

REPORT OF THE FIRST ANNUAL
**WEST ASIA - NORTH AFRICA
(WANA) FORUM**



19 - 20 APRIL 2009
AMMAN, JORDAN

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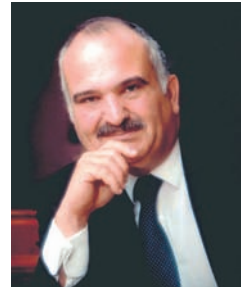
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FOREWORD BY HRH PRINCE EL HASSAN BIN TALAL

18 May 2009, Amman, Jordan

The West Asia - North Africa (WANA) Forum was initiated in response to the fact that nature abhors a vacuum. In our region, this vacuum represents the gradual loss of the noble art of conversation and the increased marginalisation of human beings who are the most important asset to stability and the most dangerous contributors to instability and violence.



It is easy to say that we live in a globalised world, in a cosmopolitan world, whatever it means, and it means different things to different people; but do we live in a convivial world?

The WANA Forum provides a platform for working together as citizens of the world, as members of the human community. We all benefit from collective regional action to resolve conflicts, to promote good governance, to raise living standards, to protect the environment – to face challenges that no nation can tackle alone. Together, we can confront the many problems that impact people's lives across territorial boundaries, involving matters of shared concern.

Assuming custodianship and stewardship of our fragile world is ultimately the responsibility of every one of us, for our own wellbeing is dependent on the wellbeing of others. It is our burden – and equally our privilege – to seize the opportunities of this global era for the benefit of all in WANA and for people around the world.

I am grateful to The Nippon Foundation for generously supporting this initiative. I also thank the Members of the WANA Forum for their participation at the April 2009 Forum and for their commitment to the process. I recognise their individual and collective contributions and hope they will continue to demonstrate their enthusiasm in the next months and years to mobilise for change.

The region is not short of conferences. The real work is in between the annual forums, moving beyond rhetoric that focuses on what is wrong in the world to produce concrete results aimed at realising opportunities that will make a genuine difference in people's lives. We owe it to our children and grandchildren to meet today's challenges and secure a better future.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'El Hassan bin Talal'.

El Hassan bin Talal

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

BY PROFESSOR SULTAN BARAKAT, FORUM MODERATOR

The First Annual WANA Forum in Amman gathered around 70 eminent individuals from WANA and partners from outside the region to assess regional challenges and identify opportunities for regional cooperation in addressing them. They convened not as representatives of states, but as individuals of different professions, socio-economic backgrounds and ideologies, motivated by a sense of responsibility to combat social and economic inequality and environmental degradation for the sake of improving the lives of people in WANA and restoring human dignity for all.



Professor Sultan Barakat

The WANA Forum is a long-term initiative that brings together decision-makers, civil society organisations, religious leaders, researchers, business owners, media representatives and other relevant regional stakeholders. It employs a participatory methodology in the work of the annual Forum and interim consultations, and seeks to engage the public in the process. Three phases over a five year time period have been suggested: to identify key issues and initiatives, develop concrete policy proposals and advocate these policy proposals to decision-makers for implementation.

OVERARCHING THEMES

The following were reoccurring themes throughout the Forum and have become defining elements of the process:

Regional Cooperation

The aim of the WANA Forum is to enhance regional cooperation to address everyday injustices, despite continuing conflicts. Many issues cannot be effectively addressed by one nation or one group alone, such as those related to the environment, to health, to human security and development. These issues require people in the region to find ways to work together towards common goals.

The WANA Forum should look to the positive example of regional cooperation in other regions, such as the Association for Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), benefiting from a “culture of dialogue” which values – rather than fears – diversity. Such initiatives demonstrate what can be achieved through regional cooperation, including the advancement of democracies and economies. Free and open – but

closely and internationally regulated – economic markets are fundamental for strengthening ties within and between regions.

Efforts at regional cooperation have proved successful, in part, due to taking modest initial steps and avoiding contested issues in order to find a common basis in which to initiate regional cooperation.

Conceptualising WANA

It was important for many participants to strictly define WANA geographically. Most agreed that Turkey and Iran are in WANA but what about Afghanistan and Pakistan? And if Pakistan is included then would India be as well? Yet many at the WANA Forum called for an expansive and inclusive rather than restrictive definition of WANA, one that focuses less on political geography and the numerous acronyms surrounding it, and more on human geography. They endorsed a conception of WANA that is fluid, diversified, with shifting borders and flows of people, commodities, resources and ideas. The general consensus was that while many attempts at regional cooperation have focused on Arab unity, WANA Forum Members wish to avoid privileging a particular core national, ethnic, religious or linguistic group and to collectively anchor shared values and concerns with particular attention given to understanding borders as zones of common, positive experience rather than lines of exclusion and difference.

Civil Society Involvement

A re-emerging theme at the Forum was the need for the process to engage the three spheres of government, private sector and civil society actors and that any initiative must bring these stakeholders together for it to succeed on the ground. It was stressed that the WANA Forum has to be more than meetings of intellectuals and elites, and to generate ideas that are inclusive and invite everyone to take part.

Network with Existing Regional Initiatives

The WANA Forum seeks to cooperate, rather than compete, with existing regional initiatives by creating a unifying framework for strengthening and building on the wide range of existing initiatives in WANA. Stakeholders will be encouraged to come together across geographical and ideological boundaries to build on each other's work and encourage synergies instead of duplicating efforts. Creating partnerships is also important for galvanising support for policy proposals and ensuring success in the eventual implementation process at a regional level.

The WANA Forum will conduct a mapping of existing regional initiatives in the social, environmental and economic spheres and initiate discussion on possible synergies between the various initiatives and identify best practices for

mutual benefit. In this sense, the WANA Forum is a “coalition of the willing” – not for military gain – but for realising the triple objective of economic prosperity, social equity and environmental protection in improving lives and closing the human dignity deficit.

Prioritising Human Security

Some Forum Members proposed to adopt the framework of human security as the basis of regional cooperation. Human security is more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance and access to economic opportunity, education and health care. Human security is about creating political, social, environmental, economic and cultural systems that enhance human freedoms and fulfillment.

All too often, instruments become objectives, as in the case of free trade. Without taking into account the specific socio-economic conditions of countries, many in the developing world have jumped on the slogan of free trade to appease international donors whose funding they require. Yet many, in the process, are ignoring or worsening the complex problems of poverty, inequality and lack of environmental sustainability in the pursuit of trade liberalisation as an end in itself. Free trade is a means to an end, which is investment, but in the absence of a modern industrial base, investment opportunities in production, and consequently, the benefits of free trade, are extremely limited.

Participants acknowledged the importance of differentiating between instruments (or tools) and objectives – that the proposals in the social, environmental and economic areas that the WANA Forum identifies and advocates cannot be objectives in themselves. They are a means to an end, which is to enhance human security and improve the lives of people in the region.

Interdependence of the Three Tracks

While participants were tasked with addressing social, economic and environmental priorities in break-out groups, they did not lose sight of how these spheres interact. In this conceptual framework, energy, so essential to all industrial processes, is one of the most important variable of measuring economic activities. For example, the depletion of energy resources and the mounting impact of climate change not only pose risks to the environment but potentially more positively, enhances the viability of emerging industries built around cleaner renewable energy. The resulting economic growth presents opportunities for equitable growth, poverty alleviation, counter-radicalisation and the tackling of broader social dilemmas.

Many development efforts in the region have failed largely because they were not rooted in the social, environmental and economic context in which they occur and without regard to the linkage between these dimensions. The example

that emerged at the Forum of setting up an electric car industry is a case in point in how the social, environmental and economic tracks can be consolidated to meet shared human concerns. Not only would it help create an industrial base that currently does not exist in WANA, it would increase specialised knowledge, promote technological advancement that would make WANA a potential leader in the world, increase employment opportunities, decrease the carbon footprint of the region that will benefit the world and improve overall health.

Social Challenges & Opportunities

Key regional challenges identified in the discussions included lack of participatory, transparent and consensus oriented governance, lack of accountability, authoritative regimes, government constraints on freedom of speech and press, lack of access to healthcare and attention to preventive health, large disparities in access to quality education, unemployment, lack of strategic long-term planning, religious extremism, sectarian strife, corruption, refugees, lack of social welfare, labour migration and lack of women's participation in government and the labour market. The Palestinian-Israeli conflict was a re-emerging theme throughout the Forum.

Knowledge production was seen as an important first step in correcting the knowledge gap in WANA, which is twofold. On one hand, more knowledge in and about WANA is needed, to understand who produces and consumes knowledge and how it is being generated, used and analysed. The region has ceded much control of knowledge production and the process of actualising change to outside institutions. These interventions often fail to reflect local cultures and priorities, which thus derail, rather than further, efforts.

Participants identified the need to learn more about each other and about the "other" in order to break down stereotypes and share knowledge of best practices. One of the concerns that emerged was that there is little cross-cultural understanding, and that the culture of tolerance within and among states would be needed to address the deep rifts that exist between ethnic and religious groups in the region and to combat extremism of all kinds.

Environmental Challenges & Opportunities

Water resources, energy, climate change and waste were selected as issues that the WANA Forum should prioritize in its future workings. Participants promoted energy conservation and minimizing fossil fuel dependency through the use of the most abundant source of energy in WANA – solar power. Participants also supported the idea of promoting water resource management as a means of combating the threats posed by dwindling natural resources, especially water, and the threat of climate change. Energy and water are security priorities which cannot

be ignored; nevertheless, environmental concerns remain viewed as technological or extra-political despite possessing substantial potential to contribute to peace, regional cooperation, global security and a thriving green economy.

On the most basic level, raising public awareness through a study that assesses environmental awareness followed by making information available through education, training programmes and curriculum reform is crucial and requires shifting public patterns of consumption and government patterns of production. The media was also emphasised as an outlet to reach the masses, make information relevant to the public, influence public opinion and engage decision-makers.

As a long-term, forward-thinking strategy, the region has an opportunity to leapfrog through technology transfer, capacity building, collaboration with other countries and partnership-building. The region is also capable of investing in building an innovative technology infrastructure that would stem from the people of WANA. However, in a globalised context, it is important to consider viability of technology and knowledge. By going green and going low-carbon, WANA would do well to benefit from the “global green recovery” through the use of localised and alternative sources of energy – solar, wind and biomass – as a form of not only generating clean power, but also, national power and wealth.

Economic Challenges & Opportunities

In a survey of people from across WANA, employment was identified as the highest priority. Access to labour markets is limited by the disparate quality of education, the mismatch between skills and teaching, the fact that the labour market and private sector are not growing quickly enough, and due to the brain drain and skills drain within and outside the region.

The WANA region suffers from rentierism and “Dutch Disease”, which has led to a higher currency exchange rate, which in turn has decreased competitiveness and thus also productivity of the manufacturing sector and the entanglement of public sector interest with business interest. The region would need to encourage investment instead of rentierism and charity.

Deep political divisions within countries in WANA combined with the three categories of countries – the super-rich, the developing and middle-income countries, and some of the poorest countries in the world – are major challenges to developing regional cooperation.

As a result of the global financial crisis, sovereign wealth funds are looking at funding projects in WANA countries, which provides an opportunity to initiate large-scale investment for infrastructure construction.

WANA may gain economic momentum not through simply resuscitating the old economy but also by enabling a green industrial and economic revolution

which will create jobs and facilitate more sustainable development.

Industrialisation not only provides more jobs and higher welfare, but creates the conditions for greater social and political mobility throughout society. This is the stuff of democracy-building in the real world, and it is what is missing in WANA. It should form the basis of an effective policy agenda.

PRIORITIES SELECTED

Participants elected to present the following proposals for consideration based on the criteria that they would have regional relevance, be practically and politically feasible, involve multi-stakeholder cooperation and have inspirational appeal:

Social Track

Participants elected to present the following proposals for consideration:

- Mapping of regional initiatives;
- Commissioning a study on cross-border dynamic - shared governance of border zones on issues such as trade and the spread of disease;
- Education
 - Developing a regional student and internship exchange programme;
 - Engaging in curriculum reform that examines textbooks nationally and regionally to eliminate religious and cultural prejudice and break down notions of “the other”;
 - Employing use of critical thinking pedagogy in classrooms;
 - Organising a WANA educational fair;
 - Introducing e-learning in schools and universities;
- Social Cohesion Management
 - Commissioning research in social cohesion management to analyse social mechanisms of promoting social cohesion and social development in WANA;
 - Examining the potential for a regional Social Cohesion Fund;
- Post-Conflict Reconstruction
 - Commissioning research to review the effectiveness of post-conflict reconstruction efforts and identify good practices;
 - Developing the groundwork for a regional training centre to develop the technical capacity for post-conflict interventions in WANA.

Environmental Track

Forum Members prioritised the following issues: 1) water resources; 2) energy resources; 3) climate change; 4) waste, and made the following recommendations to governments and decision-makers in the region:

- Developing a unified perspective on climate change through a multi-stakeholder summit or workshop;
- Increasing investment in education and raising public awareness;
- Promoting energy conservation;
- Promoting integrated water resource management;
- Formulating a WANA Framework for sustainable development to be submitted to the Council of Arab Ministers Responsible for the Environment (CAMRE) and other environmental bodies in the region;
- Introducing environmental fiscal reforms.

In addition, the following long-term recommendations were made for the WANA Forum:

- Creating WANA Panels on: 1) Energy; 2) Water Resources; 3) Climate Change and; 4) Green Economy;
- Supporting a graduate programme for regional science (quantitative analysis: simulation, sensitivity analysis, etc.);
- Utilising and harnessing existing ongoing fora (explore the possibility to introduce WANA Forum and its work to other fora) and support a research network on environmental issues;
- Making information available the public.

Economic Track

The following proposals were selected as priorities by participants:

- Developing vocational education for manufacturing and entrepreneurial skills;
- Sharing of experience and expertise between SMEs on economic matters (best practices, fruitful business environment, good policies, etc.);
- Developing hybrid vehicle production by means of creating a strong regional entity to facilitate region-wide cooperation in the field and initiating international competitive bidding for a global alliance;
- Developing the concept of a high-speed bullet train from Tehran to Cairo and beyond.

FORUM CONCLUSIONS

The WANA Forum should take modest initial steps and build towards more ambitious goals. The process would do well to avoid contested issues and strive towards inclusiveness. It should also formulate practical, meaningful and implementable proposals rather than just criticise the existing status quo, thus moving beyond identifying challenges to realising opportunities. The WANA Forum should be a regional platform for thinking outside the box.

Defining WANA

The WANA region should be conceptualised not in terms of geography as territory, but as mobile and fluid – flows of people, commodities, currencies, resources and ideas. Over-intellectualisation of WANA should be avoided and a three layer approach could be adopted: 1) core WANA countries; 2) neighbours of WANA; and 3) friends of WANA.

Key Challenges

Key challenges for the process to address include: how to match the state-led processes that have initiated regional cooperation in other parts of the world; how to change the mentalities of stakeholders in the region in order to strengthen the connection between decision-makers, the private sector and civil society; how to learn more about each other and about the “other” in order to build trust in the region; and how to develop a common regional goal or vision.

Identifying Priority Proposals

As a cross-cutting theme, Forum Members emphasised gender issues and increasing female participation and representation. Several other proposals were made in the break-out sessions of the social, environmental and economic tracks. It could be helpful to categorise WANA initiatives into short, medium and longer term initiatives and to identify priorities from each. The Secretariat highlighted selected proposals on the basis of the following criteria:

- Regional relevance – priorities should be shared by substantial numbers of people;
- Multi-stakeholder cooperation – priorities should open possibilities for and encourage the involvement of political leaders, the media, the private sector, civil society and academia;
- Inspirational appeal – priorities should have the ability to propel future regional initiatives and the involvement of others across West Asia and North Africa;
- Feasibility – it should be realistic for the WANA Forum to productively engage with the priorities and reasonably anticipate substantive progress.

For most initiatives, it will be necessary to involve governments in their implementation, so links should already be created with governments in the region to inform them of the process.

Next Steps

The Secretariat considered issues that could produce “quick wins”, i.e. demonstrate the feasibility of initiating regional cooperation and the potential benefits that it could bring. On the basis of these criteria, the priority issues identified are laid out in the chart below:

	Social Track	Environmental Track	Economic Track
Education	Developing a regional student and internship exchange programme	Promoting energy conservation through education and the media	Developing vocational education for manufacturing and entrepreneurial skills
Sharing Regional Experiences	Mapping regional initiatives to determine best practices and opportunities for networking on shared issues and interests	Mapping regional initiatives to determine best practices and opportunities for networking on shared issues and interests	Mapping regional initiatives to determine best practices and opportunities for networking on shared issues and interests
			Sharing of experience and expertise between SMEs on economic matters (best practices, fruitful business environment, good policies)
Post-Conflict Reconstruction	Commissioning research to review the effectiveness of post-conflict reconstruction efforts and identify good practices		
	Developing the groundwork for a regional training centre to develop the technical capacity for post-conflict interventions in WANA		
Social Cohesion Management	Commissioning research in social cohesion management to analyse social mechanisms of promoting social cohesion in WANA		
	Examining the potential for a regional Social Cohesion Fund		

	Social Track	Environmental Track	Economic Track
Regional Dialogue on Environmental Challenges		Formulating a WANA Framework for sustainable development to submit to the Council of Arab Ministers Responsible for the Environment (CAMRE) and other environmental bodies in the region	
		Creating WANA Panels on: 1) Energy; 2) Water Resources; 3) Climate Change and; 4) Green Economy	
Infrastructure and Industry			Undertaking a comprehensive examination of the possibilities for developing transportation infrastructure, such as developing a regional high-speed train network, highway systems, and removing barriers for movement of people and goods between countries as well as developing “soft” (e.g. commercial and legal) infrastructure
			Developing hybrid vehicle production by means of creating a strong regional entity to facilitate region-wide cooperation in the field and initiating international competitive bidding for a global alliance

CHAPTER ONE: Opening and Welcome

Section 1.1: Overview of the WANA Forum Initiative

The First Annual WANA Forum in Amman gathered around 70 eminent individuals from WANA and partners from outside the region to assess regional challenges and identify opportunities for regional cooperation in addressing them.

The WANA Forum Secretariat introduced Members to the process by describing what is meant by WANA. While one often hears references to the WANA region, which stretches from Morocco to Pakistan and beyond, this Forum hopes to focus less on political geography and the numerous acronyms surrounding it, and more on human geography. Doing so will require an expansive and inclusive rather than restrictive definition of WANA. West Asia and North Africa cannot be approached in isolation nor defined in absolute terms.

Participants were reminded that they were invited not as representatives of states, but as individuals of different professions, socio-economic backgrounds and ideologies, motivated by a sense of responsibility to combat social and economic inequality and environmental degradation for the sake of improving the lives of people in WANA and restoring human dignity for all.

By focusing on people, not states, the WANA Forum stresses that the concerns and interests of the most impoverished and neglected must not be forgotten as these meetings consider opportunities for human security, stability and prosperity throughout the region.

The WANA Forum is a long-term initiative that seeks to facilitate change from the bottom-up, not top-down, by bringing together decision-makers, civil society organisations, religious leaders, researchers, business owners, media representatives and other relevant regional stakeholders. It employs a participatory methodology in the work of the annual Forum and interim consultations, and seeks to engage the public in the process.

Three phases over a five year time period have been suggested: to identify key issues and initiatives, develop concrete policy proposals and advocate these policy proposals to decision-makers for implementation.

Objectives of the WANA Forum

The three overall aims of the WANA Forum process are:

1. To strengthen regional multilateral dialogue on shared human concerns;
2. To build trust by providing a non-threatening forum for dialogue between decision-makers and civil society;
3. To work together to establish a process of continuous exchange of initiatives and ideas for regional cooperation.

The three main aims of the first WANA Forum meeting include: to foster collaboration between Forum Members; to motivate Forum Members to commit to a long-term process; and to identify the first themes for the WANA Forum to work on.

How WANA is different from other initiatives

The WANA Forum hopes to be different and avoid the pitfalls of many earlier meetings by:

1. Employing a participatory methodology in the work of the annual Forum and the consultations, both in defining substantive priorities based on basic human concerns and in proposing solutions.
2. Bringing together decision-makers, civil society organisations, religious leaders, researchers, business owners, media representatives and other relevant regional stakeholders across ideological boundaries.
3. Involving grassroots participation in the selection of human concerns by consulting all Forum Members as well as organising an online poll open for public voting.

Several questions were raised by Forum Members in the ensuing discussion:

- How can the WANA Forum make the voices of people heard, understood and conveyed to policymakers?
- How can the WANA Forum bridge the disconnect between power and authority (political and religious)?
- What kind of mechanism will be developed to translate proposals made into something tangible on the ground?
- How will the WANA Forum develop a structure for supporting regional cooperation?
- Could the Forum not proceed faster from planning what to do to implementing proposals and networking with others?
- What is the higher aim of the Forum in terms of regional integration and cooperation and how can WANA learn from other regional entities like the European Union?

Section 1.2: Opening Address and Key Speakers

His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan bin Talal stressed that the WANA Forum is an inclusive process, bringing together stakeholders from across the region. He also noted that Members of the Forum have been invited *ad hominem* – as individuals – not as representatives of states, to address the lack of public discourse in the region.

Prince El Hassan attributed many of the problems in the region to bad

governance and saw good governance as forming the basis for ensuring human security in WANA. Good governance, he said, is participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and follows the rule of law. It assures that corruption is minimised, the views of minorities are taken into account and the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making.



HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal

His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan bin Talal, an innovator and a global force for change, has played an active role in countless regional and international institutions and initiatives promoting human security, transforming conflict and building peace.

For too long, Prince El Hassan noted, the WANA region has suffered from the practice of investment for investment's sake, and called for investment in human dignity. Implementing a regional Zakat Fund or Cohesion Fund would be one step in that direction. Malaysia's Zakat Fund is a good example of how it could work.

Prince El Hassan also expressed concern over the spread of nuclear weapons, and called for the need to identify the mechanism and institutional formula to approach the deficiencies in the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty.

He also suggested that the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) move to meet the WANA region, and for WANA to become the middle ground between the Euro-Atlantic region and ESCAP. He expressed his concern for the people who live next to the oil and gas pipelines in the region, and called for the development of a constructive security regime in WANA based on energy resources.

Mr. Yohei Sasakawa said that the WANA region has been plagued by conflicts for too long. Although it may not be easy to promote cooperation among people in a region that has experienced as much conflict, there are many issues that cannot be effectively addressed by one nation or one group alone, such as those related to the environment, to health, to human security and development. These issues require people in the region to find ways to work together towards common goals. They require an urgent, and a patient, response with a long-



Yohei Sasakawa

Mr. Yohei Sasakawa is Chairman of The Nippon Foundation, the World Health Organization Goodwill Ambassador for Leprosy Elimination and Japan's Ambassador for the Human Rights of People Affected by Leprosy. Under Mr. Sasakawa's stewardship, The Nippon Foundation has grown into a global philanthropic leader, and Mr. Sasakawa has made it a tool for social development around the world, striving to improve public health and education, to alleviate poverty, to eliminate hunger and to help the disabled.

term, collective vision. Mr. Sasakawa stressed that a new framework is needed to allow people to discuss the social, economic and environmental issues facing the region and to eventually lead to the formation of a regional identity and practical cooperation.

President Martti Ahtisaari stressed that only by increasing cooperation in the region can mutual interests grow and slowly supersede disagreement and rivalries. The seeds of cooperation must be sown from within the region – not imported from the outside – and could help the region achieve its potential, boost self-sufficiency and gain some independence from extra-regional actors.



President Martti Ahtisaari

President Ahtisaari noted that the recent cycle of violence, particularly the war in Gaza, has not made it easy to advocate ground-breaking thinking on regional cooperation. Yet, President Ahtisaari stressed, the discussion on urgent human development has nothing to do with Israel or other conflicts, and that in his view, the aim of the WANA Forum should be to enhance human development through regional cooperation, despite continuing conflicts.

He recommended to Members of the Forum to adopt action-oriented goals that focus on problems they could have a concrete influence on. States cannot carry the burden of development by themselves, nor can the state continue

President Martti Ahtisaari is the former president of Finland and an Ambassador and mediator for the United Nations. Over the years, President Ahtisaari has played a prominent role in addressing conflict in Kosovo, where he served as a UN Special Envoy at the status process negotiations, and elsewhere throughout the world. For these exceptional contributions to resolving, transforming and preventing conflict, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2008.

to see civil society and societal mobilisation around everyday human concerns as threatening. At the same time, civil society must also present its case constructively and aim to cooperate with the state, which is, after all, best able to implement changes.

CHAPTER TWO: Experiences of Regional Cooperation from Asia

The goal of greater regional cooperation is one that is pursued by other regions of the world, from the South African Development Community to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and others. It is important for the WANA region to learn from the successes achieved and obstacles encountered in other regions. This learning process has already begun with the WANA Forum, by adopting a people-centred rather than state-led initiative, which ensures that the goals of regional cooperation are first shared by civil society and large segments of the public. By so doing, the WANA Forum recognises the importance of states while reflecting the awareness that, in a climate so frequently marked by competition and rivalry, little can be achieved without popular will.

Three speeches were delivered in this session on the Asian experiences of regional cooperation by Ambassador Tatsuo Arima, Ambassador Chinmaya Gharekhan and Ambassador Yonglong Chen.

Key points raised in the presentations were interdependence and sharing rather than giving, as well as focusing on “how” to collaborate as much as “what” to collaborate on. Speakers also highlighted the importance of trust as a building block for regional cooperation and dialogue as the only way of building that trust.

The main challenge for the WANA region is to find how to match the state-led processes and collaboration that have initiated regional cooperation in other parts of the world. While the Forum should not overlook the present, including the financial crisis, it will be important to look into the future.

Section 2.1: The Association for Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Japanese Experience

Ambassador Tatsuo Arima discussed Japan’s experiences of regional cooperation in East Asia and stressed the universality of human dignity, development and cooperation. He noted that historically, a free and open economy has proved to be most beneficial to promoting the middle class and a free and open society. He added that capitalism should be coupled with social guidance in planning future regional cooperation.



Ambassador Tatsuo Arima

Ambassador Arima described the manner in which the Association for Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has enhanced the space and scope of regional

cooperation in East Asia and enabled ASEAN countries to acquire the habits of international communication. In Japan's case, a set of principles was announced to guide the country's participation in ASEAN: 1) Japan will not become a military power and will promote peace and prosperity, 2) Japan will do its best to cooperate and build trust through cooperation, 3) Japan will cooperate positively in cultural and social fields in the spirit of open partnership and open society.

Ambassador Tatsuo Arima is Special Envoy of the Government of Japan for the Middle East and President of the Middle East Research Institute of Japan. He has held the posts of Director-General for North American Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Chief Cabinet Councilor for External Affairs at the Prime Minister's Office, Ambassador to the Netherlands, and Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany.

Ambassador Arima observed that regional cooperation has been the engine for the remarkable development of East Asia, and has been based on the key principles of commitment to peace, mutual trust, open and equal partnership and the desire for an open and free society. He concluded by highlighting that the WANA region can achieve peace with the help of the international community, and that peace would also bring more prosperity to the region.

Section 2.2: The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and the Experience of India

Ambassador Chinmaya Gharekhan asserted that the 21st century will have to address issues of faith and that it will be necessary to look both at reason and faith, because that is the only basis for human solidarity, which calls for a culture of dialogue, reciprocity and civilisation. He highlighted that the WANA Forum's approach of addressing challenges in the region by developing supra-nationalism has been adopted by India for some time.



Ambassador Chinmaya Gharekhan

With regard to experiences of regional cooperation from the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Ambassador Gharekhan noted that the organisation now has eight full members, which has brought people from all over the region together, and has managed to make significant progress in several fields, even though there have been some frictions as well. He also highlighted the importance of the WANA region to SAARC countries.

He stated that SAARC is based on two principles: 1) all decisions will be taken by unanimity, and 2) no member will bring bilateral or contentious issues

into the organisation. By following these principles, SAARC has been able to advance democracy, in the few years it has been active, and has had many concrete initiatives to promote regional cooperation and development, such as setting up an East-Asian University in Delhi, setting up a SAARC development fund, initiating regional healthcare projects and establishing a free trade agreement (SAFTA). A mutual agreement was also reached among SAARC countries recently on measures to combat the challenges posed by terrorism and a convention was signed. Against the backdrop of the global food crisis, SAARC has developed a vision for 2020 and a regional food bank. There is also regional cooperation in the fields of science and technology.

Ambassador Chinmaya Gharekhan is Special Envoy of the Prime Minister of India for West Asia and the Middle East Peace Process. He served as India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York and Geneva, and advisor for Foreign Affairs to two prime ministers of India. As under Secretary-General in the UN, Ambassador Gharekhan was first the UN Secretary General's Senior Advisor and then UN Special Coordinator in the Occupied Palestinian Territory. He is the author of "The Horseshoe Table: An Inside View of the United Nations Security Council" and a regular contributor on international affairs to newspapers and periodicals.

Ambassador Gharekhan advised that taking modest initial steps and building on those towards a more ambitious direction has proved to be a successful formula in the case of SAARC. Similarly, avoiding contested issues in the beginning had a considerable impact on the success of initiating cooperation. He noted that inclusiveness is important, and that meeting in an inclusive context, will surely lead to success.

Section 2.3: The Way Forward: Global Cooperation

Ambassador Yonglong Chen highlighted nine points about the financial crisis, which demonstrate the importance of not only regional cooperation in all parts of the world, but also global cooperation.

Firstly, he noted that the financial crisis is not like previous ones, as it started from the heart of capitalism and is mainly a structural problem having to do with lack of supervision, lack of confidence and misjudgements and requires global cooperation to overcome. Secondly, only a few people know how deep the black hole of the crisis is, but they dare not or do not



Ambassador Yonglong Chen (Right)

wish to say, whereas many people who do not know how deep it is have said much about it. Thirdly, global cooperation is required, but the major countries should take a greater role in addressing the crisis in order to set an example to the whole world. Fourthly, this crisis is a blow against protectionism. Fifthly, in addressing the crisis, special attention should be paid to the interest of developing countries, because they have been more deeply struck by the crisis and are

Ambassador Yonglong Chen is the Vice President of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs. In his last two posts, he was the Chinese Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan as well as to Israel more recently. Ambassador Chen was Division Chief and Deputy Director-General of the Department of Policy Planning of the Chinese Foreign Ministry and has also served as Second Secretary and First Secretary of the Chinese Permanent Mission to the United Nations.

striving to implement the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Sixthly, every major crisis has generated a new industrial revolution, and this time it will be the green revolution. Seventhly, countries in the world need to collectively deal with reforming the economy and financial architecture on a new basis. Eighthly, Asian countries will need to work together to face the challenge, to deepen cooperation, to find new ideas and initiatives for coping with the crisis, and continue to build a free-trade area, provide more aid to the least developed, to build infrastructure and promote tourism. Finally, Sino-US relations, which got to a very positive start at the G20 Summit, will have a major impact on tackling the crisis.

Section 2.4: Comments and Recommendations

In the subsequent discussion, Forum Members raised the issue of the relevance of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) for the WANA Forum and the importance of cooperation between the GCC and the hinterland, since it is not possible to talk about an enclave without talking about the importance of intra-interdependence. It was argued that meetings in GCC countries will not succeed as long as foreign



Left to right: Malek Kabariti, Seiichiro Yonekura, Tawakul Karman, Mohammed Al-Midani

countries want to deal with Arab countries on a bilateral basis.

In WANA, there is no integration of nuclear projects or joint thinking on the energy needs of the region. WANA also lacks a supranational



Left to right: Yoshiaki Sasaki, Akira Matsunaga, Ahmad Mango

concept for a regional water and energy community, looking at how people could live in this region in 10 to 20 years in practical terms rather than political terms.

The need to introduce new concepts and initiatives in the discourse on WANA and to introduce civil society in addition to state structures in such discourse were suggested to help all stakeholders find new possibilities for cooperation. WANA should not be linked to existing state structures, but should rather be like a World Social Forum for the WANA region.

A proposition for intergovernmental cooperation in sharing the water resources of the Tigris and Euphrates was made. The WANA region suffers from climate change, desertification and bad irrigation policies, to name some of the main challenges. The experiences of Europe with the Dam Commission would need to be taken into consideration, as in the WANA region, neighbouring countries build dams and divert water sources, creating enormous challenges downstream – this would need to be addressed through regional cooperation.

It was, however, noted that addressing the challenges in the WANA region is very complicated, especially due to the Arab-Israeli conflict, and requires not only dialogue and negotiations, but also re-educating families on both sides who have suffered and grown up in the atmosphere of conflict. It was suggested that youth interaction could be a good starting point for addressing this problem.



Participants discuss regional cooperation

CHAPTER THREE: Current Challenges & Opportunities in WANA

The session on regional challenges and opportunities launched the process of determining issues around which regional cooperation is most needed and around which it could feasibly be initiated. It was recommended that discussions continue beyond the WANA Forum and generate tangible recommendations for regional cooperation.

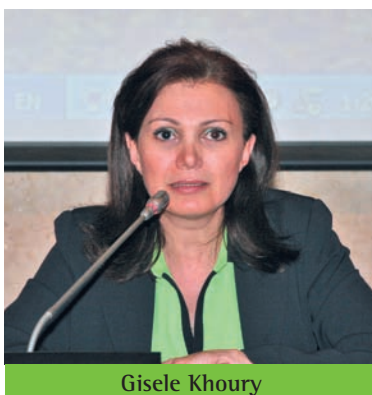
The presentations started with the challenge of political Islam and ended with the possibility of faith in identifying a new way of thinking about the world and our future, illustrating the diversity of views in the WANA Forum.

Section 3.1: Overview of Challenges and Opportunities in WANA

Ms. Gisele Khoury argued that the Arab community is a community that does not ask questions but seems to have answers to everything, making it a community outside history and the rest of the international community. She noted, however, that the Arab world was very promising in the early 20th century but has had difficulty in modernising, for which the rulers as well as the people of the region are responsible.

Ms. Khoury maintained that regimes in the WANA region have formed dual partnerships in order to maintain power and their privileged status in society; therefore, the region has not reached the status of citizenry. She added that most regimes are police regimes that consider any talk about transparency equivalent to grand treason, while Arab conferences refuse to even use the word.

According to Ms. Khoury, the problems in the region are cultural as well as political. In WANA, armies exist to fight an enemy, whether it is Israel or the population of the country. Islamic radicalism is due to a lack of trust in the state as well as the mass appeal in promises of paradise. The war on terrorism has helped actors from outside the region categorise certain groups within WANA as “evil”, even if they are a political Islamic opposition, leading to a greater increase



Gisele Khoury

Ms. Gisele Khoury is a talk-show host on Al Arabiya news channel. She has her own programme, Bil Arabi, hosting many prominent and high-profile guests, political decision-makers, heads of state, prime ministers and ministers of foreign affairs. The show covers current events and the latest political developments from the Arab world and beyond.

in extremism.

At the same time, Ms. Khoury asserted, extremist groups do not have a theory of development or a platform for realising it, since theirs is a culture of death, not constructive policies. The culture of death is the culture that dominates without giving room to other challenges; one which does not build countries, especially not for citizens who want life.

Ms. Khoury expressed disappointment in the decision of Arab foreign ministers to mutually support the Sudanese President in light of the arrest warrant issued by the Hague-based International Criminal Court accusing him of war crimes. She questioned why secularists and communists in the region suddenly became advocates of Islamic extremism. What is their legitimacy? Are there non-populist public fora? Is there criticism against their political agenda? Is there a single important Arab artist or scientist on the world stage who is a student of a local Arab university? Where are Arab movies? Is there an understanding between Arabs and the new world surrounding them? These were all questions that Ms. Khoury posed to Forum Members to think about.

Section 3.2: Economic Challenges and Opportunities

Dr. Hamed El-Said noted that one of the main challenges of the region is that it has not been able to create a modern industrial basis or present one example of an economic “tiger” – a success story. He added that the WANA region has also been one of the major losers in the globalisation process and missed out on many opportunities, as indicators show, after it became more closed, isolationist and interventionist.



Dr. Hamed El-Said

Between 1975 and 2005, WANA received less than 1% of total Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). Today, the region is the second lowest recipient of FDI, after sub-Saharan Africa. Oil and foreign aid remain the major sources of income, and in recent years, even foreign aid has been more political than developmental. International bilateral aid has been decreasing since the 1980s, and a great deal of the aid also goes to rich countries, such as Israel.

Dr. Hamed El-Said is a Reader in International Political Economy at Manchester Metropolitan University in the United Kingdom. Dr. El-Said was most recently Project Leader at the United Nations Interregional Crime & Justice Research Institute, leading the UN research team on 'Addressing Radicalisation and Extremism that Lead to Terrorism' at the Security Governance and Counter Terrorism Unit in Turin, Italy. Dr. El-Said has also worked at the Royal Scientific Society in Amman, Jordan as Economic Researcher in the Department of Economics and Social Studies and later in the Centre for International Studies.

Growth rates in the region have also been disappointing, Dr. El-Said asserted, growing only at 3%, compared to the world average of 8%. He noted that it would be important to also look at the quality of growth – whether it improves the lives of the poor or not. According to Dr. El-Said, 30% of the people in the region live below the poverty line. Growth would need to increase two to three fold to what it was before in order to achieve progress in tackling poverty.

The official average unemployment rate in the region is 15%. Obstacles in tackling this challenge include government dominance, limited integration in the global economy, limited FDI and an inconducive business environment. The region direly needs an enabling environment for private business, because processes involved in starting a private business are currently complicated, lengthy and expensive.

Dr. El-Said pointed out that health and education are crucial when addressing economic development and progress. The lack of social welfare is a significant problem in the region and has created a vacuum for faith-based organisations and religious extremists who provide crucial services to the public, undermining secular and statist alternatives in the process. There is a difference between complementing the state and substituting the state – the latter is happening in WANA, he added.

In conclusion, Dr. El-Said identified key challenges for the region: the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the lack of government-provided social welfare and education and the lack of openness to the global economy.

Section 3.3: Social Challenges and Opportunities

Dr. Maha Yahya began by noting that there are both challenges and opportunities for social welfare in the region. One of the key challenges is the move from the concept of social welfare to social and economic development. There would be a need to go beyond a sectoral approach, towards comprehensive socio-economic development agendas, and to go beyond access to basic services, and consider issues such as employment generation and the right to work as fundamental rights and goals of development.

In the field of education, she noted that there are large disparities in access and quality, high illiteracy among the youth and gender disparity. As the main reasons for this, she identified poor incentives for lower income students to remain in schools, obsolete teaching methods, lack



of teaching and administrative skills in schools, poor involvement of parents, lack of extracurricular activities and curricula that does not encourage critical thinking, group work or leadership skills among students. Often schools do not practice democratic decision-making nor live by the principles they are trying to teach.

Dr. Maha Yahya is currently the Regional Advisor on Social Policies at the Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia. She was Project Director of the Lebanon National Human Development Report for the United Nations Development Programme. Dr. Yahya was involved, in 2008-2009, with the launch of the book 101 Stories to Tell - Citizenship Initiatives in Public Life. The book brings to light 101 civic, cultural, environmental, social, economic and political initiatives.

In terms of health, Dr. Yahya argued the key challenge is in insuring access to preventive healthcare through primary healthcare centres, rather than curative healthcare such as hospitals as well as uneven access to healthcare, lack of medical insurance and insufficient connections to water and waste water networks. Outcomes include high mortality rates for children less than five years of age as well as malnutrition.

In terms of employment, high unemployment rates prevail, especially among the youth. Access to labour markets is limited by the disparate quality of education, the mismatch between supply and demand and the fact that the growth in the private sector cannot absorb the new labour supply.

Dr. Yahya argued that poverty and social exclusion are a real challenge for WANA. There is a strong correlation between poverty, unmet basic needs and equitable access to services. The rural/urban divide is also being challenged by growing poverty pockets in urban areas, she said. The social impact of the financial crisis is an additional challenge, which may worsen many of the existing problems. She added that it is also an opportunity for new investments, job creation and expansion.

As potential ways forward, Dr. Yahya suggested advancing comprehensive socio-economic development approaches and considering the international human rights as a basic starting point for such approaches. A bottom-up process needs to be combined with a top-down process, she added. There is a need for integrated methodologies to measure how countries in WANA compare to each other and other regions. There is also a need for monitoring early warning signs and the development of effective targeting mechanisms that can be adapted to the needs of different countries.

A key challenge is that decision-makers in the region do not know how to target those who need help the most. A better policy basis would be to incorporate pro-poor fiscal adjustment, build support investments in nutrition and education

and create an MDG fund that encourages local non-governmental organisations to implement projects addressing regional disparities within countries. Also, providing an enabling environment for private entrepreneurship could serve the triple goals of economic growth, job creation and poverty reduction. Finally, Dr. Yahya argued that partnerships are needed with the private sector, media and civil society in order to move beyond poverty alleviation towards empowerment of the poor.

Section 3.4: Environmental Challenges and Opportunities

Dr. Odeh Al-Jayyousi stressed that environmental capital underlies economic and social capital and thinking. Could the environment constitute a regional common for WANA? Can the environment inform WANA's mission and dream? He argued that the market economy and economic systems do not tell the truth about ecology and that it would be important to find the lowest common denominator to glue the WANA countries and their civic intelligence together.



Dr. Odeh Al-Jayyousi

Dr. Al-Jayyousi noted that key statistics reveal a grim reality. In terms of North and South, the ecological footprint is unbalanced – 20% of the rich produce 61.7% of the ecological footprint. In the WANA region, some of the oil countries have high ecological footprints, but the main pressures in the region are the lack of fresh water, desertification, pollution, the oil economy and conflict. He suggested that water needs to be conceptualised in terms of cooperation, not conflict.

In order to re-think the environment in WANA, Dr. Al-Jayyousi argued a new consciousness would be needed – the WANA region should endeavour to provide insights for the human race to transform materialistic and ego-centric values to eco-centric and more spiritualistic values through the notion of *zohd* (enoughness), *ihsan* (inner beauty) and *imarat el kawn* (construction of the Universe).

Dr. Odeh Al-Jayyousi is the regional director for the International Union for Conservation of Nature's West Asia/Middle East regional office. He was a university professor in water resources and environment and dean of scientific research at the Applied Science University in Jordan. He was an academic director for the MSc Programme in transformational management in the UK. His research interests include water policy and sustainable development. He has worked in the US at the City of Chicago's Department of Planning, and at the University of Illinois at Chicago's Center for Urban Economic Development.

As suggestions for the common social glue in the WANA region, Dr. Al-Jayyousi presented faith, reason and empathy. He noted that the European dream is about enhancing empathy, and the WANA Forum would need to talk about how to implement that in WANA. The WANA Forum needs to emphasise these three issues, to re-think what the good life is and how it can be attained. The WANA region needs a green economy, which means that research and development and industry should internalise precautionary principles and systems thinking in development. The new enlightenment should be based on restoration, replenishment and integration.

In conclusion, Dr. Al-Jayyousi highlighted some key messages for the WANA Forum: the Hijazi Rail Road as a metaphor; trans-boundary *himma* (protected areas); a regional science graduate programme; a community of solar energy; the WANA Forum as a platform for framing regional commons; and a *waqf* (trust fund) for sustainable development. The WANA region has to create a new narrative about the human mission.

Section 3.5: Comments and Recommendations

In the consequent discussion, it was suggested that the WANA Forum should become an umbrella for a regional process of sustainable development. The creation of awareness in society was seen as valuable as well as providing success stories from within the region to use as benchmarks. The importance of implementation was stressed; therefore, the WANA Forum should consider how to identify roles for different stakeholders in WANA societies, considering that the region is becoming more globalised, for example, through the proliferation of information and communication technology. The WANA Forum is a valuable initiative, which offers the opportunity to contemplate on where the region would like to be in 10 to 15 years.

It was also noted that cultural issues were absent from all presentations, even though culture permeates everything. The WANA Forum should focus on the



Left to right: Abou Elela Mady, Volker Perthes, Hamed El-Said



Left to right: Najla Ayubi, Nadia Al-Sakkaf, Fatima Gailani

impact of tolerant religion and Islam, since they have the potential of bringing together people from all religions and finding solutions for many pressing problems. The WANA region has to be able to commit to a true, transparent and moderate face. Because it is believed that Islam is well suited to the new discourse on sustainable development, the WANA Forum should consider looking for ways to combine faith and sustainable development.

On the other hand, it was pointed out that Islam is not the only element of culture in the WANA region and that culture cannot be constrained or conditioned, but must be free. Change can come through education, it was noted, and that one challenge is the absence of internationally recognised Arab intellectuals due to the lack of tolerance in societies.

It was observed that there seems to be no readiness to approach the real problems in WANA countries, which need to be discussed openly. As mentioned, the question is not whether to have religion or not, but rather what kind of religion one should have. Since some forces suppress freedom of thought and speech, which is a new phenomenon in the region and a result of the lack of transparency, this would also need to be discussed.

One important fact that was noted is that at least 100 -110 million new jobs would be needed in the region by 2020, and the actual rates of unemployment are more than 15%, at least in countries such as Sudan and Somalia. For example, in Algeria, the unemployment rate is more than 25%, and the rate of youth unemployment is more than 50%, which is a real problem and contributes to the growth of extremist groups. In a survey of extremists, it was found that 90% are under 30 years old and 100% are unemployed. The status of minorities in WANA countries is another problem that would need to be addressed. What should WANA countries do to overcome youth unemployment and achieve growth?

Another opinion reflected is that the phenomenon of extremism is an anomaly and will lead to the end of those states where they gain power. The

WANA region should not overlook its cherished legacy in what it sees today. Looking at the cultural heritage of Islam, the region has raised the banner for hundreds of years, when scientists were open to new inputs. They did not oppose new and different thinking, but instead adopted them and studied them. The blood of martyrs was compared to the ink of scientists. It was recommended that open-mindedness should again be the foundation of WANA societies – how can the region recapture the openness and tolerance of its forefathers from 1000 years ago? This cannot be done by removing religion from culture but it also cannot be done by being silent in the face of those who want to prevent different opinions.

It was noted that the role of external actors in pushing faith-based organisations towards extremism in the WANA region was not addressed. The culture in the region did not develop at the same pace as wealth due to the oil trade. When wealth was mostly enjoyed by a small minority, it hindered the development of the middle class.

Agenda-setting in the WANA region is primarily done by actors and bodies from outside the region, it was suggested. For example, the “Militant Ideology Atlas” published by the Combating Terrorism Centre lists several “influential thinkers”, both medieval and modern, who are supposed to reflect what the people in the region think. It lists three types of ideologies: 1) Salafism and conservative scholars; 2) Saudi establishment clerics; and 3) Jihadi theorists. The conclusion it reaches is that Jihadists reject democracy and will fight until all countries are ruled by Islamic law, presenting a purely secure-centred approach to Islam. This regime change theory seems to be the direction the region is moving in, unless people in the region stand up and show that there are alternatives. It was advised that countries reorient the renaissance and develop a “good bedside manner” for dealing with each other. Deconstructing knowledge is the first step in reconstructing contemporary knowledge.



Malek Kabariti and Ambassador Fahed Abdul Muhsen Al Zaid



Left to right: Sultan Barakat, Lyn Heppner, Cornelis Rietveld

One of the biggest challenges facing the region, it was argued, is corruption, which results in many other problems, including terrorism. There is an absence of democratic regimes and parameters for good governance, transparency, free and fair elections as well as independence between the three powers of the state. Community involvement and respect for diversity and plurality are other areas that would need improvement. Political Islamic movements are part of the social fabric of societies in the region and need to be involved in development and discussion, because they also have the ability to stand up against terrorism and corruption. It was also noted that the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is another great challenge which would need to be addressed in order to tackle other challenges, such as terrorism and migration.

Nonetheless, it was also argued that the connection between the Palestinian issue and terrorism is often overplayed and that it would be important to ask questions about where the region is today and try to find points of consensus. There is a need to move from welfare to development and to redefine the role of the state. An example of a success story from the region is the inter-ministerial coordination on socio-economic cooperation.

Comprehensive mechanisms for tackling unemployment were called for, such as free movement of labour across the region and macroeconomic reforms for more productivity and dynamism. There would need to be consideration of the kinds of reforms that would allow the region to maximize its benefits from globalisation – some alternative approaches to globalisation from Asia could be relevant for WANA. With regard to de-regulation, it was suggested that freeing markets and increasing competition would be an important starting point.

The WANA Forum could provide a platform for serious reflection, it was advised, since people in the WANA region tend to rush to action without sufficient reflection. Islam could also be a source of innovation and positive development. With regard to good governance, a call was made for more decentralised governance.

CHAPTER FOUR: Introduction to Break-Out Sessions

Deliberations on key challenges in the WANA region continued in three break-out groups: Social, Environmental and Economic. These groups form the core of the WANA Forum and allow Members to determine those priorities around which the work of the Forum will focus during the coming years.

Moderators of the three group discussions were: in the Social Track, Mr. Baker Al-Hiyari, Deputy Director of the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies; in the Economic Track, Dr. Ahmad Mango, Advisor to HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal and Mr. Fouad Alaeddin, Managing Partner for the Middle East at Ernst & Young; and in the Environment Track, Mr. Mohammed Shahbaz, President of the Jordan Badia Research and Development Centre.

When selecting priorities, Forum Members were advised to consider those areas or sectors which are not being adequately addressed by other institutions or initiatives, and to ask what value-added, such as resources, moral authority, political independence, regional coverage, or other forms of support the WANA Forum could bring to addressing these priority issues. In the discussion, Forum Members were encouraged to reflect on the following criteria:

- Regional relevance – Are the priorities shared by the people of WANA?
- Multi-stakeholder cooperation – Will such priorities benefit from and encourage the involvement of political leaders, opinion elites, the media, the private sector, civil society and academia?
- Inspirational appeal – Would they have the ability to propel future regional initiatives and the involvement of others across WANA?
- Feasibility – Is it realistic for the WANA Forum to productively engage with this priority and reasonably anticipate substantive progress?

At the beginning of each break-out session, a few presentations were made to help move forward the discussion of priorities. All Forum Members were encouraged to participate fully. Break-out sessions help facilitate the development of tangible recommendations for action, to be jointly pursued over the course of the coming years.

While each group is tasked individually with addressing social, economic and environmental priorities, Forum Members were also reminded to keep in mind those areas in which these spheres interact. For example, the depletion of energy resources and the mounting impact of climate change not only pose risks to the environment but potentially more positively, enhances the viability of emerging industries built around newer, cleaner sources of fuel. Following from that, the resulting economic growth presents opportunities for equitable growth, poverty alleviation, counter-radicalisation and the tackling of broader social dilemmas.

CHAPTER FIVE: Social Track Break-Out Session: Bringing Down Real and Imaginary Barriers within WANA

The break-out session started with presentations by speakers.

Section 5.1: Presentation by Dr. Seteney Shami

Dr. Seteney Shami focused on two complementary aspects of the social challenges facing the WANA region: the WANA region within the new geographies of the 21st century and the production and consumption of knowledge on and in the region. On the one hand, the end of the Cold War has reconfigured global connections and revealed layers of emergent connections that had been obscured by the focus on a bipolar world and the nation-state as the main unit and actor in the modern world. Globalisation from above and below has not only made the nation-state a contested entity, but it has also engendered a new transnational process, including the emergence of new regions and regionalisms as important actors as well as meaningful units of analysis for a variety of social, economic and political processes.

Where is the WANA region in this changing geography, re-regionalisation and redrawing of boundaries? Dr. Shami described WANA as a region of shifting borders within the changing geographies of the 21st century, which should be conceptualised not in terms of geography as territory, but as mobile and fluid with flows of people, commodities, currencies, resources and ideas.

Intimately related to this line of questioning is the issue of the production of knowledge in the region. To what extent, asked Dr. Shami, are people in the region able to document and analyse changing social, political and economic processes within and across the region? Who is able to generate and access the types of data necessary for an understanding of these processes? Who has the power to produce knowledge? What is considered data and what is not? Who



Members of the Social Track discuss regional challenges and opportunities

is able to translate knowledge into action? And finally, to what extent is this type of knowledge “public knowledge” and does the “public” have access to the types of knowledge that have such profound consequences on their present and future?

Section 5.2: Presentation by Dr. Shafeeq Ghabra

Dr. Shafeeq Ghabra reflected on the state of regional diversity, politics and socio-economic dynamics. He addressed: a) the state of the region; b) the diversity of the region in the context of the role of religion as well as social and political groups; and c) the challenges of modernity, civility and development facing the WANA region.

Dr. Ghabra spoke of the region as a complex mosaic of religious sects, tribal groups and economic systems. While the Cold War has come and gone, WANA remains in a Cold War mode of thinking. From past to present, the region is entrenched in conflicts from occupations, sanctions, authoritative regimes, suicide attacks, constraints on freedom of speech and so on.

As the two most pressing issues for the region, he identified 1) governments and regimes who are reluctant to share power and who lack vision beyond day-to-day issues of security, and 2) the Islamic opposition, which he regarded as equally dedicated to grabbing power and not necessarily inclusive or working in the general interest. Caught in the middle of the two is the silent majority who do not have the ability to express their lack of empowerment, limited social mobility or ideologies and beliefs. They feel stuck and have all but given up on the region. Ghabra called for a new leadership model that can facilitate a process of reform that would be just, convincing and inclusive.

Section 5.3: Presentation by Professor Juho Saari

Professor Juho Saari discussed a research proposal he and Professor Olli Kangas



Left to right: Mohammed Al-Midani, Tarek Cherkaoui, Samir El-Shahat



Left to right: Fatima Gailani, Laura Haddad, Safa Shweihat

prepared after a social cohesion management consultation that took place in February 2009. The aim of the research project is to analyse the social mechanisms to promote social cohesion and social development in WANA.

Professor Saari emphasised that the proposal explores what would be technically and politically feasible, focusing not on problems but deriving solutions at the national and regional level to help WANA develop better social cohesion. Instead of imported western concepts, which may not work in the context of WANA, he stressed the importance of developing an understanding of social cohesion that is culturally and politically relevant to and rooted in the region.

Professor Saari went on to outline the five key themes of the research project:

1. “Contextualisation” refers to a solid theoretical framework that combines the global insights of current social development literature with regional, cultural, political and structural realities and practices in ways that make it possible to embed key concepts like social cohesion, social risk and development into regional and local institutional matrices. Typical output indicators include life-expectancy, child mortality and other well-established measures.
2. “Explorative case studies”, which refer to concrete cases at the local or national levels, could be considered good practices in the context of WANA. The selected cases covering three WANA countries would be similar in their objectives (i.e. the empowerment of children by NGOs and social safety nets or strategic (programmatic) thinking and implementation capacities in public administration in the field of social and health policies) and magnitude, so that the project could identify why some models of action are more effective than others in terms of promoting social development.

3. “Regional/cross-boundary mechanism refers to investigating various regional and cross-boundary forms of cooperation. The project will seek to identify successful themes as good practices. The cases to be selected include the cooperation between NGOs in the field of social and health services, youth policies, states and, additionally, the networks of extended families over borders (remittances). The example of cooperation between states would be various agreements on the free movement of persons, some public health issues and other similar themes of major regional importance.
4. “International experiences” refers to various models of policy sharing that have been investigated or proposed by international bodies such as the Bretton Woods institutions, the UNDP or various global think tanks and the world commissions. The aim of these studies is to analyse possible mismatches between the global policy concepts and regional self-understanding of social development, in an effort to frame and construct regionally sustainable and adaptable policies in the field of social development and social cohesion.
5. “Regional cohesion mechanisms” refers to recommendations on technically, politically and fiscally feasible domains of regional cooperation that would promote social development in the long term. In practice, the project will engage in various cost-benefit analyses in terms of re-allocation of public expenditure to various objectives. The project investigates the feasibility of several new forms of sustainable funding and the possibilities to use social policies, e.g. pension schemes, as a source for funding capital. This move from charity based assistance to sustainable development could take shape in the form of a social cohesion fund.

Professor Saari explained that the results of this research would culminate in the publication of a book and related policy briefs, in order to generate



Left to right: Lily Habash, Rahma Bourqia, Majid Rouintan



Left to right: Juho Saari, Olli Kangas, Tatsuo Arima

additional interest and added value among experts in the WANA region and the community of social cohesion and development researchers both within the region and globally. Instead of being an academic exercise the project should be policy oriented, including when possible, different elements of action research. The ultimate goal of the project is to disseminate the results to a wide range of social actors and decision makers in WANA. He invited Forum Members to consider adopting social cohesion management research as one of its projects and to help formulate research questions and identify regional institutions and scholars.

Section 5.4: Presentation by Mr. Steven Zyck

Mr. Steven Zyck began by defining reconstruction as the process of rebuilding a society, a polity and an economy in a manner which reduces the likelihood of reversion to conflict and promotes equitable development. It includes infrastructure rehabilitation, service provision and social development, governance and state building, rule of law, security sector reform and development and private-sector development, as well as psycho-social recovery. He explained that the process of rebuilding a society interlinks all three tracks – social, economic and environmental – and should be regarded as a way of preventing future conflicts.

Mr. Zyck described the most active sites for post-conflict reconstruction: Iraq, Afghanistan, Lebanon, Palestine and Yemen, all in the WANA region and yet, the region has ceded much control of the process to outside institutions. These interventions fail to reflect local cultures and priorities, which have thus derailed reconstruction efforts, resulting in cycles of continuous conflict and instability in the region. He argued that in Afghanistan, as of 2007, only one in six farmers in the predominantly agricultural economy had received agricultural assistance while much more attention had been given to democratisation and gender. He also highlighted that WANA leadership of reconstruction, while on

the rise, tends to be more about political symbolism and large disbursements of financial assistance; technical considerations, accountability and fundamental issues of effectiveness and impact (on human wellbeing) are often ignored.

In order to minimise outside intervention, Mr. Zyck called on a comprehensive review of the effectiveness of current reconstruction efforts in the region and the creation of a “Centre of Excellence” in WANA to build human capacity through education, training and research.

Section 5.5: Presentation by Dr. Volker Perthes

Dr. Volker Perthes outlined the difficulties but also the opportunities for inter-societal cooperation. He drew on European experiences and gave concrete examples of relevant projects. He also analysed the obstacles to efficient inter-societal cooperation, showing the conditions for successful projects and examining the role of specific actors and gave concrete recommendations for putting these ideas into practice.

Perthes spoke of the region’s rich history and shared experiences as perhaps being a curse rather than a blessing: the shared experience of WANA is also one of wars, millions of refugees and displaced persons, militarisation, bad governance and a lack of participation (in power as well as wealth), particularly of the younger generation and with respect to women. None of this has helped to build traditions of mutual trust, set up sustainable networks that transcend borders, or establish cooperative attitudes that help people see mutual benefits rather than follow zero-sum logic and only see the relative gains which a partner or adversary can achieve through cooperation.

He noted that states in the region have not made regional cooperation a priority, but have instead tended to look for extra-regional actors to support them bilaterally and to strengthen their position, as well as to mediate conflicts or even bring forward a modicum of regional interaction. Perthes recognised the many efforts the Arab League has made in order to further inter-Arab integration and cooperation, but which have not received genuine support among member states.

Few civil society organisations exist that include members from all or a large part of the countries in the region, he pointed out, and even fewer institutions exist that have inter-societal contacts and exchanges as their principal objective. As a result, knowledge in the region about other regional countries is rather limited. In comparison, Perthes drew on the example of the German-French “Jugendwerk” (Franco-German Youth Office), a youth exchange programme set up in 1963, which has since allowed eight million young people from France and Germany in nearly 300,000 exchange programmes to live in their neighbouring country. The objective of this institution has been to heal the wounds of war, to

create mutual knowledge and to make sure that the two societies would never again regard one another as enemies.

The challenge to build trust between societies and encourage cooperation and exchange is in no way special to WANA, he stressed. But the political and geopolitical circumstances make matters more complex. Furthermore, initiatives aimed at inter-societal cooperation and exchange raise suspicion rather than approval. Civil society actors moving independently in the regional and foreign policy realms are not appreciated in authoritarian systems, but are seen as escaping government control and, moreover, as engaging in a policy field which governments or leaders consider their monopoly. Second, as major territorial or status issues are not resolved, influential societal and political actors do not appreciate exchanges with “the enemy”, which is often still seen as an enemy even when peace processes are ongoing, or peace treaties have been concluded.

In conclusion, Perthes spoke about the role of external actors in furthering cooperation in the region, including the EU and EuroMed, and offered five recommendations:

- Do not expect changes to come overnight. Dialogue and exchange between civil societies in the countries of West Asia and North Africa are necessary, but this is a long-term project. Note that the Franco-German “Jugendwerk” (Youth Office) was set up in 1963, 18 years after the end of the war.
- For donors and other extra-regional actors: don’t underestimate the real obstacle of unresolved territorial conflict, and particularly of occupation. When Germany and France decided for grand scale reconciliation, in 1963, no territorial issues were left between them. Germany and Poland started similar initiatives, including a joint schoolbook commission in 1972; this was only possible after Poland’s Western border had been recognised by the Federal Republic of Germany with the ratification of the Warsaw Treaty in the same year.
- For donors: take care not to cement imbalances and dependencies in efforts to promote civil-society exchanges. This is particularly the case with



Ahmed Al-Atrash and Füsün Özerdem



Left to right: Mohammed Ali Abtahi, Fahim Hakim, Bakhtiar Amin, Saad dine Elotmani

regard to Israel and Palestine. For example German foundations have sometimes given funding to Israeli NGOs and asked “to bring Palestinians along”. This does not create trust.

- To WANA countries and civil-society actors: it could be useful to try to apply examples of initiatives from Mediterranean dialogue programmes in the region, even without European participation. Creating exchanges may be easier in such “soft-policy fields” as culture, heritage, municipality and environment.

- To everybody who wants to promote civil-society exchanges: make sure that not only elites are involved. Elite programmes are easier, but do not necessarily reach deep into the respective societies. Exchanges between established academics are good, but equally useful would be exchanges between students, students in vocational schools, young professionals or even soldiers.

Section 5.6: Discussion

In the ensuing discussion, some Forum Members saw danger in what they consider to be an over-intellectualising of the WANA concept, which could then become a limiting factor for the Forum. With a diversity of members, including academics, people interested in policy and different types of activists, the thinking emerged to develop a dynamic understanding, an action-based approach, starting with a simple idea and progressing intellectually as the Forum gains momentum. It was suggested that the WANA Forum avoid dichotomising thinking and action and noted that the way problems get defined will determine how one thinks about them, i.e. whether youth are defined as a problem or as an opportunity. The purpose of conceptualising WANA should be not to fix definitions but to allow specific projects to reveal the commonalities across this fluid region that would enable the densification of collaborative networks.

Instead of conceptualising WANA in geographical terms, participants agreed to see WANA as a fluid context, shifting borders, diversified, with flows of people, commodities, currencies, resources and ideas. While many attempts at regional cooperation have focused on Arab unity, WANA Forum Members

wished to transcend notions of Arabism to include all countries in WANA. Thus, participants called on the WANA Forum to not privilege a particular core national, ethnic, religious or linguistic group and to collectively anchor shared values and concerns with particular attention given to cross-border dynamics – understanding borders as zones of common, positive experience rather than lines of exclusion and difference. There was also emphasis on moving beyond challenges to realising opportunities, and for the WANA Forum to adopt the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a pretext that informs all its work.

Key regional challenges identified in the discussions included government constraints on freedom of thought, lack of accountability, authoritative regimes, lack of strategic long-term planning, religious extremism, sectarian strife, corruption, refugees and labour migration. It was also noted that while there have been examples of good practices emerging in the region, many have failed to sustain themselves and few have been replicated. It was further noted that outside intervention in WANA often fails to reflect local priorities and local know-how, how people in WANA know more about the West than they do about each other, and that maybe the WANA Forum should build a social vision before building a political vision.

How to proceed and choose criteria for selecting priorities were debated at length. There were several views as to the key audience of WANA Forum proposals, ranging from policymakers to the average citizen. Participants agreed that the process should engage the three spheres of government, private business and civil society actors and that any initiative must bring these stakeholders together for it to succeed on the ground. In this vein, it was suggested that WANA re-examine and re-imagine notions of power: power is what the state has while authority is what the people have, and the difference between rulership (the state) and leadership, which comes from people who seize authority through collective action. It was stressed that the WANA Forum has to be more than meetings of intellectuals and elites, and to generate ideas that are inclusive and can invite everyone to take part.

Whether the WANA Forum should be a think tank or an advocacy group became a central issue in the discussions. While some participants felt that commissioning research was important to understand problems, others were not keen on it, saying that many social issues have already been well researched. Yet, ultimately, participants agreed that the aim should be to come up with concrete policy proposals that can be shared with decision makers, to tell them what is needed and what the WANA Forum community thinks should be done about it.

The WANA Forum is not without limits though, as some participants pointed out. It is a platform for thought (producing knowledge) and action (producing change), but while ideas can be generated and advocated, and

networks established, the WANA Forum does not have millions of dollars at its disposal to implement proposals. The following criteria for identifying priorities emerged from the discussions:

- Issues selected should have regional relevance – be either replicated in many countries across the region or of a trans-border nature, in order to facilitate the development of regional cooperation;
- They should be feasible both technically and politically;
- They should benefit from multi-stakeholder cooperation between decision-makers, the private sector, civil society, media and academia;
- They should benefit from existing networks and not replicate existing initiatives;
- They should have the potential of producing “quick wins” within a timeframe of one to two years.

Knowledge production was seen as an important first step in correcting the knowledge gap in WANA, which is twofold. On one hand, more knowledge in and about WANA is needed, to understand who produces and consumes knowledge and how it is being generated, used and analysed. It was considered important to examine how some knowledge obscures realities more than it reveals problems. Some participants also highlighted the need to produce indigenous data and acknowledged that while international institutions, such as the UNDP and the World Bank, produce valuable findings, they also camouflage and obscure other issues, which local know-how could reveal.

On the other hand, participants identified the need to learn more about each other and about the “other” in order to break down stereotypes and share knowledge of best practices. One of the concerns that emerged was that there is little cross-cultural understanding, and that a cultural of tolerance within and among states would be needed to address the deep rifts that exist between ethnic and religious groups in the region and to combat extremism of all kinds. Media was brought up as an effective tool for bridging gaps in ‘knowing the other’ and it was suggested that collaboration between media specialists and media establishments should be pursued. Creating more sources of news dissemination would be a positive move in the direction of knowing WANA through the lens of WANA.

With regard to concrete proposals for the WANA Forum, the establishment of student and internship exchange programmes, which would not be costly and would be politically feasible, was suggested. Curriculum reform – examining textbooks nationally and regionally with the aim of eliminating religious and cultural prejudice and breaking down notions of “the other” – was another, more controversial, proposal. It was, however, noted that a pilot project, looking at how textbooks introduce people to each other to improve understanding, could

be initiated. Some participants pointed out that ESCWA, for example, is in the process of examining the pedagogy for critical thinking, mainly observatories on citizenship and education with two pilot projects on the history textbooks in Lebanon and pedagogical approaches to teaching. A WANA educational fair and e-learning were also proposed as possible initiatives for the Forum to promote.

Participants further called for a mapping of regional initiatives to determine best practices and opportunities for regional networking on shared issues and interests.

The social cohesion management proposal was discussed briefly as a mode of moving away from charity based assistance to sustainable development through the proposed regional social cohesion fund. It was noted that individuals and institutions from the region would still need to be identified to take the research proposal forward.

The proposal to focus on reconstruction was met with mixed feelings. Some participants expressed the need to move away from hot button issues, from areas of political conflict, and asked what reconstruction has to do with the overall scheme of the WANA Forum, which focuses on social, economic and environmental issues. Some participants expressed that reconstruction could be a daunting task and would thus not be financially or practically feasible for the WANA Forum. It was clarified that the proposal is not to engage in actual reconstruction, which is a multi-billion dollar process, but to commission research that reviews the effectiveness of current reconstruction efforts and explores best practices. The proposed “centre of excellence” would also build technical capacities across all three spheres (social, environmental and economic) and would select the most promising agents of change to train future generations across WANA. This centre would facilitate a needs based approach to reconstruction efforts instead of WANA ceding to the political priorities and whims of outside donors.

It was stressed that reconstruction should be understood as conflict prevention, preventing the cycle of violence and keeping it from escalating and



Baker al-Hiyari and Seteney Shami

spreading to other countries. In this sense, reconstruction could be understood as a holistic approach to regional healing and reform in WANA. For example, the Post-war Reconstruction and Development Unit at the London School of Economics is currently looking into Gulf state driven reconstruction policies to develop the concept of a capacity development centre and pursue institutional support from various stakeholders.

Section 5.7: Conclusions

Overarching Themes

Participants in the Social Track Break-Out Session highlighted several issues of general relevance to the WANA Forum:

- As a general principle running through the specific proposals it was agreed that conceptualising WANA has important practical implications. The purpose of this conceptualisation is not to fix definitions but to allow specific projects to reveal the commonalities across this fluid region that would enable the densification of collaborative networks.
- Knowledge production/education
 - The need to understand how knowledge is generated in WANA;
 - More knowledge in and about WANA is needed;
 - Who produces and consumes knowledge? How is it used and analysed?
 - How some knowledge obscures realities more than it reveals problems;
- What is WANA?
 - WANA is a region of shifting borders within the changing geographies of the 21st century;
 - WANA should be conceptualised not in terms of geography as territory, but as mobile and fluid with flows of people, commodities, currencies, resources and ideas;
 - WANA is inclusive, participatory and fosters cultural, religious and political diversity – it does not privilege a particular core national or ethnic or linguistic group;
 - WANA is anchored in collective and shared values and concerns;
 - WANA is a context for thought (producing knowledge) and action (producing change);
 - The question may also be posed: who is the “other” for WANA? The West? Israel? But there are many “others” within WANA as well.

Challenges

Key regional challenges identified in the discussions were:

- Outside intervention in WANA often fails to reflect local priorities and local know-how;
- The need to learn more about each other and about the “other” – breaking down stereotypes;
- Government constraints on freedom of thought;
- Lack of accountability (i.e. single transfer funds to governments);
- Authoritative regimes;
- Corruption;
- Refugees;
- Labour migration;
- Sectarian strife;
- Religious extremism;
- The Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Opportunities

Key regional opportunities identified in the discussions were:

- Moving beyond challenges to opportunities. This may require a change in attitude: as opposed to looking at youth as a burden, for example, they can be looked at as resources.
- WANA needs to re-examine/re-imagine notions of power. Power is what the state has while authority is what the people have. There is a difference between rulership (the state) and leadership, which comes from people who seize authority through collective action.
- Media as a tool for knowing the other – collaboration between media specialists and media establishments.
- Start by promoting soft policy issues that are not politicized and can rally multiple stakeholders.
- It is crucial to include the third spheres of government, the private sector and civil society.
- The WANA Forum should identify concrete steps based on needs and not on imported knowledge and political priorities of outside donors.
- The WANA Forum should work on promoting tolerance.
- The WANA Forum can enhance respect for human dignity by adopting action oriented approaches.
- The WANA Forum should refer to key texts such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to inform its work.
- Share knowledge and best practices within WANA.

Proposals

Several areas of work were proposed, with specific activities outlined for addressing challenges and realizing opportunities:

- Mapping of regional initiatives;
- Commissioning a study on cross-border dynamic - shared governance of border zones on issues such as trade and the spread of disease;
- Education
 - Developing a regional student and internship exchange programme;
 - Engage in curriculum reform that examines textbooks nationally and regionally to eliminate religious and cultural prejudice and break down notions of “the other”;
 - Employ use of critical thinking pedagogy in classrooms;
 - Organise a WANA educational fair;
 - Introduce e-learning in schools and universities;
- Social cohesion management
 - Commission research in social cohesion management to analyse social mechanisms of promoting social cohesion and social development in WANA;
 - Examine the potential for a regional Social Cohesion Fund;
- Post-War Reconstruction
 - Commission research to review the effectiveness of post-conflict reconstruction efforts and identify good practices;
 - Develop the groundwork for a regional training center to develop the technical capacity for post-conflict interventions in WANA.



Left to right: Tatsuya Tanami, Raghda Butros, Shafeeq Ghabra



Hanan Youssef and Marwan Hamdan



Left to right: Abdallah Bedaida, Füsün Özerdem, Nir Rosen



Left to right: Yoshiaki Sasaki, Mohammed Sherbini, Basem Anton

CHAPTER SIX: Environmental Track Break-Out Session: From Environmental Challenges to Regional Cooperation

The break-out session started with presentations by speakers.

Section 6.1: Presentation by Ambassador Mutsuyoshi Nishimura

Ambassador Mutsuyoshi Nishimura focused on two issues in his presentation: climate change and global green recovery.

With regard to climate change, Ambassador Nishimura stated that developed countries are committed to reducing the level of their emissions and making the necessary transformation to a low-carbon economy and society. He added that developed countries are also committed to working together with developing countries, which are suffering even though they have not contributed to climate change. He expressed trust in the Copenhagen negotiations and the ability of governments to make a change through them, especially due to the mounting public angst and public opinion supporting these changes.

With regard to global green recovery, Ambassador Nishimura explained how the global green recovery can benefit WANA – he argued the entire international community is raising considerable funds to salvage the global economic system and that a consensus has been reached around the world to channel these resources in order to establish a low-carbon economy.

He contended that to move from fossil dependency to a low-carbon economy, there needs to be an emphasis on renewable energies, such as solar technology. Cheap solar panels can make the most remote areas of WANA energy independent, thus creating hope for a new process of regional growth and development, he said. He also argued that alternative sources of energy may help develop new and improved economies.

Ambassador Nishimura added that in all parts of WANA, the interest in new forms of energy – solar, wind, biomass and others – is increasing. Therefore, to be green is not only a new form of generating electric power, but also generates national power and wealth, he maintained. The new “green deal” will also encourage leapfrogging in WANA’s many sectors including technology, agriculture and investment and the same will apply to electric and hybrid cars.

In conclusion, Ambassador Nishimura proposed investing in green technology to combat global warming and encourage sustainable growth and leapfrogging to engage with other WANA countries and the broader global community.

Section 6.2: Presentation by Mr. Javed Jabbar

Mr. Javed Jabbar began his presentation by calling for a precise geographic



definition of WANA and arguing that it would be important to do justice to the original meaning of WANA – West Asia (including Arab) and North Africa countries.

He proposed adopting a three layer approach to WANA: 1) core WANA countries; 2) neighbours of WANA; and 3) friends of WANA.

Due to the harsh realities that exist in WANA, Mr. Jabbar proposed having a political track that would discuss those realities and allow the Forum to develop innovative thinking on political issues and thus avoid becoming a pale non-official variation of regional groupings such as the EU, OECD, NAFTA and other similar, much stronger, official groupings.

1. Introducing the concept of the new economics of nature by promoting a paradigm shift toward a new green global economy;
2. Amplify the concept of “De-materialisation” – in the context of urging people to recycle and re-use;
3. Increasing awareness of environmental fiscal reform to stress the economy’s dependence on the environment, so that governments would realise that it is in their interest to undertake environmental fiscal reforms;
4. Focusing on education, particularly for children, by identifying school textbooks in at least two countries of the WANA region in order to recommend updates of the curriculum so as to increase environmental awareness and to introduce new concepts at the crucial formative stages of a child’s learning;
5. Initiating positive and sustained dialogue in the region;
6. Initiating the process of sub-regional summits of heads of state and government that focus on a new green economy with the ultimate aim of suggesting a World Summit for a green global economy;
7. Introducing new concepts through dialogues with diverse faiths and theologies;
8. Branding WANA and giving it a public identity in the media so that it becomes well-known. Ultimately, the Forum should aim to launch a WANA television channel.

Section 6.3: Presentation by Dr. Mohamed Raouf

Dr. Mohamed Raouf made his presentation on “Environment and Alternative Energy Trends in the Gulf: Masdar Case”. He began by noting that the WANA

region is deficient in its bio-capacity, since it lacks lush greenery – forests, rivers, etc.

Dr. Raouf explained that the environmental challenges facing WANA today can be divided into two categories:

1. Traditional challenges related to desertification, which include water scarcity.
2. New challenges related to urbanisation such as increasing pollution and construction and demolition debris, which is especially true in the Gulf region.

Dr. Raouf stressed the fact that the WANA region lacks plans for treating hazardous wastes and medical wastes, in addition to the threat of nuclear waste that looms over the region.

Dr. Raouf stated that the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) offers great opportunity for developing countries to participate in global climate change policy and plans, yet only six out of the 76 projects in the Middle East are certified. He added that the MENA region did not benefit from CDM in 2008, though CDM initiatives in the greater MENA region are expected to increase dramatically in the coming phase.

Dr. Raouf gave an overview of the \$22 billion MASDAR initiative, a planned city in Abu Dhabi, in the United Arab Emirates, which the government backed in order to develop global leadership in clean and sustainable technology and low-carbon solutions. He stated that the city will be home to 50,000 people and 1,500 businesses.

According to Dr. Raouf, the Vision of Masdar encompasses:

- Masdar City: the world first, carbon-neutral and zero-waste city.
- Masdar Institute: research-driven graduate level institution focused on advanced energy and sustainable technology.
- Carbon Management: focuses on greenhouse gas emission-reduction technologies and projects, particularly CO₂ CCS.
- Utilities and Asset Management: invests in renewable energy, assets and technology, sustainability companies and utility-scale renewable energy projects.
- Industries: invest in and develop global large-scale renewable energy projects and production assets.



Mohamed Raouf

Dr. Raouf asserted that the entire project, which was initiated in 2006, will take eight years to build and is scheduled to be completed in 2016. Despite criticisms, he stressed that Masdar is a step in the right

direction and has all the success elements, such as financing, people, technology and industries. Having said that, he noted that Masdar has also been criticised for many reasons, which include:

- The city will be only symbolic for Abu Dhabi and may just become a luxury development for the wealthy.
- It imports gas-fired power from Abu Dhabi's grid and does not have enough energy to power itself at night.
- The city will not allow any energy-intensive industries within its boundaries.
- Next to Masdar city, a Formula One racetrack and a Ferrari-themed amusement park are being built. A nearby mall is planning to install an indoor ski slope.

In conclusion, Dr. Raouf proposed two issues for the WANA Forum to focus on:

1. Studying climate change and developing a unified regional perspective on it;
2. Focusing on environmental economics and economic investments.

Section 6.4: Presentation by Mr. Malek Kabariti

Mr. Malek Kabariti began by introducing the Trans-Mediterranean Renewable Energy Cooperation (TREC) Network, which was founded in 2003 by the Club of Rome, the Hamburg Climate Protection Foundation (HKF) and the National Energy Research Centre of Jordan (NERC). He explained that TREC developed the DESERTEC concept and completed the necessary research in cooperation with the German Aerospace Centre (DLR). TREC is a network of 60 experts in countries around the Mediterranean Sea and beyond.

The DESERTEC concept explores the potential of the largest but least tapped source of energy on earth – the solar radiation of deserts – and is designed to bring deserts and existing technology into service for energy, water and climate security in Europe, the Middle East and North Africa (EU-MENA).

With “clean power from deserts” as its slogan, the main idea behind DESERTEC is to build a solar thermal power plant (CSP technology) and focus on energy-water environment (EWE) cooperation. Mr. Kabariti maintained that there is proof of global warming around the world, and that nature has been sending us warnings in the form of fires, hurricanes and floods, which are becoming more intense and more frequent. The DESERTEC concept is accepted worldwide, and the technologies proposed to realise it have already been developed, and some of them have been in use for decades.

Mr. Kabariti listed the major benefits of the DESERTEC concept as follows:

1. Worldwide benefits – what benefits one country in terms of climate and

the environment benefits other countries as well.

2. Regional benefits – productive cooperation, synergy and good neighbourhood.
3. Solar radiation is unlimited – it is the greatest, most abundant energy resource.
4. Saving fossil fuels for other industrial applications.
5. Water and energy security for present and future generations.
6. Technology transfer.

Section 6.5: Discussion

In the ensuing discussion, Forum Members debated the issue of technology transfer and whether it would be better to invest in developing the technology infrastructure of the region, so as not to be looked upon as borrowers of technology, or leapfrog by reaping the fruits of development of others countries.

Masdar was criticised for costing 22 billion USD in order to borrow technology, the amount of which could be used to build state-of-the art technology infrastructure. However, the case was also made that Masdar is not only buying the technology, since they also have research and development activities and are re-introducing the Islamic passive designs, for example.

Collaboration with other countries and building partnerships were seen as important; however, it was suggested that innovation should start in the region. It was also argued that knowledge and technology transfer should be coupled with capacity-building in the WANA region.

On the other hand, the idea of viability of technology and knowledge was seen as another obstacle – for technology to be viable in a globalised context, it has to reach the globe. It was contended that the key for WANA is transformation from being to becoming, i.e. there is a need to adapt in order to be relevant.

A joint venture between countries in WANA and Japan was seen as one possible solution, and the proposal for a hybrid car industry in WANA, which was made at the WANA Forum Preparatory Workshop in November 2008, was cited as an example.

The notion of making the WANA Forum a platform for the development of outside the box thinking was introduced. A six-month study on what the region needs, conducted at the United Nations University and commissioned by HRH Shaikha Mozah bint Nasser Al-Missned of Qatar, was quoted as having found that water and energy are the most critical in the region.

With regard to the concept of “global green recovery”, two main issues were raised:

1. To stop global warming, social and economic reform can be engineered only to a certain extent, but not entirely. Additionally, energy and

emissions do impact economic growth and economic development, but not entirely.

2. By going green and low-carbon, it is important to think about securing localised energy resources and not depending on centralised energy sources.

Forum Members also raised the following questions:

1. What happens to local investments in a globalised context?
2. Can the concept of global green recovery also encompass health aspects?
3. Can society contribute to this global green idea?
4. How can we promote green investments?

Emphasising gender issues and increasing female participation and representation was raised as an important step in increasing awareness of environmental issues and as a prerequisite to the success of proposed ideas and initiatives.

The lack of mechanisms to mobilise ideas was expressed as a concern that the WANA Forum should address. It was recommended that the Forum pursue increased networking efforts and seek to create mechanisms and opportunities that allow for networking with regional partners, so that the process of implementing ideas can work in parallel in different countries in the region.

The need for raising public awareness and education were seen as important challenges that must be tackled. This requires shifts in public patterns of consumption as well as shifts in governmental patterns of production.

Conducting an environmental awareness diagnosis study to assess the level of environmental awareness was also proposed in order to identify the areas in which people would need the most education, since WANA will need environmental awareness campaigns at different levels and in different ways. Training programmes were regarded as crucial.

Introducing changes to curricula and creating basic data hubs throughout the WANA region were seen as important steps for spreading knowledge. However,



Members of the Environmental Track discuss regional challenges and opportunities



Left to right: Mohamed El-Faham, Alaa El-Sadek, Akbar Zargar

an important challenge that was identified is being able to provide information to all, since access to knowledge seems to be currently at the elite level in WANA.

Reviving areas of culture that can serve the citizens of WANA and using culturally accepted concepts in increasing awareness and spreading ideas were recommended. Examples of these include waqf (charitable endowment) and himma (the legal framework of conservation), which are originally Islamic concepts.

Forum Members also expressed their doubts regarding the possibility of identifying and prioritising challenges and opportunities for the whole of WANA at such a small gathering that has limited knowledge and experience.

Energy conservation was proposed as an environmental slogan for the WANA Forum, and addressing the issue of built environment, instead of focusing only on the climate, was advised.

Two important concerns that were expressed included: 1) how to come up with mechanisms to mobilise ideas presented; and 2) how to make the results of the WANA Forum discussions and proposals accessible to the people of the region, as well as heard and implemented by decision-makers and opinion-leaders.

The proposed solutions for these problems were: 1) coming up with a mechanism for implementing ideas and conclusions of the WANA Forum; and 2) an interface that converts technical input into an understandable version for the average individual, which can ideally be done through media outlets that can reach the broader public.

This idea was seen as very important in order to make information relevant to the public. The media was emphasised as a platform that can convert public opinion and influence decision-makers. It was recommended that messages are disseminated through the media every week or every two weeks and to ultimately create a WANA television station.

Creating sub-challenges and building sub-groups in WANA were suggested. Sub-groups could work on ideas and develop them. One sub-group that was



Mariam Al-Hammadee and Juliana Al-Bazi

advocated was a group specialised in information sharing and networking between the public and the people.

Section 6.6: Conclusions

Overarching Themes

Several issues of general relevance to the WANA Forum were discussed by participants in the Environment Track Break-Out Session:

- Networking and building partnerships with other countries.
- Making the WANA Forum a platform for the development of thinking that is out of the box.
- Emphasising gender issues.
- Giving WANA geographic limits and defining it into three layers: 1. Core WANA; 2. Neighbours of WANA; and 3. Friends of WANA.
- Developing innovative thinking.
- Branding WANA in the media and giving it a public identity.
- Education through faith.
- Building sub-groups and sub-challenges.
- Transformation from being to becoming – the need to adapt in order to be relevant.
- Coming up with mechanisms to mobilise ideas.
- Creating data hubs.

Challenges

Key regional challenges identified in the discussions were:

- Combating global warming and climate change.
- Reducing the level of emissions and transforming to a low-carbon economy and society.

- Making information accessible to the people of WANA.
- Implementing ideas and making them heard.
- Reaching a global market by acquiring viable technology and knowledge.
- Understanding power relations between countries and their effect on the transfer of knowledge and technology.
- Tackling the effects of the environment on health.

Opportunities

Some important opportunities:

- Benefitting from the “global green recovery” through the use of green and clean energy, to secure localised energy sources and minimise waste.
- Using alternative sources of energy – solar, wind and biomass energy.
- Leapfrogging through technology transport.
- Innovation and investment in building the technology infrastructure of the region.
- Manufacturing and using electric and hybrid cars in WANA.

Proposals

Participants proposed several ideas to address challenges and realize opportunities:

- Have a unified regional perspective towards climate change.
- Education and public awareness on environmental issues.
- Energy conservation.
- Built environment.
- Interface terminology for the media.
- Conduct an environmental awareness diagnosis study.
- Greening the investments.
- Introducing the concept of the new economics of nature.
- De-materialisation: recycle and re-use.
- Environmental fiscal reform.

Forum Members concluded by prioritising the following issues: 1) water resources; 2) energy resources; 3) climate change; 4) waste. They made the following recommendations to governments and decision-makers in the region:

- Developing a unified perspective on climate change through a multi-stakeholder summit or workshop.
- Increasing investment in education and raising public awareness.
- Promoting energy conservation.
- Promoting integrated water resource management.
- Formulating a WANA Framework for sustainable development to

be submitted to the Council of Arab Ministers Responsible for the Environment (CAMRE) and other environmental bodies in the region.

- Introducing environmental fiscal reforms.

In addition, the following long-term recommendations were made for the WANA Forum:

- Create WANA Panels on: 1) Energy; 2) Water Resources; 3) Climate Change; and 4) Green Economy.
- Support a graduate programme for regional science (quantitative analysis: simulation, sensitivity analysis, etc.)
- Utilise and harness existing ongoing fora (explore the possibility of introducing the WANA Forum and its work to other fora) and support a research network on environmental issues.
- Make information available to the public.



Mohammad Shahbaz



Left to right: Mohamed Raouf, Alaa El-Sadek, Jauad El-Kharraz



Haider Alattas and Tatsuo Arima



Left to right: Abdallah Bedaida, Jauad El-Kharraz, Noredine Ghaffour, Sid'Ahmed El-Hady

CHAPTER SEVEN:

Economic Track Break-Out Session:

Where WANA Could Develop to Become a Global Market Leader

The break-out session started with presentations by speakers.

Section 7.1: Presentation by Professor Seiichiro Yonekura

Professor Seiichiro Yonekura highlighted the need to have a common goal and vision for the WANA region. As a possible vision, he suggested that the region should seek to become the most energy conscious region, because it has been depending upon the sale and consumption of oil for years and because that resource is non-renewable. As concrete initiatives, he proposed three different projects: 1) equipping schools in the region with solar power generators; 2) constructing a super bullet train for the region; and 3) the development of electric or hybrid motor vehicle production.

He noted that the Tokyo Olympic Games in 1964 and, in particular, the Shinkansen bullet train between Tokyo and Osaka, were important factors in the development of Japan after the Second World War – not in and of itself as much as due to the economic activity it encouraged. Constructing a regional train from Tehran through Baghdad and Amman to Cairo could help give a similar boost to the WANA region, as it would promote the movement of goods, people and ideas. Professor Yonekura further noted that investing in such a regional project would be in the interest of the whole region, especially in the midst of the current economic crisis.

Regarding the production of a hybrid or electric vehicle, Professor Yonekura suggested that it would be best to start developing hybrid vehicles, because it



Professor Seiichiro Yonekura delivers a presentation to Members of the Economy Track

consumes oil whilst also producing its own electricity, and thus would not require the construction of electricity stations across the region. A strong regional entity and international competitive bidding would be needed to develop the required industrial capacity.

In a very sceptical reaction of the audience, he added that his proposal might sound unrealistic and infeasible but only crazy entrepreneurs with their dream and passion could change the world.

Section 7.2: Presentation by Mr. Hamed Kazim

Mr. Hamed Kazim emphasised the need for the WANA Forum to adopt pragmatic solutions, and that no single solution would work for the region as a whole. He suggested that focusing on several sub-regional initiatives might produce more concrete proposals.

Mr. Kazim argued that it is broadly acknowledged that the region would need more resources such as water, but very little thought is given to how and where those resources are wasted – such an approach would require awareness-raising. He also argued for examining what renewable resources the region has and how initiatives could be developed around resources such as sunlight and sea water, and to use locally sourced building materials such as clay, mud and sand. Solar energy could be one possible issue around which initiatives should be sought. Fisheries as renewable food resources could be another, and the utilisation of cheap materials for construction could be a third, and could also create employment. Mr. Kazim stressed that the region would need large-scale employment for the masses, not just for niche groups.

Transportation would also be an important field to examine comprehensively, including the development of highway systems and removing barriers between countries. Mr. Kazim pointed out that the WANA region need not reinvent the wheel but should instead look at what is being done elsewhere, in countries such as Brazil, Chile, Israel, China or India. Technology should be utilised as a multiplier, and the region should go back to basics, making use of resources that are plentiful, promote efficiency and consider the potential of developing transportation and fisheries.

Section 7.3: Presentation by Dr. Ibrahim Turhan

Dr. Ibrahim Turhan began by noting that countries in the WANA region could not exist without each other, or at least it would not be Pareto optimal. The story of humanity started in the WANA region; several of the most important civilisations in history, as well as at least three world religions, have emerged out of it, and it, therefore, has the valuable potential of cultural heritage. The region is also rich in terms of natural and human resources. Despite a rich cultural

heritage, as well as having natural and human resources, the region has not been able to generate broad development and welfare, which is largely due to the lack of structures and mechanisms.

Dr. Turhan called for the improvement of physical infrastructures, societal structures and management structures in the region, which he acknowledged will be a long-term process. He noted that as a starting point, it would be necessary to create the demand for better structures in the region, and argued that trade would be the easiest way to do this – preferably through the creation of a regional hub for exchanging goods and services.

Dr. Turhan pointed out that the total GDP of the WANA region is around 2.2 trillion dollars and that foreign trade amounts to 1.6 trillion dollars, whereas only a small percentage of that is among countries in the region. A clearing system for intra-regional trade, where countries could trade in their own currencies instead of foreign reserves, could help to facilitate more intra-regional trade, as was the case, for example, within the EU, where customs unions led to deeper regional integration. If the region was able to set up a clearing house system, the next step might be removing trade barriers and the third establishing a common currency. Although the latter has already been attempted in the region, it has not worked, possibly due to lack of demand for a common currency in the absence of greater intra-regional trade. Trade and economic cooperation would be the most effective way to come together and build other structures.

Section 7.4: Presentation by Dr. Abdallah Bedaida

Dr. Abdallah Bedaida pointed out that in a survey held in different countries in WANA in 2006 regarding the priority concerns of people, employment was identified as the highest priority. In Maghrib countries, for example, unemployed and discontent youths have become more radicalised, due to the perceived lack of better job opportunities. There are resources and finances, but decision-makers have been unable to provide what the people want and need, and therefore a change of mentality in the WANA region is badly needed. A connection has to be established between decision-makers, civil society and researchers to build trust.

He stressed that the WANA Forum should also keep in mind that even if it makes good suggestions, there also need to be those ready and able to implement them; otherwise, the process will fail. Therefore, he argued that the primary objectives of the Forum should be to promote research beyond the interest of economic concerns, to develop capacity to understand and to promote collaborative research and information and informed action at all levels. The Forum should pursue open exchange, better healthcare, clean water and the creation of jobs. Labour forces throughout the region are growing, but governments are unable to provide enough jobs even for the existing labour

force, which in turn leads to the vicious cycle of the growth of extremism and increased national, regional and global security concerns.

Dr. Bedaida highlighted that WANA countries should embrace a set of long-term strategies and institutional challenges to tackle the economic problems by, for example, promoting private entrepreneurship, ensuring coordination between the social and economic sectors and facilitating integration of national economies into the global market whilst building in safeguards for the social sector.

Section 7.5: Discussion

In the ensuing discussions, it was pointed out that there are real political difficulties in realising regional initiatives such as a high-speed train in the region, and there is also not a great demand for intra-regional transport at the moment. Similarly, the development of a hybrid vehicle industry would be difficult considering that the cost of vehicles would need to be low to generate greater interest among people in the region and that the initiative would face strong competition, for example, from China and India. An additional challenge that was identified was that there are three completely different groups of countries in the region: the super rich countries of the GCC, the middle income developing countries and some of the least developed countries in the world. At the same time, it was noted that giving up in the face of difficulties is the only definite way of failing, and that “crazy” entrepreneurs are necessary for changing the world. What policymakers would need to do for these “crazy” entrepreneurs is to provide them with the necessary economic space through de-regulation, free trade zones, infrastructure, a better business environment and incentives. It was suggested that a serious study into why different regional cooperation initiatives have failed might provide several valuable lessons for future initiatives.

Participants further noted that since the end of the Second World War, the WANA region has suffered from rentierism and “Dutch Disease”, leading to a higher currency exchange rate, which in turn has decreased competitiveness and thus also productivity of the manufacturing sector and the entanglement of public sector interest with business interest. Furthermore, due to the lack of an industrial base, private sector investment currently tends to be focused on the short-term, as it is not tied to building factories, which require long-term commitment. Investment in real-estate and stock exchange bubbles does not generate enough job opportunities, even though it may further development. Therefore, rather than increasing charity and further rentierism, efforts should be made to encourage long-term and employment-generating investment. That way, the private sector could play a key role in developing the economy and creating much needed jobs.

It was also noted, however, that there is currently a gap between university

educated people and unskilled workers, and that there would be a dire need to develop vocational education for manufacturing and entrepreneurial skills throughout the region. Sharing experiences between small and medium sized companies in the region as well as promoting the exchange of students and scholars were seen as additional measures that could help address this gap.

Having discussed the vital role of the private sector in ensuring economic development in the region, many participants noted that only the state can really create industrial development by creating an enabling environment and seeking to work with other stakeholders and, therefore, the region would need politicians who would be able and willing to change the economic policies of states. Importantly, it was noted that creating an enabling environment for private enterprise would also require developments in commercial and legal infrastructure. Therefore, it was suggested that a group of representatives of the WANA Forum should establish contact with governments from the WANA region in order to begin the process of establishing a positive relationship with governments to prepare the groundwork for the eventual creation of policy proposals.

Many participants also argued that as a result of the global financial crisis, sovereign wealth funds are looking at funding projects in WANA countries, which provides an opportunity to initiate large-scale investment for infrastructure construction. Investing in regional cooperation at this time would be in the interest of the whole region, and could make it feasible to undertake some projects which would previously have been too costly – the costs of some projects could be up to 30% less today than it was two years ago.

Section 7.6: Conclusions

Overarching Themes

Participants in the Economy Track Break-Out Session highlighted several issues of general relevance to the WANA Forum:

- A common regional goal or vision would be beneficial for developing regional cooperation in WANA – perhaps such a vision could be built around the priority issues chosen from all three tracks;
- Even if it proves to be difficult to identify initiatives that would be implementable across the region, it may be possible to identify sub-regional initiatives of broader relevance;
- For most initiatives, it will eventually be necessary to involve governments in their implementation, so links should already be created with governments in the region in order to inform them of the process and prepare them for the final outputs;

- It would be important to strive for practical, meaningful and implementable solutions;
- It could be helpful to categorise WANA initiatives into short, medium and longer term initiatives;
- The WANA Forum should be a platform for thinking outside the box.

Challenges

Key regional challenges identified in the discussions were:

- In a survey of people from across WANA, employment was identified as the highest priority. One of the key challenges for the region is the creation of large-scale employment;
- The lack of structures and mechanisms for regional cooperation is another key challenge – physical, societal and management structures would all need to be improved;
- Decision-makers in the region are not sufficiently attuned to the needs of citizens. A change of mentality would be needed to strengthen the connection between decision-makers, the private sector, civil society and the people;
- The WANA region suffers from rentierism and “Dutch Disease”, leading to a higher currency exchange rate, which in turn has decreased competitiveness and thus also productivity of the manufacturing sector and the entanglement of public sector interest with business interest. The region would need to encourage investment instead of rentierism and charity;
- Deep political divisions within countries in WANA combined with the three categories of countries – the super-rich, the developing and middle-income countries, and some of the poorest countries in the world – are major challenges to developing regional cooperation.



Left to right: Ahmad Mango, Fouad Alaeddin, Hamed Kazim

Opportunities

The current economic crisis has presented the region with many challenges, but also some important opportunities:

- As a result of the global financial crisis, sovereign wealth funds are looking at funding projects in WANA countries, which provides an opportunity to initiate large-scale investment for infrastructure construction;
- Investing in regional cooperation at this time would be in the interest of the whole region, and could make it feasible to undertake some projects which would previously have been too costly.

Proposals

Several proposals were made for addressing challenges and capitalizing on opportunities:

- Only “crazy” entrepreneurs can change the world – what policymakers would need to do for “crazy” entrepreneurs is to provide them with the necessary economic space through de-regulation, free trade zones, infrastructure, a better business environment and incentives;
- Comprehensive examination of the possibilities for developing transportation infrastructure, such as developing a regional high-speed train network and highway systems, and removing barriers for movement of people and goods between countries as well as developing “soft” (e.g. commercial and legal) infrastructure;
- Creating a hub for exchanging goods and services, based on a clearing system using national currencies. Proliferation of free industrial zones between WANA countries would be a concrete way of doing this, and would also contribute to peace and stability in the region. Such a clearing system could also generate demand for removing trade barriers and eventually establishing a common currency (and other regional structures);
- Developing hybrid vehicle production by means of creating a strong regional entity to facilitate region-wide cooperation in the field and initiating international competitive bidding for a global alliance;
- Developing initiatives to make use of resources plentiful in the WANA – sun, sand and the sea – by developing solar energy technology, the production of construction materials and the utilisation of fisheries as a renewable food source.
- Encouraging the micro-credit lending system in the region, within the concept of Islamic banking;
- Sharing of experience and expertise between small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) on economic matters (best practices, fruitful business environment, good policies, etc.);



Left to right: Heidi Huuhtanen, Khairaldin Al-Nsour, Mehdi Al-Hafedh, Ibrahim Turhan

- Developing vocational education for manufacturing and entrepreneurial skills;
- Equipping schools in the region with solar panels;
- Awareness-raising about conservation of resources such as water;
- Encouraging states to create an enabling environment for private entrepreneurship, based on multi-stakeholder cooperation;
- Promoting the exchange of students and scholars within the region.

With regard to practical proposals, identifying priority issues for different subsets of countries received support among participants. It was also suggested that initiatives be categorised into short, medium and long term proposals. The following proposals were selected as priorities by the participants:

- Developing vocational education for manufacturing and entrepreneurial skills;
- Sharing of experience and expertise between SMEs on economic matters (best practices, fruitful business environment, good policies, etc.);
- Developing hybrid vehicle production by means of creating a strong regional entity to facilitate region-wide cooperation in the field and initiating international competitive bidding for a global alliance;
- Developing the concept of a high-speed bullet train from Tehran to Cairo and beyond.

CHAPTER EIGHT: Discussion on Priority Themes Identified in the Break-Out Sessions

The session discussed the priorities and strategies identified by each of the break-out groups. In discussing priorities, Forum Members were asked to consider the following questions:

- How can synergies be developed between the identified priority areas and recommendations be made by each break-out group?
- How can the suggested follow-up activities be strengthened or improved?
- What can each individual in the group contribute, between now and the next Forum meeting next year, to the strategies and actions identified by each of the break-out groups?

Proposals by Members included the following points:

1. Industry, investment and production:
 - a) Regenerating agricultural productivity and developing agro-industry in the WANA region.
 - b) Encouraging the development of labour-intensive industries to tackle unemployment.
 - c) Creating a regional project that would require joint action by several countries in the region to encourage regional investment. Issues that were suggested include the importance of knowledge development, addressing the human security deficit and implementing several of the proposed initiatives involving the media.
 - d) Promoting entrepreneurship.
 - e) Developing a hybrid vehicle industry in the region as key priorities.
 - f) Developing micro-finance in the region.
 - g) Considering ways of answering to the challenges posed by the financial crisis.



Left to right: Fatima Azzeh, Sultan Barakat, Baker al-Hiyari

2. Education and policy making:
 - a) Increasing investment and encouraging private sector investment in education in the region.
 - b) Developing a regional research hub.
 - c) Developing vocational education in the region.
 - d) Developing regional internship and educational exchange programmes.
 - e) Stressing the role of Islam in policy making.
 - f) Strengthening the role of imams and teachers in spreading information and developing a culture of tolerance.
 - g) Furthering knowledge development and knowledge production.
 - h) Promoting good governance through policy and legal reform.
3. Regional cooperation and recommendations for the WANA Forum:
 - a) Acknowledging the role of governments in bringing about regional cooperation and, therefore, considering how to engage governments in the region.
 - b) Integrating the WANA region into the international community as an overarching aim and implementing initiatives working towards that end.
 - c) Advocating the WANA concept.
 - d) Establishing a working group to further develop the concept of WANA as a tool for promoting regional cooperation. The role of education and the media in developing such a concept were highlighted.
 - e) Promoting openness, innovativeness, efficiency and gender equality as four pillars for WANA.
 - f) Creating WANA panels on energy, water resource management, climate change and the green economy.



Tatsuya Tanami and Hamed El-Said



Mohamed El-Faham and Fahim Hakim

In the discussion that followed, Forum Members highlighted the importance of creating networks across the region, also between the WANA Forum and other initiatives in the region. They further called for the development of a working method for moving forward and an interactive platform for Forum Members to continue exchanging views on key issues between Forum meetings. Many participants also stressed that it would be important for the WANA Forum to be more than a talking shop and develop concrete proposals, which could provide “quick wins” to demonstrate the possibility and value of regional cooperation.

Many participants argued that the Secretariat should consider the proposals made and suggest priority issues for the Forum, on which it could bring particular value-added and which could then be worked on in small groups. It would also be important to carefully consider the target audiences of the WANA initiatives, to develop work plans accordingly and to have a communication strategy to complement those work plans.

The session was concluded by noting that the WANA Forum will remain a process owned by all the Forum Members, and that the discussions of the two days have given a fairly clear idea of the challenges that need to be tackled. The Secretariat was seen as the body that can facilitate work between Forum Members and organise smaller meetings to work on priority issues in preparation for the second Forum meeting. It was also pointed out that the Secretariat will distil the findings of the Forum meeting and suggest a number of issues for further development, around which Forum Members could continue to work in preparation for the second WANA Forum meeting in the spring of 2010.

CHAPTER NINE: Key Conclusions and Next Steps

In the opening session, HRH Prince El Hassan suggested that the region would need an “inclusive” approach revolving around a “human-centric” vocabulary. HRH Prince El Hassan stated that efforts at countering nuclear proliferation reflect the importance of inclusive approaches which allow the WANA region to act as a single force and speak with a less fragmented voice to the rest of the world. He also called for lessening the distance between the “is” and the “ought” and making an “investment in human dignity”.

Mr. Yohei Sasakawa noted that investment in human dignity must not stop with short-term, stopgap measures, but must examine the root causes of poverty, conflict, bad governance and division, and that doing so will require both urgency and patience. Quick action is needed, but the region must not forget that change is a long-term process.

President Ahtisaari argued that “peace is a matter of will”, and that will must come from within the region. He also noted that peace and sustainable development will require dialogue linking states and civil society as well as enhanced inter-dependency through intra-regional trade, and that although many of the region’s challenges are inter-related, particularly sensitive issues should not be allowed to further distract from the everyday human suffering of malnutrition, poor education, inadequate healthcare, inequality (particularly for women), unemployment, resource depletion, economic stagnation and radicalisation. Political will and societal, popular will would need to be built around those issues.

Key conclusions from the experiences of Asia of developing regional cooperation included free and open – but closely and internationally regulated – economic markets, which are fundamental in strengthening ties within and in between regions, as both Ambassador Arima and Ambassador Chen argued in their presentations. Building on the experience of SAARC and ASEAN, regional cooperation should be based on equality and countries must not use the banner of cooperation to seek national accolades or domination. Instead, a “culture of dialogue”, which values rather than fears diversity and which shows a basic respect for the equality and dignity of all human beings, must be created, as Ambassador Gharekhan noted. Several of these presentations made it clear that crises also present opportunities, and that the current financial crisis could present several opportunities for initiating cooperation in the WANA region.

The Panel on Social, Economic and Environmental challenges in WANA highlighted several key challenges in the region. Regarding social challenges, Ms. Gisele Khoury noted that both the rise of political Islam, and the harsh



Muhammad Siddiqi and Akbar Zargar

reaction to it by governments across the region, has contributed to a decline in transparent and accountable governance, tolerance, freedom of speech and culture, as represented by authoritarian regimes. She further noted that military spending and radicalisation often keep miserably apace with one another, thus marginalising the vast majority of moderate voices who seek peace, tolerance and common, social goods and services.

With regard to economic challenges, Dr. Hamed El-Said observed that over the past 30 years, the MENA region, on which detailed data is kept by the World Bank and other international organisations, has fallen behind the rest of the world in terms of economic growth – whereas global annual economic growth in that period was approximately 8%, growth in the WANA region was 3%. He went on to note that protectionism has re-emerged, which is only one example of how the environment for private sector development and foreign direct investment has become “un-conducive”. Also related are rising requirements, both with regard to cost and time, for starting businesses and rampant corruption.

In her presentation, Dr. Maha Yahya noted that poverty is not addressed through long-term, sustainable development but through scaled up relief efforts which maintain the status quo and entrench dependency, that education remains didactic and discourages critical thought and that healthcare remains responsive rather than preventive. The brain drain from WANA to the West and to other WANA countries, in the form of a region-wide migration of skills and talent to the few pockets of extreme wealth in the Gulf States, was another concern she highlighted.

Several presentations noted that human rights, particularly those of women, represent not only a denial of humanity and dignity but also economic and political loss. Women’s participation would expand the pool of talent and innovation necessary for economic growth and could support peaceful priorities.

With regard to environmental challenges, Dr. Odeh Jayyousi argued that conservation is not prioritised, despite dwindling supplies of natural resources



Tamara Sonn and Erol Taymaz

such as water, and that education and enlightenment to pursue not only conservation but also innovation is lacking. He went on to argue that although climate change threatens the economies and wellbeing of all countries in the region, too little is being done to address it or adapt to it. Many speakers noted that environmental concerns remain viewed as technological or extra-political, despite possessing substantial potential to contribute to peace, regional cooperation, global cooperation and security. Energy and – increasingly – water are security priorities which cannot be ignored. If water has not yet been a contributor to conflict, it may soon be, unless region-wide investments are made.

Several recommendations were made by the panels and break-out sessions. From the panel discussions, the following was recommended:

- A Regional Cohesion Fund or a Zakat Fund could help overcome poverty and meet the needs of those afflicted by conflict and by the ongoing global economic crisis;
- A truly international and inter-denominational Peace Corps programme could promote much needed human interaction;
- Internship and educational exchange programmes could help build an appreciation for regional similarities and differences and foster peaceful co-existence;
- A regional university with a particular focus on addressing the concerns of the region – such as poverty, health, conflict prevention and post-conflict reconstruction and water and energy resource management – was suggested; and
- A regional food bank could help alleviate hunger from the WANA region.

From the Social Track, the following recommendations were made:

- Enhancing knowledge production and education, including the

development of understanding concerning how information is generated, collected, analyzed and consumed within academia, the media, schools and the society at large. To address this, “twinning” in different countries throughout the region and examining curricula in different countries in order to assess the possibility for resolving biases which may foster hostility between countries in the region were suggested. Finally, reviews of pedagogical methods, the organization of education fairs and the pursuit of e-learning and media-based educational opportunities should be considered;

- Improving social cohesion, a long-term process which may best begin through research into social cohesion within WANA. This study should focus upon the potential for a regional Social Cohesion Fund;
- Increasing regional capacities for post-conflict (and post-disaster) reconstruction in WANA will be critical. This process should begin with a study of WANA-led reconstruction and recovery activities and the identification of good practices as well as areas for improvement. Furthermore, the lack of technical capacity for post-conflict interventions in WANA could be addressed through the design of a Regional Centre for Excellence in Post-Conflict Reconstruction, Peace Building and Conflict Prevention, which would bring together future leaders from across the entirety of WANA; and
- A pilot study of programmes to manage near-border tensions, disputes and cohesion could be conducted on tangible issues such as trade or the spread of disease between countries.

From the Environmental Track, the following was identified as priorities:

- Energy efficiency and diversity, including the development of alternative and renewable sources of energy;
- Water of sufficient quantity and quality, which is affordable by and accessible to all;



Left to right: Martti Antola, Said Al-Shahry, Walid Saleh, Steven Zyck



Left to right: Manal Nayfeh, Kristian Ulrichsen, Abdel Karim al-Barghouti, Ibraheem Mbaideen

- Addressing climate change through activities which mitigate its occurrence and allow countries to adapt to its detrimental effects;
- Better management of all kinds of human and industrial waste;
- Paying close attention to cross-cutting themes such as social dynamics, culture and gender – in addition to economic interests, natural resource (energy and water) security, conflict vulnerability and migration – when considering environmental issues in the WANA region; and
- Participating in fora already addressing these issues and working with existing institutions across the WANA region.

From the Economic Track, the following recommendations were made:

- Raising awareness regarding economic opportunities, commercially relevant skills and good governance within schools from an early age;
- Promoting and developing vocational education and training;
- Developing transport, communication, legal and regulatory infrastructure throughout the region to better connect the different parts of the WANA region and to foster human interaction as well as commerce;
- Establishing fora to allow entrepreneurs – as well as students, academics and others – from throughout WANA to collaborate, share experiences and inspire one another; and
- Being ambitious and visionary, even when it is derided as foolish or unrealistic.

CHAPTER TEN: Closing Remarks

His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan bin Talal noted that despite historic, cultural, spiritual and ethnic links and ties, people in WANA are made to feel on a continuing basis that they are the object of exploitation and divide and rule policies. People feel they've been deprived of conviviality for too long – they live in a globalised world, a cosmopolitan world, but they do not live in a convivial one.

Prince El Hassan stressed that in looking at the difficulty of initiating supranationalism in the region, it is not that WANA is a region of shifting borders within changing geographies; rather, it is the inability to speak of the importance of supranational themes that constitute policies.

In a world of virtual reality, it is possible to network virtual contacts. Prince El Hassan expressed the hope of developing, through the WANA Forum website, S100 (Salaam or Peace 100) – a forum for holding conversations within the context of 100 people from across the WANA region to develop a comprehension of the challenges people face on a supranational level.

It is not the absence of initiatives and conferences, but the absence of trust and discretion in addressing key issues, such as refugees, displaced persons, stateless persons and paperless persons that is at the heart of the lack of regional cooperation.

Prince El Hassan highlighted some of the proposals that emerged from the break-out sessions. He said that if the WANA Forum is to address curricular reform, Members have to accept that this requires dis-intermediating the media. Actions aimed at social cohesion management, in turn, should focus on exploring the content of social realities. Reconstruction as a holistic concept for WANA has to be relevant to men, women and children in the region. There is also a need



Left to right: Sultan Barakat, El Hassan bin Talal, Martti Ahtisaari, Yohei Sasakawa



Left to right: Ilari Rantakari, Elsadig Abdalla, Tatsuo Arima, Javed Jabbar

for intra-regional exchange of best practices in several different fields. When talking about tackling border zones, the Forum should think not about borders between countries, but between communities as well as communities within a community. In dealing with environmental challenges, cross-cutting issues are of key importance, with particular importance on building a new, principled economy for WANA. Such a principled economy would also hopefully lead to the creation of an economic council of experts on economic matters to address economic issues, and a social council of social experts to address social issues.

Prince El Hassan noted that within the coming weeks, the Secretariat will meet to discuss the conclusions of this meeting and propose to Forum Members priorities for future action. Priorities should be focused on issues that can interlink economic, environmental and social dimensions. The question for the WANA Forum is whether it wants to continue to be descriptive, or whether it wants to become prescriptive.

ANNEXES

Annex 1:
Agenda of the First Annual Forum

Annex 2:
Speeches

Annex 3:
Members of the WANA Forum

Annex 4:
WANA Forum Secretariat

ANNEX 1: AGENDA OF THE FIRST ANNUAL FORUM

Kempinski Hotel, Amman, Jordan

Objectives of the 2009 WANA FORUM:

1. Fostering collaboration between Forum Members
2. Motivating Forum Members to commit to a long-term process
3. Identifying the first themes for the WANA Forum to work on

19 April 2009, Sunday

09:00 - 10:00 Overview of the WANA Forum Initiative and Introduction of Members by Dr. Ahmad Mango and Professor Sultan Barakat
Al Reem Ballroom
This session will welcome Forum Members and introduce the aims of and reasoning behind the WANA Forum.

SESSION 1: OPENING AND WELCOME

Al Reem Ballroom

This session is open to the media, dignitaries and observers.

10:00 - 10:30 Opening Address by His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan bin Talal

10:30 - 10:45 Yohei Sasakawa, Chairman of the Nippon Foundation

10:45 - 11:00 President Martti Ahtisaari, former President of Finland and Nobel Peace Prize Laureate

11:00 - 11:30 Coffee Break



Participants mingle over coffee break



Journalists learn about the WANA Forum during a press conference

- 11:30 - 12:30 Plenary - Experiences of Regional Cooperation from Asia
Al Reem Ballroom
- Ambassador Tatsuo Arima, Special Envoy of the Government of Japan for the Middle East
 - Ambassador Chinmaya Gharekhan, Special Envoy of the Prime Minister of India for West Asia and Middle East Peace Process
 - Ambassador Yonglong Chen, Vice-President of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs
- 12:30 - 14:00 Lunch
Kempi Restaurant

SESSION II: PRIORITIES FOR THE WANA FORUM

This session will consist of presentations followed by discussions by Forum participants on what they consider to be opportunities for regional cooperation in the social, environment and economy tracks.

- 14:00 - 15:30 Plenary - WANA Today: Social, Environmental and Economic Challenges and Opportunities
Al Reem Ballroom
- Speakers will map out the challenges in WANA and opportunities for collaboration to stimulate dialogue for the break-out sessions.*
- Gisele Khoury, Talk-show host of *Bil Arabi* on the Al Arabiya news channel
 - Dr. Hamed El-Said, Reader in International Political Economy at Manchester Metropolitan University, United Kingdom

- Dr. Maha Yahya, Regional Advisor on Social Policies at the Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia
- Dr. Odeh Al-Jayyousi, Regional Director of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature in Jordan

15:30 -15:45 Introduction to the Break-Out Sessions by Professor Sultan Barakat

Al Reem Ballroom

The aim of this presentation is to offer a guiding principle to base discussions on and suggest criteria for choosing priorities in the break-out sessions.

15:45 -18:30 Break-Out Sessions: Social, Environmental and Economic Challenges and Opportunities

Room – please refer to the attached programme

Participants will discuss what they consider to be key challenges and opportunities for collaboration, and seek to agree on selected priority issues and next steps for further examination and discussion. Participants are free to select the break-out session they wish to attend.

18:30 -19:30 Free Time

19:30 -21:30 Gala Dinner

Al Reem Ballroom

Keynote Speaker: Dr. Ismail Serageldin, Director of the Library of Alexandria, Egypt



El Hassan bin Talal and Karen Koning AbuZayd listen to Ismail Serageldin deliver the keynote dinner speech



First row (left to right): El Hassan bin Talal and Mohammed Ali Abtahi
 Second row (left to right): Taher Kanaan and Hasan Abu Nimah

20 April 2009, Monday

SESSION III: IDENTIFYING AND CHOOSING KEY THEMES

In this participatory session, members will discuss the key themes of their three respective tracks in order to identify the first priority issues for the WANA Forum to focus on and outline the next steps of the process.

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| 9:00 -11:00 | Finalisation of Priorities & Next Steps Presentations in Break-Out Groups
Room – refer to break-out session handout |
| 11:00 -11:30 | Coffee Break |
| 11:30 -12:30 | Plenary - Presentation of the Priorities Selected & Proposal for Next Steps Developed in Break-Out Groups
Al Reem Ballroom |
| 12:30 -14:00 | Lunch
Kempi Restaurant |
| 14:00 -16:00 | Plenary – Discussion on Priority Themes Identified & Next Steps
Al Reem Ballroom |
| 16:00 -16:30 | Coffee Break |
| 16:30- 17:00 | Key Conclusions & Next Steps by Professor Sultan Barakat
Al Reem Ballroom |
| 17:00 -17:30 | Closing Remarks by HRH Prince El Hassan
Al Reem Ballroom |

ANNEX 2.1: OPENING REMARKS BY HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE EL HASSAN BIN TALAL

President Ahtisaari,
Mr. Sasakawa,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
Dear friends,

May I take this opportunity to welcome you all to Jordan. I extend a particular welcome to Ambassador Gharekhan from India, Ambassador Arima from Japan and Ambassador Chen from China.

We are very fortunate to also have President Martti Ahtisaari and our friends from Finland here, as well as our Japanese partners, including Mr. Yohei Sasakawa of The Nippon Foundation, which is generously supporting the West Asia-North Africa (WANA) Forum.

I would like to say to Mr. Sasakawa how humbled I am to have had the opportunity to participate with him in his international appeal for ending leprosy. I saw leprosy for myself in Sudan in the mid 80s, and I recognise the importance of human dignity to winning hearts and minds. But that winning of hearts and minds is not only among the people. It has also to be among the policymakers.

The WANA Forum is an inclusive process, bringing together stakeholders from across the region. As Members of the Forum, you have been invited *ad hominem* – as individuals, not as representatives of states – to address the lack of public discourse in the region.

The time has come to recognise that the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) of the United Nations is not working, and that separate councils are needed for economic and social affairs – it is for this same reason that the WANA Forum has separate tracks on economic and social issues.

Yet there may be no issue of higher importance as identifying the mechanism and institutional formula to approach the deficiencies in the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty. I quote the latest report by the Hoover Institution in collaboration with the Nuclear Threat Initiative: “The accelerating spread of nuclear weapons, nuclear know-how and nuclear material has brought us to a nuclear tipping point. The steps we are taking now to address these threats are not adequate to the danger.”

The Nuclear Threat Initiative works toward a diplomatic plan to lessen the threat of nuclear weapons. But the spread of nuclear weapons has brought the world to a tipping point, and current measures are not sufficient to tackle this problem. Statesmen and stateswomen can narrow the gap between the “is” and the “ought”, to borrow Max Kampelman’s phrase.

The new denuclearisation process could well take the form of a directorate which is currently being considered by countries such as Brazil, Japan, South Africa, Ukraine and South Korea, which would need to evolve out of a detailed consultative process with critical partners and stakeholders.

At the same time, there are four kinds of weapons of mass destruction – nuclear, chemical, biological and radiological. As we speak, our children are dying from the carcinogenic effects of depleted uranium contaminated metal, brought in as scrap metal from Iraq, which is being used for cooking pots and climbing frames.

This, I believe, is a result of bad governance, which can be seen as the root cause of many of the evils in the region. Major donors and international financial institutions are increasingly basing their aid and loans on the condition that reforms ensure good governance. What, then, is good governance?

The United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) defines good governance as participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and follows the rule of law. It assures that corruption is minimised, the views of minorities are taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making. It is also responsive to the present and future needs of society. Good governance should form the basis for ensuring human security in the WANA region as well. I would like to suggest that ESCAP moves to meet the WANA region, and that WANA becomes the middle ground between the Euro-Atlantic region and the ESCAP region.

For too long the WANA region has suffered from the practice of investment for investment's sake. The time has now come to talk about investment in human dignity. As the United Nations Commission on the Legal Empowerment of the Poor in their Report, *Making the Law Work for Everyone*¹, of which I am a member, concluded: the way out of poverty and towards greater human dignity for all lies in empowering the poor to take their future into their own hands and work their way out of poverty.

It is with this aim of ensuring the rights of the most vulnerable and marginalised that Responsibility to Protect (R2P)² was born within the current international framework based on state sovereignty. R2P relates to a state's responsibilities towards its population and to the international community's responsibility in case a state fails to fulfil its responsibilities.

The WANA Forum would do well to also learn from the Helsinki Process on Globalisation and Democracy, an initiative of the Finnish Government in cooperation with the Tanzanian Government. Its strength lies in its action-

1 *Making the Law Work for Everyone, Volume I, Report of the Legal Commission on Empowerment of the Poor, June, 2008.*

2 <http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/>

oriented nature and its aim of encouraging new forms of cooperation between different stakeholders – regardless of their different persuasions – in the search for solutions to pressing problems. This concept, termed the third sphere, includes governments, international organisations, the corporate sector, academia, media and civil society.

But there has to be a change in the mindset of people in the WANA region, and this requires education for citizenship, life, skills, the environment and, most of all, productivity. I emphasise the importance of moving from rentier economics to productivity.

In a recent article in *Foreign Affairs* titled “Center Stage for the 21st Century: Power Plays in the Indian Ocean”, Robert Kaplan refers to the region from the Sahara desert to the Indonesian archipelago as the greater Indian Ocean region, and in his view, the entire arc of Islam. According to Kaplan, James Holmes and Toshi Yoshihara, associate professors of strategy at the U.S. Naval War College, China and India, because of their great power aspirations and their quests for energy and security, will redirect their gaze from land to sea. The Indian Ocean will become an area of intense competition for resources for the two.

With the very real possibility of “Pipelinistan”, I am deeply concerned for the people who live next to the oil and gas pipelines in the region. Seventy per cent of the total traffic of petroleum passes through the Indian Ocean on its way from the Middle East to the Pacific. As these goods travel this route, they pass through the world’s principal oil shipping lanes, including the Gulfs of Aden and Oman.

Mohan Malik, a scholar at the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies in Hawaii, has referred to India’s “Hormuz Dilemma” – its dependence on imports passing through the Strait, close to the shores of Pakistan’s Makran coast, where the Chinese are helping the Pakistanis develop deep-water ports.

Kaplan goes on, “As India extends its influence east and west, on land and at sea, it is bumping into China, which, also concerned about protecting its interests throughout the region, is expanding its reach southward. Chinese President Hu Jintao has bemoaned China’s ‘Malacca Dilemma’. The Chinese government hopes to eventually be able to partly bypass that Strait by transporting oil and other energy products via roads and pipelines from ports on the Indian Ocean into the heart of China.”

What is needed is a constructive security regime in the WANA region based on energy resources, and I recommend an article published in *Ahram* by Ezzedine Choukri Fishere titled “A Security Regime for the Middle East”.

I would like to remind you that before the arrival of Vasco de Gama, for 600 years, peaceful commerce was enjoyed from Sijilmasa on the Moroccan Coast to the streets of Malabar to Malacca. But when Vasco de Gama arrived, he said to the pacific Jain, “Remove the traitors – Arabs, Jews, Christians and Muslims – or

I will kill you.” And the Jain King answered, “What is kill?”

Now we have Bab-el-Mandeb separating Aden and the South of the Red Sea just as the Cape of Good Hope, once upon a time, was a world oil transit chokepoint. Kaplan says that the Indian Ocean is where global struggles will play out in the 21st Century. He says the old borders of the Cold War map are crumbling fast.

As Asia is becoming a more integrated unit from the Middle East to the Pacific, the proposal of Ann Pettifor to establish an Asian Monetary Fund sounds very attractive. This region is in need of a cohesion fund. I thank Malaysia for implementing a zakat fund, demonstrating a broader faith-based understanding of philanthropy. Its branch in Cairo, already established since last Ramadan, has distributed millions of food packages, and established a food bank to help the poor and needy on a regular basis.

I thank Dr. Georges Corm, former Lebanese Minister of Finance, for referring to *istanjidu*, citing Muslim terminology in the context of zakat. Alms, ladies and gentlemen, a-l-m-s, not arms – we have enough of the latter.

I personally object to the term “Muslim World” because Muslims are heterogeneous. There are Muslim minorities in many countries across the world. There’s certainly no dividing line between Islam and the West. Islam is in the West. But I would like to suggest in terms of ESCAP, WANA and the Euro-Atlantic, that we can talk someday of a corridor bringing together the East and the West. Maybe we can defy Kaplan’s statement that East and West will never meet.

I hope that one day the world will see an interdenominational, international Peace Corp in medicine, social health and environmental health. Al Gore once spoke about ‘global warming’. At the same event, I spoke about ‘human warming’. One might envisage a NATO of the seas for the Indian Ocean, but one based on the entirety of the human footprint, not just security concerns, in the pursuit of a comprehensive WANA zone of peace.

I want to stress the importance of crossing distances through imagination; of imagining the unimaginable; of imagining peace. An international humanitarian order would be needed, together with new policies, for recognising human dignity.

I had the privilege of meeting His Highness the late Sadruddin Aga Khan in 1981 to call for a New International Human Order. We presented our report, “Winning the Human Race”, in 1988 to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Maybe a hundred of our recommendations were taken into consideration, cosmetic representations such as changing the name of UNDRP (United Nations Disaster Relief Organization) to OCHA (Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs). But substantial recommendations, such as new policies

that focus on human dignity, were not taken seriously.

I hope you will come together across geographical and ideological boundaries to build on each other's work and encourage synergies with the aim of closing the human dignity deficit. A notable regional initiative is the DESERTEC Programme to put deserts and technology into service for energy, water and climate security. I thank the Masdar Initiative in the United Arab Emirates for their interest and support.

Reach Out to Asia (ROTA), run and managed by the Qatar Foundation, seeks to expand and enhance quality education all across Asia. The work of ROTA highlights the importance of global partnerships rooted in a faith-based understanding of philanthropy.

The Arab World Academy of Young Scientists brings together young Arab scientists with other scientists worldwide to actively participate in research and development projects aimed at helping solve regional problems.

I wish to also acknowledge Ahmed Zewail, the Egyptian Nobel Prize Laureate for his work on femtochemistry and Dr. Ismail Serageldin, Director of Bibliotheca Alexandria, of which I have the privilege of being a Board Member.

I would like to thank Mohammed Ali Abtahi, Haider Alattas, Fatima Gailani and Gisele Khoury – and every one of you – for your participation at the Forum.

It is possible to develop new thinking, to replace the business as usual attitude so strongly rooted in WANA. This is the main reason behind initiating the WANA Forum. This is why I invited you all to participate. I do not count. What counts are our children and our children's children. We work in the spirit of *ihsan, khayriya*, thinking of the other, altruism. What we are doing here today is *istikhlaf* – guardianship, stewardship – to create a better tomorrow.

The fact that we can sit in a multicultural context and talk to each other shows that conversation is not a martial art. It is only through reviving our ability to be creative in the interest of humankind that we can progress. It is not in isolation or exclusion that we come together.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I put it to you that the hatred industry is winning. The time has come to do something about it.

Thank you for your kind attention.

ANNEX 2.2: OPENING REMARKS BY MR. YOHEI SASAKAWA

Your Royal Highness, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a great honour to be able to speak here today at the opening ceremony of the West Asia-North Africa Forum. I would like to begin by expressing my heartfelt gratitude to His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan bin Talal, President Martti Ahtisaari and the other members of the International Senior Advisory Board, all of whom have shared their wisdom and experience in elaborating the vision of the WANA Forum. I would also like to extend a warm welcome to all participants of this Forum. You are the individuals who will together give shape to this important initiative over the years to come. I am personally very pleased and humbled to be among such a remarkable group.

His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan and I have worked closely in the Forum 2000 Conferences. These are an annual event that President Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic and I started over a decade ago. The Forum 2000 Conferences gather eminent world leaders to Prague for dialogue on the most pressing issues facing humanity. The participants come from such diverse fields as politics, business, academia, media, religion and civil society.

At these conferences, His Royal Highness has always expressed a deep interest in the challenges facing the world. He has drawn on his vast pool of knowledge and experience in providing direction for the future of humankind. I have been privileged to be associated with His Royal Highness for this past decade and have been immensely enlightened and inspired.

Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is my great pleasure and honour to be here to witness the launch of this new initiative.

The creation of a new platform similar to Forum 2000 for the WANA region is an idea that His Royal Highness and I nurtured over a series of conversations and we are thrilled that it is finally taking shape. Like His Royal Highness, I am committed to tackling the many problems facing our world today. I do this through my work at The Nippon Foundation, where we support programmes in a wide range of fields.

We work with farmers in Africa to improve productivity.

We provide support for the disabled in Asia.

We help people affected by leprosy in their fight against social stigma and discrimination.

We support grassroots initiatives aimed at strengthening civil society and education programmes that nurture tomorrow's leaders in many countries spanning the globe.

Our foundation works in many different areas, and on many different levels. But at the root of all our activities lies the same respect for humanity.

We want to build a world that embraces its own diversity.

We aim to develop societies in which all people can be equal participants.

We strive to provide people with their basic human needs, to help improve the quality of their lives.

The WANA region has been highlighted for its conflicts for too long. We realise that it is not easy to promote cooperation among people in a region that has experienced as much conflict as this one. There are many issues, however, that cannot be effectively addressed by one nation or one group alone. There are issues related to the environment, to health, to human security and development. We cannot expect to overcome them unless we are willing to find ways to work together toward our common goals. These challenges require an urgent, and a patient, response. Like His Royal Highness, we believe that stop-gap measures are not sufficient; that a long-term, collective vision is needed. There is an urgent need for a new framework that will allow people to discuss the social, economic and environmental issues facing the region. A framework that will lead to the formation of a regional identity, as well as practical cooperation. A Forum through which the voices of the WANA region can be disseminated to the wider world.

The WANA region is important to all of us because of its abundance of resources. Not just energy, but rich cultures and traditions, a beautiful landscape and environment, and above all its people. Throughout history, the region has had a great influence on Japan as well as the rest of Asia. Our region has learned much from yours. As we all gather here today, we hope that we have something to offer you in return as well. Something that we have learned through our experiences in various parts of the world. Something that we have learned through our efforts in promoting regional cooperation in ASEAN; through our efforts to develop an East Asian Community.

We share many challenges. It is important that we share our knowledge, wisdom and experiences as we tackle these problems that transcend boundaries.

Today marks the start of an important new initiative. It may not yet be clear what this Forum can achieve. It may evolve in any number of directions. But what is clear is that we have come here today with a shared commitment to seek out common goals and to nurture a long-term vision so that these aspirations can become reality.

In closing, I would like once again to express my deepest gratitude to His Royal Highness for his dedication to this initiative, to all the participants of the Forum, and to the members of the International Senior Advisory Board for their guidance, which has made this meeting possible.

I very much look forward to the discussions to come. Thank you.

ANNEX 2.3: OPENING REMARKS BY PRESIDENT MARTTI AHTISAARI

Your Royal Highness, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Peace is a matter of will. I have said this time and time again. Yet I stand here to say it one more time in front of this distinguished audience. I feel honoured to be here and I am thankful for the opportunity to address the first West Asia-North Africa Forum. I also feel optimistic, because Ladies and Gentlemen, peace is based on the will to cooperate. And that is what the West Asia-North Africa Forum advocates. Only by increasing cooperation in the region can mutual interests grow and slowly supersede disagreements and rivalries.

I also stand here very aware of the fact that my thoughts on the need for regional cooperation in the Middle East are those of an outsider. I strongly believe that the seeds of cooperation must be sown from within the region. Perhaps my modest contribution as a professional peace mediator is to motivate you and discuss how cooperative engagement can provide some answers to peace and development.

Regional cooperation in the Middle East and North Africa has been stalled by enduring conflicts. The recent cycle of violence, particularly the war in Gaza, does not make it easy to advocate ground-breaking thinking on regional cooperation. Let me save valuable discussion time and state what I believe most of us can agree upon. Israeli violations of human rights during the Gaza incursion must be thoroughly investigated. These violations cannot be ignored by international organisations or leading world powers; and I am confident that we will see a change of direction regarding what comes to the blind support for Israeli policies – policies, which I also see as harmful to Israel itself.

All conflicts can be solved, also the Israeli-Palestinian one. However, peace cannot prevail if the concerns of both parties are not equally acknowledged. Nor can the conflict be solved if there is no dialogue between all parties that have support among their populations. Hamas is no exception. Advancing the Israeli-Palestinian peace process also requires detaching it from other regional conflicts and tackling them with similar enthusiasm.

Regional integration initiatives have mostly failed, either because they have been perceived to advance the normalisation of relations with Israel or they have been wrecked with disagreements over how to deal with Israel. Unfortunately, controversies regarding Israel are not the only reason for divides in the region. The Middle East is still fundamentally insecure, and this insecurity drives the formation of alliances and the need for cooperation.

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, let's move the elephant out of the room.

Discussion on urgent human development has nothing to do with Israel or other conflicts. The aim of this Forum, to my mind, is the enhancement of regional cooperation on human development, despite continuing conflicts. Too long have conflicts held regional development hostage. Many have tried to stimulate discussion about everyday concerns, but without much success. Focus on past and current injustices seems to be like a curtain that weighs the public into passivity and diverts attention from smaller everyday injustices.

My recommendation for you, therefore, is to look to the future. Think together how to solve problems that you could have a concrete influence on. You are here, I understand, because you wish for better education for the children of the region, jobs for your sons and daughters, safe food and clean water for generations to come, quality healthcare and adequate social benefits for those less fortunate.

This Forum offers a chance for actors from state and society to work together. This represents a fresh approach in the region, and a necessary one. States cannot carry the burden of development all by themselves. Nor can the state continue to see civil society and societal mobilisation around everyday human concerns as threatening. However, civil society must also present its case constructively and aim to cooperate with the state. In the end it is the state that has the most ability to implement changes.

Another positive aspect of the ethos of this Forum is its principle of bringing people together across ideological boundaries. The state normally cooperates with those civil society actors it wants to. However, in any political system exclusion makes actors less constructive and – depending on the level of exclusion – can even radicalise them. Dialogue, on the other hand, allows for the assessment of mutual grounds for cooperation, although differences may remain. Therefore, I strongly think that when talking about basic human development, a common ground that supersedes differences can be identified.

The argument for the need to enhance dialogue among all of these actors is well founded. But in order for the dialogue to lead to concrete results, implementation is needed. You will be successful if you generate proposals for the benefit of regional and international organisations as well as the states in the region. This, however, demands very action-oriented goals, solid work and high ambitions.

Evidence of the benefits of regional cooperation is not hard to find. Rather, it is political will which can be hard to find as long as states do not recognise their interdependence and mutual interests. In the world we are living in today, interdependence shapes our reality more than competition does. Most states are too small to be able to compete in terms of economy whilst at the same time successfully ensuring their security and development. In the Middle East and

North Africa, alliances with extra-regional actors, such as the European Union or the United States, satisfy the need for security and trade. This vertical integration naturally lowers the interest for regional integration.

However, regional integration has several benefits – and a lack of it can be costly. Experience from other regions shows that regional cooperation can play an important role in promoting economic growth. The level of intra-regional trade is very low in the Middle East and North Africa region compared to other regions. Merchandise export within the Greater Arab Free Trade Agreement accounts for only 9 per cent of total exports. There are of course structural reasons for the lack of intra-regional trade, but most surprisingly to an outsider, tariffs and logistics seem to be the biggest hindrances. Structural reasons do not solely explain the low level of economic integration. There also seems to be lack of interest and effort at play.

In addition, climate change demands urgent cooperation both in abating global warming and in preparing for adaptation in the future. Countries in this region all lose if and when they fail to unite in a constructive manner in the global climate change negotiations. The region also has great potential in jointly producing renewable energy, as the DESERTEC initiative has shown. It would be very disappointing to see such initiatives, which can bring clean energy, economic prosperity, new industrial development and employment, fail because of disagreements.

I also see that cross-border and people-to-people cooperation will always foster understanding of differences and help bring down constructed images of “the other”. It is my understanding that the level of contacts even between people in Arab countries is very small, except via satellite channels. Tourism within the region is very low. Again interest is directed outside of the region, not within. Yet the region has a rich common history as the cradle of civilization, and to a large extent shares common values and a common lifestyle.

The high degree of external penetration is highly criticized in the region. Regional cooperation could to some extent help the region achieve its potential, boost self-sufficiency and gain some independence from extra-regional actors. Moreover, discussion on economic, social and environmental development on a regional scale can perhaps slowly advance a new kind of thinking on policy making. Only by supporting constructive dialogue between state and society, and by investing in high-quality services – education, employment, social services and healthcare – can societal peace and stability be guaranteed. Human concerns should be equal to, not secondary to, military security. That is because, Ladies and Gentlemen, the foundation of a healthy state rests on the welfare of its people.

ANNEX 2.4: REMARKS BY AMBASSADOR TATSUO ARIMA

His Royal Highness, President Ahtisaari, Chairman Sasakawa, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am grateful to the WANA Forum for giving me the honour to share my thoughts with such a distinguished gathering on Japan's wide ranging involvement in successful regional cooperation in East Asia with a primary emphasis on ASEAN. I hope I can do so in terms conducive to Japan's further engagement in the WANA region's multilayered cooperative activities.

Peace and Prosperity in the WANA Region and the Role of Japan

First, a few words on the reasons of Japan's interest in this region's wellbeing. Given the distance between us, some do wonder why Japan has always become the second largest donor to the Palestinians since 1994. Japan has believed that the only solution to achieve peace would be the creation of a viable Palestinian state living side by side with Israel. Our cooperation with the Palestinians thus has centred on enhancing their democratic governance capabilities both in human resources and infrastructure building. We have also established a very close partnership with the Kingdom of Jordan whose strategic importance we fully appreciate. His Majesty King Abdullah the Second paid a fruitful visit to Japan a few days ago. I can go on with many such examples.

Why such a deep involvement? Let me explain. Japan is the second largest economy in the world without any natural resources to speak of. Hence, our wellbeing depends on global peace and stability. We cannot remain indifferent to any serious turmoil particularly in such critically important areas as the WANA region. In addition to our recognition of our vulnerability to the condition of international conflicts, we have a strong desire to share the blessings of peace, prosperity and of free and open society which cares for dignity of each individual citizen. Post-war Japan testifies to the universality of such blessings, certainly not the exclusive prerogatives of any certain culture or civilisation. Therefore, it is not a sense of giving, but rather with a sense of sharing, that Japan has tried to reach out to peoples calling for our support and cooperation for their efforts to improve their existential conditions.

Second, briefly on the new administration in the United States, as it relates to regional cooperation in any place. We have been encouraged by President Obama's appointment of Senator George Mitchell as his Special Envoy for the Middle East peace and the President's reference to the "Arab Peace Initiative" at the White House ceremony for the Senator's instalment. The President also gave a thoughtful interview with Al Arabiya. All this within a few days after his

inauguration. Equally welcome is his proposal for nuclear disarmament. This proposal has a profound impact on and implication for all regional cooperation efforts. He stated that, “as the only nuclear power to have used a nuclear weapon, the United States has a moral responsibility to act.” I believe that the international community should act together in support of the US initiative.

Third, again briefly on the present economic situation. Historically, the free-market economy has turned out to be most efficient for sustained economic growth and for expanding the middle class, the mainstay of free open society. It is a counter force to narrow nationalism, giving citizens a more global outlook. And yet, going through another financial crisis, we recognise anew that unfettered capitalism without ethical restraints can be destructive to the moral cohesion of community. As Robert Reich points out in *The Work of Nations*, the rich of a nation become more interested in the wellbeing of the rich elsewhere than the plight of the poor at home. We should always be sensitised to this faling of capitalism in our international cooperative endeavours.

Regional Cooperation in East Asia and Japanese Role

Now in East Asia, where historical, cultural, ethnic and religious diversity might be even greater than that in the WANA region, we have steadily enhanced our regional cooperation both in scope and depth under the leadership and the initiatives of ASEAN. With such organisations as the ASEAN plus 3 (that is ASEAN countries, China, Japan and the Republic of Korea), the ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum), APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation), EAS (East Asia Summit), or ASEM (Asia-Europe summit meeting), this region has developed, what I might call, multilayered and multifaceted habits of cooperation both within the region and with the outside powers.

ASEAN was inaugurated in 1967 against the background of the escalating war in Vietnam with five original members of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. Since then, Brunei, Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar and Cambodia have joined. ASEAN countries continue with its efforts to create what they call “an ASEAN community” comprising three major pillars of cooperation; namely in political and security area, economy and socio-cultural fields to secure durable peace and shared prosperity. ASEAN truly welcomes non-member participation in these regional cooperation processes.

Japan has cooperated with ASEAN since the beginning. Our cooperation with the countries of Southeast Asia and ASEAN has been guided by the so-called “Fukuda Doctrine” enunciated by the Prime Minister in 1977. First, Japan committed to peace will not become a military power, and on that basis will contribute to the peace and prosperity of Southeast Asia and of the world community; second, Japan will do its best to consolidate the relationship of

mutual trust based on “heart-to-heart” understanding with these peoples; and third, not only in political and economic areas but also in social and cultural interchanges, Japan will be an equal partner of ASEAN and its member countries, and cooperate positively with them in their efforts to strengthen their solidarity and resilience together with other likeminded nations outside the region. These principles continue to govern our regional cooperation: commitment to peace, mutual trust and equal and open partnership.

Over the years since, Japan has expanded its cooperation with ASEAN through having become a party to the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia which stipulates the conditions for outside countries to cooperate with it. The conditions are based on the principles of equality and mutual respect. In the political and security area, Japan has made constructive contributions to the ASEAN Regional Forum tasked with confidence building and maintenance of regional security. We have together taken, for example, counter-measures against human trafficking and people smuggling, a new form of security threat. In the economic field, Japan has concluded bilateral economic partnership agreements with seven ASEAN members with the ASEAN to strengthen our economic ties across the board. In aggregate, I believe that Japan has been the largest contributor virtually to all ASEAN members in ODA. Now Japan is trying to ease their present economic difficulties as it did in 1998 through the so-called “New Miyazawa initiative” of 30 billion US dollars, a package of support measures. In the socio-cultural fields, for example, under a program called “Japan-East Asia Network for Exchange of Students and Youths” we are trying to deepen their mutual understandings so that they can cooperate together in coping with their futures.

In January 2002, then Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi reiterated in Singapore the importance of the “Fukuda Doctrine” stating that the goal of our cooperation in Southeast Asia is “the creation of a community that acts together and advances together.”

Regional Cooperation with the WANA Region

I represented my government as an observer at the recent Arab League Summit held in Doha. Politically, I hope that the countries of the WANA region will continue to make their utmost efforts to maintain the momentum of “Arab reconciliation.” In this regard, Japan values highly the First Arab Economic and Social Development Summit in Kuwait and the recent Summit among Egypt, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Syria in Riyadh.

We believe that the achievement of Middle East peace is a pre-requisite for its lasting peace and prosperity. Japan will help the Arab states advance “the Arab Peace Initiative.” We are eager to see its coordination with the “Road Map”.

Japan will support the creation of a viable Palestinian national economy, for example, with the “Corridor for Peace and Prosperity” initiative in Jericho being carried out on the basis of cooperation among the Palestinian Authority, Israel, Jordan and Japan. At the same time, Japan will urge the Israeli government to fulfil its obligations under the Roadmap, including the freezing of settlement activities and the easing of restrictions on access and movement.

In the economic fields, Japan and the Arab League have decided to launch the Japan-Arab Economic Forum towards the end of this year. At the same time, Japan continues to negotiate with GCC to conclude an economic partnership agreement. In the social and cultural fields, we will soon establish a university for science and technology in Egypt. Japan hopes that it will become an important hub for science and technology cooperation among the countries in the WANA region. Also, Japan is trying to deepen our understanding of the cultural and religious legacies of the region through Japan-Arab Conference, Japan-Arab Dialogue Forum and various exchange programmes including one for women.

Conclusion

Regional cooperation has been the engine for the remarkable development of East Asia. Empirically, the essence or the core of successful regional cooperation seems to be what Japan has tried to maintain; namely, commitment to peace, mutual trust, open and equal partnership and the desire for open and free society.

In conclusion, Japan has no doubt that the WANA region will achieve a just, comprehensive and lasting peace with the support of the international community. Once peace is achieved, prosperity will follow in this region so richly endowed with gifted peoples and historical legacies.

Japan is prepared to participate, if in a modest manner, in this process of historical unfolding.

Thank you very much.

ANNEX 2.5: REMARKS BY AMBASSADOR CHINMAYA GHAREKHAN

Andre Malraux once said: “The 21st century will be religious or it will not be”. When asked about this, he said: “I am too intelligent to proclaim such silly prophecies”. Malraux was certainly prophetic about a new religious awakening in the world. The new century has to tackle the issues of faith and reason. The medieval age was supposed to be the age of faith and the 20th century has been called the age of reason, though it is not at all clear how anyone could consider a period during which two inhumane world wars were fought as a period of reason. Humankind is facing complex challenges which cannot be met with the help solely of either reason or faith. Both are essential to achieve a meaningful human inter-relationship. The challenge is to overcome intolerance and prejudice and to behave with respect for each person’s life and dignity. A world with shared moral values could be characterised by dialogue and diversity. This is the only basis for human solidarity necessary for the construction of a peaceful and non-violent world.

What is required is a culture of dialogue among civilisations. At the root of all extremism lies a denial of reciprocity and dialogue. The more the diversity, the more the need for dialogue.

This, the First Annual WANA Forum, is a tribute to the vision and wisdom of His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan. The objective, as the mission statement clarifies, is to stimulate dialogue among people of the region at all levels, in order to develop practical solutions to the most pressing social, economic and environmental challenges facing the WANA region as a whole. The attention is to create a “non-threatening” framework for dialogue in the region. This initiative is obviously the result of the profound analysis of the situation in the region and the absence of a multilateral forum for various stakeholders to come together and not only discuss but develop common solutions to common problems through open and transparent dialogue. This objective should certainly be feasible to accomplish. The other idea behind the WANA Forum is to develop supranationalism, with a continuing respect for state sovereignty. This might appear to be somewhat idealistic, but it is nevertheless a worthy goal to aspire to. After all, this is the original land of miracles.

The WANA region has been a troubled one for over six decades. Peace and stability in this region are crucial for world peace and stability. It has been, and can become once again, a bridge between East and West. All efforts and initiatives, such as the present one, should be welcomed because they can only contribute to a better understanding and cooperation among the peoples and

governments of the region.

We in India regard this region, particularly the Gulf region, as a part of our extended neighbourhood. India's relations with the peoples of this area go back centuries and predate the discovery of oil. While energy remains an important factor for India, our interest in the region has historically not been because of oil and gas. India has supported the cause of Palestine well before our independence. When a Jewish delegation called on Mahatma Gandhi in London in 1931 asking for his support for a Jewish homeland in Palestine, Gandhi famously replied to them: "Just as Britain is for the British people and France is for the French people, Palestine is for the Palestinian people." It is for all these reasons that the Government of India, for the first time, appointed a Special Envoy for the region.

I have been asked to share with this Forum the experience of regional cooperation in South Asia. The initiative for setting up a regional forum for cooperation in South Asia was taken by the then President of Bangladesh who invited his fellow leaders from the other six countries to meet in Dhaka in December 1985. The Heads of State and governments in India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Maldives met in Dhaka and established a South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation – SAARC. I should tell you in all honesty that there was initially scepticism in India about this proposal. There was a feeling in some quarters in Delhi that the other six countries could act together in a way that could either embarrass India or harm India's interests. Despite such scepticism, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, then Prime Minister, gave her full support in 1984. Her successor, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, participated in the Dhaka Summit.

SAARC has had 25 years of experience by now. The results are mixed. The fact is that SAARC will not achieve its full potential until the India-Pakistan relationship is resolved to the mutual satisfaction of the two countries. To take care of our concern about six other countries attempting to embarrass India, it was decided, and has been so enshrined in the SAARC Charter, that all decisions will be taken by consensus and that no bilateral or contentious issues will be raised in the meetings of SAARC.

South Asia has travelled a long distance since SAARC was established. Winds of democracy and political change have swept across the region, although some of India's neighbours are going through troubled times at present. People's aspirations, particularly of the youth, for a better life and for greater empowerment are rising. With globalisation, the economies of the region are ever more interconnected with the neighbours and with the world as a whole. A South Asian University has been established at India's initiative. India has made available 100 acres of land for this purpose. All the eight members of SAARC – Afghanistan was admitted in 2007 – will contribute funds to the University. The

first session of the University is expected to start in 2010.

An Agreement on South Asian Free Trade Area – SAFTA – was signed in 2004. It has yet to come into operation since all the members have not ratified it so far. A SAARC Convention to deal with the scourge of terrorism was signed at the 15th SAARC Summit. An agreement to set up a SAARC Food Bank was signed in New Delhi in April 2007. There have been other achievements to the credit of SAARC.

The interest of the world community in SAARC is demonstrated by the increasing interest in obtaining Observer status in SAARC. There are now nine observers in SAARC – USA, EU, Iran, China, South Korea, Japan, Mauritius, Myanmar and Australia. If I was asked to give any advice to the WANA Forum, I would say that it would be desirable to make small beginnings instead of making grandiose plans at the outset. It would also be useful to avoid contentious and bilateral issues.

ANNEX 2.6: REMARKS BY AMBASSADOR YONGLONG CHEN

Your Royal Highness Prince El Hassan,
Your Excellency Mr. Ahtisaari,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am pleased to set foot again on the soil of beautiful Amman after an elapse of six years. Eight years ago, I became China's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and worked and lived here for more than two years. During that period of time, I made quite a few friends here and the country made a deep and wonderful impression on me. Today, I would like to express, on behalf of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, my heartfelt congratulations on the opening of the West Asia-North Africa (WANA) Forum. At the same time, I would also like to thank the Forum Secretariat for giving me the chance to join the participants in exploring ways to strengthen regional cooperation and discussing policies for building a better future for West Asia and North Africa.

Relations between China and WANA countries date back to ancient times. The Chinese nation and the Arab nation are two great nations in the world and they enjoy long-standing, traditional friendship. In their long history, the two civilisations and cultures have enhanced each other and developed together. As early as in the fifth century BC, Chinese silks were introduced into Arab countries, becoming the harbinger of Sino-Arab exchanges. The Silk Road and the Spice Road were the two transportation arteries between the East and the West and main channels of exchanges between China and Arab countries in ancient times. They thus played a tremendous role in promoting friendship and exchanges between the Chinese and Arab peoples in history. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, especially in the past 30 years of its reform and opening-up, the friendship and relations of cooperation between China and Arab countries have entered a new phase of development. Under the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, the two sides have forged relations of cooperation based on equality, mutual benefit, good faith and friendship. They have become "good brothers who support each other politically, good partners who conduct mutually beneficial cooperation with each other economically and good friends who coordinate with each other in international affairs." With the advent of the 21st century, connotations Sino-Arab ties have been further enriched and are enjoying huge potential and broad prospects for comprehensive development.

In January 2004, the Sino-Arab Cooperation Forum officially came into being at the headquarters of the Arab League in Egypt. Since then, the two sides have carried out wide-ranging cooperation at multiple levels in economy,

trade, energy sources, culture, media, environmental protection and human resources training. China has signed bilateral economic, trade and technological cooperation agreements with 21 Arab governments and set up joint economic and trade commissions with 19 Arab countries. It has also penned investment protection accords with 16 Arab countries and agreements on avoiding double taxation with 11 Arab countries. We have accelerated negotiations with Gulf countries on free trade area pacts.

The Chinese and Arab economies are highly complementary to each other. In recent years, Sino-Arab trade has maintained a momentum of rapid growth. In 2004, the trade stood at merely 36.7 billion US dollars. But in 2008, it shot up to 132.8 billion dollars, registering an annual growth rate of 38% on average. Statistics show that by the end of 2008, China had made 2.4 billion dollars in direct investment in Arab countries, mainly in industries such as resources development, home appliances, light industry and garments. Meanwhile, Arab countries had actual investments totalling 1.7 billion dollars in China, mainly in petrochemical, light industrial, building material and other industries. The cooperation between the two sides has been carried out in a wide range of areas, the cooperation projects have been large in number, the trade value has witnessed drastic increases and personnel exchanges have been frequent. This fully indicates that the ties between China and the WANA areas are very close and their economies are closely linked to each other in development.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the international situation is undergoing the most profound evolution since the end of the Cold War. We may say that the world's geopolitics, economy, patterns and order are experiencing major transformation and adjustments. The current international economic and financial crisis, in particular, hit us with rage, spreading from the virtual economy to the real economy and from developed countries to developing countries. And it is still deepening, exerting tremendous impact on the global economy. The crisis will have long-lasting negative effects and has not yet reached bottom. It has also affected the socioeconomic development of countries in West Asia and North Africa. It is against this background that the WANA Forum is holding its first annual meeting, which provides a platform for political, economic and social scholars, experts and media to conduct dialogue and exchanges. And this will be of great significance for boosting regional cooperation to jointly deal with the various challenges facing West Asia and North Africa. I am of the view that under the current situation, when the international financial crisis is continuing to spread and worsen, what we urgently need is not "talk" but "action," not "finger-pointing" but "cooperation." We must rely on everybody's confidence, cooperation and sense of responsibility for overcoming the crisis.

As the process of globalisation is accelerating, no country can isolate

itself from the international system. The only way to triumph over the current difficulties and pull us through the rough times is for us to cooperate with one another and handle them with joint effort. To deal with the international financial crisis through cooperation, leaders of the 20 main economies in the world met in Washington, D.C. last November. Related countries successively adopted policies and measures later to stabilise finances and stimulate the economy. And initial results have been achieved. At the beginning of this month, the G20 held a summit in London where leaders of participating countries reached consensus on a number of issues including stimulation of economic growth, opposition to protectionism, increase in resources available to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and reform of international financial institutions, which sent to the people of various countries the signal of confidence in stabilising the economy and finances. The greatest consensus reached at the London Summit is the only feasible way to overcome the crisis and realise economic recovery lies in strengthening cooperation.

The current international financial crisis has presented unprecedentedly stark challenges to various countries in their development, which has likewise also seriously affected the development of the Chinese economy, especially the real economy. Owing to dwindling foreign demand, the country's exports and imports have been continuously sliding, its industrial production has markedly slowed down, its enterprises have found it hard to survive, and unemployment has been rising. In short, China is facing increasingly greater pressure of economic downturn. To deal with the crisis, the Chinese government has adopted a series of timely policy measures:

In regard to the domestic side of the economy, the Chinese government has timely adjusted its macroeconomic policies, resolutely implemented proactive fiscal policies and appropriately relaxed monetary policies, and formulated a package plan for further boosting domestic demand and spurring economic growth. It is remarkably increasing government expenditure and carrying out a two-year investment plan amounting to 600 billion dollars. Structural tax reductions have also been introduced, interest rates cut several times and the liquidity of the banking system increased. At the same time, energetic efforts have been made to carry out plans for restructuring and invigorating the country's industry on a large scale; push for scientific innovations and technological transformation; and save energy, cut emissions and protect the environment. Adjustments have also been made in the patterns of national income distribution in an effort to boost the domestic market, particularly the rural market, and improve social security benefits by a big margin. All these policies and measures have already achieved initial results and the Chinese economy has shown positive changes, which is better than expected.

In regard to international cooperation, China, as a responsible member of the international community, has always actively participated in international cooperation to deal with international financial crises. While facing enormous economic difficulties itself, China has basically maintained a stable exchange rate for its currency, the renminbi. It has actively taken part in trade financing plans of international financial companies and decided to provide 1.5 billion dollars in the first instalment of financial support to regional development banks for financing business. At the London Summit, it committed itself to provide 40 billion dollars to the IMF in a bid to boost the fund's ability to deal with the current crisis. The country was actively involved in the creation of an advanced framework of the regional liquidity support arrangement (CMI multilateralisation) in East Asia to maintain regional economic and financial stability and promote regional financial cooperation and trade growth. Large-scale Chinese purchasing groups have also been organized to make purchases abroad, thus taking concrete actions against trade protectionism. Conscientious efforts have been made to carry out the measures adopted at the Beijing Summit of the China-Africa Cooperation Forum to aid Africa.

China, to the best of its ability, has continued to increase its assistance to Africa, reduce or cancel African countries' debts and expand trade with and investments in Africa in an effort to increase pragmatic cooperation with the continent. It has also tried its best to provide aid to other developing countries in the context of South-South cooperation. In addition, since the outbreak of the financial crisis, the People's Bank of China has signed six bilateral currency swap agreements worth some 100 billion dollars with central banks of South Korea, Malaysia, Belarus, Indonesia and Argentina, and the Hong Kong Monetary Authority. And it will enter into more such accords in the future if necessary.

It may well be said that China has been actively taking part in international cooperation to deal with the crisis. It has been working with the rest of the international community to enhance macroeconomic policy coordination, pushing forward with the reform of the international financial system, and actively maintaining the stability of the multilateral trading system. It has also persisted in reform and opening to the outside world, sticking to the road of peaceful development, and stuck to the strategy of mutual benefit and win for all. It has thus been working hard to pull the world economy out of recession as early as possible and realise a new round of growth by maintaining its own stability and development. I believe that under the consistent effort of the Chinese government and people, we will surely overcome the difficulties brought by the financial crisis and ensure steady and fairly fast socioeconomic growth by managing well the country's own affairs and strengthening international cooperation. I also believe that the measures the Chinese government has taken

to handle the financial crisis will also bring tremendous business opportunities to businesses in various countries including those in West Asia and North Africa.

Here, I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to brief you on the cooperation modes including that of “103+” and share with you the experiences and practices of China and other countries in the region in tackling the financial crisis through strengthening the cooperation process.

As is known to all, East Asia was inflicted by a financial crisis between 1997 and 1998 and the crisis wreaked havoc on the economy of East Asian countries. As a result, these countries realised the urgency and importance of forging regional cooperation and speeding up the process of regional integration. In December 1997, leaders of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and China, Japan and South Korea held an informal meeting in Kuala Lumpur, capital of Malaysia, officially starting the “103+” cooperation process. The cooperation is guided by the principles of ASEAN leadership, unanimity through consultation, gradual progress, comfort for each party, mutual respect, equality and mutual benefit, common development, opening and tolerance.

The objective of the cooperation is: Through regional and multilateral cooperation, boosting mutual understanding and trust, narrowing the gap in development, working for common development, and comprehensively enhancing the region’s overall development capacity in an effort to realize the long-term goal of an East Asian Community. After 10 years of effort, about 56 “103+” dialogue and cooperation mechanisms have been set up for pragmatic cooperation in 20 areas embracing the four categories of politics and security, economy and finance, energy sources and sustainable development, and society and culture. “103+” has now become the main avenue of cooperation among countries in East Asia and has been playing a significant role in collectively and effectively coping with the international financial crisis by the countries in the region.

Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao had planned to announce a series of concrete measures at the East Asia Summit in Thailand. These measures mainly included the establishment by the Chinese side a 10 billion US dollar China-ASEAN Investment Cooperation Fund, accelerated construction of infrastructure linking China and ASEAN countries, and an offer of 15 billion US dollars in credit to the ASEAN in three to five years, including 1.7 billion US dollars in concession loans, in support of cooperation projects between the two sides. In the meantime, China would also provide a total of 40 million dollars in special aid to Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar to help them tide over their difficulties. In addition, the country would also make available an additional 5 million US dollars to the China-ASEAN Cooperation Fund to promote cooperation in various fields. An investment agreement of the China-ASEAN Free Trade Area was also to be signed

after the summit, which would mark the end of the talks on the free trade area. When the China-ASEAN Free Trade Area is set up in 2010 as scheduled, it will surely serve to further tighten the ties between the two sides and have great and far-reaching significance for cooperation among East Asian countries.

Besides, China has been experimenting on the use of the renminbi as the currency of settlement to facilitate border trade. As early as 2004, experiments were conducted in Yunnan Province on the use of the renminbi as the currency of settlement in small-amount border trade with Myanmar, Laos and Vietnam and tax rebates were offered for such trade. In December last year, China signed agreements with eight neighbouring trade partners including Vietnam, Myanmar, Russia, Mongolia and South Korea, allowing for the use of either currency for settlement in bilateral trade. As the renminbi has remained strong in several financial storms over the past few years, its use in settlement of trade can cut the cost of imports and exports caused by currency conversion and make trade settlement easier and faster. Meanwhile, it will also help boost business profits, lower economic risks and stimulate border trade. Just a few days ago, the Chinese government decided to start trial on the use of the renminbi in cross-border trade settlement in five cities including Shanghai and Guangzhou. Under the current international financial crisis, the use of the Chinese currency in cross-border trade settlement can help prevent the risks involved in exchange rates, reduce currency conversion costs, improve trade conditions and provide a stimulus to the development of economic and trade relations with neighbouring countries and regions.

It is undeniable that East Asian regional cooperation has played an important role in helping countries in the region effectively alleviate the effects of the international financial crisis. From the success of the regional cooperation in East Asia, we can draw the following important experiences: all countries in the region should abide by the principle of mutual respect, mutual benefit and win for all; they should all set great store by cooperation, persist in reaching unanimity through consultation, and work jointly to grasp opportunities and face challenges; they should resolutely promote the process of regional integration for common development; they should take the development of the domestic economy and maintenance of regional stability as their main tasks; and they should follow the principle of proceeding gradually from the easy to the difficult in expanding the channels of cooperation, with economic and trade cooperation as the lead, and explore means of regional cooperation in light of the regional conditions and characteristics. I hope these experiences and practices will also be somewhat useful for West Asia and North Africa in facing the current crisis.

Ladies and Gentlemen, no matter how the financial crisis will evolve and how the international situation will develop, we have the wisdom to handle

them properly if we remain united and coordinate with one another. In crisis, there always lie both risks and opportunities. So long as we maintain confidence and cooperate with one another, we can translate risks into opportunities. We will surely be able to surmount the serious challenges presented by the current international financial crisis and create a much better future.

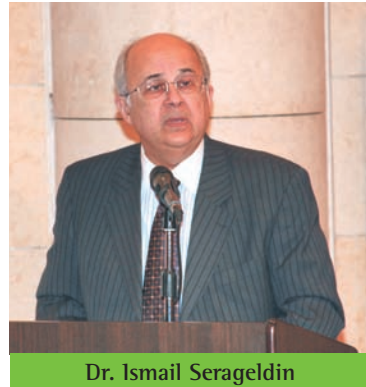
May the first annual meeting of the WANA Forum be a full success!

Thank you all.

ANNEX 2.7: KEYNOTE DINNER SPEECH BY DR. ISMAIL SERAGELDIN

Your Royal Highness, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, WANA! A nice acronym. Yet the region, WANA, is undoubtedly one of the most troubled and troubling places on earth.

Predominantly Muslim, WANA is confronted by internal and external challenges that have stretched its mosaic of traditional fabrics to the rending point. The patches were none too strong to start with, and their edges were not so well bound together that they did not always carry the risk of falling apart even without the external forces tugging at it.



His Royal Highness has wisely chosen to focus on people, not states. So what does a gathering of individuals from such heterogeneous countries have in common? What can we discuss?

A shared history, a shared culture and a sense of common destiny for one thing. Wounded pride for another. There is a common feeling that our dignity has been assaulted, that our identity has been belittled and that our traditions have been challenged.

Our host, HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal, and HE President Martti Ahtisaari, in their open letter, have invited us, members of the civil society and decision-makers, critical intellectuals and political activists, media and public, young and old, men and women – all stakeholders and citizens of WANA – to build trust and learn to work together towards a better future. They call on us to learn to collaborate and to move from ideas to a region-wide movement, with people united in common action, overcoming differences, and working together to become the artisans of a better future.

Some, looking at the conditions of the WANA region and of the world more generally, would think of this as a rather quixotic enterprise. But some, myself included, will be moved by the nobility of the objectives and, undaunted by the enormity of the obstacles, will find the appeal to rise to the challenges facing us most inspiring.

And the challenges are enormous.

I shall not repeat all you have heard today in terms of the enormous problems that confront the peoples of WANA. They cover social, political, economic and environmental challenges. But all speakers also highlighted the latent potential of

our region, and the enormous reserves of courage, imagination and determination that our people are capable of.

Tonight, let me add several dimensions that perhaps were not sufficiently highlighted:

First is the global context (economically, socially and environmentally) within which the rise of this movement is to take place.

Second is the internal ferment in the Muslim cultures of the world, ferment that permeates this region like no other.

Third, and finally, to further provoke you in your discussion of a vision of the future, a vision that this Forum, with its effective bridge-building and its attendant follow-up workshops, can midwife into existence. To that end, I shall spell out five provocations.

First the global context: economically, socially and environmentally...

The Economic Context

We are living through an economic crisis of unprecedented proportions. Monumental regulatory failures, irresponsible management, unbridled greed... Trillions lost, more to come... Rampant corruption and cronyism, and pushing the consequences to the taxpayers.

But note: since the end of the 18th century, we have had boom and bust cycles approximately every 10 to 15 years. Then a huge one in the great depression. Major regulations. The regulations worked: we had only minor recessions for the next 50 years. Then Reagan and Thatcher, like the people who no longer understood the value of the dam that protected the valley where they lived, they started unravelling the threads of the regulatory process. Just as new instruments and new technologies making instant global round the clock trading possible came about. To face the new emerging crises (e.g. East Asia in 1997), we referred to crony capitalism and promoted further deregulation. A little rectification, but no real change, as the US goes through the Savings and Loan scandal and the Enron scandals. But deregulation marched happily on.

Finally, in the last 8 years, we had real ideologues in the US administration and central bank who were oblivious to any realities that did not conform to their pre-conceived notions of what should exist.

So, not just the toxic debts and the sub-prime scandal, but also the incredible CDS market!

From 919 billion in 2001 to 62.2 trillion (more than the entire global GDP) by 2007. What else can you point to that grew by a 65 fold increase in seven years? And this did not call for any regulation to speak of. Bernie Madoff embezzles 50 billion while the regulators look the other way!

However, we shall come out of this fairly soon (in global terms). Without

belittling the human costs of the financial tragedy we are living through, there are some positive elements to build on:

Opportunities:

- For the first time since the Reagan-Thatcher revolution of the early 1980s, we will discuss reasonably the roles of government, of the private sector and of the regulatory agencies.
- A recognition that no country can go it alone, and that international cooperation will be needed.
- A new administration in the US that has signalled its readiness to listen and to work for multilateral solutions.
- This has coincided with a greater appreciation that the global environmental problems also transcend national boundaries and require our concerted action.
- Science and technology is advancing at an accelerating pace, fuelled by the unprecedented stream of innovations that are opening new frontiers every day.

Predictions:

- Within a few months at most, the liquidity crisis and the credit squeeze will be much alleviated.
- Within the next 12 years, a new international (and several national) regulatory regimes will be designed.
- But it will take a full 35 years, of great upheaval, pain and agony to adjust the structures of the real economies in the west and in the rest of the world.
- China will rise first from the ashes of the present order, followed by the US and probably Europe a bit after that.
- And dare we hope, that chastened and sobered, we may have new priorities to shape our policies, as globalisation and trade resume.

And so, perhaps indeed ...

A brighter dawn awaits the human day...

When poverty and wealth, the thirst of fame,

The fear of infamy, disease and woe,

War with its million horrors, and fierce hell

Shall live but in the memory of time.

-- Percy Bysshe Shelley: Queen Mab.

But for such a rosy future to materialise, we must rethink the terms of our economic discourse, our obsession with GNP and rethink the links between government, the private sector and the regulatory agencies, nationally and internationally. We must incorporate social and environmental objectives into a

sustainable development paradigm, rather than thinking only about growth of GNP.

Remember, as Robert Kennedy said:

“The Gross National Product does not allow for the health of our children, the quality of their education, or the joy of their play. It does not include the beauty of our poetry or the strength of our marriages; the intelligence of our public debate or the integrity of our public officials. It measures neither our wit nor our courage; neither our wisdom nor our learning; neither our compassion nor our devotion to our country; it measures everything, in short, except that which makes life worthwhile.”

And in the pursuit of that which makes life worthwhile, I say: We must not forget the weak and the vulnerable in this increasingly competitive world. The ruthless allocative efficiency of the markets should be tempered by a caring and nurturing society.

But globalisation is also found in the increasing assertion of the universality of human rights, including women’s rights and children’s rights. It is found in the environmental movement, which reminds all humans that they are stewards of this earth. It is found in the emerging international civil society.

We must harness the emerging universal values of our common humanity, and create a coalition of the caring.

- We must recognise that the private sector - important as it is - will not take care of public goods, and that the public must remain engaged to deal with market failures and public goods.
- We must change the calculus of our economics and finance, to internalise the full social and environmental cost of our decisions.
- We must rectify our national accounts that count a forest standing as zero and give it a positive value only if it is chopped down.
- We must be concerned with nurturing natural capital and building human and social capital as much as we are about growth.
- We must not forget the weak and the vulnerable in this increasingly competitive world. The ruthless allocative efficiency of the markets should be tempered by a caring and nurturing society.

All these actions are possible. They would help create humane markets, and promote environmentally friendly and socially responsible investments. But these actions will not come about by themselves. We must fight for them against prevailing apathy and lack of caring.

And that brings me to the social side of the global context.

The Social Context

Underlying the economic crisis of credit, production and trade, lies a longer term,

structural crisis of inequality and injustice that permeates the global economic order. We are witnessing a crisis of inequality that is an insult to any claims of a common humanity.

The UNDP Human Development Report (HDR) 2005 states:

- The richest 50 individuals in the world have a combined income greater than that of the poorest 416 million.
- The 2.5 billion people living on less than \$2 a day – 40% of the world's population – receive only 5% of global income.
- While 54% of global income goes to the richest 10% of the world's population.

The UN's Report on the World's Social Situation 2005, 'The Inequality Predicament', identifies non-economic aspects of global inequality (such as inequalities in health, education, employment, gender and opportunities for social and political participation), as causing and exacerbating poverty. These institutionalised inequalities result in greater marginalisation within society.

Observers have all emphasised the inevitable social disintegration, violence and national and international terrorism that this inequality fosters. Ironically, the diversion of social development funds to national/international security and military operations produces further deprivation and marginalisation, thus creating a vicious cycle.

An unjust world economic order needs to be addressed. Unbridled globalisation, deregulation and liberalisation are key contributory factors to global inequality. The UNDP's HDR 2005 and the World Bank's World Development Report 2006 'Equity and Development' call for an even playing field in international trade.

This growing inequality is not confined to the global South but is rampant in economically powerful nations. Indeed, the same HDR 2005 states that only 9 countries (4% of the world's population) have reduced the wealth gap between rich and poor, whilst 80% of the world's population have recorded an increase in inequality.

The Environmental Context

Let me now turn to the environmental challenges. They are well known, but we need to link them to the needs of people.

The marine fisheries of the world are grossly over-exploited. The soils are eroding. Water is becoming scarcer. Deforestation, desertification, climate change and biodiversity loss all demand redoubled efforts. In the 47 "least developed" countries of the world, 10% of the world's population subsists on less than 0.5% of the world's income. Some 40,000 people die from hunger related causes every day. A sixth or more of the human family lives a marginalised existence.

Our energy policies are short-sighted and untenable. Ahead, lays the devastation of climate change: rising seas, more tempests, droughts, floods, pestilence, disease and hunger. Environmental refugees will be a reality in many parts of the world. WANA, with its fragile eco-systems, will be hard hit with drought and sea rise.

Therein, lays the challenge before us. Will we accept such environmental destruction and human degradation as inevitable? Or will we change our ways, and strive to help the less fortunate among the human family? Will we consider that we are no longer responsible for future generations, or will we try to act as true stewards of the earth?

The facts are in. The scientists have spoken, time and again. It is time for citizen action and political decisions to get aligned and to move from words to action.

And speaking of science, no discussion of the global context would be complete without mentioning the enormous scientific and technological revolution we are living through right now, which opens up unprecedented opportunities, and undreamed of possibilities for the bold, the adventurous and the imaginative.

The Cultural Crisis in Muslim Societies

Look at WANA today. The Muslim societies of WANA are the crucible of all the competing forces of globalization and assertive specificity. They are the battleground of conflicting ideas and ideologies. They want to define themselves in terms of their heritage but without remaining captives of the past. But they fear the spread of “westernisation”, and seek refuge in a mystified image of the past. This is incapable of articulating a language that can respond to the needs of the Muslim societies of today much less to open vistas for the future. The defence of “tradition” is used as a mantra to legitimise the oppression of women and the perpetuation of intolerance and obscurantism. The pretence of “authenticity” is used to vitiate the new, and to stifle creativity. An intolerant and fanatical discourse permeates the societies of Muslims. A discourse that negates the liberating voice of Islam to reassert the oppressive counter voice found in the practices of Muslim societies, the voice that has effectively aborted a radical move towards egalitarianism and stopped it in its tracks for 15 centuries.

Here I must salute HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal for his enormous efforts to enlighten both Muslims and non-Muslims about many of these issues, and I recommend to all in this audience his upcoming book, the Arabic version, on *Being a Muslim*. A truly worthy book.

Let us recognise that the claims of cultural specificity that would deprive women of their basic human rights, or mutilate them in the name of convention,

should not be given sanction, especially by those who, like myself, are proud of their Muslim and Arab identity and do not want to see the essence of that tradition debased by such claims.

This is not “tradition” that is being defended; it is a distorted form of political pseudo-theological “inquisition” that is being proposed that would limit the freedoms of non-Muslim minorities and would circumscribe the Muslim majority within the confines of dogmas articulated by a tiny minority.

We need to liberate the Muslim mind from the fear of intolerant fanaticism or state despotism from the shackles of political correctness or the insecurities of being disconnected from a rapidly evolving world. We must liberate the Muslim mind so that we can soar, take in from the new and make it our own.

Five Provocations

Let me now make five provocative statements that I hope you will take to heart in your further deliberations.

Provocation #1: The New Abolitionists

It is unconscionable that of the MDGs, the first and most important was not only not achieved, but we have actually retrogressed. Instead of reducing the number of the hungry in the world from 850 million in 2000 to 425 million by 2015, we find that by 2008 the number had increased to 950 million and going towards one billion. One billion human beings deprived of the most basic of all human rights: the right to food!

To this task, this new movement of self-aware individuals, whose vanguard you represent, must bring its abilities and a sense of moral outrage. Yes, moral outrage.

In the 19th century, some people looked at the condition of slavery and said that it was monstrous and unconscionable. That it must be abolished. They were known as the abolitionists. They did not argue from economic self interest, but from moral outrage.

Today, the condition of hunger in a world of plenty is equally monstrous and unconscionable and must be abolished. We must become the “new abolitionists”. We must, with the same zeal and moral outrage, attack the complacency that would turn a blind eye to this silent holocaust which claims some 40,000 hunger-related deaths every day.

Even if only a few in our region are in the throes of absolute hunger, it is something that we must do as human beings, human beings who recognise that the defence of these rights for the weakest in the world is indivisible from the defence of other rights we claim as our own.

Provocation #2: Addressing Inequality and Marginalisation

Earlier, I spoke of the international global issue of inequality. To remedy what many are asking for: a new international public order to promote better sharing of resources in order to drastically reduce disparities in wealth and income, access to food, water, energy, healthcare, education, technology and political participation. Marginalisation would be dramatically reduced and the underlying framework of international cooperation necessary to implement a redistributive economic system would inherently foster more peaceful relations between nations.

I do not have at hand the statistics for the countries of the WANA region, but I am certain that as a region, as well as individual countries, they also have enormous inequalities. So:

- Can we do something in the WANA region?
- Can we do something within the Arab countries of WANA?
- Can we do something between the *mashreq* countries of the Arab world?

Provocation #3: Equal Treatment of Minorities

In this complex mosaic of WANA societies, are many communities. Despite a long history of coexistence, it is true that they have recently been more vociferous in their assertions of individual specificities and that has also coincided with a marked rise in intolerance among the majorities. So the challenge: can we indeed aspire to abolish all forms of discrimination against minorities in the WANA countries? Can we make a start on the religious or ethnic front?

Provocation #4: Changing the Status of Women

Empowerment of women means removing the discriminatory barriers that are frequently legislated against them or perniciously maintained integral parts of prevalent social practices. From personal statute law (marriage, divorce and custody of children) to economic laws (ownership of property and access to financial services), to civil/political laws (citizenship, elections, holding of public offices, travel restrictions, etc.) - all these need to be revised with an eye to implement the fundamental principles of equality and respect for the International Declaration of Human Rights that is clear on many of these points. In culture and communications, the pernicious stereotyping of women and the denial of their common humanity must be addressed.

Muslim societies are varied. Indeed, among its contradictions is the fact that its most important countries, Turkey, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Indonesia, have all had women leaders, at a time when most conservative Muslims would not countenance such a suggestion.

In dealing with the issues of peace and security, surely the victims of violence

are disproportionately women. They are also, by all the sociological evidence that we have, the artisans of the networks of reciprocity at the neighbourhood and community level that form the basis of community action and promote social cohesion and social capital. They are the key to building and transmitting the values of tolerance and peace. We must recognise women not just as victims of war, but also as the architects of peace.

So, I say to the Members of the WANA Forum, let us put an end to all discrimination against women at the top of our agenda for action in the years ahead.

Provocation #5: Culture and the Formation of Mirrors and Windows

We in WANA need a new language. Indeed, we need to create a new discourse that transcends the tiresome confrontation of tradition and modernity. This new discourse, critical, open and tolerant of the contrarian view, will be the basis for the creation of a mode of cultural expression. A new language that permeates the arts, letters and the public realm that incorporates the new but anchors it in the old. A new language, where in the words of T.S. Eliot...

Every phrase and sentence is right
When every word is at home
Taking its place to support the others
The word neither diffident nor ostentatious
An easy commerce of the old and the new
The complete consort dancing together
Every phrase and every sentence
is an end and a beginning....

Who will do this? Who will create this new language? While grassroots action by civil society will be essential to bring this about, there is a special role for the intellectual, whose place it is to publically raise embarrassing questions, to confront orthodoxy and dogma (rather than to produce them).

Edward Said, the quintessential intellectual, has argued that intellectuals need to maintain a critical posture towards society generally and the state specifically. That is how they can maintain the moral consistency that gives them credibility, that recognises the indivisibility of basic human rights and the need to defend the freedoms of others we disagree with. That is how they command the legitimacy to create a climate of thought that permeates a culture.

Culture involves a whole climate of opinion within society. The boundaries of accepted discourse and “conventional wisdom” are defined by this overall climate.

We saw a promising transformation of thought in the first half of the 20th

century, but it was aborted, by totalitarian states, complicit intellectuals and the gradual resurgence of militant fundamentalist counter-currents. And today, we live with enormous intolerance by fanatic self-appointed groups, who assassinate writers and editors. We witness daily abuses of human rights. It is imperative for all thinking citizens to speak out, to demand the liberation of both mind and tongue.

So today, we come together, to confront our shortcomings and celebrate our strengths, more aware than ever of our responsibility to be the artisans of the climate necessary for the new Muslim Renaissance. The renaissance embedded in the implementation of the aspirations of this WANA Forum.

Conclusions

Your Royal Highness, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, we are, by our thoughts, even at this very moment, inventing the future in the crucible of our minds. Let us together dedicate ourselves to creating that space of freedom so necessary for the emancipation of the mind. Let us, by word and deed, create mirrors in which we see ourselves, and the windows through which we see the world. It is this combination of mirrors and windows that creates the boundaries in our minds, the boundaries where the “us” ends and the “them” begin.

We must create a space of freedom for expression and debate. Only then will the product of our art and our intellectual output redefine the realm of the possible in our societies – politically, socially, artistically and scientifically – surely a pre-requisite in the pursuit of the dreams of the WANA Forum.

Your Royal Highness, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, there is a central core of universal values that any truly modern society must possess, and these are very much the values that art needs and science promotes: rationality, creativity, the search for truth, adherence to codes of behaviour and a certain constructive subversiveness. Our societies claim to be committed to science, but science requires much more than money and projects, important as these are. Science requires freedom: freedom to enquire, to challenge, to think, to imagine the unimagined. It cannot function within the arbitrary limits of convention, nor can it flourish if it is forced to shy away from challenging the accepted. It requires tolerant engagement with the contrarian view, accepting to arbitrate disputes by the rules of evidence and rationality.

The content of the scientific work is what is discussed, not the person who produced it, regardless of the colour of their skin or the God they choose to worship or the ethnic group they were born into or their gender. These are societal values worth defending, not just to promote the pursuit of science, but to have a better and more humane society.

Our people are talented. Our history proves it. We must create that “space

of freedom” necessary to unleash the full measure of their talent and their genius. All of that, however, requires liberating the mind from the tyranny of intolerance, bigotry and fear, and opening the doors to free inquiry, tolerance and imagination, and through that process, liberate our societies so that they may make their distinctive contributions to the collective human effort to build better tomorrows.

Thank you.

ANNEX 2.8: CLOSING REMARKS BY HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE EL HASSAN BIN TALAL

President Martti Ahtisaari, Mr. Yohei Sasakawa, chairman of the last session, Dr. Sultan Barakat,

I am conscious of the fact that the West Asia - North Africa Forum was initiated in response to the fact that nature abhors a vacuum and the vacuum of which I speak is the gradual loss of the noble art of conversation and of listening. Human beings are the most important asset to stability and the most dangerous contributors to instability and violence. Left to influences in the context of that vacuum, despite historic links and ties – cultural, spiritual and ethnic – are those who are continually made to feel that they are the object of exploitation and divide-and-rule policies.

When referring jokingly to “Pipelanistan”, the tens of oil and gas pipelines and the thousands of derivatives that entails, and when referring to chokepoints of the Straits of Hormuz, to Bab-el-Mandeb, the Cape of Good Hope and the Strait of Malacca, it is important that the people or the peoples who neighbour these pipelines and these chokepoints, understand the relevance of their place under the same sun. This is why constructive and open dialogue has to be developed.

It is easy to say that we live in a globalised world, whatever it means – it means different things to different people. We also live in a cosmopolitan world, but do we live in a convivial world? I think that people feel that they have been deprived of conviviality for too long. WANA is not a region of shifting borders within changing geographies in the 21st century. What is missing is our inability to speak of the importance of supranational themes that constitute policies.

My first point in my closing remarks to you today is that the world of politics and of vested interests differs from the world of policies and substantive programmes. When we speak of water and energy or the human environment as individuals, not as businessmen and not as politicians who are attempting to leverage our world in terms of widening their zone of influence, we are speaking to that overarching theme that you have identified, of not only a culture of participation but a culture of awareness and comprehension that, if left to the vacuum of which I spoke, will never lead to understanding.

I remember as Moderator of the World Conference of Religions for Peace, speaking to two clerics from Baghdad when I brought together, in Amman, senior religious leaders from Iraq in May 2003. They said to me, “We thank you if only for one thing, that we have lived over 30 years at a distance of less than 10 kilometres from each other and we have never met each other until this day.”

In a world of virtual reality, it is possible to network virtual contacts and I hope that the Secretariat of WANA, as small as it is, qualified as it is, will consider activating the Web in the interests of developing what I have referred to as S100, S for Salam, Peace 100. I would hope that conversations can be held within the concept of 100 people across the WANA region to develop an authentic policy of comprehension and understanding that societies face within the region on a supranational basis. I have not referred to interdependence because interdependence may mean that the poor receive crumbs from the tables of the rich. But I refer to intra-independence – that we preserve our identity however large or small, but at the same time respect each other above narrow considerations, the greatest good of the greatest number.

The challenges that we face are not the absence of conferences and initiatives. Unfortunately, there seem to be too many conferences, but what is interesting is the absence of trust and discretion in addressing key issues. I emphasise again the plight of refugees, displaced persons, internally displaced persons, stateless persons, paperless persons.

I assume that the objection the other day to the election of Israel as the Chair of the Committee on Population and Development was basically the astonishment of many members of the United Nations, that a country that is effectively in occupation of the territory of others should be given the responsibility to attend to issues of population and development. Economics, Ladies and Gentlemen, are not an alternative to political solutions. We have lived in this Catch-22 situation for many years in this part of the world. If we talk of economics, we are accused of normalisation. If we speak politics, we recognise that every day a new statement by one party or another will make it impossible to engage in sustained dialogue.

So the alternative for us, the so-called silenced majority, is either to continue in our narrow disciplines to focus on what our particular understanding of Near East Studies, Middle East Studies or West Asia - North Africa studies are or will be, to continue to participate in generalised conferences and to congratulate each other on our scholarship, or to recognise that the time to bring our thought processes closer to behaviour determinants, which we can formulate together, has come.

How can we determine the behaviour of our children by interacting with them? How do we determine, with our nuclear family, by engaging and interacting and not monopolising the truth? How do we create the determinants of a regional community? I think this is where the change in attitude has to come – from exclusion to inclusion.

I remember speaking to my late friend President Turgut Özal in 1990 and I said, “Can you explain Turkey’s position to me?” He said to me, “My friend, Turkey’s history has taught us that when there is a peace conference, it is better

to be at the table than on the menu.”

This is why I stress that the WANA Forum evolves to become an inclusive process in every sense. After all, when you make peace, you make peace with your enemies and peace, if it is to last, is built in the hearts and minds of peoples and not only of governments.

I would hope that it could be understood in the context of West Asia and North Africa, that when we say we need to understand how knowledge is generated, that there are public relations firms out there, that there are spin doctors out there, that there are speech writers out there who are basically trained to express the views of their political or business or corporate or ideological masters.

If we are to address the subject of curriculum reform, critical thinking and quality assurance in bringing up our young, then we have to accept that we should dis-intermediate the media. You say that media is a tool for knowing the other. I had the privilege over a quarter of a century ago of establishing a foundation in London – the One World Broadcasting Trust – to honour a leading journalist in the print media, TV or radio, from the Philippines to South Africa to Chile, by going directly to the grassroots to hear the stories on the ground. In the case of Iraq, we often heard the term ‘embedded journalists’. Why not replace the term with ‘informed journalists’?

Actions that lead to developing social cohesion management should focus on exploring the content of social realities. I once took then Deputy Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund to refugee camps in Jordan. The questions he asked were about severance pay, insurance, quality of air, quality of water as well as the whole concept of career planning for their children. So in understanding the notion of reconstruction of their lives as a holistic approach for WANA, one speaks of human capacity and technical expertise within the region. The expertise that we need has to be relevant to men, women and children in the region. This is part of the interregional exchange of authentic experiences and best practices.

I hope that in terms of the border zones of which you speak, that these border zones are not between countries but between communities within one city, between gated communities and urban sprawl, between nomads and farmers. The finest example of agricultural credit in the days of the late of Jamil Nishtar of Pakistan, is when he travelled from one region of Pakistan to another taking successful farmers to speak directly to their colleagues, not white-collar extension officers but farmers talking directly to each other. The other day I had the pleasure of watching a Bedouin from our North East speaking to an American farmer in Albuquerque, New Mexico about dyeing wool for sheep. If the media had heard about it, they would have said “Arab terrorist speaks to

American imperialist”. This was simply two good old boys talking about how to look after their flock.

I feel that the environmental track has summarised everything we have said in terms of the cross-cutting themes: gender, culture, religion, economy, environmental security and environmental refugees. But I would like to focus on the importance of building a new principled economy for the WANA region by giving the necessary delegation of authority to economists as a cluster to address economic issues hopefully leading to the separate creation of an Economic Council and a Social Council where experts and community leaders could then address economic and social issues. When you speak of education, ecology and theology, you are speaking about interdisciplinary approaches and this interdisciplinarity, when we extend it to the question of water, is, as I have mentioned, a question of custodianship and stewardship.

I hope that what we now call stakeholding, in the context of green economy, is the beginning of a pattern of empowerment that those of you who I hope might have read the Report of the Commission on Legal Empowerment of the Poor, Making the Law Work for Everyone, can take into consideration. The basic pillars of this Report are: empowerment in business, empowerment in intellectual property, empowerment in the creation of the necessary structures and mechanism for physical, societal, challenges whereby we can focus on productivity.

The Deputy Governor of the Central Bank of Turkey mentioned, although I would beg to differ with his word, ‘crazy entrepreneurs’. We might be crazy but we don’t have to call ourselves crazy. I thank him for inviting those who can think out of the box to talk about awareness raising in terms of the coming programme of WANA.

In the next few weeks when the Secretariat will meet and propose priorities to you, the plenary, you have to consider that the disconnect between power and authority, whether political or religious, has to be addressed but cannot be addressed at one and the same time. I think that the higher level and aim of the Forum in terms of regional priorities has to be focused on issues and if possible, interlinking issues – environmental, economic and social.

Al Gore and Professor Hansen presented us with a wonderful film on global warming, but they did not present any recommendations. Do we want to continue to be descriptive or do we want to be prescriptive and if so, do we or can we mobilise those who can realise some of those projects to which you have referred in the margins of your recommendations? One of you said that all the recommendations have people willing and ready to implement. Now, in the context of a meeting, it is easy to offer your services, but come two or three weeks from now and we ask what happened, I wonder how many of you will be boiling with enthusiasm.

Your contributions have been to identify common concerns in the region and in the context of the world in which we live and, if for nothing else, please accept my deep gratitude and the gratitude of everyone involved here in Jordan and in the Secretariat. Our colleagues from the Helsinki Process to whom I extend my deepest thanks and appreciation; to President Ahtisaari; to Mr. Yohei Sasakawa; to all of you here, and I don't have to mention you by name, I recognise your individual and collective contributions. It is very difficult but essential to do good things in bad times. God knows, the times in which we live cannot be much worse. So, thank you for coming. Thank you for your commitment to virtuous reality, not only to virtual reality. Please keep the faith as you return. Remember, there are those of us who are deeply concerned in taking everything we have discussed a step further.

I thank President Ahtisaari, in particular, for calling me stubborn. This has been a character trait all my life. Not that I have always had it right. Far from it. I have often gotten it wrong. But I can't help feeling that being stubborn and determined in speaking truth to truth and truth to power is the only contribution. I think that if we are true to our upbringing, and we believe in civilisation and cultural differences, then these differences can only be discussed, and only in a civilised framework for disagreement. I do not object to you disagreeing with me. I respect your views, but please remember that we only have this world to live in. This is a sacred trust to which I assume all sane people are committed.

Thank you for your kind attention and patience.

ANNEX 3: MEMBERS OF THE WANA FORUM

HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal, Chairperson of the WANA Forum

NAME	BACKGROUND
Elsadig Abdalla	International expert at the Research Centre for History, Arts and Islamic Culture (IRCICA), Turkey
Mohammed Ali Abtahi	Former Vice President of Iran; President of the Institute for Interreligious Dialogue, Iran
Martti Ahtisaari	Former President of Finland, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate and chairperson of the Crisis Management Initiative (CMI), Finland
Fouad Alaeddin	Managing partner for the Middle East at Ernst & Young, Jordan
Haider Alattas	Former Prime Minister, Yemen
Bakhtiar Amin	Founder of the International Alliance for Justice and former Minister for Human Rights, Iraq
Basem Anton	Board Member, the Iraqi Federation of Industry, Iraq
Tatsuo Arima	Special Envoy of the government of Japan for the Middle East, Japan
Ahmed Al-Atrash	Professor in international relations and researcher in peace and security at Al-Fateh University, Libya
Najla Ayubi	Judge, lawyer and human rights activist; technical advisor at the Asia Foundation for Sub-National Governance, Afghanistan



Left to right: Fatima Gailani, El Hassan bin Talal, Fahim Hakim, Najla Ayubi

Juliana Al-Bazi	Professor of Linguistics at Basra University; Director of Basra Society for Research and Media on Women and Editor-in-Chief of Al-Jenubiya, Iraq
Abdallah Bedaida	Professor of Economics at Algiers University and Vice President of The National Association of Algerian Economists, Algeria
Abdel Karim al-Barghouti	Chair of the Philosophy Department and Cultural Affairs Program at Birzeit University, Palestine
Rahma Bourqia	President of Hassan II University in Mohammedia, Morocco
Raghda Butros	Social entrepreneur and grassroots community development expert; founding director of the Arab Foundation for Sustainable Development (Ruwwad) and Ashoka Fellow, Jordan
Yonglong Chen	Ambassador and Vice President of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, China
Tarek Cherkaoui	Program Development Officer at the Arab Democracy Foundation, Qatar

Saad dine Elotmani	Parliamentarian and former General Secretary for Justice and Development Party, Morocco
Mark Evans	Director of MPA and professional training programmes and Deputy Director of the Post-war Reconstruction and Development Unit at the University of York, United Kingdom
Mohamed El-Faham	Director of the Centre for Special Studies and Programmes (CSSP), Bibliotheca Alexandrina, Egypt
Fatima Gailani	President of the Afghan Red Crescent Society, Afghanistan
Shafeeq Ghabra	President of Jusoor Arabiya and professor of Political Science at Kuwait University, Kuwait
Noreddine Ghaffour	Capacity-building and training manager of the Middle East Desalination Research Centre (MEDRC), Oman
Chinmaya (C.R.) Gharekhan	Special Envoy of the Prime Minister of India for West Asia and Middle East Peace Process, India



Tatsuo Arima and Ilari Rantakari



Left to right: Olli Kangas, Füsun Özerdem, Juho Saari

Lily Habash	Senior government advisor, Palestine
Sid’Ahmed El-Hady	Director of Mauritanian TV, Mauritania
Mehdi Al-Hafedh	Member of Parliament and former Minister of Planning, Iraq
Fahim Hakim	Deputy Chair of the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission, Afghanistan
Mariam Al-Hammadee	Head of Environmental Awareness and Media Department, Federal Environment Agency, UAE
Javed Jabbar	Vice President of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature in Switzerland and former Minister and Senator, Pakistan
Odeh Al-Jayyousi	Regional Director of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), Jordan
Malek Kabariti	President of the National Energy Research Centre and founding member of the Trans-Mediterranean Renewable Energy Cooperation, Jordan

Olli Kangas	Professor of Social Policy at the University of Turku, Finland
Tawakul Karman	President of Women Journalists Without Chains (WJWC), Yemen
Hamed Kazim	CEO of HK Consulting, UAE
Jauad El-Kharraz	Information Manager of the Technical Unit at the Euro-Mediterranean Information System on Know-how in the Water Sector (EMWIS), France and researcher of the Global Change Unit team at the University of Valencia, Spain
Gisele Khoury	Talk show host on Al-Arabiya TV, Lebanon
Abou Elela Mady	Chairperson of the Egyptian Al Wassat Party and Director of the International Centre for Studies in Cairo, Egypt
Akira Matsunaga	Senior Programme Officer at The Sasakawa Peace Foundation, Japan
Mohammed Al-Midani	President of the Arab Centre for International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights Education in Strasbourg, France



Left to right: Mariam Al-Hammadee, Alaa El-Sadek, Hanan Youssef, Walid Saleh

Mutsuyoshi Nishimura	Special Advisor to the Cabinet of the government of Japan and former Ambassador in charge of global environment issues, Japan
Khairaldin Al-Nsour	CEO of <i>The Yemen Times</i> , Yemen
Fusun Özerdem	Lecturer in the Department of International Relations, Traka University and Coordinator at Governorship of Edirne European Union Coordination Centre (EUCC) and Edirne EU Info Relay, Turkey
Volker Perthes	Director of Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Germany
Ilari Rantakari	Ambassador, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Finland
Mohamed Raouf	Program Manager - Environment Research at the Gulf Research Center, Dubai, UAE
Mahmoud Reeh	Assistant Secretary General, World Islamic Call Society, Libya
Nir Rosen	American journalist based in Beirut; spent most of the last six years reporting from Iraq, with work published in <i>The New Yorker</i> , <i>The New York Times Magazine</i> , <i>Harper's</i> and <i>Rolling Stone</i> among others, Lebanon
Juho Saari	Professor of Welfare Research at the University of Kuopio, Finland
Alaa El-Sadek	President of the Arab World Academy of Young Scientists, Bahrain

Hamed El-Said	Reader in International Political Economy at Manchester Metropolitan University, United Kingdom and advisor to the UN on radicalisation and extremism in the Arab world
Nadia Al-Sakkaf	Editor-in-Chief of <i>The Yemen Times</i> , Yemen
Walid Saleh	Regional Coordinator, MENA, United National University – International Network on Water, Environment and Health, UAE
Yohei Sasakawa	Chairman of the Nippon Foundation, Japan
Yoshiaki Sasaki	Advisor of the Sasakawa Peace Foundation and Senior Research Fellow at the Tokyo Foundation, Japan
Ismail Serageldin	Director of Bibliotheca Alexandrina, Egypt
Samir El-Shahat	Editor at <i>Al-Ahram</i> newspaper, Egypt
Said Al-Shahry	Head of Said Al Shahry Law Office (SASLO), Oman
Seteney Shami	Programme Director for Eurasia, Middle East and North Africa and International Collaboration at the Social Science Research Council (SSRC), USA
Mohammed Sherbini	International Relations Officer at the Palestinian Future Society for Development and Democracy, Palestine
Muhammad Siddiqi	Assistant Editor of <i>Dawn</i> newspaper, Pakistan

Tamara Sonn	Professor of Religion and Humanities at the College of William and Mary, USA
Tatsuya Tanami	Executive Director of The Nippon Foundation, Japan
Erol Taymaz	Professor of Economics at the Middle East Technical University, Turkey
Ibrahim Turhan	Vice Governor, Central Bank of Turkey
Kristian Ulrichsen	Kuwait Research Fellow, London School of Economics and Political Science, United Kingdom
Maha Yahya	Regional Advisor on Social Policies at the Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA), Lebanon
Seiichiro Yonekura	Professor at the Institute of Innovation Research at Hitotsubashi University, Japan
Hanan Youssef	Secretary General of the Arab Organization for International Cooperation (AICO); professor of International Media at Ain Shams University, Egypt
Akbar Zargar	Professor and Dean of the School of Architecture and Urban Planning at Shahid Beheshti University, Iran
Steven Zyck	Research fellow at the Post-war Reconstruction and Development Unit (PRDU) at the University of York, United Kingdom

ANNEX 4: WANA Forum Secretariat

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