

**Conference: 15th Annual International AIDS Conference
Special “Meet the Leaders”: Leadership Across Sectors I
July 12, 2004**

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MODERATOR: We have the leaders to my right. We have the leaders of strength and character that Kofi Annan was celebrating last night. Our panelists not only come from politics, but from the worlds of business, media, entertainment, religion, community organizations, and people directly affected by HIV/AIDS. Now this coming together is important. It's important not only so we can learn from work that is going on in our different sectors, but also so we can use that knowledge to create new partnerships and make our work stronger and more effective.

You know the 2001 UN Declaration of Commitment on HIV/AIDS identified the key role of leadership in dealing with the AIDS epidemic at global, regional and national levels. And we've seen it work. In fact, in every country that has reversed its national epidemic, strong and broad based leadership has characterized that national response. It has been the single most key important success factor. Each of these countries relied not only on political leaders, but on people from every walk of life to join together in the fight against this epidemic.

So let's go to this distinguished group. We are truly honored today to be joined by 6 global leaders in the fight against HIV/AIDS. In our discussion we will have the opportunity to take the best ideas, discuss the latest

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developments, tap into the considerable experience of some of those leaders whose commitment and leadership in their own countries and fields have produced very, very meaningful results. We must be frank with each other because we can only shape the right response if we are honest with the problems. We need straight talking and that is really the only way. As we know, the issues can differ greatly, vastly from country to country.

So with that, let me introduce our panel and on my near right, first, Graca Machel from Mozambique. Graca who joined the struggle for her country's independence and went on to be internationally honored for her work for children's and human rights. She's a strong advocate for women and children, particularly women and children affected by the epidemic and is closely involved in new AIDS for Africa's AIDS orphans of which there are predicted to be no less than 20 million by 2010. And like many of you, she happens to have brought her husband along with her to Bangkok, Nelson Mandela.

Richard Gere. Richard, from America. Richard is noted for his award winning work on the humanitarian front. He is a true internationalist. He hosted the 1992 World AIDS Day event in the United Nations. The charitable foundation that bears his name is especially concerned about the spread of AIDS in India, which has the largest population living with HIV/AIDS outside of South Africa, over 5 billion people. He's personally

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committed to tackling awareness and treatment issues in that country and the full gamut has affected India. As an aside, Richard's also known to appear in some Hollywood movies. Richard Gere.

Mary Robinson. Mary is from Ireland, the former President of Ireland. Mary now heads the Ethical Globalization Initiative coming out of the United States. She's also been the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and as a passionate advocate of women's causes, Mary uses her considerable influence in many ways and this includes helping strengthen the response to HIV/AIDS in Africa where we heard last night women now account for well over 50% of new infections. Mary Robinson.

John Tedstrom. Also from the U.S., John Tedstrom President and Founder of Transatlantic Partners Against AIDS. This group brings together the resources of North American, European, Russian, and Asia partners to combat the rapid and devastating spread of HIV/AIDS in that area. It also does very, very impressive work in strengthening global cooperation on therapies, cures and drugs. In Eastern Europe and Central Asia, 80% of those infected are under the age of 30. 80%. And the principle mode of transmission is drug injection, although sexual transmission is becoming increasingly common. Please welcome John Tedstrom.

Mae Chee Sansanee. Mae Chee from Thailand our host country is a widely respected Buddhist nun. She works at monasteries where

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HIV/AIDS patients are treated, lobbies government leaders to take action against the epidemic and helps with public education projects. Thailand's AIDS program has helped to reduce the number of infections from a peak of 143,000 in 1991 down to about 20,000 in 2003. Mae Chee. Please welcome.

Milly Katana from Uganda. Milly is a veteran activist. She serves on the board of the Global Fund and also the Global Network of People Living With HIV among many other boards. She has mobilized resources for health care delivery in Uganda. She has helped combat stigma and discrimination in her country and she has implemented Ugandan prevention campaigns in institutions, schools, police, Army, and in prisons who brings a wealth of experience. She has worked with basically every group in Uganda. She is truly on the frontlines of fighting this epidemic. Milly Katana.

And at the very end, our 2 community panel representatives Mary Ann Toris and Raul Francin. Please welcome them as well.

Okay, we have 2 sets of questions. The first set prior to this conference people involved with HIV/AIDS from all around the world were invited to ask questions to our distinguished leaders via the Internet. During the first part of this session we will use this Internet questions to have a conversation with each panelist. Then for the second part we would like to take questions from you in the audience. So you

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are strongly encouraged to ask whatever questions you'd like. You should have received an index card when you entered the arena. If you don't, you can ask one of our volunteers who are in the audience with black t-shirts. They are circulating. They have additional index cards. If you want to ask a question, write it on one of the cards. Please be sure to add your name or if you wish, don't add your name, but your country and most importantly which person in the panel you'd like to direct a question to. The volunteers will collect the cards and will try to answer as many questions as possible during the remaining portion of the session. Now for this section we will use our community leaders, Mary Ann and Raul to help pose the questions to each leader. We will make every effort to answer your questions in today's sessions, however we recognize we may not have time to address all of them. Not to worry. So that all of your questions will have an audience, we assure you that each of the panel members will receive your questions and the leadership committee of the conference is committed to answering all of these questions at some point.

Okay. Let's get into it. I'd like to start with an opening question to each one of the panelists. And if we could we'll keep it very quick. This year's conference has had a noticeable lack of attendance by world political leaders. Although there are some great examples of leadership overall. The question is, how would you characterize an effective leader

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on HIV/AIDS. And why don't we start, Graca, with you.

GRACA MACHEL: First of all I'd like to say that there are different sorts of leadership in terms of levels and sectors where you come from. So everyone in his position or her position has to do exactly what is the best you can do using your strengths, using your capacity, using the influence you can have on people, on institutions you rule. Because of this you'll be able then to connect with other leaderships of other sectors and other levels to make an impact, but definitely I would say do the best, absolutely the best of what you can do in your specific position.

MODERATOR: Thank you Graca. Richard?

RICHARD GERE: I would, I look to myself in these issues and I realize the ones that I'm motivated from the deepest part of my heart are the ones that I'm always more effective. When I really see a deep interconnectedness and an empathy in a situation, my sense of universal responsibility becomes real and it empowers me enormously. And I think that's true with everyone that I deal with. You can feel when someone is motivated from a real place. And if we can all be motivated from that sense of really true, genuine love and compassion and interconnectedness, that sense of universal responsibility that emerges from that makes you a leader by the mere fact of its truth. So I think that's really the most important thing that we all can do is feel that really special part of our hearts that is genuine and true.

MODERATOR: Thank you Richard. Mary?

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MARY ROBINSON: I would agree with both comments so far. I agree with Graca that leadership operates at every level and I agree with Richard, it has to come from a passion from within from a real urgent sense of how much we need to change the situation. The third element that I think can also be a characteristic of real leadership is to have strategies for change. How do we scale up? How do we address the problem of young women in particular? How do we in particular ways deal not in words, but actually have strategies for change? And be able to mobilize and bring people along on those strategies? And I think it needs the combination of what we've just heard and a strategic plan and determination to implement it, to give real leadership on this issue.

MODERATOR: Thank you Mary. John?

JOHN TEDSTROM: First of all, I want to drive home that each and every one of us is a leader otherwise we wouldn't be here. We can be leaders in our organizations and our countries and our families. at a personal level though, each and every one of us is a leader with ourselves and for those of us who are positive, we need to take the lead and take care of ourselves and take care of the ones we love. For those of us who are negative, we need to take leadership and take care of ourselves and take care of those who love us and whom we love. As a leader of an international NGO to build on something that Richard said a moment ago about the way in which we're all connected, it's very important to me that we understand that we exist in a context. First of all, every organization, every NGO,

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every government, every company has a team and a staff and I'm blessed with the best in the world and 4 of them are with us today here in Bangkok. Also working with partners, networking with others, whether it's organizations that have expertise you don't, that have presence that you don't, all incredibly important and without that without being able to share in your vision and share in your energy you won't achieve the maximum that you possibly can. And a third thing is to never sacrifice on your vision, never sacrifice on your principles and what's really important, but always push forward with humility. As an NGO that works in foreign countries like Russia and Ukraine, it's very important to us that we learn to listen to our local partners and our local stakeholders and that we listen in order to learn. It's just incredibly important. And without those types of approaches and principles I think that any organization won't be able to maximize the impact that they have on the epidemic. Thank you.

MODERATOR: Mae Chee?

MAE CHEE SANSANEE STIENRASUTA: [Thai language] Invite you to come back to this moment and think about this. Every one of us can be our own spiritual leader and in order to be that in order to be flying to freedom you have to have 2 wings. One of it would be compassion, compassion inside you and the other wing is wisdom. Only with compassion and wisdom then you can fly to freedom. So I would like you all to come back to the present so when each and every one of you come back to this moment of now and here and we have compassion and wisdom inside you, then you'll have all the

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characteristics of a good leadership and you all can be a good leader. So where you are, listen today. Please listen with wisdom and compassion and think about our friends who may have died early because of their illness. And that is to go back and leave the people who are trying to help be one with them and that's when we'll reach the freedom, freedom from suffering.

MILLY KATANA: Thank you. Just to kick it off I think there is no doubt in anybody's mind that HIV could go away on it's own. Every one of us must make our hand steady and do something. But as we do this we need to remember that we cannot keep high in the clouds like eagles. At some point we must bring ourselves to the level of the people who are faced with the challenge of AIDS every day of their lives. And at this point in time I would like to remind ourselves that no one can take the place of those who are living with HIV as partners in their response to [Inaudible].

MODERATOR: Thank you Milly and thank you all. All right. Let's go into some specific questions. Mary, I'd like to begin with you, Mary Robinson. As a former Prime Minister, what do you think about the lack of Heads of State at this conference?

MARY ROBINSON: I think it is a pity. In fact I took an initiative in the capacity I have as Chair of the Council of Women World Leaders, which is an informal network of women who have been or currently are the elected President or Prime Minister of their country and there are in fact 30 of us in the club at the moment that's voluntary to join. So it shows that there is a visibility at

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the highest level of women's leadership and because of the context of this conference and the opportunity to show women's leadership, we circulated an encouragement that they would make statements, continue the good work that they were doing but share it with us, and generally give that leadership because it does matter. We've been talking to this panel about leadership mattering at every level. It matters hugely at the highest political level and I regret that there aren't more male and female heads of state or government present here, but I think at the same time the message is going out from Bangkok very strongly and I think they'll be hearing that message.

MODERATOR: Why do you think there are not more heads of state here?

MARY ROBINSON: Um, I'm actually surprised because it's become such an issue of leadership, even of human security, which is a big preoccupation now. And the scale, the fact that we're not on top of it. The need for a holistic approach that affects every aspect of life from development, political aspects, as I said security dimension and as I say I'm surprised and I'm sorry that there are not more here, but I think in the context of focusing on leadership perhaps we can have some strategy out of Bangkok towards political leaders at the highest level to bring very clear messages.

MODERATOR: Well, that was my next point and this will be the final question Mary. I don't mean to drill you too much on this, but as a former Prime Minister, what would impact you most in getting a world leader to this conference?

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MARY ROBINSON: I better correct you at this stage and say I was a former President.

MODERATOR: There's a big difference.

MARY ROBINSON: I suppose what I regret is that by not having the heads of government or state here, it's viewing HIV/AIDS as a health issue or maybe as a development issue. It's not. It's all of those issues. It's a real leadership issue. So I think that when we're preparing for Toronto, perhaps that point should be made, that it's not a question of a sectoral approach. There has to be a top-level leadership saying I'm going on behalf of my whole government because my whole government is committed to this. And that's the message that we really want to hear.

MODERATOR: Okay. Thank you. Apologies Mary about the title correction. Milly. Treatment or prevention? How do you balance it? Where should the emphasis be?

MILLY KATANA: I think we all know that we made mistakes in the past and we are learning very, very bitter lessons. We emphasized prevention at the expense of any other form of intervention. Today we are seeing more and more numbers of more people being infected with HIV. In a nutshell, today we should be talking about a comprehensive approach to the HIV epidemic. Putting the best use of all the science that we know into action and ensuring that those who need to be supported to reduce their risk of infection and supported and those who are living with HIV get treatment. Finally, the availability of treatment is giving us an excellent enter point into prevention

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interventions. People in my country now have a reason to test because we tell them there is a possibility to live and be treated.

MODERATOR: So even though the natural focus of people living with AIDS is treatment, prevention is still a very, very important objective with people living with AIDS?

MILLY KATANA: Yes, you are right. And as people living with HIV we've put our face to the epidemic and we are acting as the first class campaigners for prevention knowing that if the numbers of infections are reduced, the burden of care would be less and the quality of care would be higher.

MODERATOR: Richard? Has AIDS become just another celebrity cause where there is a lot of talk and little gets done?

RICHARD GERE: You have to think and I'm going back myself to how it evolved in the U.S. and there was a moment, you know, the first 8 years of the crisis were extremely difficult it was first detected in the U.S. and we had a political climate of the Republicans and especially the President at that time, President Reagan, who was unable to engage the subject. In fact, was unable to even say the word publicly AIDS. And it created a climate that was really quite horrible for everyone. It wasn't until an actor, Rock Hudson, died, was known to be sick and then died that it became familial to us as Americans. And Elizabeth Taylor took the cause up. She had been a friend of Rock Hudson's. It's a very important thing that celebrities can do. Celebrities speak to the heart of a culture. And when we say celebrities, I keep that very wide. It's not only

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actors, it's athletes, it's musicians, it's dancers, it's poets, it's writers, it's people who speak to the culture as an expression and a mirror to culture. People that we consider to be in our homes, family members in some way. Now as the crisis continues it needs leadership which is the focus of this panel. People need to know how to be used effectively and we've created some models that I think use people effectively. It's one of the things I like to do everywhere in the world is meet that creative community in whatever culture and community that I'm in and let them know that there are structures that can use their energy well and take advantage of their instincts to be good people and to help. And I think that's important for those of us who do have an inclination to organize things and maybe some skill in that direction. Celebrities are no different than anybody else and we all need to be organized properly. I go into the basic belief that we are all good people and it's very easy to stimulate that goodness in all of us.

MODERATOR: I'm writing that down, Richard, celebrities are not different from anyone else. Let me just push you a little bit on that. Not the celebrity's part but an earlier comment. Is it still the issue it once was in Hollywood? And maybe you can also talk to Baliwood because you do so much work in India.

RICHARD GERE: Well, you know the situation has changed in the U.S. and because of the different strategies that have evolved there and because we are a rich country. Almost everyone has access to some medication. And it's a bit off the radar and that's

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unfortunate because there's now a rise in the gay community and with women and African Americans for sure, Chicano communities and the feeling being that, well, I can always get some medicine and I'll last it out until there's a final solution here. And that's a very dangerous point of view. So we are in another cycle that the rest of the world has not achieved yet because we're relatively successful in containing it, the urgency is not there anymore.

MODERATOR: Let me take a slight different angle, you have obviously tremendous influence around the world. Are you able to influence your peers in Hollywood or again in India, Baliwood?

RICHARD GERE: My focus is much more in India right now because I've seen what's happened with the disease. We lived through it. Since 1981 we had it. And we made all the mistakes that every other country has made and will make with this disease. Clearly, as I spoke before, the celebrity community of any culture can speak very quickly to the heart of the people. And I started doing this work in India 5 years ago when I realized that they had a window of opportunity before it got out of control. I found one as I find it everywhere the celebrity community, the actors that are of my culture and I speak to very directly are very responsible people. They often don't know what to do, but they are organizable because they have good hearts. And that's what we've been doing over the years, creating structures for them to be used properly and I find that as people understand more about what the disease is that they lose their discriminative and stigmatized points of view, lose them and

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transform them into love and compassion. That they're even used better and we're still in that cycle of educating them as well. But I think we've been very successful with Indian actors and celebrities in general and they are being used well. I see that a point of access to the Indian people. We were just in Chini which is in the south of India at Tomulnadu and even more than in the North, actors there are deified in the extreme and we're focusing very much on using celebrities there again to speak to the heart of people and have an outreach to the villages through films and through this deified feeling about actors. So I think it's very promising and a very important way to communicate.

MODERATOR: Okay, thank you Richard. Graca? In your opinion what are the best interventions for orphans in terms of their educational and social needs in Africa?

GRACA MACHEL: I think the basic principle is keep an orphan, keep a child in a family. In a family environment where he or she can relate to a father to a mother, to siblings. In short, to have a normal setting for any child. Second, make sure that this child has all the rights met, food, get to education, health when she needs it, and of course even the legal rights in terms of inheritance in case parents have left something, which children will be entitled to. To make sure that because they are orphans, let me say what the parents owned is not taken away from them. The most important thing is no discrimination, no stigma and to treat them, really, as integrated members of the family and of the community. Another point,

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which is very important, is skills development. If these children do get only basic education they won't be able to earn a living, they won't be able to take on their future lives. It's extremely important that when they complete the basic education to the secondary if needed, if there is affirmative action to make sure that they are not discriminated because they can't pay a technical school or they cannot pay a much higher education as the University. If I can be just very quick about this. I met President Museveni who is the only head of state from Africa who came here actually, then we have the Prime Minister of Swaziland. And Uganda had taken a very good step in terms of getting free education to all and of course orphans would have basic education. But what was happening after they complete the basic education orphans just could not go ahead. They couldn't pay. I said to the President, you have done very well, but I think you have to do something else. And I was glad that the following day after having this discussion with him, he declared that he was going to introduce affirmative action for orphans in terms of secondary education. And I think this, why I'm raising this is also because it's important that we acknowledge when someone take leadership and is doing the right thing so that we don't get the impression that everything is wrong. We have very few at the level of political leaders who are really taking very good steps, they are very committed, they are doing the very best to make sure that things will happen according to policy and so forth. Thank you.

MODERATOR: Once again leadership plays an important. Mae

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Chee? You have played a leading role in the treatment care of people living with HIV and AIDS. However, religious leaders in many societies have been stumbling blocks in HIV prevention. How do you think we can address this?

MAE CHEE SANSANEE STIENRASUTA: In every belief of the religions of the world, if that belief will lead you to freedom, freedom from suffering, only then will it be holy. I think that there are several organizations and people who are working to help people afflicted with AID, but I think that the only way we can be successful if we have to change our mindset. We have to stop being biased, but we have to look at them with clear hearts, with love. I think that for everybody, every organization working with AIDS people we have to look at them not as people who get physically illness, but a sort of attitude, a sort of looking at them and that we have to look at them in the sense that we want to lead our life and their life so that we all will be free from suffering. And also whenever we can work with happiness in our heart then we can help with happiness and create happiness in both sides and then we're not working sorrowfully or suffer while we work. And with only true compassion in our heart and true compassion towards the people we are helping that - when we talk about working in any organizations, all the staff in organizations are supposed to have a pure heart and also love and compassion in their heart and then we can work together. We can look at our friends who have HIV in their body that the people that they are our friends, but their hearts do not have that virus. And

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especially we can love together and be happy together and work together happily. Thank you.

MODERATOR: Mae Chee, if I could just push you for a very quick answer on a very specific question. What is your view on some religious leaders' opposition to safe sex via condom use?

MAE CHEE SANSANEE STIENRASUTA: May I have once again your question please?

MODERATOR: What is your view on some religious leaders' opposition to safe sex via condom use?

MAE CHEE SANSANEE STIENRASUTA: I believe that in this world we have so many religions and all the religions is perfect to many, many various kinds of people. I'm sure that the way that we are going to be with all of our friends with HIV, the way we think everything right in any, any kinds of religions and we have the action that we do right. I'm sure that the result of it will be the freedom from suffering.

MODERATOR: Okay. Let me go on. John? I'm going to change my question, John, for you just to make it a little more interesting. What is your stance on encouraging the use of clean needles with intravenous drug users?

JOHN TEDSTROM: Can I give you a multi part answer?

MODERATOR: As long as it's within a minute.

JOHN TEDSTROM: The first point and coming from a place where I work in Russia where the vast majority of new infections still comes from needle exchange, you have to be for clean needles.

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You have to be for clean needles. This is a simple, straightforward part of harm reduction that is just like advocating condom use and we can't shy away from that. We have to take care of everybody whether they're a drug user or not. In that context, we have to talk about drugs in a broader paradigm. Injecting drugs is one thing, recreational and party drugs is another. You don't give HIV, you don't transmit HIV by sharing, by passing an Ecstasy pill to a friend, but you sure can do stupid things and we've got to talk to our kids about that too. And coming from Russia, working in Russia, I'm going to say something that will be very controversial to my Russian friends, but alcohol's got to be put in that category as well because young kids drink way too much and do really stupid things.

MODERATOR: Okay, John, thank you. Mary? You have a tremendous amount of experience with human rights, obviously. What can we do about women's vulnerability to AIDS, especially given the cultural practices, many cultural practices around the world encourage women's vulnerability?

MARY ROBINSON: I think it's very important to bring out that although there has been a lot of progress in many aspects with how we deal with the problem of HIV/AIDS, we have not made enough progress on the human rights front or on the gender relation issues. And I was very conscious of this when I was High Commissioner for Human Rights, together with Peter Piot and UN AIDS we drew up guidelines on HIV/AIDS and human rights. And indeed on Wednesday here in this conference the Office of High Commissioner for Human Rights

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is going to issue I think a very helpful publication on human rights and HIV/AIDS here in Asia. And I'll participate in that. But the reason I say that is one of the real issues both in prevention and in access to drugs is the problem of stigma, the problem of discrimination and the cultural issues particularly affect women. And we need a very strong human rights approach. We need to tackle denial. We need to be very explicit about women's sexuality. About women's rights, about rights to reproductive health, about women being able to protect themselves through microbicides, through cheaper and more available female condoms. And I can't tell you how often I've been struck , for example on visits to China talking to the All China Federation for Women about some work they were doing in the Provinces to talk to women about protecting themselves and getting no help from officialdom that the whole idea of talking about AIDS or talking about HIV or talking about using condoms was not acceptable at that time. And there hasn't indeed been enough openness and tackling that denial. But the discrimination effects also access to treatment. If a woman comes forward and has been tested as positive, she can be blamed by the entire family. She can find her self outlawed. She can find that she has no protection and when we talk about human rights we mean also the right to education for girls to stay longer in education so that they are empowered to say no, to stand up to particularly older men who think somehow it's safer for them to have sex with young girls. So it's a whole range of issues and I do think that we need to ensure that the women's movement is

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more mobilized and on the human rights and strong gender dimension of this issue. I've just participated with Graca Machel on a different panel about mobilizing women's leadership. And I think what we really felt was here in Asia in particular there is a need to mobilize women's leadership with a strong focus on tackling stigma and discrimination and ensuring equality of access and ensuring empowerment in terms of access to opportunities in the workplace and changes in the property law.

MODERATOR: Okay, Mary, thank you. Now I've been told that we have a terrific list of questions from you all, so without any further delay I'd like to go straight to that stack. Let me turn to the community panel for this, Raul? Mary Ann? Do you want to start it off? These are questions that you have posed?

RAUL FRANCIN: [Inaudible] First question is to Richard Gere. Would you consider giving up royalties to your films in order to set an example for global pharmaceutical producers?

MODERATOR: Okay, I think I heard it correctly. Would you consider giving up royalties to your films to set an example for the global pharmaceutical producers? Richard, did you get that?

RICHARD GERE: Give up royalties? I give away all my money as it is, I don't think I have anything left to give away. Look, I think all of us can do more. I don't think there's anyone in this room that couldn't give another dollar or another baht or another rupee for what we're talking about. If we demand, we're talking about leadership, if we demand of our leadership to perform the way we want

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them to, this thing can be finished in 5 years. We're being very lazy all of us. As much as we do work our elected officials are getting away with it right now. We have to demand and demand and demand and never stop. It's a huge responsibility for all of us, but it's the only way this thing is going to end.

MODERATOR: I'd just add quickly playing to your strengths is something that I've encouraged over the years. Money is key. This epidemic has actually never been blessed with as much money as it has now, but it needs obviously much, much more. But to supplement that, playing to your strengths, whatever those strengths are can have just as much impact.

RICHARD GERE: Just to give an example about the kind of money that is out there, there's no way that I could fund all the things that I want to do in terms of HIV/AIDS programs or what we're doing in other areas. Our major partner is Gates in India and they've given us over 2 million dollars to do media work there. And I didn't have that tool. I was doing work elsewhere. We couldn't have actually actuated programs that we had put together and partnerships, a major one with Star TV who donated about 14 million dollars of free PSA time and programmed it like you would commercially, not just a PSA at 3 o'clock in the morning, but program it like you would a commercial product, AIDS, HIV, protection. That's an enormous amount of energy that is given by a company and there's no way that the leaders you see up here, the ones you're calling leaders can work without that kind of infusion of energy and that's coming from the private sector.

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MODERATOR: Okay. Let's take another question, Mary Ann or Raul?

MARY ANN TORIS: We have received 7 questions directed mostly to Milly and we will phrase as such. What do you think about the way [Inaudible] from the Thai drug users neighbor [Inaudible] last night at the opening ceremony? All the leaders did not listen to him last night when he spoke.

MILLY KATANA: Thank you very much. I suppose when somebody wrote leaders they meant political, government leaders because I'm one of the leaders and I stayed behind. I think we are learning how to work with each other as activists, as people from the simple society, as people from government. And sometimes some of the issues we raise with each other are terribly challenging and like all human beings we are uncomfortable with disturbing our comfort zones. This is what [Inaudible] HIV is challenging our comfort zones. Get out of your comfort zones because lives are at stake. That's all I can say for now but we need to do better and listen to each other. HIV's opening avenues for us to talk and it's only through dialogue and talking that we shall bring to an end this catastrophe that is in front of us.

MODERATOR: Thank you, Milly. Raul?

RAUL FRANCIN: This one is to Graca Machel. Partnerships between adults and youth are extremely important as we all know, yet we frequently find that political leaders are inaccessible to most youth. How do you think that you as a leader can make yourself more

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available to more young people, not just to privileged that attend conferences like this?

GRACA MACHEL: That's a good question and a criticism I believe. I think it's crucial that we facilitate and we build the bridges between young people and of them levels of leadership. I'll insist in other levels of leadership, not only the political one, because I think really what is happening is that young people have started to talk among themselves, but they don't have enough interactions even with their parents. They don't have enough interaction with their teachers. They have not enough interactions with of course with political leaders so that is something, which we need to do. But your question is, what can I do now? I must say in the very modest way, but I have started already. In terms of encouraging first of all, networks, especially in Southern Africa. Youth networks to formulate as sort of a common strategy in which they can come with a stronger voice and to be a face, which can be visible where, people cannot easily ignore that they are [Inaudible] and they have the aspirations and the demands. But it is true that the response from the political leadership has been very [Inaudible] so far, very, very [Inaudible]. And I think Milly has put clearly the point of comfort zones. Is that young people are very open. They can be even aggressive if you like. And political leaders are simply terrified to face young people and that's the reality of life. So they will find many, many excuses not to have that confrontation if you can say in a positive way. So when I said at the beginning that

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it's also a criticism is what some of us have been trying to do, it hasn't been enough. It hasn't been seen as building the impact really of this connection between them. So I take your point. I take it as a homework and maybe some time, I don't know who asked it, in future when we meet I'll be able to report how much we have done.

MODERATOR: Mary Ann?

MARY ANN TORIS: Yes, several of the questions referred to the role of the leader and one particular area of leaders in the respective areas of work, how will you influence the Bush Administration to change its position vis a vie generic drugs?

MODERATOR: Who was it directed to? Or does someone want to volunteer? Milly. Mary Ann? Could you repeat the question one more time, I'm sorry?

MARY ANN TORIS: As leaders in your respective areas of work, how are you going to influence the Bush Administration to change its position vis a vies generic drugs?

MODERATOR: Milly, do you want to take a shot at it?

MILLY KATANA: I was just trying to keep the ball rolling. Everybody with a heart I think now understands that we cannot continue doing business as usual in the face of HIV. 40 million lives are at stake. Again as I talked earlier, we need to get out of our comfort zones. I think the U.S. government also needs to move its goal posts and appreciate that unless we get out the cheapest available drugs for the peoples of this world, history will be written in our disfavor. Just imagine 40 dollars as opposed to 300 or

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even 500. How many lives would be saved if we went for the cheaper drugs and not the expensive drugs? That's what I can say. I don't know that there's anybody right from the White House here to take this message, but people's lives are at stake. We cannot continue doing the way we've been doing things.

MODERATOR: Okay. Mary? Can you add something to that?

MARY ROBINSON: Because of the stand that I took as High Commissioner for Human Rights on issues like Guantanamo Bay and the erosion of some basic rights in the United States, I don't have very close contact at the moment with the Bush Administration. If I did, I would certainly try and influence them. But the reason that I took the mic is that the Bush Administration seems to me as influenced by the pharmaceutical industry. And we are trying in the context of the PEPFAR to influence the pharmaceutical industry that there is a right to health, a human right to health and access to treatment is a right. And that there has to be a whole change in outlook. And we are discussing, not with the whole of pharmaceutical, but some leaders in the pharmaceutical industry of bringing them together with others and trying to widen the circle. Because I think it's the industry influence on the Bush Administration, which is also at the heart of the problem.

MODERATOR: Did anyone else want to address that? Richard?

RICHARD GERE: I don't. this is not my area of expertise, but obviously as Mary said, we all have the right to medication. It's insane that there are people who are not given medication when there

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are rich countries and rich companies in the world. And I would agree, clearly, we have an administration now that is essentially owned by big corporations and especially the pharmaceuticals. By I think there are some gray areas too here about actual pricing, actual quality of drugs. I think it's not totally black and white in the situation. And again, this is not my area and I can't speak to that, but I can speak to the fact that if the drugs are available, of course they have to be made available to everyone on this planet without question.

MODERATOR: Next question. Raul?

RAUL FRANCIN: This is a question for Sansanee. As a Buddhist nun, how do you feel talking about sexuality?

MAE CHEE SANSANEE STIENRASUTA: Sex is natural and the way that we deal with sex I think everybody have to deal with it. The way we deal with sex, we should deal it to make sure that every time that we see, every time that we hear, every time that we smell or we taste something. We have to control our mind, our soul that we know how to do and how to manage the feelings. How to manage our mind and soul that we do not get the reflection out from that in a very wrong way. I'm sure that anybody include with this nun, include monks, include all the people, especially youth or the young people, we should learn how to deal with sex, how to deal with love and the way that Buddhist nun, we are going to deal with this and we are going to teach and we are going to learn together with youth and young people that they can deal with love and sex in a very, very right way. And we do

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understand love and sex altogether in the same way and right way. I think that it's a very, very good idea and it's perfect that the Buddhist nun like me, I'm going to talk about these love and sex with young people. For example, I have my television program and other kinds of media, magazine and radio. One part of it, it's called "This is Life." It's a whole program called "This is Life" and one part of it called "This is Love." I talk to young people. I talk to boys and girls and they are talking to me about love and sex. We are talking together, to understand this together. And I think it's perfect time now for all the Buddhist nuns like me that we are going to talk to children about this. And we are going to get them to understand how to use their life to deal with sex and love without get suffering.

MODERATOR: I hate to move off that one. That was good.

Thank you, Mae Chee. Mary Ann?

MARY ANN TORIS: Yes. This is a question for John. Russia and Ukraine have the world's fastest growing rate of new HIV infections, yet the government has been absolutely silent. How can we inspire political leadership on AIDS in this region when its leader won't even utter the word, AIDS?

JOHN TEDSTROM: Well, thank you. It's a very good question and we are talking about almost 200 million people in Russia and Ukraine who are at risk. And a prevalence rate of probably just over 1%. HIV/AIDS and the way in which the epidemic has taken life in this region both independently and together are the subject of great levels of stigma and the people who live with HIV are heavily

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stigmatized and face a lot of discrimination. The political culture in Russia and Ukraine is new and it's changing. They're just coming out of 70 years of Soviet rule and then another decade of heavy corruption and mismanagement. They're working to get their house in order now. One of the things that I'm very proud of is the fact that in both countries, Transatlantic Partners Against AIDS has been able to work with local politicians at the national level to create among other things Parliamentary working groups on HIV/AIDS. In that we are partnering with the UK All Party Working Group On HIV/AIDS in the House of Commons. We have close contacts with the U.S. Congress in Washington and we have begun exploratory discussions with Parliamentarians from India where Parliamentarians have also taken the lead. This work is in its infancy. I'm very, very happy that one of the most senior staffers of the Health Committee of Russia's, Douma, is with us this week in Bangkok and is meeting as many people as he can. This isn't enough. We've got to talk politics to politicians. We've got to talk politics not just to legislators at the national level, but we've got to talk to people in the Executive Branch and we've got to talk to people at the local and regional levels. It takes a blanket approach and we have to make sure that politicians understand the political importance of HIV/AIDS and understand that tackling this problem is part of the legacy that they'll leave behind as leaders.

MODERATOR: Okay, John. Thank you. Raul?

RAUL FRANCIN: This one is for Mary Robinson. Don't you

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think that the female condom could contribute greatly to the empowerment of young African women against HIV infection? Do you think that the female condom could contribute to the empowerment of young African women?

MARY ROBINSON: Yes and at a conference in Pretoria that I co hosted in fact with Graca Machel, it was quite clear that this is what African women and young African women want, but they want accessibility. They want cheaper available female condoms and they want much more emphasis on research on microbicides. It's quite staggering the imbalance in research and I'm glad to say there was a good conference about this recently in Dublin about vaccines and microbicides and a lot of expertise gathered together and Zita Runestein is working on the microbicides. We have tried to support her again with some support in kind from the pharmaceutical industry, which has a huge power to be more effective in this area. And it's all about the reality that we know that the ABC is inadequate. It's fine as far as it goes, but whether it's on abstinence, what happens if a woman is subjected to violence? Is it an unequal partnership? Being faithful doesn't help if your partner is going to infect you. And using condoms requires the willingness of the partner, the male partner to use condoms. So women are very vulnerable. Girls are very vulnerable and it's part of an empowerment of women to be able, in fact to take control of their own protection. And that's also essentially a human rights issue. So I think we should mobilize to have more focus on developing accessible effective female condoms and

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more emphasis on microbicides and bringing them on stream.

MODERATOR: Thank you Mary. We only have about 10 minutes left so I want to move quickly. Mary Ann?

MARY ANN TORIS: Yes, I have a question for Milly. You are coming from a country that invented ABC. The President from your country today talked about the A and the B and using the C as a last resort. Do you have any comments?

MILLY KATANA: We are talking about leadership and leadership while doing the right thing. And we are talking about leadership where all leaders are willing to have dialogue with each other and with other people. What has saved many lives in Uganda is a comprehensive strategy of empowering our people and according them the right to have information and use this information to make their own informed choices. It's not only condoms that can frustrate people. Abstinence and being faithful equally frustrate. And not only people in the Great Lakes region, but I suppose people all over the world. What we are doing as frontline people, people who talk to young people, married women who cannot protect themselves everyday. We are advocating for abstinence, being faithful, using condoms all the time, always and plus and the plus is about an enabling environment where the 3 can be put to use. Ladies and gentlemen, this is not the time to undo science. Science has told us what works. We have a responsibility to put this science to use. We cannot afford to water down our prevention strategy into an A and B approach knowing very well that lives are at stake. Have I answered your question?

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MODERATOR: Thank you Milly. So the C is still very much part of ABC. Raul?

RAUL FRANCIN: This one is to Richard Gere, but I think it can be answered by anyone. The Global Fund does not have the money in the bank to launch [Inaudible] 5. and maybe not even enough to support the current commitments. Do you see yourself playing a role in the fund the fund campaign?

MODERATOR: Richard do you want to start? We can send it someone else.

RICHARD GERE: Yeah, I'm not intimately involved with the Global Fund. The funding that we've received for our projects as I said came from Gates. We had from the Kaiser Family Foundation and they were very specific as to the models that we've been using in communication using media. Look, to be honest. Nothing is going to happen here without the leadership of the U.S. Most of that money comes from the U.S. We're all very much pleased by the commitment that was made by George W. Bush of 15 billion dollars. Was it just last year or was it 2 years ago? It was two years ago. And obviously that money got spent someplace else in the world, unfortunately. The 200-300 billion dollars that have been spent in Iraq, probably could have eradicated this illness. And there are issues with money. In India a lot of money that's been wanted to come into India and for various reasons there's only a certain amount of that money that's been allowed into India by the Indian government. And there argument is that there's enough money to go around. And in many ways it's

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true. There's not an infrastructure in many places to even accept more money at this point. I think building infrastructure is really an important part of what we have to do here. It's not just throwing money at something. This is again going to leadership. All of us creating a situation that can even use money. Money without intelligence, without wisdom is useless. If we create structures that can use that kind of energy, green energy in a positive effective way, that's great. But it's really up to us to do that, so I think we have to take responsibility on that level.

MODERATOR: John?

JOHN TEDSTROM: Yeah, I'd like to build on what Richard just said. I think that in the area of taking responsibility, we can't look only to the Global Fund. We also have to look to national governments. The Global Fund has a terrific program called "Coinvestment" which it works with the private sector to leverage scarce resources. I think that that principal needs to be applied more and more rigorously to national governments who aren't spending enough money on HIV/AIDS. Russia's federal budget last year for HIV/AIDS was just 4 million dollars.

RICHARD GERE: Yeah, India was between 5 and 7 last year.

JOHN TEDSTROM: So, I mean this is a problem that exists at home, people, and we've got to encourage our local leaders to take ownership. The Global Fund isn't going to solve it for us.

MODERATOR: Yes, Mae Chee, yes.

MAE CHEE SANSANEE STIENRASUTA: May I give my ideas. I

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think that when we talk about fund for HIV/AIDS we shouldn't think only about money. We should think about our youth, our next generation. They are the best investment of the world. I've been traveling to Senegal that was my last trip before I came here. I met so many, many thousands of youth in Africa. You know what they say? They say that they are the investment of the world. They are going to fight AIDS and they will stop AIDS in their generation because if they don't do that so people in their country will die more than half. Thank you.

MODERATOR: Thank you, Mae Chee. Sadly we've come to the end and I would like to wind it up if I could by taking a minute each from all of our panelists and during this minute you can really say what you'd like to summarize, however, I just got one last question here, so let me pose that to you as well. It comes from Emily Nowanko she's from the Hope for African Children Initiative in Kenya. This is the question. How do you as leaders plan to keep the leadership program alive until the next International AIDS Conference? How can we be assured that you will take the issues raised as key concerns will be taken toward the global leadership level for the consideration and commitment? Just basically, how do we keep leadership alive and what do we do between now and our next gathering? And let me start in reverse order if I could. Milly, start with you.

MILLY KATANA: Okay, as a member of the Leadership Program Committee, I'd like to assure you that this program has been accepted

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to be an integral part of the International AIDS Society, International AIDS Conference. So next time in Toronto, please expect to have a leadership program just as like the other programs. And the good news is we have lessons to learn from this first program, so I can assure you the 2nd one in Toronto is going to be even better organized with more exciting activities. And we are right now compiling the volume of the questions that have come through and we are going to continue having these discussions around them. We shall produce a comprehensive report. I'm not sure how we can get this delivered to all of you, but this will be put together and the fastest way is maybe to send it electronically for those of you who have access to the Internet, but we are very, very committed to passing this on to the other team that is going to put together the Toronto conference. There is not doubt without leadership things will not happen. And the International AIDS Society is very much aware of this.

MODERATOR: Thank you Milly. Mae Chee, you're closing statement please.

MAE CHEE SANSANEE STIENRASUTA: I'm so sure that every step that we walk together and work together we should have the [Inaudible] or think right. As the leadership in any, any kinds of work we should be a leadership for ourselves and we should lead everybody around us to come back to the present moment. As the leadership, I believe that we can lead ourselves by working in any, any kinds of work without suffering in your heart, without

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sorrowness, without thinking bad, without bad attitude. We should work with clear minds, clear hearts and we can work together by trying to take care of the little, little happiness in our heart. We can be the good example for the young generation, for the next generation to work together happily. And this is the very important moment that we are going to pass this present moment to the young generation, next generation that they will work these after us happily.

MODERATOR: Thank you Mae Chee. John, your closing statement please?

JOHN TEDSTROM: Thank you. I'm relatively new to the fight against HIV/AIDS actually and this is my first international conference and I want to say, thank you to everybody who's come before us. And arriving here at the conference site and actually at the airport was in many ways an awesome and humbling experience. I guess for our part what we can do is just to promise to work with our colleagues in the former Soviet Union and to make sure that next time in Toronto we have a very strong representation of leaders from all parts of society. There are almost 80 Russians here and there are some 50 Ukrainians and a few other people scattered from throughout the region, but maybe on behalf of my staff and I we can pledge to do a better job of getting people here and to helping you organize a session and their active participation.

MODERATOR: Thank you John. Mary?

MARY ROBINSON: I'd like to just reflect a bit on your

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question, how we keep the leadership program alive? I must say I've been impressed by the emphasis here and another forum that I had part in that leadership is at every level, and that in fact the essence is that this whole issue of HIV/AIDS isn't a them and us issue, that we all embrace it and use our opportunities to give leadership. But how do we strategically ensure that we intensify and mobilize leadership? I think there's a lot to be done. I think that there is really a big hill to climb still. For example, to make this issue an issue for the women's movement here in Asia. I think that would be an enormously important aspect of follow up. We talked about the absence of so many heads of government, heads of state being present here. There should be a strategic determination that they will be present on behalf of their governments at the meeting in Toronto in 2 year's time. That should be part of a strategy, but most of all I think what I have learned since coming here and it's something that is always being emphasized but we have to keep remembering is that the real experts on this issue are those living with HIV/AIDS, those infected or affected by HIV/AIDS and that we must make them more included. There was talk in the other forum about their being 2 conferences. One is a bit like the discussion we're having here. It's very focused on leadership at all levels, the importance of human rights and strong gender approach, the importance of a supportive, encouraging sense of hope in the issue. But the point was made that there seems to be another conference going on where some of the management issues, some of the Global Fund issues are being discussed where this isn't the

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approach being adopted. So we've got to close that gap and bring those two approaches together and strategize to ensure that we actually in the end of the day approach this from the human being, from the right to health, from the point of view that everyone should have access to what it takes to lead a life that is a life that is rounded and full of hope and with the potential to develop as far as possible, not the terrible shadow that without access to drugs or because of stigma I can't even disclose my situation knowing that this is an early death sentence rather than the capacity to live a full and rounded and positive life that needs to happen. So I think that this focus on leadership here in Bangkok has brought home to me anyway, and I think probably to many of us the gaps, the need for more strategies, the need for more mobilizing the challenge that we face. And that's perhaps a good message for us to bring from here.

MODERATOR: Thank you Mary. Thank you for that. Richard?

RICHARD GERE: I can't help but think as I'm sitting here about the first time that a friend called me up in tears and said that he had just got his test back and he was positive. And I have to keep reconnecting to that moment of reality about this disease. And it is about real people and it's about our close friends, the friends that we know. The ones that we consider in our family and it's also about our family that we don't know that live outside of our immediate family, village, friends. And that we are totally in this together. We're all brothers and sisters in this. And I think dealing with this disease in all its levels has challenged me so enormously.

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If I really looked at myself and saw all the ugliness and discrimination and selfishness inside of me dealing with this, I've been horrified. It's an extraordinary challenge dealing with this the way it touches our sense of self, it touches sex, it touches community, it touches money, it touches almost everything that we deal with and think of as human or inhuman. And I think if we see this holistically again as a human problem and not conceptually, we'll always be on the right track with it. That it's about that 1 person who's dying that we might save. At the same time, it's strategizing to save a million people in India or 100 million people in India or 100 million people in the rest of Asia or Africa, everywhere. So I think for me the leadership part of this voyage here and I think maybe part of the thing that may be missing for me in a way in this exercise here is it hasn't been for the most part on that human level. I don't know why there aren't more HIV positive people who are speaking here. I don't know why there wasn't an HIV person who spoke last night as a representative of the real people who are suffering. And I would include them as this continues. And if I'm still invited on this voyage here, I would be pressuring that there would be more people who are in the center of this and can bring the experience of being in the center of this disease and have gone through all the changes that they have had to go through to come out with our hearts and minds intact and be the leaders in this. Those are the true leaders and the true heroes. But we are brothers and sisters in this.

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MODERATOR: Thank you Richard. Graca? Please?

GRACA MACHEL: Well, I happen to be one of those who are called the patrons of this leadership program and I think we are learning during this conference how we can really be a bit more effective with this. The first thing I want to say is what Mary has said, is really that we need to work to connect much better the different levels and sectors of leadership and that in the next 2 years to come a process has to be launched to make that happen because otherwise we'll continue with different voices without the connectedness, which is essential in a leadership program like this. I also think that in the next conference we should definitely have much more the face and voice of young people as leaders and I'm saying young people, girls especially, but boys. Those boys who are now taking up the challenge of questioning the mindset of which we, the mothers, have molded them to be the macho and have examples of young men who are accepting the challenge the concepts and norms and beliefs and cultural whatever you name it. To give examples of positive change which leadership can bring about. I think that would be one of the important things to do. The other one, which was a challenge, which was brought to me during this session, is to connect young people to leadership, meaning the political leadership, which is true. In our part of the world I'm coming from Africa, especially Southern Africa. This is not happening. And as you know Southern Africa is the epicenter of this pandemic. And if we have good examples happening there that can help to show how much can be

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achieved when these different levels and sectors of leadership aren't being put together and work together. I hope in the next 2 years I'll be able to do some of those things and to keep the program really in the direction we are aiming at.

MODERATOR: Thank you Graca. And thank you all. Before I conclude I want to remind we didn't get to all the questions. Apologies. But every question will have a response. We are committed and promise to do that. It will be posted on the Internet and so for those of you who didn't get their question answered, you will have an answer on the Internet. And then finally we'd just like to say in no particular order some very, very good lessons at least from my standpoint. Get out of your comfort zone. The ABC, the C is still very much a part of it. Leadership is key. We started off by saying that and we ended by saying that. We need to connect perhaps young people better to leadership. We had some very specific ideas on how to increase the intensity of leadership. Very clear ideas and plans. We need more. Young people are key. They're very, very near to the epidemic. They're affected most and they can be, perhaps, the most impactful, especially because they are so good at confrontation as was pointed out. Drugs need to be cheaper, need to be less expensive, need to be available to everyone. Whether it's generic, whatever, drugs need to get out to a much, much larger part of the epidemic. There is an imbalance in female empowerment, lack of empowerment. We need to do more. Everything from female condoms to microbicides and research of that. Visibility of leadership particularly with women

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and orphans. We need to have a human rights proclamation, particularly for those most impacted by the epidemic. We need to use our money smartly and efficiently. We need to again focus on women and orphans and their legal rights as was pointed out. And then finally, and this is not an all-inclusive list of course, we learned about love and sexuality which I took some notes on. We need to focus on younger people. This is a generation that is committed to fighting and stopping this epidemic. And as was pointed out, we are all in this together. A warm thank you please to our distinguished panel and thank you all.

[END RECORDING]