowledge on one of the ways democracy is practiced, not preached.

Carsten Berg, Political Scientist and Fellow, Berggruen Institute

11.40 – 12.20 **Rethinking Tech: Life In and Out of the Metaverse**

Long before the pandemic hit, societies were already undergoing a profound and irreversible transition, brought on by A.I. and other new technologies as well as migration, economic forces and other factors. The latest innovations have promised to bring the virtual and real worlds even closer together and tech firms have scurried to plant their flags first. Some of the changes are bound to benefit people in their professional and personal lives. But others could leave more vulnerable populations behind. Is tech helping us navigate an increasingly fraught reality, or escape it?

Kyle Bozentko, Executive Director, Center for New Democratic Processes

Nanna-Louise Linde, Vice President, European Government Affairs, Microsoft

Carola Los Arcos Nagore, Politics & Government Outreach Manager, Southern Europe, Meta

Esther O'Callaghan, Founder and C.E.O. Hundo

Moderated by **Patricia Cohen**, Global Economics Correspondent, The New York Times

12.25 – 12.35 **Bright Idea** A young advocate shares an example of democracy in action. **Lourence Balatbat**, Founder and C.E.O., Beyond Three Billion

12.40 – 14.10 **Lunch symposium hosted by Taejae Academy**

12.40 – 12.45 **Welcome Remarks**

Ambassador Kim Won-soo, Former UN High Representative for Disarmament Affairs and Board Member, Ban Ki-Moon Centre for Global Citizens

12.45 – 13.25 **Panel Discussion: Preventing Nuclear War and Securing the Future**

Ban Ki-moon, 8th United Nations Secretary General and Chair, Ban Ki-moon Foundation for a Better Future

Ambassador Angelina Eichhorst, Managing Director, European External Action Service

Jeffrey Sachs, Director, Center for Sustainable Development, Columbia University

Moderated by **Steven Erlanger**, Chief Diplomatic Correspondent, Europe, The New York Times

13.25 – 14.05 **Seated Lunch courtesy of Taejae Academy**

14.05 – 14.10 Closing Remarks

Kim Sung-Hwan, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Korea

14.10 –
15.10

PARALLEL WORKSHOPS

What If We Replaced Politicians with A.I.?

The election results are in and a town of 50,000 people have voted to replace all their current politicians with A.I. What happens next? Through this interactive simulation, we will explore what traits 21st-century public leaders need, the advantages and drawbacks of automated decision making and an ‘agile’ approach to governments and democracy.

Lisa Witter, Co-Founder, Apolitical

Rebekah Ison, Communications Manager, Apolitical Foundation

Youth Engagement: How to Keep Us Happy

How can organizations, political parties, governments — essentially any decision-making bodies — be sure to include a youth perspective and to appeal to young people in their campaigns? In this interactive session, participants will experiment with tools that can make youth feel like their concerns are heard and validated, while also debating which platforms and messages might be effective and which may fall flat.

Mete Coban, C.E.O., My Life My Say Detoxing Disinformation

Sariah Lawrence, Engagement Officer, My Life My Say

Hayley Biley, Engagement Manager, My Life My Say

Detoxing Disinformation: Crisis as an Opportunity for Trust

(This session is off the record)

The Covid19 pandemic is a unique global crisis that has challenged countries, organizations and communities but also changed realities. The Palestinian Israeli population faced a major crisis of personal security, political and economic unrest that led to deep mistrust of the Israeli establishment. This health crisis was an opportunity to lead holistic, systemic, multi-sectoral partnerships that resulted in changing perceptions, progresses and policies.

Rasool Saada, Social Activist and Community Organizer

15.15 –
15.30

Tools of Democracy Tutorial: Electoral Integrity Index

An expert shares the latest examples and knowledge on one of the ways democracy is practiced, not preached.

Declan O’Brien, Senior Program Manager, Elections and Democracy, Kofi Annan Foundation

15.35 –
16.10

A Decade of Democracy: United States

Ten years ago, Barack Obama, the first Black president of the United States, was re-elected in a race against Mitt Romney. It was a year in which many states approved same-sex marriage and the Supreme Court upheld Obama’s signature achievement, the Affordable Care Act. Today the U.S. is bitterly divided on every issue, Romney is a pariah in his own party for his moderate views and the world watches tensely to see whether liberal democracy will hold its own in “the land of the free and the home of the brave.” What’s next for a country threatening to implode?

Carol Anderson, Writer and Academic

Dawn Nakagawa, Executive Vice President, Berggruen Institute

Lisa Witter, Co-Founder, Apolitical

Moderated by **Patricia Cohen**, Global Economics Correspondent, The New York Times

16.10

Transportation is provided via mini vans from Zappeion Megaron to Hotel Grand Bretagne. (10 minute walk)

Evening | Venue: Stoa of Attalos | Address: Adrianou Street - Ancient Agora of Athens

17.30

Transportation is provided via mini vans from the meeting point at the entrance to Hotel Grand Bretagne to the Stoa of Attalos.

18.00 –
18.30

Guests arrive at Stoa of Attalos

18.30 –
18.45

Welcome Remarks

Achilles Tsaltas, Founder and President, Democracy and Culture Foundation

Nada Al-Nashif, United Nations Deputy High Commissioner for Human Rights

(pre-recorded message)

Mayor of Athens **Kostas Bakoyannis**

18.50 –
19.10

Aristotle Address

Ursula von der Leyen, President of the European Commission

19.15 –
19.55

Rethinking Media: Truthsayers and Naysayers

As disinformation runs rampant on social media, lawmakers and tech executives are locked in a battle over platforms’ responsibility and how best to rein it in. But there is also a growing realization that one of the best antidotes may be the simplest: true information. Organizations like Reporters Without Borders and the new International Fund for Public Interest Media are pouring resources into supporting independent media around the world, while the Biden administration has pledged up to \$35 million for the same effort. How are the funders ensuring that this journalism meets minimum standards — and what are those standards? How can the outlets gain the public’s trust? Is it possible for independent media to beat back threats against democracy?

Stephen King, C.E.O., Luminate

Donald Martin, Media consultant and Former Editor of The Herald, Scotland

Khadija Patel, Chair, International Press Institute

Anna Romandash, Journalist

Moderated by **Steven Erlanger**, Chief Diplomatic Correspondent, Europe, The New York Times

20.00

Free time for dinner in Athens

Friday, September 30

Venue: Academy of Athens | Address: 28, Panepistimiou (El. Venizelou) Street

Delegates are invited to walk to the venue, which is 5 minutes from our partner hotels.

10.00 – 10.10	Welcome Remarks Achilles Tsaltas , Founder and President, Democracy and Culture Foundation Michael Stathopoulos , Vice-President of the Academy of Athens, Professor Emeritus of Civil Law
10.10 – 10.45	A Decade of Democracy: Poland Ten years ago, Poland was the poster child of European integration and democratic transformation among former Soviet satellites. Today, under the conservative Law and Justice Party, the government has co-opted the courts, tried to muzzle independent media and is in constant friction with the European Union. Meanwhile the country’s embrace and support of Ukrainian refugees has given it a rosier image and made its story even more complex. Can it be restored to liberalism and democracy? And if so, how? Věra Jourová , Vice President for Values and Transparency, European Commission Yascha Mounk , Writer and Academic Karolina Wigura , Lecturer, Warsaw University and Member of the Board, Kultura Liberalna Foundation Moderated by Steven Erlanger , Chief Diplomatic Correspondent, Europe, The New York Times
10.50 – 11.05	Tools of Democracy Tutorial: Inclusive Intelligence An expert shares the latest examples and knowledge on one of the ways democracy is practiced, not preached. Kalypso Nicolaidis , Chair of Global Affairs, School of Transnational Governance, European University Institute Special guest: George Papandreou , President, Socialist International and Former Prime Minister of Greece
11.10 – 11.20	Bright Idea Young advocates share an example of democracy in action. Hakim Benbadra and Yasmine Chalf , Members, Different Leaders
11.20 – 11.50	Break
11.50 – 12.25	Rethinking the Planet: Climate as a Gender Issue According to the United Nations, women worldwide face greater risks from the climate disaster, as extreme conditions can lead to food shortages, poverty and increased gender violence. At the same time, girls and young women in many regions are often not educated about the effects and often women aren’t part of the decision-making process at the highest levels. Could examining the climate crisis through a feminist lens be one way to galvanize change? Kim Campbell , Former Prime Minister of Canada and Member, Club de Madrid Paula Cristina Francisco Coelho , Secretary of State for the Environment, Angola Shivi Dwivedi , Youth Engagement Strategy Lead, United Nations Climate Change High-Level Champions Moderated by Liz Alderman , Chief European Business Correspondent, The New York Times

12.30 – 12.45	Tools of Democracy Tutorial: Citizen Confidence Index Jon Alexander , Author and Co-Founder, New Citizenship Project
12.50 – 13.05	Conversations with Strangers: A Short-Play Inspired by the Open Chair Democracy Talks Urban Strandberg , Co-Founder and Managing Director, International Youth Think Tank Michele Castrezzati , Larissa Möckel and Elena Vocale, International Youth Think Tank Fellows
13.05 – 14.05	Light lunch in the Academy gardens
14.05 – 14.15	Bright Idea A 10-minute proposal from young democracy advocates. Michele Castrezzati , Larissa Möckel and Elena Vocale , International Youth Think Tank Fellows
14.20 – 14.55	A Decade of Democracy: Tunisia A decade ago the Arab world was having its Woodstock moment, a celebration of people power that spread across borders to proclaim that the longing for freedom, dignity and elemental rights cannot be forever suppressed. Today, we are still wondering what went wrong: In Tunisia, where it all began, the democratically elected president has wrested power from the parliament to the cheers of most Tunisians; elsewhere across the region, the Arab Spring was followed by civil wars, resurgent despots, warlords and jihadists. What went awry? And is there any hope of change? Steven A. Cook , Eni Enrico Mattei Senior Fellow for Middle East and Africa Studies, Council on Foreign Relations Omezzine Khelifa , Political Activist and Founder, Mobdiun – Creative Youth Moderated by Roger Cohen , Paris Bureau Chief, The New York Times and Host, Athens Democracy Forum
15.00 – 15.15	Tools of Democracy: Building a Movement Experts share the latest examples and knowledge on one of the ways democracy is practiced, not preached. Andrea Venzon and Colombe Cahen-Salvador , Co-Founders, Atlas
15.20 – 15.35	Wrap-Up by Roger Cohen , Paris Bureau Chief, The New York Times and Host, Athens Democracy Forum
16.30	For delegates who have confirmed attendance at the Democracy and Happiness Weekend in Costa Navarino, transportation is provided via mini vans from the meeting point at the entrance to Hotel Grand Bretagne.

Saturday, October 1 and Sunday, October 2

Happiness and Democracy Weekend at Costa Navarino

Sunday October 2 13.00 For delegates who attended CN weekend, transportation via mini van is provided from W Costa Navarino to Athens-Syntagma Square.
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