



WANA-LED Reconstruction & Recovery Expert Consultation Report

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POST-WAR
RECONSTRUCTION &
DEVELOPMENT
UNIT (PRDU)

THE UNIVERSITY *of York*

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Foreword & Acknowledgements

The WANA-Led Reconstruction and Recovery Expert Consultation brought together an impressive group of leaders and thinkers from across West Asia and North Africa under the auspices of His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan bin Talal, a visionary and the Chairman of the WANA Forum. I, like all participants, am grateful for each



speaker's insightful presentation and for the thought-provoking discussions they inspired. This report attempts to capture their wisdom and their calls for concerted action.

I would also like to acknowledge the tireless efforts of the WANA Forum Secretariat in organising the event and in contributing to this report. Their work was complemented by that of the co-organisers from the Regional Human Security Centre (RHSC) in Amman and the Post-war Reconstruction and Development Unit (PRDU) at the University of York, UK. I look forward to building upon the ideas included in this report with the assistance of these individuals and with the support of the participants.

A handwritten signature in black ink, which appears to read "Sultan Barakat".

SULTAN BARAKAT

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Executive Summary

Reconstruction is a process of fundamental importance for the long-term peace, stability and development of all countries affected by conflict and war. Within West Asia and North Africa (WANA), a region that has experienced some of the most devastating wars of recent years, reconstruction and recovery have a particularly important role to play.

The primary objective of the Reconstruction and Recovery Expert Consultation was to extract key lessons from previous experiences in the region and beyond in order to identify barriers to and opportunities for innovative, WANA-led approaches to reconstruction. Such lessons revealed the importance of state sovereignty, ownership of reconstruction efforts, local participation, capacity building and regional cooperation.

The consultation revolved around the following three pivotal areas: (i) social and economic reconstruction and development, (ii) green reconstruction and (iii) effective donorship and accountability.

The participants of the Reconstruction and Recovery Expert Consultation identified four goals to carry forward to the Second Annual WANA Forum:

- Mapping of Regional Initiatives in the area of reconstruction and recovery with the aim of identifying both best and worst practices, outlining areas for resource mobilisation and establishing a network for cooperation.
- Drafting a Collective Statement from WANA that outlines regional priorities to present at international forums and to share with key international figures and entities which influence reconstruction and recovery efforts.
- Organising a WANA-Led Donorship Consultation to address the issue of leadership over and financing of reconstruction efforts.
- Preparing for the United Nations 2012 Summit to bring WANA's interests, as well as key regional figures, into contact with the international community.

The priorities of the WANA region, as they emerged during the consultation, also require a better understanding of the nature of conflicts and their regional dimensions. Reconstruction must reflect an awareness of the causes of conflict and the manner in which regional forces can contribute to their resolution or continuation. Finally, it was noted that a plan for reconstruction and recovery of the region should focus on meeting the immediate needs of people affected by war and conflict, coupled with long-term initiatives, such as the development of "green infrastructure", which can underpin a viable, sustainable economy while promoting social cohesion.

1. Introduction

His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan bin Talal, with the support of The Nippon Foundation, established the WANA Forum as a platform for promoting dialogue and collective action to address the issues that affect West Asia and North Africa (WANA).

The First Annual WANA Forum took place in April 2009, bringing together over 70 individuals from throughout the region to discuss shared challenges and concerns. It formed the first of the following three stages of the WANA Forum process: (i) to identify and prioritise key issues, (ii) to develop policy recommendations and (iii) to disseminate and advocate these policy proposals to decision-makers across WANA.

The outcome of the first meeting highlighted a number of cross-cutting areas for action: 1) Reconstruction and recovery of war-torn or conflict-affected parts of the region; 2) Enhancement of social cohesion between the region's diverse peoples; and 3) Promotion of environmental education for sustainable development and the development of 'green' industries and infrastructure.

Reconstruction, the topic of this consultation report, is a process of fundamental importance for the long-term peace, stability and development of all countries affected by conflict and war. It involves developing or rebuilding state systems, revitalising economies and promoting social cohesion. Within WANA, a region that has experienced some of the most devastating wars of recent years, reconstruction and recovery have a particularly important role to play - not merely in terms of post-conflict intervention, but also in the midst of ongoing violence, incorporating a holistic process that seeks to address underlying causes of conflict.

The primary objective of the reconstruction and recovery consultation was to extract key lessons from reconstruction efforts in the region and beyond. These lessons were used to identify key barriers to and opportunities for innovative, WANA-led approaches to reconstruction in order to develop a regional action plan, or, in the words of His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan bin Talal, a "substantial roadmap" for the future. The consultation was framed around the following three pivotal areas: (i) social and economic reconstruction and development, (ii) green reconstruction and (iii) effective donorship and accountability.

2. Event Outline

The Reconstruction and Recovery Consultation took place over a period of two days on the 25th and 26th of October 2009. The event was moderated by Professor



Left to right: Lakhdar Brahimi, El Hassan bin Talal, Sultan Barakat, Nabil El-Jisr, Ferghang Jalal

Sultan Barakat of the Post-war Reconstruction and Development Unit (PRDU) at the University of York, who also serves as the WANA Forum Moderator and as Advisor to HRH Prince El Hassan. Professor Barakat highlighted the primary purpose of the WANA Forum as being “a platform for promoting dialogue and collective action”. He discussed the practice of reconstruction and recovery as embodying a “holistic purpose” that should begin during rather than simply following conflict. Professor Barakat stressed the importance of regional cooperation and information sharing as a tool for sharing knowledge, expertise and overcoming barriers by learning from past mistakes.

Following Professor Barakat’s introduction to the WANA Forum and the expert consultation, HRH Prince El Hassan reinforced, in his opening remarks, the need for regional dialogue. “Stabilisation of this region cannot be piecemeal”, His Royal Highness told the participants. He continued by stating that “bridging the human dignity deficit” can only be achieved through “global and regional commons” and by “building concepts which account for the views and aspirations of the people of WANA”.

His Excellency Ambassador Lakhdar Brahimi, former Under-Secretary General of the United Nations, responded to and expounded upon the themes outlined by HRH Prince El Hassan. He championed the principles of the WANA Forum as a means of “looking a little bit more to the East and a little bit less to the West” and as a venue for developing “home-grown” solutions to the region’s problems. Ambassador Brahimi stressed that although “some of us are contributing significantly to the work of managing conflict and reconstruction, the contribution of our region as a whole is not sufficient and not visible enough”.

Following the opening remarks and reflections, two sessions were held on “Post-

Conflict Interventions”. These sessions were moderated by Professor Sultan Barakat and by Ambassador Hasan Abu Nimah, Director of the Regional Human Security Centre (RHSC) in Amman. During these sessions, a number of presentations were given by high-level government officials and scholars to elucidate the lessons learned from various reconstruction processes initiated across WANA and the wider world.

These speakers were:

- His Excellency Ehsan Zia’s representative, Mr. Arsalan Ghalieh, from the Ministry of Rural Rehabilitation and Development (MRRD) in Afghanistan
- His Excellency Nabil El-Jisr, President of the Council on Development and Reconstruction (CDR) in Lebanon
- His Excellency Mohammad Shtayyeh, Minister of Public Works and Housing in Palestine
- His Excellency Bakhtiar Amin, Former Minister of Human Rights in Iraq
- Professor Alireza Fallahi, Associate Professor and Director of the Reconstruction Research Department at Shahid Beheshti University in Iran
- Professor Adam Azzain Mohamed, Director of the Public Administration and Federalism Studies Institute at the University of Khartoum in Sudan
- Dr. Rajesh Venugopal, Altajir Lecturer in Post-war Recovery Studies at the University of York in the United Kingdom
- Professor Tetsuji Okazaki, Economist at University of Tokyo in Japan
- Professor Juho Saari, Professor of Welfare Sociology at the University of Kuopio in Finland

During the second half of the consultation, the three themes of social and economic reconstruction and development, green reconstruction, and effective donorship and accountability were discussed in separate break-out sessions. These sessions included short presentations delivered by Dr. Christine Silva Hamieh, Dr. Salam Smeasim, Dr. Odeh Al-Meshan, Ms. Habiba Hamid, and Mr. Steven A. Zyck. The results of these discussions were then assessed by all participants once they had regrouped and listened to each others conclusions. The joint discussion that followed identified a series of strategies and interventions which formed the basis of an action plan for the future of reconstruction in the WANA region.

HRH Prince El Hassan concluded the consultation by reviewing the recommendations and committing himself to support their implementation. He told the participants that in WANA “we are living the anatomy of a silenced – not silent – crisis”. He stressed the need for joining the international development

debate as a unified body dedicated to promoting the sort of “supra-national thinking” necessary to effectively address the region’s problems. His Royal Highness concluded: “No individual entity can address the issues of poverty and conflict without synergy; we cannot continue to live in smaller and smaller identities. Why is it that this region cannot develop a roadmap for issues such as security, economy, culture, and legality?”

3. Lessons Learned

Presentations detailing the experiences of Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine and the Sudan, as well as Japan, Finland and Sri Lanka, highlighted a number of key lessons for future reconstruction efforts. These primarily concerned state sovereignty, ownership of reconstruction efforts, local participation, capacity building and regional cooperation. The details of these shared challenges are outlined below.

3.1. State Sovereignty

Participants emphasised the need for countries in the WANA region to take a strong lead in their own reconstruction to ensure that reconstruction efforts and interventions suit the needs and priorities of the region. By taking such a lead, state institutions will be better positioned to build legitimacy in the eyes of their citizens.

States in the aftermath of conflict - or in the midst of it - frequently face challenges of employment, social cohesion, human security, human capacity, and local ownership over humanitarian and security initiatives. However, these threats to peace are exacerbated when the sovereignty of the state is undermined by local



Participants discuss barriers to reconstruction and recovery efforts in WANA

and international actors during recovery and reconstruction activities.

In Afghanistan, as His Excellency Ehsan Zia's representative, Mr. Arsalan Ghalieh, explained, state sovereignty has suffered extensively due in large to its perceived lack of legitimacy. This problem was seen as originating from the lack of an effective relationship between the government and its people, most of whom were operating under the perception that the international community were the only actors in the country interested in meeting their immediate needs. However, as Mr. Ghalieh explained, state sovereignty in Afghanistan has been reinforced through the National Solidarity Programme (NSP), an intervention aimed at reducing "the gap between the Government and the people". This policy was found to be an effective means of increasing the visibility of the state by promoting local governance and the development of community-based projects.

Lessons drawn from Japan's experience of post-war reconstruction furthermore supported the need to exercise state sovereignty in projecting legitimacy to its people and the international community. Such legitimacy, argued Professor Tetsuji Okazaki, must be supported through institutional transparency. By providing such transparency and overcoming "moral hazards" such as corruption, the Japanese government was able to protect its citizens, control its economy and retain an air of legitimacy and authority following the Second World War.

3.2. Ownership of Reconstruction Efforts

Ownership over reconstruction efforts was closely related to the idea of state sovereignty, which was often seen to be undermined by intrusive, large-scale and poorly coordinated international efforts. Foreign bureaucratic systems, access to donor funding, mismanaged aid and misalignment of international and local priorities were seen as particularly problematic by the majority of participants.

Mr. Ghalieh of Afghanistan mentioned that funds would often arrive after a window of opportunity for reconstruction had already closed. He also stated that another problem faced by the Afghan government is that donors are reluctant to commit to long term reconstruction projects. In addition, Dr. Shtayyeh of Palestine expressed his frustration at the fact that the constant destruction faced



Left to right: Ferghang Jalal, Rajesh Venugopal, Maha Yahya

by the Palestinian people over the years has led to substantial “donor fatigue”, while the conflict itself is frequently misunderstood by the international community. “How long can donors give money to a crisis that has no end?” he asked the panel.

Mismanagement of funds was also highlighted as a barrier to effective donorship. Ambassador Brahimi cited a study by the Agency



Coordinating Body for Afghan Relief (ACBAR), which found that 40 per cent of all aid given to Afghanistan returned to the donor country in the form of payments for technical assistance, corporate profits and consultants’ salaries. In Palestine, Dr. Shtayyeh approximated that \$8 billion was spent on non-sustainable assistance, as it was utilised for salaries. Another \$3 billion was channelled through NGOs and the remaining \$3 billion funded physical infrastructure projects.

Furthermore, participants critiqued international efforts for not addressing national realities and basic priorities. “Instead of investing in education and priorities that would make a long-term difference in people’s lives, the focus is on hard security – of barbed wires, checkpoints, walls, tanks,” Mr. Amin of Iraq said. “Why not leave something positive behind that can be remembered for generations to come?”, he added. Other participants raised concerns over how foreign aid often entails conditions tied to the donor country’s foreign policy, with a blind transfer of democratic models as defined by the West that may not reflect the needs of people on the ground. Ambassador Brahimi said, “Democracy is something that can only be supported by foreigners – it cannot be donated by one people to another and neither can it be created by outsiders; it has to be home-grown.”

The speakers indicated that foreign donors have long controlled reconstruction processes in the WANA region and that this situation will not change until WANA leaders reclaim “the driver’s seat” in reconstruction, a statement Dr. Shtayyeh made and was supported by all the participants.

It was suggested that creating a strategy for approaching donors might address many of the concerns raised by participants. Dr. Shtayyeh of Palestine concluded:

“The lesson to draw is how to create a mechanism for aid coordination so that this money is as effective as it can and should be.”

3.3. Local Participation

Professor Adam Azzain Mohamed of Sudan and others emphasised that the grass-roots level must equally not be neglected in the development process. Just like WANA governments, local populations must not be made to feel as though they have no control



Abdul-Karim Jouda talks about lessons learned from Palestine

over initiatives designed for their benefit. Ownership should thus extend not only to states but also to the people of war-torn countries, engaging communities in development, in setting their own priorities and empowering them to make their own decisions. Doing so not only builds ownership and participation but also helps avoid the patterns of aid dependency which emerge as a result of protracted external assistance.

“We have learned that when civil society is appropriately empowered, it naturally assumes a leading role in the development and peace building process,” said Mr. Ghalieh, adding, “Afghan communities across the country have realised the importance of the participation of all members of society and have demonstrated the potential and the commitment of these communities to improving their own social and economic wellbeing.”

After all, in the words of Professor Alireza Fallahi of Iran, “recovery is a social process more so than a physical rebuilding effort”. With this in mind, the legal empowerment of poor and marginalised communities, an issue to which HRH Prince El Hassan has committed himself, is just as important as the provision of international funds to assist these populations.

3.4. Capacity Building

The capacity of governments in the WANA region to deal effectively with the demands of reconstruction and recovery was questioned by numerous participants. It is time to consider, therefore, that such programmes should not exist in isolation of each other. Professor Barakat argued that “we must engage in an intra-regional lessons learning process so that we can share challenges and gain a better understanding of how to overcome them”.

Lessons can be learned from countries that have previously dealt with conflict, while institutional capacity to carry out effective reconstruction projects must be dealt with as soon as possible. Most centres that deal with reconstruction and



Left to Right: Juho Saari, Tetsuji Okazaki, Ilari Rantakari, Grace Najjar

development are located primarily in Western institutions and only rarely in countries and communities where they are most sorely needed. Best practices may be synthesised and lessons learned through a regional reconstruction research unit and training centre which would bring together experts, practitioners, policymakers and others from all across WANA. It could form the basis upon which a regional reconstruction and development corps – as suggested by HRH Prince El Hassan – could eventually emerge.

The importance of the international community and foreign donors was stated within the context of capacity building, particularly with regard to the sharing of knowledge and expertise, as well as the provision of short-term technical assistance. Mr. El-Jisr of Lebanon highlighted the importance of proper communication and fully documented proposals when approaching international donors, citing the successful experience of Lebanon to support his case. He stated that a comprehensive, evidence-based reconstruction plan and the establishment of state credibility through transparency were instrumental in obtaining donor support and in building a constructive relationship.

External assistance was cited as a fundamental necessity by most participants, many of whom elaborated that their governments frequently did not have the capacity to independently support a comprehensive reconstruction process. Professor Juho Saari of Finland emphasised this last point in particular, stating that the key to initiating a successful reconstruction programme in Finland was the ability of the government to launch a “quick and proactive” response to the conflict. The issue of timing was restated by many participants, who stressed that their credibility with donors had previously been damaged by their lack of capacity to spend aid funds within limited timeframes.

3.5. Regional Cooperation

In an address to the participants of the WANA Forum, Mr. Amin of Iraq outlined the multiple ways in which the lack of effective regional cooperation and dispute settlement mechanism had come to undermine the success of the reconstruction of Iraq. The sharing of resources across borders, with special reference to water and power, was highlighted as a key issue in this regard. Professor Barakat agreed that the damming of Iraq's water supplying rivers by its neighbours typifies a common problem for many countries across the world affected by conflict and social unrest. He noted that one country's development has often been viewed, with regard to natural resources, as requiring the imposition of challenges to one's neighbours in an unhelpful and unnecessary zero-sum mindset.

A mechanism for improved regional cooperation for WANA would therefore not only safeguard WANA's interests across the wider world but would also offer some degree of protection to those nations whose voices are stifled by war and economic degradation.

4. Barriers and Opportunities

With a more comprehensive understanding of the lessons learned from past reconstruction efforts, participants strove to identify the barriers and opportunities for reconstruction that are faced by the region today. In doing so, they worked according to the three thematic topics of social and economic reconstruction and development, green reconstruction and effective donorship and accountability that were defined as central to this consultation. It was decided that this approach could result in an effective and holistic reconstruction and development process since under-development, and particularly economic underdevelopment, is often cited as the core of contemporary conflicts.

Traditional and emerging tensions between political, religious, and ethnic groups are frequently accentuated by competition over natural resources and financial opportunities. Post-conflict reconstruction and recovery should therefore aim to produce social and economic development while also contributing to the emergence



of a sustainable peace rooted in shared management of strategic resources. Only by reducing the struggle for a safe natural environment by helping to rebuild and expand that environment, while reducing social and economic inequalities, is it possible to generate a long-term solution to war and conflict.



Christine Silva Hamie draws on her experience with UNDP in Lebanon

4.1. Social and Economic Reconstruction and Development

At their core, reconstruction and recovery address the destruction of social and economic norms in times of conflict. However, because social and economic inequalities are often at the heart of conflicts, reconstruction must aim to achieve more than the mere restoration of a set of normative standards that led to the breakdown of peace in the first place. Social and economic reconstruction means more than the rebuilding of destroyed infrastructure, it entails the overall development of a country in order to further the cause of peaceful and sustainable stability. In this way, social and economic reconstruction and development may be understood as forms of conflict prevention.

Poverty was identified as the primary barrier to social and economic reconstruction and development in the WANA region. Poor economic conditions are often part of what gives rise to armed conflict in the first place. Following war, a failure to achieve broad improvements in living standards can fuel social tensions and heighten the risk of renewed war. Without equitable economic development, peace cannot endure. With a strong correlation between poverty and conflict, bridging the “human dignity deficit”, as HRH Prince El Hassan described it, and the divide between haves and have-nots is essential to peace building and recovery. Yet, recovery efforts often entrench underdevelopment, creating the conditions for persistent poverty and inequality rather than overcoming it. Empowering the poor requires more than simply a transfer of resources; it entails exploring the relationship between justice and poverty alleviation and the creation of sound legal and political frameworks which address the needs of the poor and hold leaders accountable.

Because most WANA countries rely upon consumption-based rather than production-oriented economies, there is a strong need to step away from WANA's dependence on oil revenues and international aid. Dr. Ahmad Mango, WANA Forum Moderator and Advisor to HRH Prince El Hassan, identified reinterism as WANA's "moral hazard", a condition



Steven Zyck talks about the potential of WANA-Led Reconstruction and Recovery, alongside Mohammad Shahbaz and Karen Janjua

that greatly contributed to the severity of the impact of the economic crisis on this region. He stressed the importance of focusing on more than the mere "reconstruction of our consumption capacity" and highlighted the potential of creating a green modern industrial base and mass transport infrastructure.

Professor Okazaki of Japan and Professor Saari of Finland illustrated the importance for WANA to consider the post-war experience of Finland and Japan in reconstruction, as they did not merely rebuild what was destroyed but rather focused on the construction of their production base.

The social and economic reconstruction and development break-out session emphasised a point made earlier -- that national priorities within WANA are not currently aligned with international ones. International ideals of economic shock therapy (i.e. market liberalisation and privatisation) are not necessarily of benefit to the region. Many countries affected by conflict that are forced into adopting free market economies are often severely damaged by such initiatives. In post-war Finland and Japan, the ability to control economic transitions with strong governmental interventions in the social and the economic sectors led to long-term economic viability. Instead of imposing free market paradigms upon vulnerable economies, these countries permitted trade barriers, for a certain period



Mona Hammam provides insight on social and economic reconstruction

of time rather than indefinitely, in an attempt to allow industries a degree of protection to enable them to establish or re-establish their international competitiveness.

In order to effectively mount a comprehensive social and economic reconstruction and development strategy,

participants recommended adopting a method for improved regional cooperation so that concerns relating to state sovereignty and control over reconstruction projects can be both presented to and heard by foreign donors. Through this process, it is important to stress equally the role of the state in reconstruction and the participation of local communities, who deserve more than handouts and who are in need of full legal empowerment as well as protection. Economic assistance within the region should be seen through the lens of economic development, a way of ridding countries from their dependence on foreign aid.

Participants in this break-out session proposed the following recommendations:

- Activate an intra-regional lesson-learning process by adopting structured mechanisms to identify best practices;
- Develop the technical and institutional capacity in the region;
- Utilise the media and make use of communication systems to highlight regional priorities;
- Mobilise existing civil society;
- Provide needs assessments and identify gaps;
- Align donor priorities with national priorities;
- Move beyond physical reconstruction by linking social and economic development to reconstruction efforts and the broader recovery process;
- Examine the causes of conflict as part of the reconstruction effort to prevent relapse into conflict. If warring factions are the source then educational reform and political inclusion may need to be part of the reconstruction and recovery strategy.



Fadi Petro, attending as an observer, comments on the discussions, alongside Adel Tweissi, Hasan Abu Nimah, Fatima Azzeh and Laura Haddad

4.2. Green Reconstruction

Green reconstruction is the reconstruction of ecologies and environments and, simultaneously, is the pursuit of development in a manner which is environmentally sustainable. It is important within the context of conflict-based reconstruction and recovery because natural resources are often targeted or overused in times of conflict. Conflicts within the WANA region are frequently accompanied by extensive damage to the natural environment, which is rarely acknowledged both by national governments and by international institutions. In addition, displacement of people creates sudden and unsustainable stress on already frail ecosystems in many parts of the region. Lack of regional cooperation in the management of water and energy resources also leads to tension and unequal use of those resources, which often violates basic human rights.

Environmental and ecological reconstruction should be part of any long-term strategy, whereas donors tend to view recovery as a shorter-term process. Therefore, if governments in the WANA region do not integrate green thinking into their national and regional priorities, ecological resources may continue to go under-valued during reconstruction and recovery – and long afterwards.

Existing legal structures for the protection and reconstruction of the environment are very strong, as is technical expertise within the region. Mr. Mohammad Shahbaz of the Jordan Badia Research and Development Programme stressed that Jordan has had extensive experience of running green reconstruction programmes. He indicated that establishing a baseline data system for the monitoring of natural resources within the region could not only assist countries to act in favour of environmental protection but might also hold the key to safeguarding and equitably distributing shared resources which cross borders.

In conclusion, a regional communication mechanism is urgently needed in



Left to Right: Odeh Al-Meshan, Lahib Al-Khraisha, Mohammad Shahbaz, Mona Hammam, Christine Silva Hamie, Grace Najjar, Nabil El-Jisr

WANA to enable countries to voice their resource-sharing concerns to their neighbours. Although green reconstruction is a difficult process, regional potential within this area is strong and is supported by a strong structure of international law.

Participants in this break-out session proposed the following recommendations, most of which are reflected throughout the report:

- Initiate and proceed with environmentally-aware reconstruction efforts, such as the building of sustainable housing and other infrastructure, where feasible both during and after conflict;
- Explore the potential of renewable, ecologically sustainable and readily available resources and materials, and the development of alternative energy sources;
- Establish a regional green culture fund to provide funding for green reconstruction;
- Encourage innovation inspired local knowledge;
- Make targeted re-forestation a key priority in reconstruction efforts;
- Encourage SMEs to develop green businesses through key policies and seed money;
- Enhance use of trans-boundary protected water and other areas and develop a regional and trans-boundary model for food security; and
- Create a monitoring system to document baseline data for conflict-affected or ridden areas, targeting the human and natural environment, in order to assess damage caused by conflicts.

4.3. Effective Donorship and Accountability

Post-conflict interventions require resources, and the means in which those resources are injected is of critical yet often unrecognised importance. In the most basic of forms, effective donorship requires delivering upon promised levels of assistance; on another level, however, it revolves around technical matters such as conditionalities or earmarks tied to international assistance or the willingness of bilateral and multilateral donors to work with (as opposed to outside of) recipient government institutions. Donorship may, thus, be understood as either overcoming or entrenching the previously discussed challenges related to state sovereignty, ownership and capacity.

Large pledges to countries in crisis are rarely translated into commitments or disbursements, and its utilisation may not always be effective and efficient.



Odeh Al Jayyousi and Adel Tweissi

Issues of recipient capacity, accountability and corruption are of critical concern, as is the tendency for donor institutions and international organisations to re-allocate large quantities of assistance for overhead, security, and expatriate personnel costs. Reconstruction efforts are further compromised by a lack of coordination and by the overwhelming tendency of donors to fund emergency relief instead of development projects in the aftermath of conflict. Once an initial post-crisis period has passed, funds for longer-term recovery and sustainable development tend to be in short supply.

Progress is being made, and the rise of Gulf State donors from within the WANA region will enable a new form of donorship less wedded to aid conditionalities. Leadership by Gulf states in reconstruction could also help to overcome the legitimacy gaps that have emerged as a result of existing, Western-led approaches.

The Gulf States show a unique focus upon working with governing institutions and have adopted procedures which are flexible and which allow aid to be provided quickly and effectively. Projects which they implement also tend to focus upon priorities of people and institutions within conflict-affected countries rather than those preferred by the Western-led international community.

The Gulf State-led reconstruction process of Southern Lebanon following the July War of 2006 is one prime example which speaks of the potential of WANA donors to engage effectively in fragile environments. Mr. Steven Zyck of the Post-war Reconstruction and Development Unit (PRDU) at the University of York in the UK pointed out that “more than a billion dollars were pledged and delivered following the July War, with fast recovery and return to people’s original homes and businesses,” he said. According to Mr. El-Jisr, “Aid was immediate and 80 per cent of the housing came directly from the Arab world.”

Dr. Christine Silva Hamie, Project Manager with United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Lebanon, stated that in the aftermath of the July War of 2006, many Western states and Western-backed international institutions

favoured governance programming (software) while many Arab and Gulf State donors preferred physical reconstruction projects (hardware), often with an emphasis on large-scale, high-visibility infrastructure projects. “The latter were able to connect more effectively with the



Left to right: Mona Darwazeh, Sara Bazoobandi, Hüseyin Bağcı

political culture of Lebanon,” she said.

The participants noted that the possibility exists for Western donors, particularly those included within the OECD’s Development Assistance Committee (DAC), to learn from the promising and culturally appropriate models developed by the Gulf States, and vice versa. It was also strongly felt that improved donorship was but one side of



the coin; recipient governments must be prepared to prove that they have the ability to account for the use of all funds and to effectively limit corruption and other forms of misappropriation.

Participants in this break-out session proposed the following recommendations, most of which are reflected throughout the report:

- Create a venue through which donors and recipients in the region can share experiences and identify areas for improvement;
- Establish an OECD and a GCC-linked coordination body to prevent duplication;
- Engage WANA donors in a MDG-focused fund for conflict-affected or ‘transition’ contexts (perhaps building upon the Kuwait Summit);
- Consider a framework through which recipients can set conditions for their engagement with all donor countries;
- Establish a Regional Research and Training Institute on reconstruction and development in transitional contexts; and
- Hold a diplomacy workshop to train a delegation from the region for donorship meetings.

5. Ways Forward

The participants of the Reconstruction and Recovery Consultation identified four achievable goals to carry forward to the Second Annual WANA Forum. These include:

- Mapping of Regional Initiatives – A map of current initiatives in the area of reconstruction and recovery would assist in identifying best practices from within the region and could be the foundation for establishing a network for cooperation.

- Drafting a Collective Statement from WANA – A letter that presents a collective WANA voice and outlines regional priorities would be presented at key international forums and shared with key international figures and entities that have a direct influence on reconstruction and recovery efforts in WANA.
- Organising a WANA-Led Donorship Consultation – Leadership by Gulf states in donorship was one of the key themes that emerged from the consultation. As such, a focused consultation on WANA-led donorship would help to distill and compare innovative approaches and to share them with governmental, inter-governmental, and non-governmental aid-giving bodies.
- Preparing for an international summit possibly in 2012 – This would bring both the Forum’s and the region’s interests to the international table. Representatives for this Summit must be identified from an early stage to represent not only the WANA Forum but also to speak on behalf of shared interests and concerns among the many countries comprising the WANA region.

6. Conclusion

The Consultation addressed the primary reconstruction and recovery-related concerns of the many distinguished participants. The inclusion of three specific themes – socio-economic reconstruction, green reconstruction and donorship and accountability – served as a useful framework for discussion and enabled many cross-cutting priorities, such as state sovereignty, ownership, local participation, capacity building and regional cooperation, to emerge.

As Professor Barakat noted in his concluding remarks: “Only the full incorporation of each of these three themes can lead to an integrated reconstruction and development process for the WANA region as a whole. A plan for recovery and reconstruction must also focus both on immediate needs and long-term initiatives.” Immediate needs include utilising green reconstruction to rehabilitate basic physical infrastructure (roads, bridges, health and education services, water and sanitation systems, telecommunications facilities). On a long-term scale is the need to establish the basic underpinnings of a viable economy – one that stimulates investments in human capital.

Despite the complex nature of the region’s problems today, the primary lesson to draw from this consultation is that put forward by HRH Prince El Hassan: it is

not sufficient merely to “wait for more and more donor conferences”; rather, pro-active advocacy, in advance of such conferences, is necessary.

The priorities of the WANA region, as they emerged during the consultation, lie with



Left to Right: Bakhtiar Amin, Lahib Al-Khraisha, Lakhdar Brahimi, Sultan Barakat

developing a better understanding into the nature of conflicts and their regional dimensions and implications. Professor Barakat stressed that “we must recognise that under-development is usually at the core of conflict and that reconstruction and recovery and conflict-prevention are one in the same”. Doing so will not only require greater capacities within WANA but also a stronger role within the broader international community. Ambassador Brahimi cited, as one example: “Why is no one in the region participating in the negotiations and discussions [over Iran’s nuclear programme]? It is an issue that concerns us. We are part of the international community.”

As HRH Prince El Hassan, Ambassador Brahimi and others noted throughout the consultation, the people of the WANA region have a right to be heard on issues of conflict, reconstruction, and recovery; yet they also have the primary responsibility for coordinating and consolidating their voices in a manner which has the potential to shift international discourses and practices. Doing so will be the only way to ensure that WANA leadership over reconstruction, recovery and other issues remains a reality rather than a perpetual aspiration.

CONSULTATION AGENDA

SUNDAY, 25 October 2009

| | |
|------------------|---|
| 09:30 - 10:00 | Registration (Al Reem Ballroom*) |
| 10:00 - 10:45 | Introduction by Professor Sultan Barakat |
| 10:45 - 11:15 | Opening remarks by His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan bin Talal |
| 11:15 - 11:45 | Reflections by His Excellency Lakhdar Brahimi |
| 11:45 - 12:00 | Coffee Break (Courtyard) |
| 12:00 - 13:30 | Post-Conflict Interventions: Lessons Learned - PART I Moderated by Ambassador Hasan Abu Nimah - His Excellency Ehsan Zia (Afghanistan) - His Excellency Nabil El-Jisr (Lebanon) - His Excellency Mohammad Shtayyeh (Palestine) - His Excellency Bakhtiar Amin (Iraq) |
| 13:30 - 14:30 | Lunch (Kempi Restaurant) |
| 14:30 - 16:00 | Post-Conflict Interventions: Lessons Learned - PART II Moderated by Professor Sultan Barakat - Professor Alireza Fallahi (Iran) - Professor Adam Azzain Mohamed (Sudan) - Dr. Rajesh Venugopal (Sri Lanka) - Professor Tetsuji Okazaki (Japan) - Professor Juho Saari (Finland) |
| 16:00 - 16:30 | Coffee Break (Courtyard) |
| 16:30 - 18:00 | Working Groups: Barriers to WANA-Led Efforts |



Left to Right: Ghassan Elkahlout,
Alireza Fallahi and El Hassan bin Talal

Lakhdar Brahimi and El Hassan bin Talal

| | | | |
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| | Social & Economic Reconstruction and Development Break-Out Session (Pluto Room) <i>Moderated by Mr. Baker al-Hiyari</i> Presentations: - Dr. Christine Silva Hamie - Dr. Haider Saeed - Dr. Salam Smeasim | Green Reconstruction Break-Out Session (Jupiter Room) <i>Moderated by Mr. Mohammad Shahbaz</i> Presentations: - Dr. Odeh Al-Meshan | Effective Donorship & Accountability Break-Out Session (Venus Room) <i>Moderated by Professor Sultan Barakat</i> Presentations: - Ms. Habiba Hamid - Mr. Steven Zyck |
| 19:30 - 21:30 | Dinner: Meet at Lobby of Kempinski Hotel at 19:15 (Al Huwara restaurant) | | |

** All plenary sessions on Sunday are in the Al Reem Ballroom of the Kempinski Hotel.*

MONDAY, 26 October 2009

| | | | |
|------------------|--|---|---|
| 09:00 - 10:00 | Review of Barriers to WANA Leadership of Reconstruction and Objectives for The Day: Towards A Regional Effort (Sun Room*) | | |
| 10:00 - 11:45 | Working Groups: Opportunities for WANA-Led Efforts | | |
| | Social & Economic Reconstruction and Development Break-Out Session (Pluto Room) | Green Reconstruction Break-Out Session (Jupiter Room) | Effective Donorship & Accountability Break-Out Session (Venus Room) |
| 11:45 - 12:00 | Coffee Break (Courtyard) | | |
| 11:45 - 12:00 | Presentation of Working Group Findings Discussion of priority strategies and interventions | | |
| 13:30 - 14:30 | Lunch (Kempi Restaurant) | | |
| 14:30 - 16:00 | Action Plan: Next Steps, Timelines and Responsibilities Participants should be prepared to discuss how they can contribute to the implementation of the strategies and priorities identified | | |
| 16:00 - 16:30 | Closing Remarks | | |

** All plenary sessions on Monday are in the Sun Room of the Kempinski Hotel.*

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

| Name | Background |
|----------------------------|---|
| Ambassador Hasan Abu Nimah | Director of the Regional Human Security Centre, Jordan |
| Mr. M.J. Akbar | Journalist, author and chair of the fortnightly news magazine Covert, India |
| Mr. Bakhtiar Amin | Founder of the International Alliance for Justice and Former Minsiter for Human Rights, Iraq |
| Professor Hüseyin Bağcı | Professor in International Relations at the Middle East Technical University in Ankara, Turkey |
| Professor Sultan Barakat | WANA Forum Moderator, Advisor to HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal and Director of the Post-war Reconstruction and Development Unit, University of York, United Kingdom |
| Ms. Sara Bazoobandi | Research Fellow at Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior (FRIDE) and Doctoral student at the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, Exeter University, United Kingdom |
| H.E. Lakhdar Brahimi | Former UNSG envoy to Afghanistan and Iraq |
| Mr. Richard Cook | Director of UNRWA Operations, Jordan |
| Ms. Mona Darwazeh | Development Officer, Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Jordan |
| Dr. Ghassan Elkahlout | Programme coordinator at the UK-based Islamic Relief NGO in Iraq |

| Name | Background |
|---------------------------|--|
| Professor Alireza Fallahi | Associate Professor, Director of Reconstruction Research Department, Faculty of Architecture and Urban Planning, Shahid Beheshti University, Iran |
| Mr. Arsalan Ghalieh | Senior Advisor to the Minister of Rural Rehabilitation and Development (RRD), Afghanistan |
| Ms. Habiba Hamid | Manager, Zayed International Humanitarian Awards, UAE |
| Dr. Christine Silva Hamie | Project Manager, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Lebanon |
| Dr. Mona Hammam | Deputy Assistant Administrator, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP); Deputy Regional Director, Regional Bureau for Arab States (RBAS); Director, RBAS Regional Centre, Egypt |
| Mr. Baker al-Hiyari | Team Leader, WANA Forum Secretariat, Jordan |
| Dr. Khalid Ismail | Visiting Research Fellow, Regional Human Security Centre (RHSC), Jordan |
| Dr. Ferghang Jalal | Senior Economic Advisor for Economic Development Issues & Industrial Management, Iraq-Kurdistan Regional Government, Prime Minister Office |
| Dr. Odeh Al Jayyousi | Regional Director for the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), Jordan |

| Name | Background |
|-------------------------------|--|
| H.E. Nabil El-Jisr | Chairman of the Council for Development and Reconstruction, Lebanon |
| Dr. Abdul-Karim Jouda | Chief Special Environmental Health Programme and Acting Field Engineering and Construction Services Officer, United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) Gaza Field office, Palestine |
| Professor Olli Kangas | Professor of Social Policy and Head of the Research Department at the Social Insurance Institution of Finland |
| Dr. Lahib Al-Khraisha | Programme Officer, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Iraq Operations Unit, Jordan |
| Dr. Yahya Al Kubaisi | Researcher at Iraqi Research Centre and visiting researcher at L'Institut français du Proche-Orient (IFPO), Jordan |
| Mr. Enrique Madueno | Head of Development section, Canadian Embassy, Jordan |
| Dr. Ahmad Mango | WANA Forum Moderator and Advisor to HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal, Jordan |
| Dr. Odeh Al-Meshan | Head of Division, Jordan Badia Research and Development Centre, Jordan |
| Professor Adam Azzain Mohamed | Director of the Public Administration and Federalism studies Institute, University of Khartoum, Sudan |
| Ms. Grace Najjar | International Consultant, European Commission (EU), Lebanon |
| Professor Tetsuji Okazaki | Economist at University of Tokyo, Japan |

| Name | Background |
|----------------------------|---|
| Dr. Anna Paolini | Head of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Office and Representative to Jordan |
| Ambassador Ilari Rantakari | Ambassador, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Finland |
| Professor Juho Saari | Professor of Welfare Sociology, University of Kuopio, Finland |
| Dr. Haider Saeed | Visiting Scholar, Center For Strategic Studies, University of Jordan |
| Mr. Mohammad Shahbaz | WANA Forum Environment Working Group Facilitator and President of the Jordan Badia Research and Development Centre, Jordan |
| H.E. Mohammad Shtayyeh | Minister of Public Works and Housing and Former Managing Director of the Palestinian Economic Council for Development and Reconstruction, Palestine |
| Dr. Salam Smeasim | Visiting Research Fellow, Regional Human Security Centre (RHSC), Jordan |
| Ms. Sally Soussou | Project Manger - MENA, Iraq Scholar Rescue Project, Scholar Rescue Fund Institute of International Education (IIE), Jordan |
| HRH El Hassan bin Talal | WANA Forum Chairman; His Royal Highness has initiated, founded and is actively involved in a number of Jordanian and international organisations, institutes and committees |

| Name | Background |
|----------------------|---|
| Dr. Sufyan Tell | International Consultant in Environment and Development and Director of International Centre for Environment & Planning, Jordan |
| Dr. Adel Tweissi | Secretary-General, the Higher Council for Science and Technology (HCST), Jordan |
| Dr. Rajesh Venugopal | Altajir Lecturer in Post-war Recovery Studies at the University of York, United Kingdom |
| Dr. Maha Yahya | Regional Advisor on Social Policies at the Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA), Lebanon |
| Mr. Steven Zyck | Research Fellow at the Post-war Reconstruction and Development Unit (PRDU) at the University of York, United Kingdom |



Left to Right: Habiba Hamid, Tetsuji Okazaki, El Hassan bin Talal

WANA FORUM SECRETARIAT

| Name | Background |
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| Martti Antola | Advisor, WANA Forum Secretariat and Officer for External Relations and Governance Support, Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, Sweden |
| Fatima Azzeh | Communications Officer, WANA Forum Secretariat |
| Sultan Barakat | WANA Forum Moderator, Advisor to HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal and Director of the Post-war Reconstruction and Development Unit, University of York, United Kingdom |
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| Nour Qabba'ah | Researcher, WANA Forum Secretariat |
| Mohammad Shahbaz | WANA Forum Environment Working Group Facilitator and President of the Jordan Badia Research and Development Centre |

WANA FORUM PARTNER INSTITUTIONS

Post-war Reconstruction and Development Unit (PRDU)

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| Rajesh Venugopal | Altajir Lecturer in Post-war Recovery Studies at the University of York, United Kingdom |
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WANA FORUM PARTNER INSTITUTIONS

Regional Human Security Centre (RHSC)

| Name | Background |
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| Hasan Abu Nimah | Director of RHSC |
| Enass Al-Refaei | RHSC Project Coordinator |
| Rula Fataftah | RHSC Administrative Assistant |
| Sahar Al-Momani | Web Developer |
| Khalid Ismail | Visiting Research Fellow, RHSC |
| Salam Smeasim | Visiting Research Fellow, RHSC |
| Stephanie Elizondo | Researcher, Forced Migration Cluster, RHSC |
| Karen Janjua | Research Fellow, Head of Reconstruction Cluster, RHSC |
| Heyam Al Kateeb | Visiting Fellow, RHSC |
| Sansom Milton | Visiting Fellow, RHSC |



PRESENTATIONS

Opening Remarks by Professor Sultan Barakat

Good morning Your Royal Highness, Your Excellencies, Friends and Colleagues.

I would like to welcome you all to the first Reconstruction and Recovery Expert Consultation of the West Asia and North Africa (WANA) Forum. We are grateful and honoured to have been gathered by His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan bin Talal, a visionary leader and a statesman. Under the

auspices of His Royal Highness, we have assembled today a group of individuals who are, day to day, guiding the reconstruction and recovery of our region. We are particularly pleased to have with us Ambassador Lakhdar Brahimi, a truly global diplomat, His Excellency Mohammad Shtayyeh, Minister of Public Works and Housing of Palestine, His Excellency Nabil El-Jisr, Chairman of the Council for Development and Reconstruction in Lebanon and His Excellency Bakhtiar Amin, Former Minister of Human Rights in Iraq. From Afghanistan we were meant to have with us Minister Ehsan Zia, who unfortunately, due to the extended election process, could not join us, but we welcome his envoy and Senior Advisor, Mr. Arsalan Ghalieh. I would also like to welcome our other distinguished colleagues from Iran, Sudan, Turkey, Japan, Finland and elsewhere. With such a distinguished group, we are obliged to use our time wisely, to consider shared opportunities and challenges and the manner in which, through concerted joint action, we may begin to overcome them. Doing so will require not only intellect and creativity but also the development of relationships which will allow us to continue the work we start here today. Such is the goal of the WANA Forum.

His Royal Highness established the WANA Forum as a platform for promoting dialogue and collective action to enable us to address the issues that affect our region. The WANA Forum provides a space to share experiences and offer ways of using knowledge to promote a better and more sustainable future. I have often defined the WANA Forum as a “coalition of the willing” – not for military interventions – but for realising the triple objective of economic prosperity, social equity and environmental protection through collaboration and respect for human dignity.



Sultan Barakat

The First Annual WANA Forum took place in April earlier this year. This event brought together over 70 individuals from throughout the region to discuss shared challenges and concerns. It formed the first of three stages of the WANA Forum process, the overall objective of which is to identify and prioritise key issues; to develop innovative policy options; and, finally, to disseminate and implement the most promising solutions across the WANA region.

The outcome of the first meeting highlighted a number of cross-cutting areas for action. These were:

- 1- The reconstruction and recovery of war-torn parts of the region;
- 2- The enhancement of social cohesion between the region's diverse peoples;
and
- 3- The promotion of environmental education and the development of 'green' industries and infrastructure.

This consultation aims to address the first of these themes – 'reconstruction and recovery.' It takes place in conjunction with various other consultation meetings which will be held before the second annual forum in May next year. Yesterday the social cohesion consultation took place, which built on the importance of developing a notion of social cohesion that is culturally and politically relevant to, and rooted in, the region.

However, social cohesion – regardless of the definition or form – is torn apart by the sorts of entrenched, protracted conflicts which have afflicted our region with increasing frequency in recent history – leaving us trapped in a form of 'development in reverse'. Economies, societies, and states are decimated, and the externally-imposed measures intended to rectify this situation have often done only slightly more good than harm. Yet, rather than viewing such failures as calls to action, the WANA region has at times appeared complacent in the face of an international community committed to principles and approaches which have not always yielded the most impressive results. Yet, where there remains a challenge, opportunity is not far off. As such, we hope that this consultation will develop practical and innovative solutions to address the most pressing social, economic and environmental issues that have affected the reconstruction and recovery of our region.

The practice of reconstruction and recovery in the aftermath of conflict refers to a holistic process, incorporating efforts to address the underlying causes of conflict as well as broader development challenge. Some of the many daunting obstacles, faced by war-torn and conflict-affected countries and contexts include:

governance and state building, rule of law, security sector reform, development and infrastructure rehabilitation, as well as psycho-social recovery. Taken together, these needs and sectors underpin the notion of human security, which demands that we not only equate security with counter-terrorism and insurgency but with human wellbeing, justice, accountable governance, and protection from violence and cruel poverty.

The notion of human security has long been emphasised by the Regional Human Security Centre (RHSC) here in Amman, another initiative of His Royal Highness. We are pleased to have this Centre as a partner in the organisation of this consultation, and I welcome its director, Ambassador Hasan Abu Nimah. Under his leadership, the Regional Human Security Centre promises to increase its role as a leading think tank and centre for excellence in the region.

It is often assumed that recovery and reconstruction cannot begin until conflict is over or until a comprehensive peace agreement has been signed. However, these processes must be planned during the conflict itself – not as a means of whitewashing the conflict and putting a humanitarian gloss on warfare, as we have seen in recent times – but as a means of laying the groundwork for a more effective transition. Subsequently, the success of recovery and reconstruction from the outset is founded on comprehensive consensus building. Forward planning will enable us to respond quicker in order to provide visible improvements in the immediate aftermath of conflict to foster an effective ‘peace dividend’. This approach reinforces the need for consultations – such as this – in order to promote a more inclusive and regional approach to recovery across our region.

Ironically, the challenges of reconstruction and recovery faced by our region are both old and new. A history of colonial conquest followed by the revolutionary wars of independence is shared by many of our nations. Over the past century conflict has continued to rage both internally and externally, undermining development and inhibiting regional cooperation in the process. Even today, much of our region continues to be affected by conflict and unrest. While violent conflict in Iraq and Afghanistan continues, tens of thousands of citizens face the consequences of displacement, poverty and trauma in Palestine, Lebanon, Sudan, and, most recently, in Yemen. Although policies regarding the resolution of conflict and attempts at fostering development continue to be discussed and debated, we do not have a particularly good record. It seems that the power of the pen, in this context, has failed to be mightier than the sword. We remain guilty of failing to build on the mistakes of the past and act on the lessons learnt within our region.

As a result, so many of our nation states find themselves faced with conflict again and again.

The risk of a resumption of violence is inherited from the circumstances that caused conflict in the first place. In particular, reconstruction efforts have often failed to address the underlying causes of conflict, thus aggravating existing grievances and increasing the risk of further violence. Academics have often debated the numbers – whether 23 percent or 40 percent of countries revert to conflict due to failed peace agreements and squandered reconstruction opportunities – yet either figure is appalling.

The impacts of these conflicts have caused widespread death and destruction. The Iraq war has resulted in an estimated 100,000 civilian deaths since 2003. According to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, there were around 3.9 million displaced persons in our region at the end of 2008. Return and resettlement are continuously undermined by insecurity, economic collapse and military occupation. Furthermore, the wounds of the most recent of many conflicts in Gaza, are still bleeding, and promised funds have yet to make their way through donors' bureaucracies and past Israeli barricades.

The failure of so many reconstruction and recovery attempts can often be attributed to the absence of indigenous ownership over the process. The current reconstruction efforts taking place in Afghanistan and Iraq have been overly driven by external security priorities, Katrina-esque incompetence, and a disregard for the values, needs and capacities of the locations and people they have targeted.

In many ways, the almost 'neo-colonial' reconstruction efforts which have affected many countries in the WANA region have been based on strict aid conditionalities, aiming to promote Western values – which are often incompatible with the customs and traditions to which we are accustomed. Furthermore, these have tended to benefit the 'reconstructors', whether from Kellogg, Brown and Root or the myriad firms and organisations clamouring for funds, rather than the reconstruction process itself. As a result, recovery efforts have often entrenched underdevelopment – creating the conditions for persistent poverty and inequality – rather than overcoming it. Instead, we need to build consensus across the WANA region in order to look at ways of working together to build resilient institutions, which will prevent countries from slipping back into conflict.

Swanström notes that as 'the interdependence increases between states, the risk of war decreases.' This finding reinforces the link between regional cooperation and conflict prevention and highlights the need for regional responses to recovery

and reconstruction. Such an integrated approach will foster intra-regional, or what used to be known as South-South, solidarity – promoting a united and coordinated approach to the challenges we all face. This requires effective and accountable donorship which draws on the capacities of our somewhat wealthier nations in order to foster greater equality for all and the building of cooperative and mutually beneficial political relationships alongside roads and buildings.

Efforts to transform conflict across the WANA region presents an opportunity to address the direct challenges many of us face while promoting better governance, socio-economic development and environmentally sensitive approaches to reconstruction. This is the topic of the next two days.

We intend this event to be fully participatory, allowing room for debate and emphasising our joint responsibility to take action. We will begin this morning with a series of presentations which will address lessons learnt in post-war reconstruction drawing on examples from Afghanistan, Lebanon, Palestine, Iraq, Iran, Sudan and Sri Lanka. Advocating for a comprehensive and holistic approach to recovery, the subsequent break-out sessions will discuss some of the overlapping and multi-sectoral issues influencing effective and sustainable reconstruction and development and the opportunities for addressing them.

In particular, the three key areas, which were proposed at the initial Forum meeting in April, have been selected for discussion. These include social and economic reconstruction and development, green reconstruction, and effective donorship and accountability. The solutions and recommendations from this consultation will be taken forward to the Second Annual WANA Forum meeting in order to propose concrete policy initiatives for implementation.

The previous forum highlighted the critical importance of environmental factors in promoting sustainable development. We need to advocate for the wider institutionalisation of new “green” technologies across the region. In this way we can “leap frog” development, as my good friend Ahmad Mango often describes it, and sidestep the mistakes made by the conventional reconstruction initiatives promoted in the Western World. In places from Afghanistan to Iraq and in Yemen, Sudan and Somalia, energy shortages and high oil prices have hampered economic growth. Energy supplies have become an increasingly global issue, in which energy flows or restriction in one area has a direct impact on others. Given that the WANA region is possibly the worlds richest in sunlight, we must utilise these natural resources in order to enhance agricultural benefits and promote equitable growth. In this way, a focus on green development will contribute to social and economic

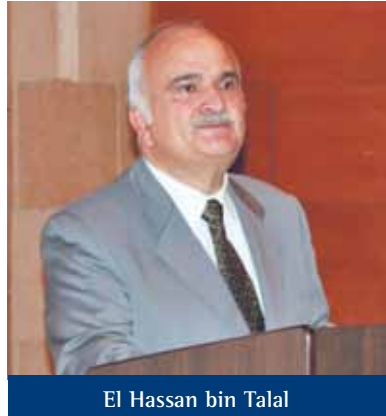
improvements in order to harness a peace dividend in the aftermath of war.

A particular focus of this consultation is to assess the role of Gulf State donors and the contributions they can provide in the wider reconstruction of our region. In particular we need to address how the delivery and implementation of donor funds can be adapted to ensure best practice and reduce wastage.

The final session will then provide an opportunity for feedback and will encourage the development of action plans for the future – highlighting our mutual responsibilities and commitment to development. The WANA region presents a huge number of challenges for the field of recovery and reconstruction. Critical to our success in this area is building collaborative relationships to overcome our history of separation and conflict and work together to build a collaborative and peaceful future.

Finally, I will end this introduction by extending my warmest welcome to our first speaker and the guardian of the entire process: His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan bin Talal. His Royal Highness has shown a long standing commitment to development and reconstruction across the WANA region. Internationally, he proposed the establishment of the New International Humanitarian Order at the United Nations, is the Founding Member and President of the Foundation for Interreligious and Intercultural Research and Dialogue and is the Commissioner of the Commission for the Legal Empowerment of the Poor. Regionally, he has chaired a number of committees and initiatives including the Arab Thought Forum, the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies, and the Regional Human Security Centre, amongst many, many others. He is an inspiring innovator who has championed the principles of human rights, human security and peace across the WANA region and beyond. Through both his commitment and hard work he has contributed to translating so many of these often talked about concepts into practice, fostering hope that one day West Asia and North Africa can achieve lasting peace and security.

Keynote Speech by HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal



Good morning, Ladies and Gentlemen.

Yohei Sasakawa of The Nippon Foundation, at the First Annual WANA Forum in April of this year, emphasised that WANA countries must not end with short-term stopgap measures but address the root causes of poverty, conflict, governance and division. This is one of a series of consultations which will hopefully lead to concrete initiatives by the next annual forum in the spring.

We are lucky to be joined today by so many dedicated individuals representing institutions and people. I hope that in bridging the human dignity deficit we can remove labels and speak to each other as human beings committed to the development of a civil society movement responsible to its people and aware of the enormous challenge of raising the awareness of peoples of this region of both global and regional commons. It is my hope that the criteria of international approaches, as described by the Helsinki Process, to security, both in terms of hard and basic security (such as Weapons of Mass Destruction) as well as current security, will also incorporate human security.

We are lucky to be joined at this consultation, by my friend, Lakhdar Brahimi, whose Landmark 2000 Report addressed some of the failures of the United Nations in peace-keeping operations. I personally share the view that peace keeping is not only blue helmets, but maybe one day we shall see blue overalls – an international non-denominational peace corps of young people participating in the promotion of confidence in a world where GDP does not necessarily mean the improvement of per capita GDP. People are being alienated; they are turning to the parallel economy, to the parallel polity of violence and the parallel polarity of violence between state and non-state actors leaving the middle ground of rationality to muddle through or to keep its head down. I would rather “muddle up” than “muddle down” and in that context, peace-keeping operations that examine the potential for reform are an essential leverage by the people and for the people. When we speak of the South-Asia and West-Asia regions, we speak in generalities. There are those that describe the Middle East extending from Casablanca to Calcutta or from

Marrakech to Bangladesh. This does not blinker the fact that since the Campbell-Bannerman (former Prime Minister of England) Report in 1907, when the former colonial powers came together to look at the future of waterways and of strategic materials, their conclusion was that the best way to safeguard colonial interest was for neighbouring peoples to remain poor and divided. I personally lament the outcome of the so-called Great War in that it did not lead, among other things, to the creation of a security council. If there had been a security council after WWI, WWII might have been avoided. Among the consequences of WWII was the creation of UNSCOP – the United Nations Special Commission on Palestine and from it, if I'm not mistaken, was born UNRWA – the United Nations Relief Works Agency – a temporary relief works agency. Over half a century later, I think that people have the right to ask how temporary is temporary? Living on the margins of society, isolated by labels, by mandates from the UN and from each other, UN agencies such as UNHCR (The United Nations High Commission for Refugees) and UNRWA battle to face challenges where, in piecemeal terms, they can offer stop-gap measures. There are those, such as the increasing number of stateless people that do not even fit into categories of international law.

I worked with the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues (ICHI) in the 80s, when Justice M. Hidayatullah, former Chief Justice and Vice President of India, began his report on 'statelessness' which I believe is housed in the Indian National Archives. Unfortunately, this report was not concluded because of the death of that scholarly figure. I must mention that as part of this process, I am delighted that Mrs. Karen Koning AbuZayd, the Commissioner General of UNRWA will be delivering the first El Hassan bin Talal Annual Lecture in Post-war Reconstruction and Development at the University of York in November. Speaking of the University of York, there are two – one in Canada and the other in the UK, both of which are rare in that they conduct studies on post-war reconstruction. I would also add the University of Osnabrück in Germany which is also rare in its study of the reasons for out-migration.

I want to emphasise the importance of T.I.M. – Territoriality, Identity and Movement (Migration)¹ and the work of the Club of The Hague on refugees and migration. My hope is that the day will come, where in consultation mode, away from the cameras, we can engage in a concept-building exercise to ask ourselves how we can all fit into what is referred to the Fertile Crescent in prose, but

1- T.I.M. – Territoriality, Migration and Movement, Dr. Lothar Brock, Germany.

what is becoming the futile crescent in politics. It is futile to talk about human, natural and economic resources without talking about a carrying capacity leading to a recovery capacity. Our resources are limited, not only our human capital and, here, let me underline the significance of 70% of educators in American Universities being of foreign extraction and of that 70% Arabs are more numerous in relation to population than Indians or Chinese. As a Patron of The Binational Fulbright Commission in Jordan, I have to say that the majority of our Jordanian Fulbright Scholars have been in the hard sciences, medicine and diverse sub-fields of engineering. So the liberal arts are being neglected, the Arabic language and Arabic history are being written by non-Arabs. Consequently the 'I' – 'Identity' – in T.I.M. is, unfortunately, from early school years, through the progression of life, becoming more and more complex; the subdivision of our world into new entities; the creation of Kosova for example led our distinguished colleague on the Board of WANA, Martti Ahtisaari, to ask me why Arabs did not recognise Kosova. I suggested that he might speak of the old Arabs and ask if Spain would recognise Kosova. They have a Catalanian and a Basque problem; England has a Scottish and a Welsh problem. The trend today is towards increasing institutional autonomy. Our concern here is increasing the autonomy of human beings by educating, not only for skills and for life, but also for citizenship. In terms of conflict statistics, and Dr. Barakat has already referred to wars and their outcome, we know that over 1,000 people were killed in 2006 in the Israeli-Lebanese war with similar numbers of fatalities in the last Gaza Strip conflict. Somalia remains the least-developed territory in the world and saw over 1000 civilians lose their lives in conflict in the first six months of this year alone and one in ten Somalis have been displaced, with 18,000 killed since 2007.

We have no regional information system, such as the Open Society Archive (OSA) in Budapest. I hope that in one of our future meetings we can invite Ambassador John Shattuck, formerly responsible for human rights at the U.S. State Department and current President of the Central European University in Budapest, to assist us in thinking about establishing an Open Society Archive. I also pay tribute to the Central European University's establishment of a project called The Divide, which records the ongoing anxieties of people on all sides of the walls in the Occupied Territories of Palestine or what has been described by Le Monde as the 'Palestinian Archipelago'.

This year in Pakistan, 2,000,000 people have been displaced. In Yemen 150,000 were displaced by conflict in September of this year. According to the UN

assistance mission in Afghanistan, 2,118 civilian deaths were recorded in 2008 and 1,500 by August 2009, with around 10,000 deaths from insurgence and U.S.-led military action since 2001. In Iraq, an estimated 100,000 civilian deaths in 2006 with no Iraqi hospitals built since 1983 (only 15,000 available hospital beds while 80,000 were needed). There are now 4.7 million Palestinian refugees registered with UNRWA in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and the Occupied Territories of Palestine, with seven million worldwide.

In the Jordanian context, my father was born in Mecca and I am Jordanian. If your father was born in Jerusalem and you have lived here with us, from even before 1948, you are Jordanian with full rights and responsibilities as a citizen. There will be those who will say, "What about the alternative homeland?" to which I will say, "If an Israeli describes us as the alternative homeland I think I have the right to continue to call them the historic homeland."

The main issue here is social cohesion – we must not continue to live on separate islands, promoting ever smaller and smaller identities (ethnic, sectarian, and religious) – Christian Arabs are less than 2.3 per cent of the population of historic Palestine and dwindling significantly in Jordan. I think we shall find that many in the West will continue to stereotypically describe Arabs as Muslims and Muslims as terrorists and the variegated, multicultural nature of the population of the Fertile Crescent will be overlooked.

The region's conflicts and struggles have not only led to military and civilian deaths, but UNHCR speaks of the combination of war and famine in Sudan which has led to nearly two million deaths. As for climate change, the problems of drought and famine are compounded by climate change which could lead to conflict over water. At least eight countries share the Nile Valley Basin, which requires the carrying capacity of five Nile Rivers, not one depleted Nile River by the year 2050.

I have just returned from a Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI) meeting in Washington. It may interest you that not only the countries of the WANA region, but the countries of the world, are obliged to accelerate the entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) to address the subject of WMD and in particular in the context of the NTBT by December of this year. Presumably, if the major players observe their responsibilities then leveraging other countries with nuclear capability with international conditionality applicable to all will be a natural outcome.

The issues of security have not been limited to the NTI in addressing weapons

of mass destruction alone. In the neighbouring countries to Iraq, children are dying from eating from depleted-uranium cookware built from scrap metal coming out of Iraq. The largest export from Iraq after oil is scrap metal.

In our work at the NTI, the Global Health and Security Initiative (GHSI) works to prevent and contain infectious diseases or outbreaks thereof by improving disease surveillance. We in Jordan are proud to be associated with the Middle East Consortium on Infectious Disease Surveillance (MECIDS), which also supports the Mekong Basin Disease Surveillance (MBDS) network and plans to create two more. MECIDS includes Israel, Jordan and the Palestinian Authority and has already successfully detected and helped contain outbreaks of Salmonella, mumps and Avian Flu. The network in South-East Asia includes Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand, Vietnam and China. As President Emeritus of World Conference of Religions for Peace (WCRP), we have worked with several organisations to address issues such as child prostitution, organ trafficking and the question of street children.

Looking at security, economy, culture and legality form the substantive roadmap of the Helsinki Process, why is it that this region, the West-Asia South-Asia regions have not been able to develop a substantive roadmap of thematic issues for addressing these issues? The World Institute for Nuclear Security helped create and launch the first organisation of its kind to strengthen the physical protection and security of nuclear and radioactive materials worldwide. Ten per cent of the United State's electricity comes from nuclear plants fuelled by uranium from the Former Soviet Union. As for nuclear fuel reserves, 40 countries have expressed interest in building their first nuclear power plant. But enriching uranium can develop fuel for a nuclear reactor or material for a nuclear weapon. To address that threat, NTI has proposed establishing an international nuclear fuel bank to be owned and operated by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

What are we doing talking about social cohesion when realities on the ground represent expenditure on Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) rather than what we are here for – Mutually Assured Survival (MAS)?

We are told that we must deal collectively with food security as well as conflict. Less than half a century ago, the WANA region was a net exporter of food. It has now become one of the largest importing regions in the so-called third world which is my first world. In 1995 the region imported 38 million tonnes of cereal – about 36 per cent of the total net imports of developing regions. The price of these cereals rose more than 50 per cent in 2008.

In a recent conversation with Paul Volcker, we focused on the need for a regional cohesion fund. We also focused on the importance of the recent UN resolution on the Legal Empowerment of the Poor and eradication of poverty, which was passed on 4th December, 2008. This was also the focus of recent correspondence between Robert Zoellick, the President of the World Bank and myself. The Arab Economic Summit held in Kuwait in January of this year was only the second such Summit held in my lifetime, the first in Amman. Robert Zoellick tells us that much of the world's economy has contracted. However, the MENA region as the World Bank continues to describe it, is still expected to run a 3.3 per cent GDP growth in 2009. I would like to suggest that this figure is the same as mixing apples with oranges. In East Africa, 23 million people live below the poverty line. Over the past 20 years, conflict has cost WANA countries 12 trillion dollars.

You may ask me why I call it WANA. The reason is simply that geographically, we are a part of Asia. Tectonically, Palestine is a part of Africa. Politically, Israel is whatever it wants to be. The time has come where hypocrisy has to end. We meet under the umbrella of the UN in negotiating mode, but nobody meets in consultation mode to address the huge thematic challenges that face our peoples.

Maha Yaha, Regional Advisor on Social Policies with ESCWA in Lebanon, spoke at the April Forum of the significant brain drain of the region. Perhaps the most frightening figure coming out of the Arab Economic Summit in Kuwait is the 55 million unemployed youth under the age of 30 in this region, where the aggregate unemployment rate for young people between 15 and 24 remains at 25 per cent compared to the world average of 14 per cent. Job creation has favoured older and more established workers or in some cases migrant labourers over youth. This phenomenon protects mature workers, excludes younger ones and for example in Jordan, according to a study by the Joint Project of The Dubai School of Government & The Wolfensohn Center for Development at Brookings, of the 55,000 created in Jordan between 2001 and 2007, 63 per cent went to expatriates.

Education is not a guarantee against unemployment in the Middle East. I personally regret and lament that we no longer have a school leaving certificate where, at 16 years of age, young people could be channelled into vocational training in different areas.

I am ashamed by the way in which we Arabs use and abuse migrant labourers. The 2009 project on Middle East Democracy, cosponsored by the US Institute of Peace at Georgetown University underlined the decline of democratic practices in Jordan and violations of election practices.

Multilateral mechanisms, such as a regional reconstruction fund, could develop and institutionalise mutual will in the third sphere. When we refer to the state or the authority, we assume that patriarchal solutions are going to be found and democracy is going to land by parachute, but the reality is that unless we work jointly and convivially, ad hominem participation from public and private sectors and civil society, we cannot mobilise the rationality of the silent or the silenced majority and the reasons for the silencing are partially described by Dr. Panandikar in the South-Asian region but which can also apply to WANA: “population growth, poverty and deprivation, slow economic development, high illiteracy, high infant mortality, failure of political parties, poor health care and sanitation, inadequacy of democratic processes, poor quality of institutions of governance, failure of political parties, politicisation of armed forces, rise in ethnic conflict, rise in violence, growth of urbanisation, degradation of the environment and corruption in public life.”

We seem to be living a *laissez-faire* phase – do whatever you want, violate any law, but do not develop a political awareness. This, I think, is the most dangerous form of *laissez-faire*; to be liberated from constraints is understandable but to be liberated from collective responsibility is a recipe for anarchy.

The region I have referred to here as the Crisis Ellipse (map on next page), extends from the Atlantic all the way to South-East Asia. The reason for bringing about this consultation was that I was full of admiration for one of the reconstruction efforts in the context of South-East Asia. This region includes the chokepoints of the Suez Canal, Bab-el-Mandeb, Strait of Hormuz and the Straits of Malacca. We are told that in the next 10 years, if the ice cap continues to melt, trade will be facilitated by North-East Asia and the Atlantic. In today’s world, I wonder how we are going to progress to that point given the difficulties that we face in our immediate region, including the imminence of the threat of war yet again. But I produced this Crisis Ellipse just to remind you of the oil reserves in terms of billions of barrels, in Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmanistan, the Caucuses and from the Caucuses all the way down to the Strait of Hormuz. We are talking about a total of four per cent of oil reserves, oil production in millions of barrels a day of three per cent, of gas reserves in trillion cubic metres four per cent, of gas production billion cubic metres of six per cent, daily.

My fear is if you turn to the regional oil transit chokepoints, that the Strait of Hormuz leading out to the Gulf of Arabia and the Straits of Malacca linking the Indian and Pacific oceans could very well be threatened by war which as we know



is imminent, short of a miracle. Malacca is the shortest sea route between supplies from Arabian Gulf states, Iran and the Asian markets, notably China, Japan, South Korea and the Pacific Rim. Another reason for calling us West Asia is that to the Chinese and the Japanese we are the Middle West, not the Middle East.

Oil shipments through the Straits of Malacca supply China and Indonesia, two of the world's most populous nations. I don't have to refer in detail to the Turkish Straits, 2.4 million bbl/d; the Suez Canal/Sumed Pipeline, 4.5 million bbl/d; Bab el-Mandeb, 3.3 million bbl/d, but I don't think that you have to use too much imagination to recognise that when new pipelines from Nigeria to Algeria, from Darfur to Cameroon and the gas deal of the century, China's promise to buy \$50bn worth of natural gas from the proposed North West Shelf Gorgon development in Australia, that the world is looking for alternatives.

So when we are vaporised in this immediate region by the use of any of the weapons of mass destruction, the rest of the world will continue to promote the sale of oil and gas. This may appear to be a doomsday scenario but I had to mention it for the simple reason that I will then suggest some solutions.

The stabilisation of this region cannot be piecemeal – the Palestinians and the Israelis; the Lebanese and the Israelis; the Syrians, the Iranians, Pakistanis, the Afghans, not to mention the role of neighbouring countries including India, Russia and Israel in a longer-arm outreach in involvement in South-Asian and West-Asian conflicts.



It had been my hope and still is, that after President Obama received the Nobel Peace Prize, the United States along with the OECD countries, would look at the totality of challenges that this region is facing. The totality of challenges means the stabilisation of a region in what Goethe referred to as a velociferous world driven in progress and future oriented dreams. He referred to Europe's self-destructive image for the modern and self-destructive linkage between *Velocitas* and *Lucifer*, the devil, hence velociferous development. Goethe, after all, was the author in 1814 - 1819 of the *West-Eastern Divan*, a personal testimony of his admiration for the history, culture and religion of the oriental world, which incidentally is the whole of Asia.

If we are to attest to international standards, the time has come to recognise that standards of behaviour are based on ethics, morals and values. We cannot continue to selectively choose those ethics, morals and values to suit our particular parochial narratives. We must look at the importance of coordinating and concerting actions, as in the *Lysøen Declaration*, with a view to enhancing human security, promoting human rights, strengthening humanitarian law, preventing conflict and fostering good governance, which is the opposite of fostering corruption. Another UN resolution with which I was associated, is the *Responsibility to Protect (R2P)*,

the protection of civilians in armed conflict, passed in 2000. When will we arrive at a template for change – a template for peace? In Martti Ahtisaari's words at the First Annual WANA Forum, "Peace is a matter of will".

Other principles we can put in place are outlined in the new policy agenda for the Middle East Youth Initiative, developed by the Brookings Institute and the Dubai School of Government, include 'Do no harm', 'Adopt a long-term perspective', 'Understand the role of institutions and incentives', and 'Formulate integrated policy responses.'

How many people outside this hall understand international standards or international perspectives? How can we fight the hatred industry? I regard myself as a radical in the sense that I am saying these things, but others may regard us as not radical enough because we are not bearded and are not carrying Kalashnikovs. I think that it is hugely important to recognise that marginalised dispossessed people will continue to seek the recognition of their legal and historic rights. On the other hand, I do believe that some practical steps should be considered. We do not have an economic council or a social council. In a message to the United Nations Millennium Development Goals Awards at the General Assembly in September of last year, I mentioned the need for an economic council and a social council, representing a thematic approach and a commitment by all countries in this region, exclusive of none. I'm sorry to say that we do not and are not represented every day of every week by that third sphere. In a sense, we are a no-name region.

Climate negotiators do not meet their leaders' pledges. Copenhagen is meant to agree on a broader framework to expand or replace the 1997 Kyoto Protocol. Yet, climate is often about the physical environment at the expense of the natural and human environment. It is for this reason that I congratulate the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) for adopting *hima*, which is an Arabic word that incorporates the concept of protectorate for both the physical and human environment.

Maybe a moment will come in the context of Palestinians and Israelis, Iraqis, Afghans and Pakistanis and all the labels of the region, the narrow nationalisms of the region of the post-colonial era, where social cohesion can be developed by a stabilising initiative which includes 1) population and economic growth (urban growth, GDP per capita, unemployment in developing region, pollution and environmental damage) and 2) water and food. We are told in the Book of Revelations in the Bible that when the Euphrates dries, it will be a

sign of the end of the world. Well the Euphrates has dried and to answer questions about historic and legal rights in that narrow context without an overview of a carrying capacity which looks at the whole of the Jordan Rift Valley, not at projects in isolation, but within a concept, we cannot stabilise this region. When talking of water management, food grains and proteins, the biggest cause of death in this part of the world is diabetes. Some Scandinavians told me that they have a tax of 24% on sugar and asked why we don't apply this in Jordan. In Jordan most people live on a glass of tea and a piece of bread, so I wish people would put the text into context before giving advice of that kind. Tunisia is a country that imports all of its wheat and adds the protein lysine to it and I believe now they are going to add protein to their tea and coffee.

It is essential to develop a conversation for a regional concept committed to a basic standard of behaviour that closes down the hatred industry.

The UAE Red Crescent Society estimated that the 2009 Ramadan campaign alone could generate more than 31.5 million dollars for the region's poor. Two telethons in January 2009 raised nearly nine million dollars from the citizens of Bahrain for the victims of Gaza.

We are criticised as Muslims and told that Sharia is about cutting off hands and other ghastly horrors that plague our very human dignity and our humanity. I am not from that school of thought because I believe you have to find the reasons behind such criminality before you start addressing Sharia in that narrow context.

The sovereign wealth funds of the Gulf States are valued at over 1.1 trillion dollars and today we are told that even the City of London is adopting Islamic banking. So when it is convenient Muslims are good and when it is not, which is most of the time, Muslims are bad.

We need an inclusionist approach, a human-centric vocabulary. We need to restructure institutions of governance, redefine role of state, social development, including our common culture. I recognise the work of Bezhad Shahandeh about confidence building measures when he said that elites must be the pace setters, pioneers and image makers, but I do not believe in saviours or feel comfortable with the concept of charisma, which has been used and abused. We all need to take part in bringing this change about – we the people. Investment in hope has to be more than mere prose.

Reflections by H.E. Lakhdar Brahimi

It is an honour and a pleasure to participate in this Forum. I applaud the organisers' choice of using the name WANA for this region, as I believe that it is the right name. It is a name that Asians have been using for many years and hopefully, by adopting it, we in the Arab world will be looking a bit more towards the East, and a bit less to the West and North.

Your Royal Highness, Professor Barakat, as you rightly mentioned in your introductions, I have had 'my feet on the ground,' as far as conflict is concerned. It is, therefore, from the position of experience and practical knowledge gained – as opposed to theoretical knowledge – that I will address this forum.

I would like to structure my remarks by posing a number of questions and briefly discussing each one. In that way, by posing certain questions and responding to the contexts in which they have arisen, we will hopefully, be supporting the discussions that will be taking place during the remainder of this two-day consultation.

The first question I would like to address is the following: When we speak of post-conflict situations, reconstruction and peace building, what is the international experiential background against which we are working?

Since the end of the Cold War, we have been working against a political backdrop of international transition that remains ongoing; there exists, at present, no clear status quo in regard to an established 'international order.'

In 1991, after the first Gulf War, President Bush Senior claimed that there was a 'new world order' in which the United States was at the centre. Speaking along similar lines, President Clinton and his Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, referred to the U.S. as 'the indispensable country.' However, at that time, there were already a number of observers who were pointing out that the U.S. was losing the unique position that it had held for some time. Saudi Arabia, Germany and Japan were asked to help pay for America's war against Iraq for Kuwait; that is, the war of Bush Senior. A superpower that cannot pay for its wars cannot remain super-powerful for very long.

Later, President Bush Junior decided that he, too, would be a war president,



Lakhdar Brahimi

leading for a time what he called “the war on terror”. Mercifully, President Obama does not focus on that global war, although his administration has not quite stopped waging it. Obama, furthermore, seems ready to discuss with others – rather than dictate – what the ‘new world order’ ought to be. The steady rise of China, India and Brazil, among others, demonstrates that we are slowly moving towards a multi-polar world. In sum, the U.S. might still be the first among equals, but it will no longer be the sole superpower on Earth.

Another question that should be posed is this: How good has our region been in taking part in international efforts to build peace and security?

Overall, our participation has been disappointing, although some of us have been contributing significantly to conflict management, as well as reconstruction after conflicts.

We have in this region, for example, several countries which are among the true contributors to international peace-keeping globally. Jordan, despite its limited resources and small size, regularly contributes troops, and you can see Jordanian military and police personnel participating in practically every UN peace-keeping mission. However, the contribution of our region, as a whole, is still neither sufficient nor visible enough.

The Sudan, for example, has been crisis-ridden for a very long time and Sudan’s partners in the Arab League have been extremely quiet. Until recently, they could have been described as inactive in regard to helping the Sudan to solve its problems. Now, however, the Arab League is partnering with the African Union to support the Sudan in resolving the Darfur crisis. We have to recognise that Sudan has extremely serious problems, particularly in regard to the fate of the North-South relationship and the upcoming referendum. Extremely important and, frankly, extremely dangerous developments are coming.

As further evidence of how well the region has done in regard to supporting international peace-building efforts, I will draw your attention to one problem which is almost a personal issue for all of us, and that is Palestine.

It would be an understatement to say that we have not been very effective in helping our Palestinian brothers and sisters. A few days ago, while watching Al Jazeera, I was intrigued by the commentary of one international observer concerning the Goldstone Report. He neither supported nor criticised the report in the usual ways, but instead, focused on several questions that are seldom heard any longer.

The commentator, a French-Israeli, mentioned that there was one question

in his mind that the Goldstone Report had not effectively addressed: How do an occupied people change their condition? If you say that these people have absolutely no right to fight for their liberation, but yet, you do not do anything to get the occupying power to give the people any rights or freedoms, what are the real options for change?

I think that we in this region have stopped asking these questions and I believe that we need to ask them again. When we say that Hamas and Fatah have no rights to acquire weapons, that they must talk to the Israelis (when the Israelis are willing to talk), and we say that they must negotiate and respect a ceasefire (even if the Israelis violate it), we are standing by while the Palestinians are called the aggressors. Israel has the right, de facto, to defend itself and to use force but apparently the Palestinians do not have that right. We, in this region have stopped saying, “No! The Palestinians have that right.”

If we really believe that the Palestinians are human beings, then they have rights. No matter how incapable and deplorable their leaders may be these days, the Palestinians have rights. If we believe that, then we also have to speak on their behalf and defend their right for them to defend themselves.

Questions regarding our participation in peace-building efforts concern another issue in the region, and that is the negotiation process taking place around Iran’s alleged nuclear ambitions.

A most important question, in my mind, is this: Why is the P-5 + Germany negotiating with Iran as the representatives of the “international community?” Don’t we have a more significant right, in this case and in this region to participate in such negotiations as the “international community?”

There is, furthermore, precedence for regional neighbours to take the major role in resolving similar disputes. In the case of North Korea, all of the concerned neighbouring countries were involved in the negotiations regarding concerns over nuclear weapons. Why is no one from our region participating in the negotiations with Iran? There is one neighbouring country, in particular, that claims that it has existential fears regarding Iran’s ambitions: that is, Israel. Why doesn’t Israel participate in the negotiations either? Why doesn’t Israel put its own nuclear capabilities on the table and discuss with us and Iran a project to make the entire region a nuclear weapons-free zone?

The people and the governments of this region have to assert themselves. They have to say that Iran, as our neighbour, has the right to nuclear energy and its technology, and, if there is a problem with nuclear weapons, that concerns us,

too. We have to talk to our brother about it, and, we are part of the international community when it comes to issues of nuclear weapons in the region – in Iran, in Israel or anywhere else.

I wish to turn now to questions of regional participation in international relief, recovery and reconstruction efforts. Prior to that, however, I would like to highlight a few issues that relate to international assistance or aid, more generally, and which are not in practical terms restricted to aid delivery in post-conflict situations.

Reportedly, more than \$100 billion are donated annually by the rich industrialised nations as aid to the third world. What is striking, however, is that the impacts of this aid do not appear significant or at least proportionate to the amounts of support donated. Questions in regard to why actual achievements on the ground do not reflect the value of the aid need much more attention and investigation. In Afghanistan, a study by Oxfam found that 40 per cent of all aid given returned to the donor country in the form of payments for experts, technical support and salaries. Those who represent the various branches of the UN (with the exception of UNWRA) recognise that a great deal of the funds entrusted to us to help people is wasted. Issues surrounding how the money is used are essential in order to rationalise and improve the ways in which we respond to the needs of conflict-affected people.

A further problem, we now realise, is that aid agencies and donors create very high expectations among people in need, which they are not able to live up to and which result in anger, disappointment and even rejection. One of the ways that unreasonably high expectations are created is through the use of a lot of mantras. One of the most used is that of establishing democracy. Democracy is something that can only be supported by foreigners; it cannot be donated by one person to another. Neither can it be created by outsiders; it has to be home grown. Contrary to these lessons learned, we have imported and promoted the principle of elections, almost as if it were a religion. This approach has been undertaken in post-conflict countries, despite the situation on the ground. In regard to what has been happening recently in Afghanistan, anyone who knew anything about this country's situation also knew that implementing a Presidential election in August 2009, when more than half of the country was engulfed in a terrible war, was unlikely to be successful. The UN called elections anyway – not because the Afghan people wanted or needed them, or because elections were somehow indispensable, but because we, the international community thought that we

could not allow Afghanistan to not re-elect its president after five years.

In retrospect, a Loya Jirga, or governing council, would have served the people much better. It would have produced much better results in the long-term and cost much, much less. Now, in the aftermath of an unsuccessful election, it is unclear what next steps should be undertaken. Whether a future run-off election takes place or not, another foreign agenda has been implemented in another poor country struggling to emerge from conflict - without due regard to what the imposed initiative is doing to the people that the international community wants to help.

The preceding line of reasoning also applies to pre-mature attempts to impose other staples of assistance for democratic development, such as constitutions. What is a constitution? It is, in essence, a contract between the people of a country to establish rules, procedures, etcetera on how to best live together. How can a viable constitution be drafted in a country where conditions of open conflict are ongoing? Can people in such a context be expected to sit together and produce a workable, representative constitution? The case of Iraq provides an example, as everyone now recognises that the Iraq constitution is not only unworkable, but it does not even have the support of those who helped create it.

There are many problems in the region, whether West Asia or North Africa, that require our attention:

Lebanon continues to struggle to stand on its own two feet while under pressure from other countries.

Somalia provides the best example of why the so-called Responsibility to Protect (R2P) concept does not exist as a universal. Help for Somalia is not available because the 'responsibility to protect' is, de facto, the choice of the powerful to choose when and where to intervene and it is not the right of those who need protection to have protection. If the international community wishes to move in the right direction, they must move in favour of providing protection where and when it is needed; protection must be provided to all, as a matter of due course. That protection is clearly needed in Palestine, yet there, too, it is not available.

I am very pleased to see that in our region we are now demonstrating a genuine interest in conflict management and post-conflict reconstruction. The region, and in particular, the Arab world, has been absent from the rich debate surrounding these themes for too long. It is high time that we play our full part and this is a very good beginning.

Thank you very much.

Remarks by H.E. Ehsan Zia of Afghanistan

as Presented by Mr. Arsalan
Ghalieh



Bismillah-rahman-rahim,
Al-Hamdullella.

Your Royal Highness, Excellencies, Dr. Ahmad Mango, Professor Sultan Barakat, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen. On behalf of H.E. Minister Ehsan Zia, Minister of Rural Rehabilitation and Development

(RRD), Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, allow me to express my sincere thanks and appreciation to HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal, as well as the Secretariat of the WANA Forum and the organisers of this Expert Consultation on Reconstruction for providing such an excellent venue to discuss best practices in post-conflict reconstruction and development. Minister Zia had hoped to be here himself and sends his apologies and his best wishes for a successful forum.

Today, I would like to address the challenges faced in the reconstruction of failed or fragile states, paying particular attention to the issues of empowerment, poverty alleviation, social cohesion, human security, human capacity building and economic development. I will conclude with some perspectives on how WANA countries might deliver development in order to optimise the strategic impact. In doing so, I will use Afghanistan as an example, explaining why Afghan national programmes under Afghan leadership and ownership constitute the only sustainable solution to lasting peace and security in my country.

In 2002, the Afghan Transitional Authority inherited a shattered country that had endured more than 30 years of war, neglect and repeated natural disasters. In rural Afghanistan, where poverty had long been a central feature of life, communities had further witnessed a total disintegration in the relationship between the state and its citizens; communities were disempowered and saw no prospects for change. Civil society had collapsed – there was no social cohesion, no law and order, no legitimate leadership – only a growing sense of futility; the rural poor had lost all hope their voices would be heard by the fledgling new government. Rural Afghanistan was our ‘Ground Zero’.

The Transitional Authority clearly understood that to effectively address these

unique challenges we needed to adopt new integrated and innovative approaches to deal with the basic needs of the rural population nationwide, while at the same time, sowing the seeds for village level representative governance and establishing ties between citizens and the government. As a deliberate strategy, we chose to use a participatory and consultative approach that ensures rehabilitation and development policy responds directly to the needs and aspirations of rural people.

Since 2003, MRRD has significantly contributed to a holistic approach to stabilisation that is reducing the gap between the Government and the people it serves. We've done this primarily through the implementation of a series of innovative national programmes specifically designed to address the unique circumstances of rural Afghanistan at this juncture in our history - rural development with the people, by the people and for the people. Today, I will use our flagship programme - the National Solidarity Programme, or NSP for short - as an example of this approach. Through NSP, we have embarked on a genuine process of empowerment that is uniting the people around a common development agenda. That agenda is to reduce poverty through establishing and strengthening a national network of self-governing community institutions known as Community Development Councils (CDCs).

In fact, since 2003, NSP has fostered the election of over 22,000 Community Development Councils, which have started some 50,000 development projects with more than 22 million beneficiaries - out of a population of 32 million! These projects are valued at 601 million USD towards which the communities themselves have contributed more than 77 million USD; these achievements clearly demonstrate the potential and the commitment of the rural communities of Afghanistan to improve their own social and economic well-being. The scope of activities delivered through CDCs has exceeded all expectations; today they are tackling governance issues such as dispute resolution and land management, well after the initial development funding has been expended. CDCs are also becoming the entry point for other development projects at the village level and constitute a key grassroots structure that is also helping stabilise the security environment.

We have also learned that when civil society is appropriately empowered, they naturally assume a leading role in the development and peace process. Through CDCs, Afghan communities across the country have realised the importance of the participation of all members of society, especially women, in the governance and development process. This is a manifestation of the desire and thirst of the people for democracy and a representative form of government which transcends

all ethnicities and regions of Afghanistan.

The National Solidarity Programme has, for the first time in our history, established legitimate, development-focused governance structures at the grass roots through village level democratic elections. NSP promotes the active participation of all people, not just the elite or traditional power brokers, in the decision making process. As a result, rural people are rapidly gaining a stronger sense of ownership, thereby promoting greater social stability. Through this process more than 70% of the Afghan rural population is practicing democracy on a daily basis.

In short, the NSP constitutes a cross-cutting process across governance, development and stability throughout Afghanistan:

- NSP builds social capital by promoting good local governance empowering rural communities to take control over their lives and livelihoods
- NSP develops the ability of Afghan communities to identify, plan, manage and monitor their own development projects
- Communities are empowered to make decisions and manage resources during all stages of the project cycle. Empowered rural communities collectively contribute to increased human security
- NSP lays the foundation for a sustainable form of inclusive local governance, rural reconstruction, and poverty alleviation

And yet, despite these remarkable successes, donors continue to circumvent Afghan institutions, preferring to pursue their own development priorities directly through the external budget. This effectively pre-empts the Government of Afghanistan from taking a holistic approach to development. More importantly, this conventional approach to the unconventional conditions one finds in Afghanistan has done much to discredit the legitimacy of the Government. Nearly two thirds of all international aid is invested in the external budget, which means that the central Government receives little, if any, credit for whatever progress is achieved on the ground. The perception of the people is that it is international organisations that are delivering infrastructure to their villages and communities – not the central government – and, of course, they are correct, but this only increases the gap between the state and the people. As a result, the population becomes increasingly frustrated that their Government is failing to respond to their needs. Circumventing the Core Budget de-legitimises the Government of Afghanistan, thereby compromising our collective counterinsurgency campaign.

Allow me to give you an example of why it makes more sense to channel donor

money through Afghan national programmes and let the Government take credit for delivery. The average cost of a school built by ISAF Provincial Reconstruction Teams or PRTs is two to three times more than the average cost of a comparable school built by the MRRD National Solidarity Programme. The PRT-built schools not only cost more, the Government receives no credit for the project. There is also a significant risk that the school will be destroyed by the insurgents, resulting in the waste of the original investment. Nobody benefits.

If the same PRT gave the National Solidarity Programme the money, we could build two to three schools. However, it is the process of building the schools that is far more powerful than simply project delivery itself. The process involves people-centred, participatory, community mobilisation via a Facilitating Partner, which assists the community in the process of conducting representative, democratic elections for their Community Development Councils, or CDCs. Through further capacity building, the Facilitating Partner enhances the managerial capacity of the CDC members. The CDC manages the budget and the project. To ensure transparency, expenditure relating to the project must be publicly advertised on a notice board in the community. To increase ownership of the projects, the community must match 10% of the block grant as their own contribution, either in cash or in kind, such as through voluntary labour. The Facilitating Partner and MRRD monitor throughout.

Upon completion, they gain a school but, much more importantly, the members of the community have a genuine sense of ownership which generates social stability. But there is even more. NSP builds social capital by promoting good local governance, empowering rural communities to take control over their lives and livelihoods, and generating social cohesion, a stabilising influence and greater respect for the rule of law. Communities are empowered to make decisions and manage resources during all stages of the project cycle. Empowered rural communities collectively contribute to increased human security.

In short, NSP lays the foundation for a sustainable form of inclusive local governance, rural reconstruction and poverty alleviation. No other initiatives have been able to generate so much sense of ownership and to successfully connect the people with the central Government. No donor programmes and no PRT projects can remotely match this strategic effect which directly enhances the legitimacy of the Afghan Government.

The five MRRD national programmes (NSP, NABDP, NRAP, RuWatSIP and AREDP) contribute to the longer term goal of achieving pro-poor equitable

economic growth in rural Afghanistan. Speaking of economic growth, allow me to address two issues currently limiting Afghan economic development relevant to the reconstruction and rehabilitation of any fragile state.

The first has to do with the reticence of the international community in promoting Afghan local procurement. For example, NATO support for the Afghan First Procurement Programme has stalled somewhat because of complex NATO procurement regulations. And yet, Afghanistan produces world class agricultural products and has been bottling water and soft drinks that meet international standards for some time. So why are so many of the 42 ISAF Troop Contributing Nations and other international organisations paying tens of millions of dollars each year in transportation costs to import goods from international markets? The international community, to include multi-lateral organisations like NATO, need to be more progressive in adapting their respective procurement rules and regulations with a view to increasing spending in Afghanistan rather than on Afghanistan, as well as in the encouragement of voluntary targets and baselines for local procurement and hiring.

Those nations or contingents that have tried local procurement have found that there has been a marked decrease in security costs when Afghan labour delivered Afghan products. They have also noted that local procurement often resulted in increased local support for the mission. What we need is a programme which requires the international community to seek Afghan vendors as the first source for providing services to help stimulate the local economy and develop skill sets for local workers that can be used in the private marketplace.

Second, we need greater institutionalised support for the fledgling Afghan economy, which cannot be expected to compete with other well-established regional economies, in accordance with WTO standards, without some degree of assistance.

However, without a modicum of selective protectionism, Afghan enterprises cannot be expected to compete, even regionally, in the immediate term. In due course, as the more competitive enterprises become increasingly robust and experienced, protectionist tariffs can be lifted. Our donors should not frown upon this as an attempt to socialise our economy. Almost all donor nations have become affluent by protecting infant industries and limiting foreign investment through protectionism, subsidies and state ownership. We ask for nothing more – a fair break.

I would like to conclude with some perspectives on how WANA countries might

wish to deliver to optimise their strategic impact.

My first recommendation would be that nations and donors intervene early. I know that early engagement is more difficult but the sooner a fragile state in need receives assistance, the quicker it can overcome the difficulties of the past and set the conditions for lasting recovery.

Second, it is essential that the international community be genuinely committed to supporting the agreed strategy for rehabilitation and development. Although more than 70 donor nations and international organisations agreed on the Afghanistan Compact and the strategy to implement it –in London in February 2006, the reality is that donors continue to pursue their own programmes in relative provincial isolation. These programmes do not necessarily support the achievement of the Compact Benchmarks. Often, they reflect little understanding of Afghan realities and, therefore, will ultimately not be sustainable over time. This merely fragments unity of effort, makes poor use of limited resources and prolongs the presence of the international community.

I would suggest any international community commitment include predictable, transparent and accountable assistance; and that their development assistance be delivered in a fully integrated manner, through the national or core budget, to the maximum extent possible, based on capacity. The international community must also provide aid in a way that promotes local procurement and capacity-building, focussing on state building efforts and avoiding parallel structures, the latter having had serious repercussions on progress in Afghanistan in recent years.

Third, promote and invest in accountable, home-grown community-based development programmes with a proven track record, programmes that generate a strong sense of ownership and social stability and create a unique, positive partnership between government and people at the grass roots. Programmes that empower local communities by giving them control over resources, promoting stability and building human capacity, ensuring more equitable development, representing the rights of all community members; that include a mobilisation process generating social protection and facilitating the rule of law; that contribute to sustainable economic and social development. Remember, this is about them – not about you. This is an area where WANA nations can set the agenda with relatively modest funding, as an example to larger donors.

This leads me to my fourth point: all interventions should be sustainable over time, both from a human capacity development perspective and from an environmentally sound basis. As an example, there are areas of Afghanistan so

remote that there is a low probability these communities will ever be connected to any eventual electrical power grid - certainly not in this life time. In meeting the needs of these isolated rural communities, MRRD, by working closely with them, has delivered innovative, new, small-scale renewable energy projects that have completely revolutionised the lives of the residents. It is this kind of sustainable investment that makes communities feel relevant and that will help connect responsive and credible Government to the community leaders and the people.

Fifth, invest in local initiatives to rehabilitate productive infrastructure, promoting agriculture and access to markets; again WANA nations will intuitively recognise the value of using appropriate labour-based approaches thereby creating short-term employment opportunities for the rural poor. Resist the urge to conduct rapid road repairs, no matter how essential, and provide young men and women an opportunity to focus their energies on a positive outcome.

Sixth, and this is something WANA nations will be particularly sensitive to, in everything you do, promote local procurement wherever possible. Set the standards and hold the host nation to those standards - their industries will respond positively and their economy will flourish. WANA nations will also understand the need to afford fledgling economies some form of temporary protectionism to allow them time to regain the momentum and be able to compete regionally. Again, support national programmes that strengthen the private sector through integrated, value chain, top-down knowledge-based interventions, bottom up community enterprise development, and by addressing credit and capital needs at all levels and in all locations.

Finally, all donor initiatives must support the legitimacy of the host nation Government and contribute to local leadership and ownership. Your focus should be on the sustainable reduction of poverty and improvement of livelihoods in the rural areas; in providing community-based rural rehabilitation and development in an integrated, people-focused, inclusive and participatory manner; and in supporting the establishment of an integrated planning and implementation framework for a comprehensive, coordinated, pro-poor and pro-growth approach to rural development.

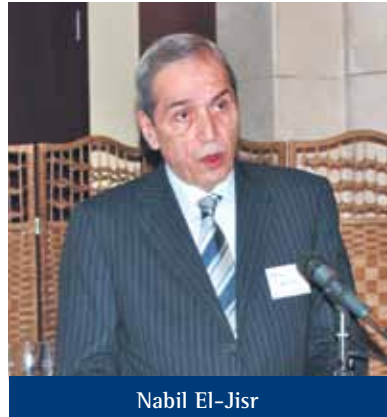
As a tangible example, what does Afghan ownership and Government leadership of development mean to the international community? International community support in funding our programmes for our people, and managed by our people, will continue to inculcate a strong sense of ownership and empowerment. This will directly contribute to the long term sustainability of programmes conceived

by Afghans and implemented by Afghans at a fraction of the costs incurred by the international community. In so doing, these programmes will directly contribute to the Government earning the support of the people, thereby defeating the insurgency. Donor investment in our programmes therefore constitutes their exit strategy. Alternatively, the inability of development actors to respond quickly and appropriately to Afghan development efforts will prolong the conflict and perpetuate further tragic ISAF and civilian casualties. These are the hard lessons that have to date been elusive and which future interventions, to include those of WANA nations, must take into consideration.

I would close by once again extending my sincere thanks and appreciation to HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal, as well as the Secretariat of the WANA Forum and the organisers of this Expert Consultation on Reconstruction for the opportunity to share with you some real life experiences on the challenges facing the reconstruction of failed and fragile state. I very much look forward to an excellent two days of constructive dialogue with a most impressive cast of speakers and participants.

Remarks by H.E. Nabil El-Jisr of Lebanon

It is a privilege for me to participate in this meeting that deals with a subject that is considered by most countries to be uncommon, but perfectly normal for Lebanon. I cannot remember a time when Lebanon was not in a post-conflict period. And if I did not fear exaggerating, I would have called every period in Lebanon's modern history, a pre-conflict period!



It is an honour for me to be here with you especially when the host and sponsor of this event is His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan bin Talal, who I thank for inviting me and who I salute for his remarkable efforts, especially those that fall in the frame of the WANA Forum.

The “Post-conflict” Period: Hard to Define

The end of the Cold War brought with it an end to many of the conflicts raging in the four corners of the globe. In the majority of those countries that witnessed armed conflict, the most difficult period was the transition from a state of war to a state of peace. The so-called “Post Conflict” period is not easy to define, as appears at first glance. Major wars throughout history end in the official surrender of the losing side, followed by the cessation of aggression and the signing of a treaty, which can be regarded as the “end” of the war.

Civil Wars, however, do not usually end with surrender and then peace. The “Post conflict” period, therefore, whose beginning cannot be defined by a date or specific event, can be viewed as a period during which all the requirements, for the transition from war to peace, are secured.

For example, the Taïf Accords of 1989, which brought an end to the Lebanese Civil War, did not bring an immediate end to the hostilities, which continued violently after the signing of the Accords. Even UN Security Council resolution 1701, which ended the latest Israeli aggression against Lebanon, called for an end to all acts of aggression, but did not call for a ceasefire.

I have tried, in the above observation, to point to something distinctive in the post conflict period. While it carries the heavy scars and grievances of the conflict,

and may be a very precarious and an indefinable period, it should, at the same time, see decisive actions to facilitate the transition to a period of “normality” and prevent the reproduction of those circumstances that led to the conflict in the first place.

This distinction means that those arrangements made in the post conflict period lay the foundations for the following period.

It is not easy to estimate the long-term effects of the period of recovery and reconstruction: with all that it carries in economic policy choices; with what it conveys about priorities and the distribution of socio-economic burdens; and the framework it provides for social and political solidarity.

Destruction, the direct product of war, by its very nature, automatically creates two demands: the first for essential and basic services, and the second for things to return as they were before the destruction. These two demands are instinctive and legitimate, but they are incapable of mitigating for the grave and postponed compound effects of both destruction and reconstruction.

The shocks caused by destruction transform the economy and institutional infrastructure. These shocks are not limited to material destruction and its effects, but also include reconstruction, aid and associated policies. It is possible for reconstruction operations to approximate their objectives, but mainly they stray from them, either by failing to fulfil stated objectives, or because the damage and loss are extended to other unforeseen areas. It is also important to consider the efficacy of the intended objectives and the extent of their effect on destruction.

The focus of remedial action in the compensation of damages ignores the fact that the economy is dynamic, and that destruction changes the starting point for development and thus requires a concomitant change in the objectives of the development process.

The Lebanese “Wars”

Lebanon witnessed throughout its modern history, a number of bouts of armed conflict, namely in 1958, 1975 to 1976, 1982, 1989, 1996, 1999, 2006 and 2007. It is not an exaggeration to say that all the Lebanese have fought each other to the extent that it is difficult to speak of the Lebanese War, but of “the Lebanese wars”. And, if we put to one side the repeated Israeli aggressions against Lebanon, we can define 1991 as the end of the Lebanese wars and the beginning of a period of relative stability for the country.

The Taïf Accords, parts of which were incorporated into the Lebanese

Constitution, put in place the foundations of the “Post – Conflict” period. Without going into an in depth evaluation of that period, it is possible to say that the vision of the Taïf Accords for the post conflict period was based on the following policies:

1. Making constitutional amendments to state institutions so as to allay the fears of the different sectarian groups.
2. Treating the post conflict period as a transition period during which the preparation work for the abolition of political sectarianism is put in place, as it is considered the main cause of conflict in the country.
3. Giving priority to the return of displaced citizens to their homes, villages and cities. To facilitate this return, the Ministry of the Displaced and Central Funds for the Displaced was created.
4. Incorporating the militias into the official institutions.
5. Embarking on a development programme to minimise socio-economic disparities between different regions of the country and to avoid what is known as “uneven development”.
6. Liberating those parts of South Lebanon still under Israeli occupation.

Our reading of the Taïf Accords, which were signed 20 years ago, convinces us more of its importance and the correctness of the policy choices it instituted for the post conflict period. In addition, the strength of the Accords lies in the space it provided for consensus between all Lebanese, and the strong and extensive backing it enjoyed regionally and internationally.

South Lebanon: The Non-ending Conflict

If the Taïf Accords brought an end to what we called the Lebanese wars, the conflict with Israel in south Lebanon remains either in a state of interrupted wars or interrupted armistices. The latest episode of these interrupted wars was the 33-Day War between 12 July and 14 August 2006.

During the 33 Day War, I was working as an advisor to the Prime Minister, and I supervised the relief effort and the foreign aid that came into the country. After the war ended, I was appointed the President of the Council for Development and Reconstruction. Both these positions provided me with the opportunity to oversee very closely the different phases during the war and after it; in other words, war relief, reconstruction and recovery.

The destruction that resulted from the Israeli aggression was different in that

it was limited in time, immense in size, and selective in what was targeted. The violence of the destruction, and its concentrated nature in time and space, did not allow the majority of Lebanese to correctly measure the extent and effects of the destruction.

The Israeli aggression targeted specific Lebanese regions, and was very methodical in its targeting of the country's network of roads through the destruction of those bridges and roads that link the different Lebanese regions.

The very concentrated nature of the destruction is another challenge that will be difficult to overcome.

The Government Response

The policy choices the Lebanese government made to meet the challenges after the 33 Day War were as follows:

- Strengthening national unity and regarding post war reconstruction as a national priority.
- Giving priority to the provision of basic services.
- Adopting comprehensive standards to guide the reconstruction effort which was undertaken by a number of ministries and government agencies acting in unison.
- Avoiding the establishment of new and temporary special purpose government agencies.

To give life to these choices, there was a need to launch a wide campaign to maximise Arab and international sympathy for Lebanon. The Lebanese government succeeded to a great extent in this, because in September 2006, an international donors conference was held in Stockholm to fund the recovery phase. Furthermore, the Paris 3 Donors Conference was held in January 2007, although the preparation for this conference began before the outbreak of the war.

The war of July 2006 necessitated the merging of war reconstruction with the reform programme, particularly since, on the one hand, their execution cycles are intertwined sectorally, and on the other, they both rely on the same economic and financial resources.

On this basis, the Government presented its reform paper during the Paris III conference, comprising a complete package of policies and actions, the success of which is contingent on the full implementation of its principle elements. The reform paper revolved around the following six principle points:

- Growth-enhancing reforms encompassing a large number of measures and laws that would increase productivity and reduce cost, which would enhance the competitiveness of the Lebanese economy;
- A social sector reform agenda to improve social indicators and develop and strengthen social safety nets to protect the most vulnerable segments of the population;
- A strong phased fiscal adjustment that aims at increasing the primary surplus through streamlining expenditures - including by reducing waste (including legalised waste) and reforming state owned enterprises (SOEs) more specifically Electricité du Liban (EdL) - and raising revenues in ways that minimise the negative impact on the poor;
- A privatisation programme directed primarily at increasing investment, reducing the stock of public debt, and spurring economic growth;
- A prudent monetary and exchange rate policy aimed at maintaining price stability (and with it social stability), facilitating credit to the private sector, and maintaining a sound banking system; and
- International financial assistance to help Lebanon finance the direct and indirect cost of the July war as well as to complement the domestic adjustment efforts, primarily by reducing interest payments on public debt and creating the kind of confidence that would encourage private sector investment and ease the pain of a domestic adjustment after the war.

The Role of CDR

There is no doubt that CDR has a principle role to play in implementing the reform programme in many areas:

In relation to repairing the damages caused by the war, CDR played a prominent role in coordination with other ministries and public institutions, particularly the Prime Minister's office and the Ministry of Finance.

In the area of programming, a database was established of all the damages caused by the war to infrastructure and public services. All the procedures and options for the repair of war damages were identified and defined. The Council also merged the repair of some of the war damages with projects that had already been planned. Furthermore, the Council is responsible for coordination with the various ministries, public institutions, international organisations and NGO's to set priorities, avoid duplication of work and ensure all the actions taken on the ground are complementary.

In the area of implementation, the Council has started to execute rehabilitation and reconstruction projects either by executing directly those projects it was commissioned with, or by supervising projects being executed by donors through a novel arrangement known as 'adoption', which has been established by Prime Minister Fuad Siniora since it represents a unique type of partnership between the private and public sectors.

In the area of funding, the Council was diligent in ensuring that the rehabilitation and reconstruction of war damaged infrastructure and public services was funded in full through grants from friendly states.

As for those urban centres that were damaged by the war, CDR had an important and interesting experience which has not reached its logical conclusion. And despite the seriousness of the matter, there is something humorous in this experience which I will take this opportunity to relate.

As the dust settled after the war, the Prime Minister established a special committee with the task of forming a general vision of how to rebuild some of the quarters in the southern suburbs of Beirut that were particularly devastated during the war. The committee included CDR, most of the relevant government agencies, and the political parties concerned with the southern suburbs.

After a number of meetings that included vigorous scientific and objective discussions, the committee did in fact propose an important vision which included the principle options for reconstruction and rebuilding. These options were agreed on without reservation by all the committee members. When the committee members were invited to a meeting to sign the final report before sending it to the Prime Minister, some members failed to attend and thus sign the report. The ensuing political interference and interventions led the Government to adopt different options and actions to those recommended by the above committee.

Up to this point, all was quite normal for anyone who is familiar with Lebanon. But what we witnessed next was the birth of a non-government institution that adopted the same options and actions recommended by the special committee, and which allowed the Government no other role apart from providing the necessary funds. I have related this incident only to kill the speculation and perception that the Government did not have a vision or plan for rebuilding damaged urban centers, and that it only concerned itself with infrastructure and public services.

Lessons Learned

Circumstances conspired for me to enjoy two terms as President of the Council for

Development and Reconstruction: the first in the mid 1990's, at the height of the reconstruction programme led by the late Prime Minister Mr. Rafiq Hariri, and the second, after the 33 Day War of July 2006, at the height of the political crisis the country has lived since the assassination of Mr. Rafiq Hariri.

Despite the points of difference between the two periods, it is possible to draw useful lessons in regards to aspects of reconstruction and post conflict periods.

1. Reconstruction is a noble endeavour. Politicising it, and making it subject to partisan political bickering, does great damage to it rather than to the parties involved.
2. The biggest victim of civil conflict is the State and its institutions. Therefore, at the end of such conflicts, priority should be given to the rebuilding of the State and its institutions.
3. The great material damage that occurs to different facilities should not blind us to the damage that occurs to those public agencies responsible for the management, operation and maintenance of the affected facilities. Consequently, simply viewing the reconstruction effort as being equivalent to the capital investment required to reconstruct the facilities is too narrow. Reconstruction should be holistic by covering the entire project cycle, from the requisite capital investment, to the funding of operation and maintenance over the life of the facilities.
4. A high significance should be given to the relation established with the donors and international organisations. Hence, the government agency in charge of the coordination should be unique and must prove to be effective, capably resourced and enjoys the necessary political support.
5. There is no doubt that NGOs should participate in the reconstruction and recovery effort. Equally, there is no doubt that those government agencies concerned in the reconstruction and recovery effort should have sufficient information beforehand on these NGOs in relation to their effectiveness, areas of expertise and capabilities.
6. Successfully dealing with post conflict periods does not excuse us from adequately preparing for actual periods of conflict. As such we should establish effective government agencies to deal with crisis situations whether they are natural disasters or armed conflicts.
7. Although foreign support is necessary and vital, the greatest effort during the reconstruction and recovery period should be led by local authorities and agencies.

These are some of the lessons I have drawn from my own experience and Lebanon's experience in reconstruction and recovery.

I hope I have been able to shed some light on different aspects of this most important subject; I wish success for this Forum, and I thank all those who have contributed to organising and holding it.

Remarks by H.E. Mohammad Shtayeh of Palestine

The observations and visionary remarks put forward by HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal and H.E. Mr. Brahimi, in addition to the excellent background paper provided by Professor Sultan Barakat and his colleague on the history of post-conflict reconstruction have convinced me that the topic of ‘lessons learned in post-conflict reconstruction’ is worth examining in detail, providing an overview of Palestine’s experience.

Furthermore, we may wish to go beyond an approach of applying a theoretical framework for post-conflict reconstruction to case studies of countries in the region, such as Afghanistan, Palestine and Iraq. The cases of these three countries may not, in fact, contribute much to an understanding of post-conflict situations because these countries are undergoing various types of reconstruction activities while they continue to experience sporadic bursts of open-conflict. Thus, while it is usual in such forums to speak of ‘post-conflict reconstruction,’ a post-conflict paradigm will not fit. We need a new paradigm; one which is adaptable and provides linkages among the various formulas for ‘in-conflict reconstruction’ which are being undertaken today.

Within these various country formulas, reconstruction may have varying purposes. It may be undertaken as an incentive to end the conflict by demonstrating to the people what the fruits of peace can be like. The question of where to go from there, from the demonstration to building sustainable peace, is not easily answered, however.

The familiar post-conflict reconstruction paradigm originated in the context of the Marshall Plan, in the aftermath of the Second World War. A single donor, the United States, contributed \$13 billion in 1952 dollars to the reconstruction efforts in Europe, between 1948 and 1952. That equates to around \$120 billion in today’s terms.

In the case of Palestine, reconstruction did not progress within a similarly clear sequence of post-hostility development. A month after the signing of the Oslo Declaration of Principles on September 13, 1993, representatives of 50 countries



Mohammad Shtayeh

gathered at the State Department in Washington, DC and committed \$2.5 billion for the reconstruction of the Palestinian territories. At that time, everyone was working under the assumption that with the signing of the Oslo Agreements, the final end of the conflict had come. The funds committed were, in actuality, committed to support a political programme. Differentiation must be made, therefore, between post-conflict donor money pledged to aid recovery and sustainable development and funds committed to strengthen a political programme. The distinction is very important.

Within the context of reconstruction programmes for “in-conflict” countries, a further distinction should be made in regard to the types of political programmes undertaken and how these might fit into a new paradigm. Afghanistan and Iraq, however different, may both be described as examples of ‘reconstruction for state-building’. Palestine has not yet entered a state-building process as its lands are still under occupation. The model that best suits Palestine, after long years of stops and starts, is still one of ‘reconstruction for national liberation’.

The formula for peace in Palestine begun under the Madrid process was a ‘land for peace’ agreement having three different reconstruction tracks:

- Political-security track;
- Economic track, which involved bi-lateral donors; and
- Multi-sector, multi-lateral track to undertake security, economics, water, environment and refugees.

The formula outlined under Madrid, and later under Oslo, was based on the key assumptions that Israel would pay politically and would, in turn, be paid economically. The normalisation of Arab-Israeli relationships was supposed to take place parallel to Israeli withdrawal from Arab territories in Lebanon, the Golan Heights and Palestine.

In the official agreements, the Palestinian Authority is called the “PISGA,” (Palestinian Interim Self-Governing Authority). Through a five year process, the “I” for interim was supposed to lead to an “I” for Independence on May 4, 1999.

The assassination of Yitzak Rabin in 1995, however, initiated an unravelling of the political track, leading to a deterioration of the security track. The first clashes between the Palestinian Security forces and the Israeli Occupying forces began under Netanyahu in 1996, leading to a total closure of the Palestinian territories, and finally, the collapse of the peace process.

The Palestinian Authority and the international community tried and failed to re-launch the peace process through the Middle East Peace Summit at Camp David

in July, 2000. Nevertheless, the Second Palestinian Intifada began on September 23, 2000 and the Israeli response has included the building of the barrier wall, 612 military check points and a deepening economic crisis in the Palestinian territories. Eventually we were brought back to the position of re-occupation; the Zones A, B and C, where the Palestinian Authority was meant to enjoy sovereignty and civil rights, have been re-taken.

The international donors increased their aid interventions during this period, mainly providing emergency relief and job creation as opposed to development assistance. Subsequent to the destruction of the West Bank in 2002 and the destruction of Gaza in 2008 - 09, reconstruction in Palestinian territories often consisted of rebuilding the same, key infrastructure, such as roads and bridges, as many as three or four times. As a result, the impacts of the donors' contributions, within an "in-conflict" context, do not appear to have achieved much real development benefiting the Palestinian people.

To conclude this point, I wish to state that a major lesson learned through the Palestinian experience is that a strong economy cannot be developed on a fragile peace and a fragile peace cannot replace a strong economy.

Today, we are 18 years away from the peace process that began in Madrid; 16 years away from Oslo – not to mention, 90 years from the Belfor Declaration (November 1917). Perhaps this has been the longest peace process in history and we have now reached a point where some donors are starting to express "donor fatigue."

A question that we now face in various donors' forums is how long can they be expected to contribute to a situation that seems to have no political end?

Adding to the complexity of the reconstruction process, the donors compete among themselves regarding what to fund and what not to fund, in much the same way as the recipient organisations and ministries compete among themselves for the money.

In Palestine's case, there has been a very clear division of labour between the various international actors. There are about 50 different countries contributing to Palestine's reconstruction, in addition to various international organisations such as the World Bank and IMF, and a variety of international NGOs. The United States has claimed the political arena while Europe takes the lead by paying the cheques; and, there has been competition between the two camps regarding who should chair the donors' meeting. Additionally, various forums have been created through which various donors express their preferences and contribute funding.

The Consultative Group (CG), chaired by the World Bank, focuses exclusively on infrastructure projects, while the Ad Hoc Liaison Committee (AHLC), chaired by Norway, deals with policy related to various sectors of the Palestinian economy. A third layer, the Local Development Forum, involves the Sectoral Working Groups. In short, donor competition comprises a very important element of reconstruction.

Another important point to stress here is that the Palestinians do not have decision-making power in any of the above forums other than the Sectoral Working Groups, and that too is granted subsequent to some sort of development of the Palestinian institution. It may be noted that who sits in the driver's seat is not only a matter of competition and donor responsibility; it is also a very important element in the institutional development and capacity building of the country.

The type of assistance that is channelled directly to the Palestinian Authority consists largely of two types: technical assistance and salaries. Receipts in donor money have totalled around \$14 billion. Due to the siege imposed on the Palestinian territories and budget deficits running an average of \$1.5 billion per annum since the year 2000, approximately \$8 billion has gone towards non-sustainable assistance, as it was utilised for salaries. Another \$3 billion was channelled through the NGOs and the remaining \$3 billion funded physical infrastructure projects.

In our experience, multi-lateral technical assistance has been much more effective than bi-lateral because of coordination issues. Bilateral technical assistance, whether it is training or other type of capacity building, is not harmonised. Likewise, Civil Society Organisations or NGOs take a substantial amount of donors' money and can be implicated in waste if not drawn directly into the whole reconstruction process. Uncoordinated, they become like unguided missiles, shooting in random directions without focusing on a particular target.

In sum, Palestine's case demonstrates that one of the most important recommendations that can be made about reconstruction undertaken through donor funding, whether it is in regard to an in-conflict or post-conflict situation is that it is essential to create effective mechanisms for aid coordination in order to ensure that the funds are planned and utilised as effectively as possible.

Additionally, there should be stronger linkages between the peace process, the donors and their donations. In order to achieve the necessary linkages between politics and donor funding, we created what has come to be called the Tri-lateral Action Plan, which involves, Palestinians, Israelis and the donors.

This mechanism, while valuable, has not been without problems. Each time there is an impasse in the peace process, the Palestinians are punished twice:

First, progress in the peace process is delayed and secondly, the donors deliver less funding. As the donors do not punish Israel, the link between the political and economic tracks becomes distorted and therefore less effectual. It would be useful if the members of the donor community would determine to not enable a one-sided deterrent, but also, as appropriate, exact economic consequences on Israel in order to support the political level.

In conclusion, I would like to summarise my points as follows:

First, whose priorities should the donors address? While there will never be 100 per cent alignment with recipients' priorities, working for a better match can build recipients' capacities and strengthen the peace process.

Secondly, who should sit in the driver's seat? Right now we are sitting beside the driver and providing navigation. Hopefully, as things improve, they will let us do some of the driving.

Thirdly, new mechanisms and new forums are needed to increase the impact of donors' funds. Greater trust and flexibility are crucial to create a less complicated and more effective reconstruction process. As an example, when I was President of the Palestinian Economic Council for Reconstruction and Development, I needed to obtain 13 'No Objection Certificates' to spend \$50,000.

Fourth, there is the matter of National Authority, national priorities and aid alignment. Some donors who are told that their pet project is not a national priority will go shopping for signatures until they find a minister willing to be their partner. This creates a total erosion of national authority as well as capacity.

My fifth and final point concerns fairness, reciprocity and consequences for decisions taken. I will illustrate it with a story. When I was a member of the Palestinian Delegation to the Final Status Negotiations, and I was sitting in a committee discussing borders, settlements and related issues, our Israeli counterpart insisted, "The settlement blocks in Malia Al Dameen are untouchable, because they are an important part of the Israeli entity." My concluding remarks to him will provide my concluding remarks herewith: "If Israel continues to consider Malia Al Dameen a Jewish settlement east of Jerusalem, and if Israel does not differentiate between Malia Al Dameen and Tel Aviv, then neither will I, a Minister in the Palestinian Authority, differentiate between Ramallah and Jaffa."

Thank you for your attention.

Remarks by H.E. Bakhtiar Amin of Iraq

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Allow me first to express my profound gratitude to His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan bin Talal for this gracious invitation to be present with you today and for the excellent organisation by our WANA Forum friends. It is an honour to address such a distinguished assembly.

My country, Iraq, the cradle of civilisations, has been for the last four decades through 35 years of an extraordinary type of a totalitarian despotism: eight years of a devastating war with Iran; the invasion of Kuwait and then the Gulf War with 30 countries; scorched-earth policies and genocidal policies against its own people; sanctions; the war of 2003 (liberation/occupation) and the post dictatorial terrorist attacks on the country have had enormous impacts on the Iraqi society in every field. While war has certainly led to destruction and devastation for all Iraqis, we should also consider the dire effects of the damages caused by accumulated and inherited bad policies. The lack of proper strategies and vision has led to the current situation, posing significant challenges in every sector.

I have just arrived from Baghdad where we had a bloody Sunday with hundreds killed and wounded in a dual car bomb attack on our Ministry of Justice and Baghdad Governorate Council. Scores of children, whose parents work at the Ministry, perished inside the building's kindergarten facility. Just a few weeks ago there was a heinous terrorist attack on our Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Finance, which left behind hundreds of victims. Almost every day has become bloody at the hands of terrorists, evil and obscurantist forces. They want the political scene in Iraq to be constantly in crisis as they serve agendas with external and internal extensions.

If you take the Kurdish area of Iraq under Saddam's time, 4,500 villages out of 5,000 and 26 towns were destroyed. They were totally erased from the map. Half a million people were killed. One million people were displaced or living in concentration camps. Luckily, for the last 18 years, the Kurdish administration was able to reconstruct 80 per cent of these villages and townships and there is economic



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development today. A couple of airports were built in Erbil, and Sulaymaniyah and went from having one university to 13. There is now international and regional investment in the area.

The rest of Iraq has also suffered enormously from the dictatorial decades of the past regime. Yet there are also devastating environmental damages. The drainage and destruction of Marsh lands have created enormous human and climatic problems. In this era of global warming, climate change and desertification as well as deforestation, the challenges multiplied and the problems worsened. Iraq faces multiple crises, one being what I call the 'oxygen crisis' because of the dust storms that have increased in our country as a result of the destruction and drainage of Marsh Arab Lands which is a major contributor. We have also been suffering from increased salinisation as a result of drought, on one hand, and the building of so many dams in neighbouring countries, on the other hand, leading to a significant decrease in the water level from the Tigris and Euphrates to Shatt al-Arab. We are getting salt water from the Gulf to Shatt al-Arab, which has led to an ecological and human catastrophe, the killing and destruction of fish and animal wealth, agriculture, palm trees and displacement of the local population.

The environmental problems we face are exacerbated by the destruction caused by wars, occupation and bad policies. We have inherited a bad educational system and a bad agricultural/agrarian and irrigation system.

In the field of education, I'm glad our Finnish friends have mentioned their social welfare system and the emphasis on education and health. In 2003, Iraq inherited an educational system that is so bad that 80 per cent of schools were deemed physically unfit to be schools. Forty per cent lacked sanitation and 50 per cent had no potable water. We needed to build 4,000 new schools. Schools were and still are based on three shifts, with children going to school a maximum of four hours a day. War also brought about the destruction of schools and hospitals. A great deal of attention needs to be given to this sector.

Iraq is not a poor country economically speaking; it has major human and wealth potentials and can recover rapidly. Although the international community made pledges first at the Madrid Conference of \$33 billion to assist Iraq in reconstruction efforts, only about five per cent actually went to Iraq. Nowadays, people laugh when they hear of international pledges – there are many promises but little comes to the populations in need and what is given is usually spent incorrectly. Funds are often diverted and spent on other issues than what they were originally allocated for, such as health, education, irrigation and so forth.

Instead, they have been spent mostly on security. At one point, there were 288 security companies in the country and some of them violating international humanitarian and human rights laws. We had 40,000 people working for security companies, many of whom end up becoming victims themselves as they work in such dangerous contexts.

Whereas Berlin had one wall, we have on every street in Baghdad dozens of walls, barbed wires, sandbags, checkpoints, bumpers, humvees, and helicopters overhead. You can't have a normal telephone conversation without being interrupted. We lived in a country where if you had a Thuraya mobile phone or a fax machine, you could be executed. Now we have three mobile phone companies, regionally divided, but a lot of corruption was involved in this sector. I do not know how post-war Japan went about fighting corruption, but this is a central issue that needs to be addressed in WANA. Some of the international donors are themselves corrupted, and their agents on the ground are corrupt. It is thus a universal problem not inherent to the Islamic or Arab world. Corruption is a disease worse than terrorism these days.

I would like to draw on lessons learned from our experiences in Iraq. Reconstruction cannot be carried out by international experts sitting in a caravan or a small house inside a green zone, as in our case in Iraq, without going out and having a clue about the economy of the country or the needs of Iraqis on the ground. Most Iraqis today are surviving thanks to ration cards. If we take cooking oil as an example, Iraqis consume 600,000 tonnes of cooking oil. Yet Iraq does not have a single factory that produces cooking oil. If you have international experts helping to reconstruct the Iraqi economy for the past seven years, how could this still be the situation? I question the wisdom of planning and how money gets spent in Iraq. Although there is progress in certain areas and we are grateful for the assistance we have received, there is a great deal of mismanagement and challenges to overcome.

One area is terrorism. In 2004, there were 278 attacks against oil fields and installations in Iraq, which resulted in a loss of eight billion dollars. If this amount was spent on reconstruction efforts, it could have helped the country enormously. Yet this has been the pattern of terrorists since. They hit an area today and then shift to another area tomorrow, such as electricity, etc. These acts and losses have hindered and crippled reconstruction efforts in Iraq.

Millions of Iraqis have suffered wars, genocide and terrorism. There is not a family that has not experienced the loss of loved ones. In the reconstruction

process, victims should not be alienated; they should not be ignored. Human beings should be at the heart of reconstruction. Reconstruction is not just a process of putting stones over stones.

The shadow of fear, dictatorship, war and terror has haunted Iraqi citizens for decades. You cannot solve problems of terror just through muscles, security and military means. You have to pay attention to the socio-economic reconstruction of the country which is the other side of the coin.

In particular, we have to think of the youth, of widows, of orphans. I used to say during Saddam's time that Iraq was a museum of crimes, an industry of pain and tears. Unfortunately, the museum has widened these past six years, leaving Iraqis to continue to suffer from human rights violations of all kinds, perpetuating the endless cycle of victimisation. We should be able ourselves to remedy our problems and overcome some of the challenges we face with international and regional help. As for our neighbours, I would say if they cannot be roses, we hope they will not be thorns. And, unfortunately, they have been. They have hurt the progress of this country because they are afraid of having a democratic, stable and strong Iraq.

I hope that Iraqis themselves will draw lessons from what has happened to them and that other people in the region who have suffered through wars will draw lessons from our situation as well. We are in a terrible geopolitical and geostrategic context, as a sandwich between some big nations who have their own agendas; their wars are on our land, on our soil. Some of our politicians today act as merchants of blood. In the name of helping the people they, in fact, hurt the people and the country while they implement various foreign agendas.

It is my hope that the people of Iraq will move forward and recover from decades of war, genocide, terrorism, destruction of all kinds.

Thank you for your time and for allowing me to present to you a picture of what I believe many feel in Iraq today.



**Thank you to the participants of the
Reconstruction and Recovery Expert Consultation**

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