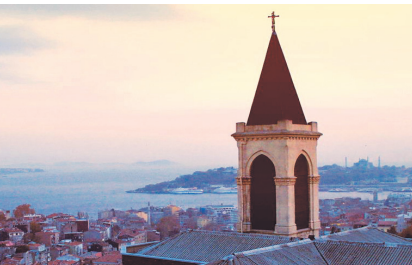


# REGION IN **T**RANSITION



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*Edited & Designed by Edmund Morris*

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# **WANA Forum 2011: Region in Transition**

9 - 10 May 2011  
Amman, Jordan



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# Foreword

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The West Asia—North Africa (WANA) Forum is committed to providing a platform for regional dialogue. The Forum promotes transnational, multicultural and interfaith cooperation to address the key issues in the region. In particular, we recognize the value of including all elements of society, from civil, public and private sectors so that together, they might build the future as stakeholders. The Forum, as a process, is owned by its participants, whose advice, contribution and dedication are the driving force behind its continued success and progress. Its principle belief is that of participatory inclusion, access and the provision of opportunities.

It is in this regard, that the Forum has recently dedicated itself to promoting a more inclusive and discursive society. Too often in this region are people excluded, whether from discussion or from participation. Exclusion has, in part, brought about the unceasing protests that now mark a watershed moment in the region's history. The crisis of uncertainty that has ensued begs the question of what is next for the WANA region?

In an effort to better understand and identify the key issues of the uprisings, the WANA Forum brought together over 130 representatives of public, private and civil society from more than 30 countries to discuss the theme 'Region in Transition'.

This report represents the overview of the discussions during the Forum, and advances the shared vision and shared thoughts of its participants. It is my hope that these pages will continue the dialogue of the region, and inspire and energize greater collaboration among communities and people across the region.



Omar Rifai  
Executive Director  
WANA Forum Secretariat

# Executive Summary

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In 2011, the West Asia – North Africa (WANA) Forum convened for its third annual meeting in Amman, Jordan. The purpose of the Forum was to discuss the implications of recent events in the West Asia North Africa region, and to map the direction of transition of its people and nations. Since its inception, the Forum has been committed to addressing the root-causes of human indignity and insecurity in the region. Since the insurrectionary uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, the WANA region has witnessed a popular struggle for a new identity and the realization of their individual and collectivity dignity. Little however, is understood or clear in this time of transition, and it is in this context that the WANA Forum convened over 130 representatives from private, public and civil society, to discuss the wide range of perspectives and views on ongoing events.

In the WANA Forum's May 2011 conference on 'Region in Transition', participants spoke of the years – perhaps decades – of change in store and echoed calls for human dignity, ownership over their own destinies and access to opportunities, all pillars of the WANA Vision launched by HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal, Chairman of the WANA Forum, at this year's annual meeting in Amman.

The annual meeting brought together Forum Members from across WANA and partners from South and East Asia as well as East Europe. Yohei Sasakawa, Chairman of The Nippon Foundation, which sponsors the WANA Forum, affirmed the need for initiatives such as the WANA Forum, in providing spaces for people to openly discuss the future and draw on the region's strengths and potential. A debate arose over the role of material conditions in giving rise to the calls for change sweeping the region and, hence, the priority which should be given to material versus governance-related responses. On one hand, participants argued that the ongoing transition has largely been a quest for dignity. Rama Mani from the World Future Council and the Centre for International Studies at the University of Oxford in the United Kingdom said, *"We have heard so many times that the price of bread is the 'red line', but a human being is much more than a material being"*. While Nadia Al Sakkaf of The Yemen Times and others stressed the basic, tangible material needs of people. *"Political passions do not, in the end, put bread on the table"*, she said.

Attaining basic human needs and fulfilling human potential are part and parcel to the cultural, social, economic and political dimensions of ensuring human dignity. If political transitions and elections are not accompanied by the broadening of economic opportunities, as Rehman Sobhan of the Centre for Policy Dialogue in Bangladesh noted, access to power and resources will remain concentrated in the hands of a few. Omar Rifai, Executive Director of the WANA Forum, cautioned that at this pivotal juncture, the region can either move forward or backward in realising the aspirations of its people, and failure to progress will only yield a negative outcome for the region. Yet progress transpires in cycles and failure in the 'first round' of transition should not be used, participants said, as an excuse to return to authoritarian and unsustainable socio-political structures.

How can transition result in long-lasting and beneficial change rather than a simple changing of the guard? *"We now face the challenge of ensuring that the ongoing transition addresses the underlying social, economic, political and environmental stresses facing our region"*, Sultan Barakat of the University of York's Post-war Reconstruction and Development Unit said. *"The WANA Forum's central themes reflect the vital need to address issues of unemployment, inequitable distribution of resources, conflict vulnerability and transformation, social cohesion and the distribution of natural resource revenues"*, he added. According to environmental economist Hussein Abaza from Egypt, *"The region is rich in human as well as natural and financial resources, which, if deployed properly,*



*can make this region one of the most advanced nations of the world. Can we not lift ourselves up in a region where we have both the resources and resourcefulness?”* Khalid Aziz from the Institute of Policy Research and Training in Pakistan said that WANA should move beyond dependency to self-sufficiency. Nayim Khemaies, a Private Equity Investment Associate in Tunisia, added that *“we need to start investing in ourselves, to which a regional social cohesion fund can bring added-value”*. The aim of the proposed fund is to engage governments, private sector and civil society across the region in giving local communities a corporate equity stake and to attempt structural change that provide opportunities for greater inclusion.

Dr. Mani posed the question, *“How can we better know ourselves?”* as participants charted a new course for a heterogeneous WANA that faces multiple transitions and varied pace of change. Political transitions must draw on already existing cultural resources if they are to achieve the long-term legitimacy essential for their success, and avoid what Khalil al-Anani, of Durham University in the United Kingdom and Al-Ahram Foundation in Egypt, said is *“the old dichotomies of modernity versus tradition”*. Prince El Hassan reiterated that ideas of justice, transition and civil society existed in WANA long before the development of Western notions of human rights. Mohamed El-Gomati of the Foundation for Science Technology and Civilisation in the United Kingdom said Muslims contributed a great deal to science and technology, but it is not always reflected in Western books. Mukhtar Hashemi of Newcastle University provided an overview of the Islamic principles of pluralism, stewardship sustainability, among others, which he said feed directly into a vision rooted in the region. Walid Salem from the Centre for Democracy and Community Development in East Jerusalem added, *“There are numerous experiences from our own history to draw on. The Covenant of Medina is an example of early Arabo-Islamic democracy, and an acknowledgement of shared rights and political inclusion, extended to all citizens”*. Hima, which is a community-based natural resource management system, is another example of an indigenous concept that promotes social justice and empowers communities to devise their own solutions, based on their resources, local knowledge and wisdom. In this vein, many participants pointed out that sovereignty should be re-conceptualised in relation to the individual rather than in relation to the state.

Similarly, participants spoke of the role of international actors in undermining state sovereignty instead of allowing states to take charge of their own affairs and chart their own futures free from excessive external influence. Prince El Hassan called for developing a new mindset – *“not one of intervention, but preventative, pre-emptive; one based on soft and not hard power; and able to create an institutional, legal, professional, cultural and educational cocoon for those who have fallen not so much between the cracks, but into the abyss”*. Securing legitimacy requires a consolidation of shared values and institutional practices. *“If a regime is disconnected from its people, it is no longer legitimate”*, according to Giuma el-Gamaty of the Libyan rebels’ Interim Transitional National Council who spoke of the lack of any real State apparatus in Libya. This lack of connection between rulers and ruled has led to massive inequality in the distribution of the country’s considerable natural wealth.

Sally Moore of the Egyptian Social Democratic Party and Youth Coalition of the Egyptian Revolution made the point that the people in Tahrir Square spontaneously began providing municipal and public services such as cleaning, food and medical care, often more efficiently than the government ever had. *“People cared for each other and their environment”*, she said. *“We built a hospital in a nearby mosque. We fed people bread and fuul. Christians and Muslims prayed together”*.

The role of the Third Domain (government, private sector and civil society) of partnership in transition was greatly emphasised. Lawyers, philosophers, historians, sheikhs and scholars, not to mention artists, filmmakers and others in the cultural sphere can fill the void between people and the State.

Nadine Toukan, Film Producer and Creative Worker in Jordan, said she hopes the *“dialogue and discussion is not confined to conferences but can continue every day in the weeks, months and years ahead”*.

As the waves of change across WANA are strengthened by the technological empowerment of citizens to express, inform, organise and mobilise, Prince El Hassan said it is no longer possible to exclude bloggers and tweeters from political processes and debates. While tweets are often regarded as either frivolous or threatening a power-based status quo, Prince El Hassan focused on the larger message they represent of free thought and exchange of views and ideas. *“We need to see an end of the eons in which we assume that those in authority think that the people who disagree with them are disagreeable people”*, he said. Putting action to words, he sat in on a forum of candid youth at a session of the #Debates, which convened on the side of the WANA Forum to discuss the economic and political impact of foreign aid on WANA states. The general public might not read academic journals or attend conferences, but they do spend an hour a day on average on Facebook, which has proved to be far more than a socialising tool. *“Social media spreads information to people who otherwise cannot access it, and provides a news source when others are blocked, allowing anyone on the ground to become a reporter”*, Omar Christidis of ArabNet and the International Business Alliance Group in Lebanon said.

The WANA Forum attempts to connect the dots between policymakers, academics and the rest of society by leveraging social media, facilitating regional dialogue and cooperation through virtual linkages and creating a knowledge hub on the web. Ultimately, the WANA Forum is a long-term process that looks beyond past and present crises in offering a platform to discuss an inclusive supranational mechanism for cooperation based on home-grown perspectives.

To learn more about the WANA Forum, visit [www.wanaforum.org](http://www.wanaforum.org) or email [secretariat@wanaforum.org](mailto:secretariat@wanaforum.org). For more about The Nippon Foundation, who generously support the WANA Forum, visit [www.nippon-foundation.or.jp](http://www.nippon-foundation.or.jp)

# **WANA Forum 2011**

## Region in Transition



# Opening Remarks by Prince El Hassan bin Talal

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The surgical departure of the 'War on Terror's' chief antagonist has brought into sharp relief the more than checkered history of the past ten years. For the most part it has been an atavistic decade for the countries of a region I refer to as 'West Asia – North Africa'.

The narrative in the international media has reflected this: if one were to compile a 'tag-cloud' of references to the Middle East over the last ten years, terms such as 'Terrorism', 'Fundamentalism', 'Backwardness' and 'Inequality' would figure prominently. Although often assumed to be a homogenous block, the myopic pursuit of individual state gain – and personal gain – has splintered this area of the world just as profoundly as have decades of divide and rule. East and West remain locked together in a close-quarters struggle, yet their mutual incomprehension has never seemed deeper. The 'War on Terror' continues, while the plight of the Palestinian people appears to be interminable.

An entire generation has come of age in the empty inheritance of a lost decade. According to the World Bank, by 2020 one hundred million jobs are going to have to be created in a region where over a third of the population is below the age of thirty. Between the years 2001-2003, the Strategic Foresight Group estimated that over eight trillion dollars were spent on arms purchases in the Middle East alone, with spending set to double over the next nine years. As a proportion of its GDP, the Arab World, if such an entity could be said to exist in regional institutional terms, spends more on defence than anywhere else on the planet – and yet nowhere else is insecurity such a physical and psychological fact of life.

The list can sometimes seem interminable, although it is always tempting to rehearse it – to point out, for example, how the failure to share water, energy and agricultural resources on a trans-boundary basis is creating very immediate stresses on the ability of states to provide for their own peoples. As a memorable placard in downtown Amman put it, "*The price of bread is a red line*".

It is of course even more tempting to expand – as the WikiLeaks reports suggested Arabs are inclined to do – regarding the two elephants in the room: oil and the future of Palestine. The Arab oil embargo of 1972, the Iranian Revolution of 1978 and the Gulf War in 1990 were perceived by many to be more about pipelines than people. The need to maintain oil supplies has served as the justification for an international presence in an oil-producing region, and the implementation of emergency powers in some oil-producing states in West Asia – North Africa. As for the question of Palestine, the situation is abundantly clear to thinking men and women everywhere: there is no peace because Israel doesn't want it without security and because the United States, despite its best intentions and all our expectations, is finding it is not the only game changer in the region.

The events since January of this year have proven that the principal game changer, for better or for worse, could well be the peoples of this region. There is perhaps nothing sadder, more frustrating and debilitating than potential not just abandoned, but actively held down – twisted, repacked and transformed into the language of either hatred or futility. It wasn't until an unassuming vegetable seller and university graduate called Mohammed Bouazizi doused himself in petrol and struck a match in Tunisia that the Arab imagination awoke to a painful epitome – that we were doing this to ourselves.

A regional lack of good governance – a complete amnesia toward the classical and Islamic concept of the ‘citizen’ – in addition to the overbearing weight of history, compounded by war, all combined to create a vacuum of hope, and a situation in which individuals no longer seemed to matter. So it may come as a surprise to reflect that, with perhaps the exception of the new frontier of cyberspace, it is today the countries of West Asia – North Africa which are giving the world the most revolutionary example of ‘people power’ since the fall of the Berlin Wall. In Tunisia, an indifferent leader fled his own country. In Egypt, a thirty-year regime was toppled in eighteen days. These forces, together with the modern state security apparatus, have been pitted against the Arab Street and a once silenced majority.

This majority wants approximately the same thing wherever you look: a sense of dignity, control over their own destinies and access to opportunity. It may all end unevenly. Beyond a doubt, however, is the extent to which an associative network of subliminal images presenting this region as bitter and bigoted has been shattered. Here, people are paying the ultimate price for the right to have rights. The tag-cloud needs to change.

We speak of a ‘Responsibility to Protect’ in Libya, but in an ideal world such a responsibility would not arise, because people would be able to protect themselves. Humanitarian intervention is all very well as long as it does not become a Trojan horse for other motives. We need to develop a new mindset – not interventionist but preventative, pre-emptive, based on soft and not hard power, and able to create an institutional legal, professional, educational and cultural cocoon to those who have fallen not so much between the cracks, as into the abyss. Human capacity should be made a little more independent of the state and state capacity.

We need an end to the long-held assumption that those who disagree with authority are disagreeable people. As the Prophet (PBUH) said, *“Ikhtilaf Ommati Rahma”*, or *“differences between members of the umma is compassion”*.

For example, many Muslim countries distribute something within their own borders called Zakat, which is roughly translated as ‘alms giving’. Based on the third Islamic pillar of faith, the role of Zakat is to create self-sufficiency rather than hand-to-mouth dependency. The regional establishment of a Zakat fund – and for that matter a Social Charter and a Social Cohesion Fund – including traditional approaches and modern institution building, could mark an indigenous interpretation of the ‘Responsibility to Protect’, re-orient a humanitarian doctrine away from the conundrum of state sovereignty, and back to the human being. The problems of West Asia – North Africa cannot be solved from the air, because they begin on the ground. Modernisation will come of itself. Indeed one wonders why the prolonged agony, if not cynically, is to increase the size of the bill for reconstruction. When wars will end, is not a financial transaction surely?

What people demand is strategic reform. The future of West Asia – North Africa remains one of possibility. However, the task of the next ten years should be to develop the political, digital, institutional and economic tools to create a community in this region. We have to find better ways of harnessing creativity and innovation and we have to make the law work for everyone. With conviviality of purpose and a generosity of intellect, there is no reason our future should not become one of accomplishment, instead of one of loss.

Let me give you a sense of the moment from a Turkish perspective. By and large ordinary people in the Middle East are fed up with corruption, nepotism, disparities, and suppression of opposition in everyday life across the region. This state of affairs poses a great dilemma: how to achieve reform

without opening the door to possible Islamic radicals? There are no easy answers. The related questions are clear; how do the ruling elites take the necessary steps without risking their own deeply entrenched interests? Increasingly, and not only in this region but also in Europe and the United States, there is talk of applying a Turkish model. I think during the course of the next two days we will be talking about initiatives relating to oil and issues relating to people. Our job is to see how we can relate the two to each other. As a result of a strong rise in oil-prices and an improved investment climate, coupled with economic growth of the MENA States, GCC foreign direct investments have strongly increased and played a key role in the economic development of the MENA region. Despite the current economic crisis, economic growth in GCC states is moving upwards, making them an appealing region for foreign investments.

I will be asking you if we know exactly what the difference is between reform and modernisation. Are we going to continue to throw money at problems or are we going to empower people to solve their own problems? I notice many references to the current political tension in the Gulf region in a report entitled "Security, Risk Assessment and US extended Deterrence". Are we here only to talk about security risk assessments and American deterrence or are we here to recognise that our people have been here since the birth of time and will continue to look one way or the other for a better future?

I wanted to share with you, ladies and gentlemen, a sense of the moment. I'm amused and saddened to read Nathan Brown, an expert on Islamist parties, who has warned against US policy makers being *"misled by a tendency towards Ekhwanophobia"*. *Ekhwan* is Arabic for the Muslim Brothers.

One cannot support participatory Arabic politics in the Arab world while being totally allergic to the role democratic Islamists have today. These movements are part of the political mix. As Stephen Kinzer wrote, *"accepting that Arabs have the right to elect their own leaders means accepting the rights of governments that do not share America's pro-Israel militancy"*. Degrees of Israel-ophilia should not be the litmus test for judging the acceptability, or otherwise, of governments in the Arab World. Governments have to matter to their peoples. In this regard, I do not think that we have to look any further than the recent events in the region, in order to suggest the creation of a Middle Eastern Economic Community.

The nations of the region have used their borders to block out international competition and foreign influence. They have used strategies that have left people impoverished in the region. But the availability and the cheapness of mobile phones today means that it is no longer possible to exclude the outside world – which is why the bloggers and tweeters are welcome to participate. We want to impart in these consultations that people across the Middle East are demanding change and that if governments across the region do not respond generously the consequences could be violent and profound.

I look again at a renewed Turkey, trading as we speak with Iran, using commerce to overcome national boundaries and ethnic tensions in a way that encourages prosperity and largely peace, and possibly playing a salutary role in the violence we perceive every day across the border in Syria.

In working towards a Middle East Economic Community I thank my Turkish brothers for proposing that we work through the G20, through our regional members – Turkey and Saudi Arabia, to make a grand offer of financial help to any country of this region, contingent on their liberalising trade in goods and services, and making trade and business rules transparent.

Secondly the countries who are interested in taking up the offer should meet to agree what assistance they will need, with a guiding body established to review requirements and progress. The World Trade Organization should take advantage of the Arab Spring to energise efforts to absorb its observer members across the Middle East into the organisation which has the infrastructure to enforce the necessary transnational governments to enforce freer trade.

Turkey and Saudi Arabia, hopefully, could negotiate a free trade agreement that is designed to supersede the bilateral trading relationships that have confined trade within the region. This would lay the basis for a multilateral free trade zone, governed by WTO rules and governed by all WTO signatories in the region.

You will note that I have not referred directly to Israel, or her policies, but I do feel that Turkey can still play an important role in facilitating the long hoped-for steps by Israel to restoring historic relationships with Turkey, which can serve as a catalyst for improved political and economic relations across the region as a whole.

I think we can say that it is essential to recognise that we cannot live and die because of our passions alone. We have to do the best we can in these extremely difficult and delicate times, and recognise the importance of an authentic view from West Asia – North Africa, addressing the challenges that this world faces with us and because of us, and creating solutions which do not come at the expense of its peoples.

I thank you and invite my dear friend Yohei Sasakawa to the podium, who apart from everything else, immediately after the tsunami in Japan set up a prominent fund, managed by the Nippon foundation. Both of us have attempted to focus attention, in a sound-bite world where media moves from one region to another, on this tragedy for Japan, as well as for the civilized world. Mr Sasakawa, thank you for helping us to help ourselves, by promoting the noble art of conversation.



# Region in Transition

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*The purpose of this panel was to bring together representatives from varying backgrounds to discuss the direction and experience of transition. It provided diverse perspectives on how the WANA region should manage transition and how it might progress in the coming years. Participants included HRH Prince El Hassan, Professor Rehman Sobhan, Ms. Octavia Nasr, Dr. Sally Moore, Mr. Giuma El Gamaty, Ms. Nadia Al Sakkaf, and Ms. Nadine Toukan. The panel was moderated by Sheikh Abdul Aziz bin Ali Al Nuaimi.*

**El Hassan bin Talal, WANA Forum Chairman, Jordan**, opened the session by stating that change in this region has far outpaced living standards which has, in turn, left a huge number of people, particularly amongst the youth, without access and opportunity in employment. This phenomenon is increasing, and represents perhaps the biggest challenge for the region in coming years. El Hassan bin Talal asked how the region can make the interests of people compatible with those of oil. He noted that there is yet to exist a regional mechanism for social order and community building. In order to achieve this, he advocated the creation of a vision or charter that would promote human dignity and regional cooperation. Such a vision should address the human and natural environment, looking to water, food and energy security in the WANA region. He stressed that the region should put together a creative group of people who could examine the region's capacity to reform with modernization, rather than without.

He stated that the key elements of human dignity include access to dues, the consolidation of the rule of law, rights and responsibilities that safeguard and protect the individual. This, he noted, should be developed in the context of the 'Third Domain' (a partnership of civil society, the public and private sectors). The question is whether we are witnessing a normalization or a radicalization of politics in Egypt, and indeed, across the region. This dichotomy has to stop, and we must keep focused through thick and thin; focused on the outcome of this debate and whether we can solve our conscience whilst building our future.

*"We have the intellect, and so allow me to venture to say that peace cannot be furnished without first, inner peace. Internet is vital, but inner-net should not be killed as a result. This is a result of the deliberate pollution of the social scene and to those who do not want us to progress".*

**Rehman Sobhan, Chairman of the Centre for Policy Dialogue, Bangladesh**, gave the keynote speech in the opening session of the Forum. He stated that there has emerged a cloud of people who have been built by forces of individualism. The result of such a development is that the region's socio-economic system has degenerated over time into 'clone-capitalism'. The legacy of rentierism has brought about a system of exclusion, whereby a large mass of power is inaccessible to the majority. Therefore when you go through a successful transition, you face complex problems – where there has been such peaceful transition there has existed a mobilization of power towards this previously excluded majority.

What was witnessed in Egypt and Tunisia was ordinary people participating directly in what is called 'public reasoning'. People reasoned together, as a community, in deciding for a change to the status quo. In this case however, there will be heightened expectations that cannot be matched in the short term. The desire for inclusive and fair participative elections, operating through open and transparent system of governance is certainly a positive one, but the reality is that there are numerous inequities inherited and distributed. For instance, all people are expected to compete



in an information age, where knowledge is power, yet access to information and education differs greatly. We must acknowledge that transitions occur at varying speeds, and are different in nature, from country to country, city to city. This is true of governance and politics, as it is in economics. The question begs therefore, how do we provide opportunities to compete in the market place, and in the public sphere?

If the WANA region fails to address this fundamental issue, it risks ordinary people identifying with extremist forces or their ideologies. Coming from a substratum of society, they will have become so alienated from the process of integration and cohesion that their sole sense of identification lies with total rejection of the status quo. Societies must be cautious against this process and ensure that all people are brought into the political, economic and social processes of transition.

Rehman Sobhan had three recommendations for the processes of transition. First, he stated that wealth is given to the people by God, through natural resources. What has occurred of late is a rebellion against its appropriation by a minority. There must be redistribution of the wealth of natural resources to include and provide opportunity for all people. Second, land is also a shared resource, where commons associated with the hima, a resource to be shared for mutual benefit, should not then be privatized and turned into a rentier property. The public or community becomes stakeholders in these lands, as with water. Finally, with the existence of sovereign wealth funds, there should be a regional sovereign wealth fund for the region also, in which a percentage of all wealth would automatically be invested in a regional sovereign fund which would be a common resource for building the region.

**Octavia Nasr, Journalist & Political Commentator, Lebanon**, spoke of a new dawn for the region. She advocated an era of more positive thinking, building upon the rich cultural and historical heritage of West Asia—North Africa. While many have discussed the language used to describe recent events, Ms Nasr noted that it would ultimately be the writers of history who will decide such terms. This group, she argued, should be the people who have spearheaded the revolutions, those who have become the game-changers in recent months. It is for this reason that leaders must start listening to their people, the media must start fairly and objectively reporting actual events, and we must begin a process of including the youth and intellectuals alike in our societies.

Octavia Nasr also referred to the rise of social media as a tool of empowerment, enhancing connectivity across boundaries. Social media has provided a platform for young people across the region to participate and engage in debate over human dignity and compassion. They have become a driver of change, with a tool of empowerment that has helped promote the concept of citizenship and human rights across WANA. In evoking Plato, Octavia Nasr stated: *“We must ‘be kind, for everyone [...] is fighting a hard battle’. Everyone in this region is fighting a hard battle, and we all have to be kind to each other and want to start listening”*

**Sally Moore, Member of the Youth Coalition of Egyptian Revolution, Egypt**, spoke of the indignity of living under the previous regime. She stated that as an Egyptian, she had no dignity and was a victim of torture. Widespread corruption had resulted from a lack of accountability and the weakness of the rule of law. *“Before January 25th”*, she stated, *“We forgot we were Arabs. We forgot we were Africans”*. In reference to what Octavia Nasr referred to, the Egyptian people called it a revolution, a revolution for dignity, that is the struggle even for bread itself. *“Denied of objective media platforms and transparency, we used social media to post videos of corruption and violence. We politicized our media platforms”*.

Sally Moore described Tahrir Square as a utopia. Staying there for more than two weeks, she described how she felt safe as a Coptic Christian. For the first time in her country, she had a voice that was truly her own. *“In Tahrir, we built our own Egypt, and we owned it”*. As a doctor, Dr Moore was involved in the makeshift hospital, caring for those who were injured and hurt during the protests. She described the committed defence of Tahrir, the alarm systems in place and how food was distributed daily. The utopia of Tahrir was Christians praying at the same time as Muslims, sharing the same space and dreaming, together, of the Egypt. They got this back when the regime collapsed.

With revolution and transition, you think that you are going to change the world. The reality is that institutions and the elite remain in place. The utopia of revolution has been succeeded by a post-uprising depression, where people have once again become divided, falling back onto the multiple identities of the region. *“We have a long way to go before we can talk of democratization and a successful transition process – it does not end with the toppling of the regime, it simply begins”*.

**Giuma El Gamaty, Coordinator in the United Kingdom for the Libyan Rebels’ Interim Transitional National Council, Libya**, asked, how can we ensure outcomes rather than just end transition quickly? *“We must not allow nations to fall into the traps of history”*.

Communication technology in the region, such as Facebook, Twitter and the rise of the internet have meant that transnational forces and dynamics are overriding national dynamics. It is against this backdrop that the Libyan people began their uprising, against 42 years of oppression and tyranny, with no rule of law, no free press, no justice, no dignity. In the case of Libya, the only political indicator of note is that in the past 42 years, the country had the longest ruling political leader. With regards to the other indicators, Libya has been close to the bottom. Its revolution, however, has turned bloody and violent. This was not the choice of the people, but of the elites that have viciously and ruthlessly guarded their power. It has been a nation ruled by corruption and coercion.

There should be little wonder that the people have expressed a desire for freedom and change. But the challenges are great, as high expectations are marred by an obscure vision. While Sally Moore observed the risks of division during transition, and this is apparent in Libya today, there is one issue on which all Libyans are united – no one wants foreign troops on their soil. Giuma El Gamaty expressed his hope that lessons have been learnt from the experience of others; that the imposition of foreign troops does not work.

Giuma El Gamaty spoke of the aspirations of the Libyan people, the energies that have been unleashed and the dreams of those growing up in Libya. He noted that with 72% of Libyans below the age of 30, Libya has a large demographic of dynamic young people. In order to realize a successful transition, Libya must develop a diverse market economy and improve its understanding and production of ICT technology, promoting the various dimensions of creating a green economy. Furthermore, Mr. El Gamaty stated, the region’s societies must invest in the empowerment of women, who have every right to be equal partners and stakeholders of the region. Fundamentally, the region must carry out capacity-building that invests in people, so that it has the skills to rebuild its societies, to establish a more sustainable and equitable future for its children.

**Nadia Al Sakka, Editor of The Yemen Times, Yemen**, discussed the processes of humanity’s struggle against itself. She evoked how there are three elements to this, namely, *“man’s struggle against man, man’s struggle against nature, but also man’s struggle against the self”*.

She noted that in Yemen, there is huge movement for upheaval driven by passion on the one hand and by political interest on the other. She recounted her experience at having met people from opposition parties, who had demanded a share in the wealth and the power of the nation. She observed that these demands are not specific however, but simply about the need for change and citizen empowerment. While dignity and passion are important, she warned that if the root causes of revolution are not highlighted, there will be a problem in the future. This is where the role of the 'Third Domain' is so important, as people's real needs can only be represented by the inclusion and participation of all sectors of society. While compassion and dignity are valuable spiritual elements, one cannot neglect the importance of reality and practical approaches. For the first time in the region, there is unity and there is a cause. Nadia Sakkaf expressed her fear stating that,

*"In this transition we might have nothing after the sands have settled. I fear that Yemenis will be torn apart, and when they are slapped in the face with the economic reality there will be lawlessness. And so what do we do now? I believe in the Third Sphere and the power of diplomatic groups, intellectual thinking and reasoning is pivotal at this stage. Too often do we fail to learn from one another, to have the dialogue necessary to move forward: this should be a key priority".*

**Nadine Toukan, Producer and Creative Worker, Jordan,** stated that we should do more for and through creative workers, those who can imagine a societal order beyond the status quo. She stated that people must think outside the box, and beyond our 'conceptual comfort zones'. WANA is missing the more imaginative discourse in the public sphere and greater efforts must be made to resolve this. Furthermore, there is too much 'doom and gloom' regarding the emergence of a 'vacuum'. Rather than train-wrecking, she stated that this region must move towards a more active and positive approach to tackling and addressing the key issues. This is something the creative and cultural workers are key in, helping develop a language and thinking that is based in positive and productive work. In this case, language becomes an important issue. People must stop referring to 'rulers', and instead turn to leaders, who lead from both the front and back. Leadership that helps us imagine more than simply a figure voted for, but someone who guides and encourages their people.

*"We must be able to have permanent conversations with our leadership, not only Forums but in the social media, in cultural centres, so that the average person can hear, understand and participate, and thus become a true stakeholder in society".*

More should be done to promote the voices not heard, the various movements that occur that do not necessarily have headline appeal. There are numerous movements and transformations, beautiful ideologies and connections that create a form of cohesion between people. Some of the people who should be taking part in regional conferences like the WANA Forum are the actors and cultural workers. It is necessary to reflect on matters, to politicize and to discuss at different levels, beyond the traditional platforms of discussion.

# Political Identities

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*The panel on 'Political Identities' served to recognise the importance of the political dimension to recent insurrectionary uprisings. It examined the role of identity in recent events; how WANA can build its own political identity based upon its cultural traditions; the prospects of citizenship and democracy in WANA; and finally, how the region might avoid the violent pitfalls of previous transitional regimes. Panellists included Dr. Khalil Al-Anani, Dr. Rama Mani, Mr. Walid Salem, Mr. Khalid Aziz, and Mr. Mongi Khammassi. The panel was moderated by Professor Sultan Barakat.*

**Khalil al-Anani, Senior Fellow at the Al-Ahram Foundation, Egypt**, discussed how the insurrectionary movement holds many similarities with past revolutions. However, it holds possibly two fundamental differences, first, that it was predominantly an 'identity-revolution' ; and second, that it was driven by new tools of empowerment. Khalil Al-Anani referred to four elements of the revolution; self-reflection, a sense of belonging, sense of dignity, and a sense of recognition. One consequence of globalisation is that people have had their identity transformed, and we are currently witnessing an identity-driven revolution. As such, the public discourse uses utterly different terms and concepts. The Egyptian Revolution had the following features: it was a headless revolution, beyond partisan issues, post-Islamist, and transformational. He noted that we must identify how we can move beyond identity revolutions and the 'dignity catalyst', towards democratic consolidation. People went out of their way to attain dignity and self respect, which must now become embedded in the processes that follow.

He went on to explain that the revolution is a result of contested identities – religious and ethnic identities based often on territorial and political issues, which have in turn begun fragmenting. This ideological fragmentation, which can be seen in the context of liberalism and Islamism, has its roots in the complexity of imported ideologies. Moreover, this is worsened by the cultural hegemony of contested values that place authenticity and tradition against the processes of modernisation and globalisation. *"With these contrasting values, we have reached a political impasse, whereby freedom and justice are heralded as values to replace tyranny and oppression".*

In order to safeguard and develop the identities that have emerged during the revolution, nations must establish genuine democracies that espouse the value of freedom and justice, accountability between branches of authority and the rule of law. Furthermore, there is the issue of reconciliation between liberalism and Islamism. According to Khalil Al Anani, this is the most dangerous problem that faces the region, and there must be some kind of consensus over what this should be, and how the region can rebuild this political regime based upon the values of freedom and justice, but also religious and cultural traditions. The region must also integrate the minorities and their right of self-determination, recognising the diversity and differences of peoples. He concluded by saying *"If modernity is to move from faith to choice, then the Arab world is making its own move for modernity".*

**Rama Mani, Councillor for the World Future Council, UK**, continued on the concept of identity and tradition by evoking the lands of nomadic tribes who scoured the earth and the great civilizations, shared by all the Abrahamic faiths and near to where Hinduism was also founded. This hub of civilizations has of late been destroyed by artificial boundaries. If people who are crafting their own destinies are willing to risk their lives for their beliefs, the region must recognise that there has been a dramatic shift in the concept of sovereignty. The WANA region must take note of the fact that people are truly sovereign. It is in this regard that legitimacy becomes so important. This region should not become embroiled in discussions over types of democracy, and should instead go to

the very foundations of its culture and identity. Rama Mani noted five globally resonant elements that issue from the soil of the culture of this region and which have become over time a key guiding force across the region. These elements are: connection, harmony, alignment, integration and transformation.

The first element, connectivity, is what has been witnessed on the grandest scale in recent months, and is tied to the concept of 'Responsibility to Protect' (R2P). *"What will last beyond the problems in Libya is the broader lesson that sovereignty is being redefined: no longer is it owned by regimes, as the borders of nations has been torn down. Sovereignty belongs to the people, which has been shown by the feet and voices of people across the region"*. It is impossible to address the foundation of governance without the recognition of sovereignty. Governments will lose their legitimacy without it. As one example, the Qur'an describes what 'right' is, and far precedes international and human right law. The second is harmony, the highest virtue in Islam. Harmony, or 'justice', does not mean the debt of impunity. It refers to the establishment of the rule of law, one that is resonant with cultural and traditional practices and beliefs. This fundamental idea, is the idea of equity, whereby inequality is not just economic, but is also implies cultural and ethnic. The third element, alignment, consists of the alignment of intention, word and deed. The highest intentions of society must be aligned to a common vision, one that is implemented across all of society and embodied in all sectors. Humans must cooperating in order to reach their full potential. Recently, politics has aligned itself with economics. Society however, is made up of nature and culture first, the politics and economics are built from these. Dr. Mani stated that we must go back to governing based upon what nature has provided, and look to the natural and human environment first, rather than allowing political and economic interests to consume us. Fourth is integration, whereby societies must learn to value diversity and differences, as elements that enrich our collective culture. The WANA region is made up of minorities of all types. Societies must learn to better integrate this diverse array of groups, so that all voices and peoples have a voice as stakeholders of the region.

Finally, there is transformation. The region is witnessing diverse and significant transformation in all sectors. People cannot and must not expect an immediate transformation in the immediate fulfilment of their wishes. But the importance of transformation in achieving the above elements cannot be overstated, and will become a critical part of how the region progresses in the coming years. The opportunity is there for WANA to develop and prosper in the coming years, and it must work together with full participation and inclusion if it is to fulfil its potential.

**Walid Salem, Director of Democracy and Community Development, East Jerusalem**, discussed the important role of citizenship in transition. When dealing with the transitions of democracy, he stated that there exist three types of transition: revolution (France); imposition by the victor upon the defeated (post-war Germany); and peaceful transformation (South and East Europe). Post-transformational democracy is consolidated by building institutions and political parties. Currently, people in WANA are unsure as to what to derive from its collective experiences. What we do know however, is that we are yet to be in the position of transition to democracy. Up till now, revolutions have been more about getting rid of regimes, rather than planning for the day after. As a result, there has been no real vision for a post-revolutionary state. Thus, the relationship between institutions, rights and ideologies remains unclear. What we have witnessed were revolutionary situations rather than changes, there is not yet a process of planning for political and economic change. Strategies to address these issues are crucial for the region, and the people of WANA must work together in developing solutions that are participatory, authentic, and considered by all stakeholders as legitimate. It would therefore be optimistic to say we know the next steps to take. WANA is marked by weakened states and weak concepts of citizenship that are based on loyalty to leaders and a



vague concept of 'homeland'. Events in Egypt and Tunisia reveal that the period of crisis is being perpetuated by a willingness of the younger generation to instigate change. While the desire may be dominant, the process of post-uprising democratisation or state-building has yet to begin. Many have cited the example of Egypt as a model to follow for the transition process, but in so doing, have neglected to understand the differentiating circumstances and conditions in countries. The position of the army vis-à-vis the State and people differs greatly from Egypt to Bahrain. Therefore, the same tactics and slogans do not always fit.

There are a lot of obstacles on the road to democratization, and the region need not take examples exclusively from the West. There are experiences from WANA's own history to draw on. The Covenant of Medina is an example of early Arabo-Islamic democracy, and an acknowledgement of shared rights and political inclusion, extended to all citizens. This and others can be used as potential models for democracy in the region. With regards to citizenship, it is not always enough to bestow rights of citizenship upon people, and more should be said about civility. To create citizenship, we must draw heavily on the concept of equal freedoms, and the different theories of states. We must deal with the concept of discrimination against women and minorities, the presence of social strata and fragmentation vs. diversity.

**Khalid Aziz, Chairman of the Institute of Policy Research and Training, Pakistan**, drew on the work of Samuel Huntington in examining the use of violence in resolving disputes. He noted that by comparison to other regions, WANA's use of violence is high, and asked why this appears to be the case. There are multiple explanations given by experts for the existence of violence in society. First, high birth rates and a youth bulge have been identified as a major cause of the current instability and violence. Second, the domination of the WANA region by colonial powers has led to violent reaction. Third, even more than Christianity, Islam is an absolutist faith and non-Muslim lands are considered *Dar al-Harb*, creating another identity hook of 'us vs. them'. Fourth, the West's sponsorship of a Jewish homeland in Palestine laid the basis for the ongoing Arab-Israeli violence that created a united regional identity against the West. Fifth, the West's neo-colonial attitude towards states in WANA based on their appetite for energy resources and strategic location created multiple negative identity factors against the West and rulers who are friendly to it. Finally, there is a larger struggle against the West exemplified by the use of terror by extremist groups. Khalid Aziz noted however that there is hope in positive behaviour, reflected in the recent movements, where people are demanding freedom, liberty and democracy in WANA. This, he claims, is apparent in the rejection of violence by the demonstrators; the acceptance of religious diversity amongst the protestors; an empowerment of the individual and the communities through technological developments; and an acceptance of the principles of human rights and freedoms.

Khalid Aziz drew on the experience of Pakistan and FATA which became a generator of violence in 1978. These tensions included Afghanistan and India, the creation of a separatist movement, the Afghan interference in the 1970s and the Mujahidin War in the 1980s. He noted that prior to the 1970s however, the systems in place preserved social cohesion and helped retain previous identities. Tension was neutralised by the use of traditional methods of exploring common grounds, defining core local identity and identifying factors that could encourage the feeling of a common community and the use of strategic messaging through traditional leaders and electronic media was undertaken. Furthermore, there was a process of identification of heroes in communities and building them as icons of unity and relevant models were encouraged. The introduction of a layer of local government to facilitate liaison with the State and thus empowering communities promoted accountability and transparency. There emerged an ethos of respecting diversity and encouraging development of positive discrimination for minorities, and new secular identities were created, where religion was related to the individual's personal equation with God.

# Lessons in Transition

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*WANA is not alone in undergoing significant transformation in recent years. The panel on 'Lessons in Transition' examined the experiences of other nations and regions that have witnessed periods of transition or transformation. The panel was comprised of Professor Keiichi Tsunekawa, Dr. Shirpa Narang Suri, H.E. Ambassador Liu Baolai, and Dr. Krzysztof Strachota. The panel was moderated by Professor Sultan Barakat.*

**Keiichi Tsunekawa**, Vice-President of the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies, Japan, related the current situation in WANA to that of the Japanese government in the late 19th century. At that time, the Japanese leadership recognised that coercion would not be enough to ensure stability. They required a source of input legitimacy that would establish a source of legitimacy through the participation of the citizens. It is for this reason that the Japanese government voluntarily introduced democracy. Keiichi Tsunekawa reminded participants that the process of democratisation however occurs in cycles, as gains are undone and require reconsolidation. Democracy may, from time to time, falter in the aftermath of revolution or insurrectionary movements, but this should not deter from the struggle for its attainment. WANA must not expect therefore a simple or smooth transition to democracy.

While many participants have remarked on the opportunities that present themselves in this period, fundamental challenges remain. One cannot let high expectations and populism dominate in transition, as the region must be prepared for hardship. Ultimately, Keiichi Tsunekawa observed that there existed an opportunity to strengthen national unity and solidarity, providing opportunities for political parties and stakeholders to demonstrate their ability to flourish under a new system. Japan, he stated, shows that it is possible to borrow models from abroad, but only when they are adopted and adapted for and by local circumstances. The key is decision-making that involves the people, which cannot be imposed in a top-down manner.

**Shirpa Narang Suri, International Urban Consultant, India**, discussed the importance of promoting social cohesion and inclusion at the same time. The two are mutually reinforcing but have periodically been pursued sequentially, with exclusive cohesion leading to more inclusive cohesion. Exclusion manifests itself in a number of ways, including through housing and economic opportunities and therefore, the South Asia region faces many challenges to social cohesion – gender, ethnicity, language, race, religion, caste and so on. Shirpa Narang Suri noted that there has recently been a shift to a rights-based approach to education, health, information, food and other common goods. She recommended therefore that the WANA region must find methods of measuring sources of social cohesion.

In addition she noted that state and civil society must work to foster social cohesion, and the political and social sectors should not be considered separate. It is in this case that the rule of law and effective administration are crucial in fostering social cohesion.

**Liu Baolai, Council Member of the Chinese Peoples' Institute for Foreign Affairs, China**, expressed his concern that development is difficult to achieve without first achieving stability. It is in this regard that sovereignty remains crucial. The region is currently suffering as a result of the economic crisis, lacking the production-based economies that are crucial for employment and sustainable economies. This is worsened by corruption, a lack of transparency and accountability, and injustice.

Discussion, not force, is the most effective way of ending conflicts. Each country, however, must take its own course. That said, inclusive dialogue focused upon ensuring peace in the region is crucial. Liu Baolai emphasised in this regard the importance of achieving peace and stability in the region, so that constructive discussion, based upon the values of social cohesion and peace, can be conducted.

**Krzysztof Strachota, Director for the Department for Caucuses and Central Asia Studies, Centre for Eastern Studies, Poland**, drew on the experience of Poland in discussing how the WANA region is witnessing continuous cycles of political change and uprising. He observed that as with other transitions, there are lessons to be learned from the experience of Poland towards the end of the 1980s. In the case of Poland, the Catholic Church, given its moral credibility with the population, was able to provide assistance and guidance in transitioning towards democracy. Religion, in this way, can provide a stabilising factor in periods of transition, as its affiliation and importance in the minds of the people can become a source of stability and cohesion. Moreover, religion can also provide a sense of identity and unity. There begs the question therefore as to how Islam can benefit and help unite people across the region, while taking into account the diversity of religious beliefs and valuing the rich and diverse heritage of the region.

In addition to the establishment of social cohesion during transition, Krzysztof Strachota noted that the sharing of power between political parties—who represent the people—will in itself create a sense of unity and a willingness to compromise. This, he stated, made it possible in Poland to undertake the difficult but necessary economic reforms in the country in the early 1990s. While successful transition occurred in Eastern Europe following the collapse of the Soviet Union, it has failed to achieve the same results in Central Asia and the Caucuses. There, nations sabotaged or intervened in one another's transition, leading to a series of failed states and a sense of animosity within nations and throughout the region. There is a risk therefore, that the same might occur in WANA. He noted however that it is difficult to identify the implications of the Polish experience in the context of the transition in WANA. One reason for this is that Poland transitioned amid regional security and stability; no such situation can be said to exist in the WANA region. He agreed therefore with Liu Baolai in stating that regional security is a fundamental factor in successful transition.



# Economic Responsibilities

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*The panel on 'Economic Responsibilities' examined the implications and opportunities for changes to the economic systems of the region. In a region marked by rising demographics, high levels of unemployment, the Dutch Disease and considerable economic disparity, the role of the economy in this region over the coming years is paramount to a successful transition. Panellists discussed alternatives to the system, how the market could be diversified, and how to improve economic sustainability and market access. The panel comprised of Dr. Alexander Schieffer, Ms. Leina al-Olaimy, Dr. Nadim Shehadi, Ms. Simona Marinescu. Discussions were moderated by H.E. Ambassador Omar Rifai.*

**Alexander Schieffer, Founder of Trans4m, Switzerland,** stated that there is a need for a 'homegrown' economy in the WANA region. This requires a fundamental transformation of both the economy, but also of the educational system. Currently, the WANA region is pursuing a policy that is unsustainable to mother nature, but also leads to rampant consumerism. The region must turn towards an integrated economy that is simultaneously self-sufficient, rooted in the region, production based, and anchored in culture and humanity. It must align itself, as Rama Mani rightly observed, to other belief systems, otherwise it cannot contribute to its enrichment. He noted that the *"seeds of local economies become the building blocks of the global economy"*. In order to achieve this, WANA needs entrepreneurs like Abu Laish in Egypt who developed in Egypt agricultural vegetation. He is now establishing a new university which builds on Egypt's cultural system. This provides the link between macro and micro.

With regards to the education system, it is important that students of economics and business are exposed to a wide range of alternative viable economic models in the region and the world so that they can start to craft a new viable future for the region. WANA must consider the cultural and societal context, which needs to be transformational. Education and research need to be able to facilitate societies to build upon local capacities. Universities, in this respect, can become centres for human renewal with a whole generation of young people full of aspiration and innovation. *"This region needs the establishment of a social innovation centre which could serve as a catalyst for home grown solutions and to develop its own socially and economically relevant model. The Arab Spring provides for the WANA region the opportunity to take the lead in the global economy"*.

**Leina al-Olaimy, Co-founder of 3BL Associates, Bahrain,** stated that the WANA region needs an alignment of social and environmental initiatives – integral for WANA's economic development. While the private sector has great potential, it cannot effect the necessary reform measures alone. It requires the collaboration of government and civil society, and must embody the concept of the 'Third Domain'.

So often in movements the end goal gets lost in the process. We are not trying to generate wealth, but the wellbeing that wealth provides for. The concept of dignity in this region has been lost. We should not provide charity for charity's sake, but for the sake of empowerment and the provision of self-worth. Ms Al-Olaimy provided the example of Mohammad Younis who used the model of micro-lending with the poor to lift themselves out of poverty in sustainable ways. One project example of this is that of 3BL's "Recycle IT", which involves taking electronic waste and refurbishing it, thus protecting the environment. Leina al-Olaimy emphasised that the region must make greater efforts to support and develop sustainable solutions to foster a greener economy.

**Nadim Shehadi, Associate Fellow at Chatham House, United Kingdom**, stated that we must think inside the box and work with the existing institutions. Oil and aid were for a very long time thought of as an alternative for political change into the region. This belief has been proven mistaken in recent months. It was mistakenly thought that the oil boom supplemented by aid would ‘fix the region’ and create sustainable financial and physical security. In light of the recent events however, it is necessary to re-examine the critical concepts and driving forces of the region, of what risk is and to begin evaluating the conditions that exist today in WANA.

The region must start thinking of transition in terms of a new society where aid cannot be used as a local anaesthetic. In this contemporary era, Nadim Shehadi continued, there are two types of system: those that are flexible and adaptable, and those that cannot be. It is the second type that, like glass, will break under pressure. They are systems in denial that cannot reform and will break because they think that oil and aid alone will solve their problems, and maintain the stability that has become dear to everyone. Stability, however has become a way of prolonging a problem, rather than resolving it.

The region must therefore go to the root causes of instability and insecurity, addressing—rather than masking—the problems of unemployment, economic disparity and unequal opportunity. In working with what the region has as assets, namely its rich natural resources, it might be able to finance considerable developmental projects that can harness greater opportunities, but also greater financial stability for the region.

**Sana Bardawil, Director of Regional Communications in Middle East—North Africa, Upstream International, Shell**, examined the role of public private sector partnerships in WANA. She noted that in a region with a large demographic of young people, there exist questions over how energy, food and water demands will be met. It is estimated that over the next century, energy demand will increase by up to 40%. There is a need to find ways to provide energy and to address society’s socio-economic needs.

It is in the face of rising populations across the region that the need for a more vibrant economy that can provide employment becomes ever more important. Public-private partnerships are a key theme of entrepreneurship, and can help shift young people from the public to the private sector, thus providing the diversity of market economy and the required job opportunities in the region. The entire region has lost its comparative advantage related to the labour force as a result of the wrong wage policy. If the public sector is paying so well, there is no interest for people to join the private one. This will require seed money and access to funding, something that the WANA region must look to providing.

**Simona Marinescu, Senior Economist, UNDP Iraq**, examined the importance of the participation and partnership of the Third Domain in WANA. She noted that the transformation witnessed in the region requires an analysis that brings together politicians, academics and practitioners. She added that if modernisation was based on the right foundations it will cost less socially.

It is in this regard that social cost needs to be considered in the ways forward for the region. The impact of building a social pact, institutionalised social dialogue that brings together the Third Domain as a tool to create stability is absent in the WANA region. It must fully involve the formulation of policies in the future, something Eastern Europe has managed to accomplish in recent years. It is important to create the right socially conducive environment that is needed for reform. She added to Alexander Schieffer’s point, remarking that a transformation of the region’s economies is required

so that they better serve people's human needs. In this regard, an improved partnership with the private sector is required to meet the citizens' agenda.

Furthermore, international communities and organisations need to strategise together, to make the WANA community an international community. To achieve this, there needs to be a programme created by the WANA region based upon socio-economic integration and social cohesion. One example of this is the European Cohesion Fund that ensures nobody is left behind. This example might be of interest to the WANA Forum. Simona Marinescu stated that to promote the Fund, the WANA region requires also a Social Charter for the region to capture the region's fundamental principles.

**Bakhtiar Amin, Founder of the International Alliance for Justice, Former Minister of Human Rights, Iraq**, added to Ms Marinescu's point in stating that the youth of the region remain excluded and neglected. This exclusion leads to criminality and makes young people become easy targets for recruitment by extremists. Furthermore, he stressed that many of the issues discussed by WANA Forum are not discussed within the institutions of the WANA region. Unless we have effective regional institutions based on citizenship, the progress of any charters will be limited.

# Towards Social Cohesion

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*This panel was to assess the impact and role of social cohesion in transitional society. Social cohesion during transition is the cornerstone of successful transition, and is an imperative for regional cooperation and development. The panel assessed how culture, society, religion and identity can shape the region's transition, authoring the region's ambition and providing a narrative to transition. The panel was made up Dr. Maha Yahya, Mr. Omar Christidis, Dr. Azyumardi Azra, Dr. Mukhtar Hashemi and Mr. Nayim Khemaies. It was moderated by H.E. Ambassador Talat Halman.*

**Talat Halman, Former Minister of Culture, Turkey**, observed that in 2010, the Muslim world celebrated the 1000th anniversary of the Qur'an, which upholds the need for Zakat, one of the five pillars. Many governments overlook this pillar, or consider it as not essential. This, he stated, is a grievous oversight. The need for dignified alms giving is great, *"If Allah gave us such bountiful resources, these were clearly meant for sharing rather than for a small elite"*.

Zakat establishes the noble idea of sharing, which is not always carried out. *"The bread you store belongs to the hungry, the cloth you store in your chest belongs to the naked, the gold hidden in your ground belongs to the poor"*. The need to give to the poor is given five times in the Qur'an. Talat Halman quoted the Prophet Mohammad who said *"Those who take in the oneness of good should know Allah has made it obligatory on them to take alms from their assets"*. Unfortunately, many in this region do not heed the words of the Prophet, and thus we fail in our quest to fulfil our moral and religious duties. Talat Halman stated that alms is a requirement of faith and Muslims must embrace it as an incumbent duty to help the needy people in the region.

It is for this reason that he proposed that Zakat should be an official and mandatory tax in the region required for all Muslims. If fully implemented as a tax, it could create miracles for social cohesion in the developing world. Shari'a law stipulates that 2.5% of all assets should be given to the needy, which should be considered as a religious tax, and implemented as such. He expressed his desire to transform our interpretations of religious doctrine as *"a jihad that should become a well-organized fight against poverty. There can be no social cohesion until social justice, which depends on the equitable distribution of all national income"*. The time is here for the Muslim world to declare war on poverty and destitution; alms as a tax should be used to combat poverty in the Islamic world.

**Maha Yahya, Regional Advisor for Social Policies, United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (UNESCWA), Lebanon**, quoted Leon Trotsky, stating *"All revolutions are impossible before they become inevitable"*. She asked how did this crisis become inevitable? While the signs, such as a lack of accountability and rising unemployment were present, the larger and more significant narrative has been missing. As history has shown, even if states hold onto power by brute force in the short run, they cannot do so in the long run. People are demanding accountability and to be treated as citizens not subjects. The question of citizenship and identity has been brought to the fore. The people have shown their wish to identify with their nation-states as citizens. The middle classes and organisations gave a critical mass, and provided legitimacy to the youth-based guerrilla movements.

It is currently unclear as to the political projects that will emerge, and what the result of these will be. The collapse of the USSR had mixed outcomes, ranging from democracies to genocides and thus, we can safely say that the outcomes of the 'Arab Spring' will be varied as well. What is clear however, is that there is a new civic contract being shaped defining citizens' relationships to their states,

from which we can draw several conclusions. First, politics is being brought back into the public culture. There has been a focus on development for too long, and people are beginning to realise the problems posed by its politics. Second, the ideological conflict still poses a threat to stability and must be addressed with a sense of value-sharing and understanding. Third, the region must make an investment into the social and environment sectors that are vital to the long-term stability of the region. All of this, Maha Yahya noted, must be done on the basis of public accountability and transparency.

This civic contract is not just about types of government therefore, but about placing the people and resources of the region at the centre of economic development. It provides an opportunity to build a new reality, particularly for previously marginalized groups and promote solidarity.

Moreover, the region has long been dominated by inefficient economies that have not provided sufficient investment or targeted social welfare programmes. Thus, the sense of citizenship and equity has been undermined, as has financial security. We can therefore support countries in identifying policies that suitably support the civic contract goals. For example, investment in infrastructure and education offer substantial long-term projects that can help address the root-causes of crises in the region. Social protection should also be a right rather than a handout to help foster social cohesion across class and generational gaps.

We must support the process of reclaiming the public sphere as an arena of debate and discussion. Tahrir Square was off limits for a long time, but the ability of the people to claim and make demands in public spaces has demonstrated that freedom of expression is paramount, as shown by the recent unrest. Towards this, the role of social networking sites in disintegrating the state monopoly on the flow of information is increasingly important. A healthy debate is therefore now taking place on the topic of identity and citizenship, one that should be encouraged, supported and institutionalised.

Finally we need to be flexible about what we do and where we do it. There is no 'one size fits all' approach, and the political heritage of individual states must be taken into account. Before the dust settles, it is clear some will need concerted efforts in developing civil society, others will need help in reconstruction and reconciliation.

**Omar Christidis, Founder of Arabnet, Lebanon**, stated that social media is changing the region. Twitter was used to spread information to people who otherwise could not access it. It also provided a news source when others were blocked. It allowed anyone on the ground to become a reporter. Social media is thus becoming a force for shaping identity, whilst simultaneously providing a thriving industry for job creation. In the words of Karl Deutsche, *"In so far as common culture facilitates communication, it forms a community"*. The emotional interview of Google executive, Wael Ghonim, broadcast across Youtube and shared through Facebook and Twitter allowed many to identify and relate with his shared experience. Other images such as #Jan25, the Al-Jazeera logo all became shared symbols and language which tied people together across borders. It is in this way that digital media flourished after the Egyptian revolution.

With 23% of youth unemployed and almost 69% dissatisfied with efforts to create new jobs, there is clearly a high level of overall dissatisfaction with government and national leadership. The lack of access and opportunity in the private sector also means that nearly everyone wants public sector jobs, but this is not sustainable, as it exacerbates the 'rentier economy'. One answer to this dilemma, according to Omar Christidis, is web entrepreneurship, something in which the youth have a competitive advantage, there is an international market and there are low barriers to entry (in investment terms). Israel has built a very successful web and mobile industry. They set up an

Office of the Chief Scientist, and two successful enterprises. “Yozma”, a venture capital scheme, and “Incubation” are two examples whereby scientists were funded to develop and commercialise new technology, resulting in massive growth in IT revenues. Omar Christidis argued therefore that the internet and social media represent both an opportunity for debate and a platform for identity formation, while at the same time provide an opportunity for the creative and programming industries of the region.

**Azyumardi Azra, Professor of History and Director of the Graduate School, Syarif Idayatullah State Islamic University, Indonesia**, stated that the region has arrived at the point of no return, where a political approach could fail to provide a successful transition period if not accompanied by a social and economic transformation. He argued that in this case, and for this reason, the WANA region requires an understanding of social and cultural cohesion. Azyumardi Azra noted that there exists political, cultural and economic disparity amongst peoples in WANA, a point which has been reiterated time and again by participants. Such structural unrest must be eliminated in order to promote social cohesion. There must therefore be concerted efforts to bring about a greater balance in political power and resources. Whilst injustice holds sway, it will be difficult to talk about social cohesion, and these disaffected peoples are prone to unrest. The continuation of liberal economic models is responsible for keeping the privileged few in power, and grassroots movements are needed.

Political and religious reforms are needed in the region, that promote peaceful resolutions to conflicts and promote ‘Middle Way’ Islam to ease tensions. Common ground should be found between religions to help build mutual trust amongst institutions and peoples. Social and cultural cohesion can be used for the empowerment of civil society, playing a crucial role as a mediating force between people at a grassroots level. You cannot talk about democracy without a vibrant civil society strengthening the local culture.

Religious institutions can aid in the dissemination of knowledge and promote cohesion amongst all peoples for lasting harmony and peace. Religious based philanthropy can be used for socio-cultural empowerment as well as self-sustenance for religious institutions. HRH Prince El Hassan mentioned this previously. Education is also instrumental in building cohesion. It is a method of imparting cultural values as well as skills and knowledge, necessary for public good in any nation state and for producing responsible and active citizens. Finally, as Omar Christidis stated, the progress of technology and science should be applied for social mobility, not just existing for its own purpose.

**Mukhtar Hashemi, Associate Researcher, Centre for Land Use and Water Resources Research, School of Civil Engineering and Geosciences, Newcastle University, United Kingdom**, discussed how WANA might use Islamic governance to deal with the socio-political issues in the WANA region; disunity, social unrest, and in line with WANA goals of new thinking based on shared values.

The WANA region has been importing ideologies with limited success and it is time to look within the region for ideas to produce a region-wide WANA government system. With this in mind, the region must aim to establish a non-sectarian policy, whereby examples of initiatives such as the “Amman Message” and inter-faith conferences can provide a basis for cooperation and dialogue. There have been positive steps so far to show the modern face of Islam, development of discourses that place Islam in a modern context. Policy-making criteria including attaining interest of the community and promoting equality and justice, and integration criteria should involve the notion of ‘Ummah’. Ummah involves the integration of government systems and duties upon citizens and can represent an important element to culturally authoring the governmental system in a modern context.



The Collective Action Criteria (CAC) offer principles of needs to be fulfilled and criteria required to capture human dignity and meet the non-material needs of people. These are very compatible with the concepts of sustainability in all sectors, and thus need to promote supranational cooperation, using principles such as stewardship and consensus. WANA should aim to integrate all elements of civil society, and ensure good governance through rule of law and equity. Enabling unity between these four elements requires the following factors: capacity building, dialogue, institutional interlinks, engagement and participation of all sectors in society.

With regards to the WANA Vision, Mukhtar Hashemi stated that it is not enough for a document to exist, as the region requires a legal framework, such as the example of Al-Watheqa established by the Prophet Mohammad, which contains many of the important elements, mentioned above, legitimised by Shari'a law. It is in this way, and with these examples, that the WANA region might look to adopting cultural and historical practices in a modern context, and in their implementation during the transition process. It will enable people to identify with their historical origin within the region, building upon the concept of religious and cultural values in the region.

**Mohamed El-Gomati, Professor of Computer Sciences at the University of York, United Kingdom,** discussed how science and technology can work towards social cohesion. He cited a Gallop poll conducted in the WANA region that asked "What do you want from the West?" Most young people answered "Respect". The lack of respect, or the perception of it, is present in a Western textbook that entirely ignores Arab cultural achievements, which results in ignorance of Arab-Muslim contributions to human civilisation. It is for this reason that Mohamed El-Gomati created muslimheritage.com to emphasize the Muslim contribution, men and women alike, to science and civilization. One might ask, *"why did the Muslims excel during the Dark Ages?"* The message in the Qur'an is that to *"do good and useful deeds"*. There is therefore a clear opportunity to address this 100-year gap in many Westerners' knowledge and demonstrate the value and worth of Muslim contributions to human knowledge and civilization.

**Nayim Khemaies, Private Equity Investment Expert, Tunisia,** presented his work on a Social Cohesion Fund. The purpose of such a fund, he stated, could serve as a facilitator of social cohesion. Its objective would be to support projects and initiatives that serve the overarching aim of fostering social cohesion and strengthening solidarity within and across West Asia and North Africa. Governments, private sector and civil society across the region will be invited to contribute to the fund and to give local communities across the region a corporate equity stake in order to create a permanent source of income generation. Ultimately, the aim is to address the deep social, economic and environmental injustices by attempting structural change that provides opportunities for greater inclusion. The Fund aims to empower communities to retain their collective identity, become inclusive partners of private enterprise and emerge as equal stakeholders, with both rights and responsibilities.

# Closing Remarks by Prince El Hassan bin Talal

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The background to the recent uprisings in this region and this Forum derive, in a way, from a shared impulse: WANA needs to determine the future of WANA. We may use different terms – transition, transformation or revolution – but that essential conviction remains the same. Perhaps this forum has been less about transition, than about transcending the things which divide the WANA region on every level. It has also been a ‘coming together’ – the significance of which I have always believed in, because big changes start small, with individuals. West Asia—North Africa is ancient, but sometimes immature. Yet discipline, organization and mobilization have been exhibited by our young in extremely skillful and intelligent ways. We need old heads, and young hearts. This Forum has been a sincere and focused attempt to listen – not just, as Nadine Toukan pointed out, to “hear”.

As Professor Sobhan observed *“there was always a concern we would be seen as idealists and romantics, without possibility of change”*. Yet perhaps we haven’t been dreaming quite enough – here I recall Sally Moore’s phrase, *“the Utopia of Tahrir”*. We are not Utopians, but many of us do believe in the strength of ideals, rather than the comfortable cynicism of low expectations. In Al Arabi’s ‘Ideal City’, as Rama Mani recalled, all citizens work towards a shared vision. But first you need the vision.

One of the things WANA Forum has demonstrated this year is a ‘reality based optimism’, which is surely preferable to the false wisdom and empty inheritance of realpolitik. Perhaps we can also give such an attitude a nudge in our personal and professional lives.

Many questions have been raised. Where will we be, as Nadia Al Sakkaf asks, *“when the dust subsides?”* How does one cast of the accumulated weight of decades, while retaining what is good? Can we start identifying the ‘signals of peace’ and the signals of transformation? Can creative solutions work where conflicts have always failed? As well as planning and strategizing, can we imagine? How can we create what Khalil Al-Anani memorably dubbed ‘identity revolution’? How can we determine a future sympathetic to our past? WANA has long been a place of imported and hybrid ideologies. How can we better know ourselves? I note the words used by Dr. Rama Mani, who observed *“the foundations of good governance can be – and must be – founded in the soil of this culture. The concepts of connectivity, harming, alignment, integration and transformation have been prevalent in the cultural traditions of WANA long before the international concept of Human Rights”*.

We need to start investing in ourselves, in real terms. Why can we not have a Regional Wealth Fund instead of Sovereign Wealth Funds stored in foreign portfolio’s abroad? Why can we not lift ourselves up onto our own two feet, when our region has both the money and the resources? Why can’t we share those resources? How do we consolidate international peace and nation building for a society in transition? I would state that we must work towards progress and not patronage. The powerless not just the powerful; legitimacy not exclusion; equity not inequality; dreams not dependency; supranational not sovereign; redesign not revenge; engagement not escape; dignity not decadence; cohesion not coercion; and finally, towards transition, transformation and transcendence.

The WANA Forum began as an attempt to get this region talking to itself. Help has come from unexpected places. Friends have been made all over the world. We have created a community – and I thank each one of you for your particular contribution to it, and for your continued belief in it. As Carl Jung once observed – *“ideas are very real”*.



# **Annexes**



# WANA Vision

## *Diverse Humanity, United in Dignity*

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**WE AS INDIVIDUALS FROM THE WEST - ASIA NORTH AFRICA (WANA) REGION, IN AFFIRMING OUR RESPECT FOR HUMAN DIGNITY AND EMBRACING SOCIAL COHESION FOR THE COLLECTIVE GOOD, ASPIRE TO:**

**ACHIEVE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AS A MEANS TO HELP PEOPLE REALISE THEIR BASIC HUMAN NEEDS;**

People should be able to realise their most basic human needs, live free from hunger, poverty and conflict and be granted equal opportunity to fulfil their aspirations. A more equal and just society is more likely to bring peace and prosperity.

**FOSTER CITIZENSHIP AND GOOD GOVERNANCE;**

Promoting citizenship and participation at all levels requires developing the rule of law through transparency, monitoring, accountability and anti-corruption mechanisms with the prerequisites of good governance and supported by relevant legislation. Similarly, the establishment of standards for governance in the work of governments, security agencies, parliaments, the judiciary and local government bodies, civil society organisations and private sector entities amongst others is necessary.

**CREATE OPPORTUNITIES FOR PROSPERITY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT;**

The vast resources in the region must be invested in a production-oriented sustainable economy that enhances market diversity and creates job opportunities. Furthermore, nations must work together to help promote enterprise and entrepreneurship so that the region can utilise its resources and lead in innovation and technology. Finally, post-conflict economies should look to building back better, investing in greener, longer-term solutions.

**COMMIT TO THE PURSUIT OF KNOWLEDGE AND WISDOM IN THE EDUCATION OF FUTURE GENERATIONS AND INVESTMENT IN THE REGION'S HUMAN CAPITAL;**

The West Asia - North Africa region was for the longest time at the forefront of scientific discovery and creativity. Today, while certain areas witness high literacy rates, many qualified people are not afforded the opportunity to develop or implement their skills. This in turn leads to the brain drain, whereby many of the region's most talented individuals leave their countries to fulfil their aspirations abroad. Thus, it is essential that we strive to harness the region's human capital with the aim of offering the best services and developing economic and social welfare.

**PROMOTE PROCESSES OF INCLUSION THAT HARNESS OUR DIVERSITY MORE EFFECTIVELY;**

West Asia – North Africa embodies a rich cultural, ethnic and religious history. Such diversity enriches the social fabric of the region, and can be a source of security, stability and prosperity

rather than a cause for conflict. Thus, we must endeavour to create an enabling environment that promotes respect for differences, celebrates diversity and pluralism and ensures freedom of expression. By upholding our responsibility to protect the rights of all communities who make up our region, we can more successfully safeguard against civil unrest and foreign intervention.

### **SECURE PEACE AND BUILD COMMUNITY RESILIENCE;**

Regional strategies and mechanisms are needed to resolve conflicts and rebuild societies beyond physical infrastructure development and with the vision to restore the hopes and broaden the horizons of the peoples in the region. Only then can we collectively work across disciplines and ideological divides to avoid the break-out of future conflicts and to secure peace and resilience in the face of adversity.

### **PROVIDE REFUGE AND RELIEF TO THE UPROOTED, STRIVE TO SAFEGUARD THEIR RIGHTS AND UNDERTAKE MEASURES TO RESOLVE THE ROOT CAUSES OF DISPLACEMENT;**

As a result of conflict, poverty, natural disaster, marginalisation and forced migration, uprooted populations require refuge and assistance, their rights restored and their livelihoods secured. We must shoulder the responsibility of developing regional mechanisms for reconstruction and recovery that address the long-term needs of the uprooted. Furthermore, mechanisms for conflict prevention must address the causes and contributors to forced migration, including environmental factors such as energy insecurity and water scarcity.

### **RESPECT OUR HUMAN AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENTS AS STEWARDS OF THE EARTH;**

In order for us and for future generations to live once again in harmony with nature and in a safe, balanced and stable environment, we must draw on our ancestors' wisdom, experience and knowledge in promoting appropriate governance, norms, ethics and means to collaboratively co-manage and common-pool resources to secure livelihoods. We should thus work toward the development, implementation and management of himas in the region, in accordance with national laws and international treaties.

### **AND TO THIS END,**

### **WE WILL ENDEAVOUR TO OVERCOME COMMON CHALLENGES THROUGH COOPERATION AND MUTUAL INTERDEPENDENCE, WORKING TOWARD REGIONAL SOLUTIONS THAT TRANSCEND ETHNIC, POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BOUNDARIES;**

### **RECOGNISING THE SUFFERING OF OTHERS AS OUR OWN, WE SUBSCRIBE TO A VISION FOR COOPERATION BASED ON HUMAN DIGNITY AND WITH THE AIM OF SECURING A DECENT LIVING AND A PEACEFUL AND PROSPEROUS FUTURE FOR US AND FOR GENERATIONS TO COME;**

### **IN CONSEQUENCE WHEREOF, WE COMMIT TO UPHOLDING AND RESPECTING THE AFOREMENTIONED VISION OF THE WEST ASIA - NORTH AFRICA FORUM.**

# Concept Paper: Region in Transition

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West Asia - North Africa (WANA) has, in recent months, entered a period of fundamental change. While few could have predicted the nature and extent of transformation, the underlying driving forces behind the various protests have been present for some time. Indeed, the Cedar Revolution in Lebanon and the Green Revolution in Iran could be considered as the forerunners of a new call for change in governance that has united people across WANA in the pursuit of human dignity and freedom. As hundreds of thousands have taken to the streets in protest of political and economic conditions, in Tunisia, Egypt, Bahrain, Yemen, Jordan, Syria and elsewhere, the implications and consequences of change remain unclear.

In response to regional events, the annual meeting of the WANA Forum will convene actors from across the region, including academics, intellectuals, civil society leaders, political and private sector representatives, to examine the nature of the ongoing transition across the region. As a regional process, directed by and for its participants, the WANA Forum is committed to providing a non-threatening, neutral platform for dialogue and developing new regional thinking based upon shared values. It has long been the belief of Forum members that through cooperation and the participation of what HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal calls the 'Third Domain' of partnership can all sectors of society – civil, public and private – develop responsible stewardship for a more sustainable, prosperous and equitable future. The annual meeting will consider the message the WANA Forum community wants to convey to the broader region and to the international community and how economic interests of nation-states can align with holistic regional aspirations that ensure human dignity and foster social cohesion.

## **Contextualising Regional Events**

WANA's recent political history is marked by the fragmented experimentation of imported ideologies – from nationalism to socialism, neo-conservatism to communism. This has often led to continual ideological clashes and confused political economy despite repeated efforts to frame these ideologies within pre-existing historical, cultural and religious legacies. Indeed, the failure to develop our own political systems, based on embracing common principles of transparency, accountability and citizens' empowerment has brought considerable disparity – political, economic and social – between and within nation-states in the region. WANA hosts some of the world's highest per capita GDPs and some of its lowest. The region is home to almost 27 million uprooted and displaced persons. Conflict has, according to some estimates cost the region as much as \$12 trillion in lost opportunities since Madrid and Oslo. Overall, the systems that have been put in place, which offer subsidies and belie true market value of goods and energy, leave the region's economy distorted and highly vulnerable to global price spikes in the costs of food and fuel. The reduction of subsidies, while economically necessary according to some, may ultimately lead to decreases in living conditions and outpourings of discontentment.

Disenfranchised and disempowered, people across WANA are beginning to hold their governments accountable in countries that can no longer mask political oppression with state subsidies. Reliance on mass exploitation of natural resources, with a weak industrial base to provide the required jobs, and lacking market diversity meant that the region's economy has suffered from rentierism

and clientelism forcing its young people to find work outside their home countries, while causing excessive environmental damage and social fault lines.

The economic pressures faced by nations across the region are inextricably linked to demographic changes. With almost 60 per cent of the population of WANA under the age of 25, approximately 23 per cent of youth are currently unemployed and a further 27 per cent are economically inactive. Perhaps the youth have come of age in breaking their long-held silence, demanding empowerment, opportunity and the recognition of their human dignity in the face of political, economic and social oppression. The youth can be - and indeed, should be - energised to innovate, create and fuel strong economic growth.

Under rising demographic and economic strain, combined with an inability of governments to accommodate growing demands of access to education, social services, employment and political participation, people across WANA have mobilised in demanding change. The movement that materialised in Tunisia offers an opportunity to build new systems of governance, economy and regional connectedness, accompanied by new political structures that enable and empower citizens of all ages to become stakeholders of their own future.

The wave of change has been strengthened by the technological empowerment of citizens. It is increasingly difficult for authoritarian governments to control access to information, and as the cost of technology decreases, so does the required entry-level for communicative tools. Individuals and organisations are now able to play a role in informing, organising and exercising their right to freedom of expression. The spread of information means that power will be more widely distributed and informal networks will undercut the monopoly of traditional bureaucracy.

### **WANA Forum 2011**

Building on the Forum's objectives in advancing social cohesion, improving the region's ability to recover and reconstruct in the aftermath of conflict, advocating sustainable environmental and green economy solutions, as well as its desire to mitigate against a history of imported political and economic ideologies, the Forum will explore potential outcomes for the region once the 'sands of revolution' have settled. For instance, what constitutes sustainable political and economic structures that can foster long-term stability and ensure human dignity across the region? What lessons can be learned from the experience of other regions that have undergone similar transformations? In discussing transition, the key question becomes transition to what? What would be considered a positive outcome for the region?

WANA Forum 2011 will examine the direction of transition in West Asia – North Africa with a focus on anchoring change in WANA's cultural traditions and present-day context.

# WANA Forum 2011 Agenda

## 8 May 2011

| Time          | Topics and Speakers                     |
|---------------|---|
| 18:00 - 19:00 | <b>Registration</b> ( <i>Sun Room</i> ) |
| 19:00-20:00   | <b>Reception and Introductions</b>      |

## Day 1, 9 May 2011

WANA Forum Moderator: *Sultan Barakat*

| Time          | Topics and Speakers   |
|---------------|---|
| 8:30 – 9:30   | <b>Registration for local participants</b>  |
| 9:30 – 9:45   | <b>Welcoming Remarks</b><br>Omar Rifai, WANA Forum Executive Director   |
| 9:45 – 10:15  | <b>Opening Remarks</b><br>El Hassan bin Talal, WANA Forum Chairman<br>Yohei Sasakawa, Chairman of The Nippon Foundation   |
| 10:15 – 12:00 | <p><b>Nature and Direction of Transition in WANA</b><br/>What do we mean by transition(s)? Is this a long-term process or a series of events? Should the region build upon current institutional arrangements, or is it witnessing simply a changing of the guard? How might a regional conference on security and cooperation help shape and promote successful transition? What is the role of social media and youth in promoting social cohesion and peace?</p> <p><b>Keynote Presenters</b><br/><b>El Hassan bin Talal</b>, WANA Forum Chairman,<br/><b>Rehman Sobhan</b>, Chairman of the Centre for Policy Dialogue, Bangladesh</p> <p><b>Panel Discussion</b><br/>Session Chair: <b>Abdul Aziz Al Nuaimi</b>, CEO of Al Ihsan Charity Centre, UAE;</p> <p><b>Panelists</b><br/><b>Octavia Nasr</b>, Founder of Bridges Media Consulting and Former CNN Senior Editor of Middle East Affairs<br/><b>Sally Moore</b>, Member of the Egyptian Social Democratic Party and Member of the Youth Coalition of the Egyptian Revolution;<br/><b>Giuma el-Gamaty</b>, Coordinator in the United Kingdom for the Libyan rebels' Interim Transitional National Council;<br/><b>Nadia Al Sakkaf</b>, Editor-in-Chief of <i>The Yemen Times</i>;<br/><b>Nadine Toukan</b>, Producer and Creative Worker, Jordan;<br/><b>El Hassan bin Talal</b>, WANA Forum Chairman,<br/><b>Rehman Sobhan</b>, Chairman of the Centre for Policy Dialogue, Bangladesh</p> |

|               |  |
|---------------|--|
| 12:00 – 13:30 | <b>Lunch</b> ( <i>Kempi Restaurant</i> )   |
| 13:30 – 15:30 | <p><b>Building WANA's Political Identity</b><br/>Is modernization synonymous with Westernisation? Can WANA modernise on the basis of its cultural traditions? Who is afraid of religion? Is post-uprising depression inevitable, and can people in WANA cope with the hardship? How can legitimacy be secured? What is the role of legitimacy and authenticity in building political identity in this period of transition? Is liberal democracy superior to other forms of governance, or is it desirable in WANA?</p> <p><b>Session Chair: Sultan Barakat</b>, Director of Post-war Reconstruction &amp; Development Unit, University of York</p> <p><b>Khalil al-Anani</b>, Scholar at the School of Government and International Affairs, Durham University, UK and Senior Fellow at Al-Ahram Foundation, Egypt,<br/> <b>Rama Mani</b>, Councillor, World Future Council &amp; Senior Research Associate, Centre for International Studies, University of Oxford, UK;<br/> <b>Walid Salem</b>, Director of the Centre for Democracy and Community Development, East Jerusalem and Coordinator of Middle East Citizens Assembly;<br/> <b>Khalid Aziz</b>, Chairman of the Institute of Policy Research and Training, Pakistan;<br/> <b>Mongi Khammassi</b>, Secretary General of the Green Party, Tunisia</p> |
| 15:30 – 16:00 | <b>Coffee Break</b>  |
| 16:00 – 18:00 | <p><b>Lessons in Transition</b><br/>How have other nations modernised, building on their cultural and traditional values? What can WANA learn from these nations and experiences? What role should the international community have, if any, in WANA? Can we revive the Silk Routes of WANA, between the East and the West?</p> <p><b>Session Chair: Sultan Barakat</b>, Director of Post-war Reconstruction &amp; Development Unit, University of York</p> <p><b>Keiichi Tsunekawa</b>, Vice President, National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies, Japan<br/> <b>Shipra Narang Suri</b>, International Urban Consultant, India and Associate, Post-war Reconstruction and Development Unit, University of York<br/> <b>Liu Baolai</b>, Council Member of Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs and Special Researcher at the China Institute of International Studies, China<br/> <b>Krzysztof Strachota</b>, Head of Caucasus &amp; Central Asia Department, Centre for Eastern Studies, Poland</p>   |
| 18:00 – 18:30 | <p><b>Presentation of the World Bank MENA Regional Study on Conflict, Fragility and Development Following the launch of the global 2011 World Development Report on conflict</b></p> <p><b>Colin Scott</b>, Lead Social Development Specialist, Middle East and North Africa, World Bank, will present preliminary findings of a complementary regional study for consultation and discussion.</p>   |
| 18:30-19:30   | <b>OPTIONAL:</b> Break-Out Group Discussion of the World Bank study, moderated by Colin Scott, World Bank<br>( <i>Venus Room</i> )   |
| 20:30         | <b>Gala Dinner</b> ( <i>Al Reem Ballroom</i> )   |

## Day 2, 10 May 2011

| Time          | Topics and Speakers   |
|---------------|---|
| 9:00 – 11:00  | <p><b>Economic Responsibilities</b><br/>Is economic hardship inevitable during transitions? Can WANA undergo the necessary economic transformations? What is the role of the private sector in reconstruction and recovery, peace building and sustainable development? What are the alternatives to oil revenues and foreign aid? Will populism take WANA back to rentierism? Is leapfrogging to a post-carbon economy realistic? Can modernisation be decoupled from environmental degradation?</p> <p>Remarks by Aleksander Gudzowaty, Chairman and CEO of Bartimpex Foreign Trade Enterprises, Poland</p> <p><b>Session Chair:</b> <b>Omar Rifai</b>, <i>Executive Director of the WANA Forum, Jordan</i></p> <p><b>Alexander Schieffer</b>, Co-Founder of TRANS4M, Four World Center for Social Innovation, Switzerland<br/> <b>Leena Al Olaimy</b>, Co-Founder and Managing Director, 3BL 'Triple Bottom Line' Associates, Bahrain<br/> <b>Nadim Shehadi</b>, Associate Fellow, Middle East &amp; North Africa Programme, Chatham House, UK<br/> <b>Sana Bardawil</b>, MENA Regional Communications Manager at Shell<br/> <b>Simona Marinescu</b>, Senior Economist, UNDP Iraq</p>  |
| 11:00 – 11:30 | <b>Coffee Break</b>   |
| 11:30 – 13:30 | <p><b>Toward Social Cohesion</b><br/>How does social cohesion link to economy and environment? Can a regional Social Charter promote social cohesion at a national level? Is a regional Cohesion Fund a viable alternative to charity and aid? Do <i>Hima</i>, <i>Zakat</i> and <i>Istiklaf</i> provide a basis for a broadly defined Responsibility to Protect (R2P) in WANA? How can regional connectivity serve as vehicle for social cohesion?</p> <p><b>Session Chair:</b> <b>Talat Halman</b>, <i>Dean of the Faculty of Humanities and Letters, Bilkent University; Former Minister of Culture, Turkey</i></p> <p><b>Maha Yahya</b>, Regional Advisor on Social Policy, United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (UN-ESCWA), Lebanon<br/> <b>Omar Christidis</b>, Founder of ArabNet, Lebanon<br/> <b>Azyumardi Azra</b>, Professor of History and Director of the Graduate School, Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University, Indonesia<br/> <b>Mukhtar Hashemi</b>, Associate Researcher, Newcastle Institute for Environmental Sustainability (NiRES), Newcastle University, UK; Scientific Advisor, Ministry of Energy and National Water Resource Management Consultant, Iran<br/> <b>Mohamed El-Gomati</b>, Professor University of York and Deputy Chairman of the Foundation for Science Technology and Civilisation (FSTC), UK</p> |
| 13:30 – 14:30 | <b>Lunch (Kempi Restaurant)</b>   |
| 14:30 – 15:30 | <p><b>Press Conference (closed session)</b><br/><i>Moderated by Nadia Al Sakakf, WANA Forum Spokesperson</i></p>  |
| 15:30 – 17:00 | <p><b>Launch of Guiding Principles of WANA Signing Ceremony and Closing Remarks by El Hassan bin Talal</b></p>  |



# Participants

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**Abdalla Ababneh**, President, National Center for Human Resources Development, Jordan

**Hussein Abaza**, Environmental Economist, Egypt and Former Director, Economics and Trade Branch, United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP)

**Soubhi Abdulkarim**, Chairman and CEO of SOUTER Group, Syria/UAE

**Kamel Abu Jaber**, Director of the Royal Institute for Inter-faith Studies (RIIFS), Jordan

**Mansour Abu Rashid**, Chairman, Amman Center for Peace and Development (ACPD), Jordan

**Hala Abu Taleb**, Assistant Professor, Department of English Language and Literature, University of Jordan

**Rogaia Mustafa Abusharaf**, Professor of anthropology, culture and politics at Edmund Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Qatar

**Abdelfattah Abusrour**, President of the Palestinian Theatre League, Founder and Director of Alrowwad Cultural and Theatre Training Center, Palestine

**Baha Afaneh**, Project Manager at Eco-Peace/Friends of the Earth Middle East, Jordan

**Murad Algharati**, Coordinator, Tamkeen Development Foundation, Yemen

**Bakhtiar Amin**, Founder of the International Alliance for Justice and Former Minister for Human Rights, Iraq

**Shabeeb Ammari**, Chairman of Jordan Telecom Group

**Khalil al-Anani**, Scholar at the School of Government and International Affairs, Durham University, UK and Senior Fellow at Al-Ahram Foundation, Egypt

**Vinya Ariyaratne**, General Secretary, Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement of Sri Lanka

**Lara Ayoub**, Portal Manager, Al Ghad Newspaper, Jordan

**Khalid Aziz**, Chairman of the Institute of Policy Research and Training, Pakistan

**Azyumardi Azra**, Professor of History and Director of the Graduate School, Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University, Indonesia

**Adnan Badran**, Chairman of the Board, National Center for Human Rights (NCHR) and Former Prime Minister, Jordan

**Liu Baolai**, Council Member of Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs and Special Researcher at the China Institute of International Studies, China

**Sultan Barakat**, Director of the University of York's Post-war Reconstruction and Development Unit (PRDU) and WANA Forum Co-Moderator, UK

**Sana Bardawil** Director of Regional Communications, Middle East and North Africa, Upstream International, Shell, UAE

**El Hassan bin Talal**, WANA Forum Chairman

**Raghda Butros**, Founder and Director at Hamzet Wasel, Jordan and Ashoka Fellow

**Rosy Cave**, Head of Asia Programme, Saferworld, UK

**Omar Christidis**, Founder of ArabNet and Vice President of International Business Alliance Group, Lebanon

**Diego-Perez Claramunt**, Communications Manager, Shell Iraq Petroleum Development, UAE

**Kristian Coates-Ulrichsen**, Kuwait Research Fellow, London School of Economics and Politics, UK

**Janusz Danecki**, Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies at the University of Warsaw, Poland

**Yousef Al Ebraheem**, Advisor, Al Diwan Al-Amiri, Kuwait; member of the Board of Directors of the Gulf Investment Corporation; member of the Board of Advisors, Center for Contemporary Arab Studies at Georgetown University, U.S.

**Khaled Elshuraydeh**, Secretary-General of the Higher Council for Science and Technology, Jordan

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*"With transition and revolution, you think you are going to change the world. The reality is that we have a long way to go before we can talk of democratisation - it does not end with the fall of a regime; it merely begins".*

**Sally Moore,  
Member of the Youth Coalition of  
Egyptian Revolution, Egypt**

