

The Bruno Kreisky Forum for International Dialogue  
kindly invites to the lecture of

**H. R. H.**  
**PRINCE EL HASSAN BIN TALAL**  
**WEST ASIA – NORTH AFRICA**  
**AND THE EURO-ATLANTIC:**  
**Finding Common Solutions to Shared Challenges**

Moderator:

**Georg Lennkh**, Member of the Board of the Bruno Kreisky Forum

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**Due to security reasons we can only accept written registrations**

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**HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal**

A pluralist believing in consensus and respect for the other, His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan bin Talal believes in societies in which all peoples can live, work and function in freedom and with dignity. This goal has been the moving force behind his interest and involvement in humanitarian and interfaith issues, with particular stress on the human dimension of conflicts. His Royal Highness has initiated, founded and is actively involved in a number of Jordanian and international institutes and committees. HRH served as a member of the UN's Commission on Legal Empowerment of the Poor, chairs the Integrity Council for the Coalition for the Global Commons, and recently initiated the West Asia – North Africa Forum. In 1983, he co-chaired the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues (ICHI) calling for a New International Humanitarian Order. HRH is President and Patron of the Arab Thought Forum, and Chairman of the Higher Council for Science and Technology, the Royal Scientific Society and the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies. Prince Hassan is the author of nine books.

**Georg Lennkh**

Special Envoy for Africa, Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs; Member of the Board of the Bruno Kreisky Forum for International Dialogue.

**Georg Lennkh**

Your Royal Highness, distinguished guests, Excellencies, Ambassadors, parliamentarians, dear friends of the Bruno Kreisky Forum. We are very honored to host today an old friend of the Kreisky Forum and of Bruno Kreisky, His Royal Highness El Hassan Bin Talal, who is attending a conference in Vienna and who has agreed to speak to us this evening. As a very short introduction I want to add a few more words to the CV that has been distributed. His Royal Highness was born in Amman in 1947. Out of his long career what is really out standing is his constant endeavor to breach boundaries, be they geographic, religious, ideological, or other. And in that endeavor he found a congenial partner and friend in Bruno Kreisky who did exactly the same. This is perhaps also the deeper reason why there have been over the last thirty years a number of contacts in different directions. Bruno Kreisky has been to Jordan a number of times. His Royal Highness Prince Hassan has been here in Vienna. One of the contact points was one of his many functions, he is

President of the Arab Thought Forum, and the Bruno Kreisky Forum had organized together with the Arab Thought Forum a number of conferences that endeavored precisely what I spoke about, this breaching of boundaries. Another function of His Royal Highness was the Royal Scientific Society. I remember that this was one of my first occasions to meet him in Jordan when I brought a particular microscope to the Royal Society.

Today's topic is a particular one, West Asia, North Africa, and the Euro-Atlantic. The title was found after discussing with your office and I learned that very recently you have founded another organization, a West Asia, North Africa Forum, and you will tell us more about this during this evening. I can only say that this is precisely the arc of political interest today that we are all focusing on: West Asia, the Arab world, and North Africa. But we might come to this later when we discuss. Your Royal Highness, please the floor is yours..

### **El Hassan Bin Talal**

Ladies and Gentlemen, when referring to the musty maps of the antiquarian world I have to remind you of the story of six centuries of globalization, from the Moroccan coast, from Sicil Mass on the Atlantic to Malabar and beyond to the Straits of Malacca, the encuentro between Arab traders travelling eastward and westward, pacific trade prospered. And then one day Vasco da Gama arrived on the coast of Malabar on the west coast of India and he said to the Jain rulers, expel the Arabs, Jews, Christians, and Muslims or I will kill you. And the pacifist Jain ruler asked, what is "kill".

When we are told about the importance of globalization of matter I would like to suggest that there is another universalization, not of cosmopolitanism because when Ken Livingston invited the Olympic Games to be held in London he suggested it is the most cosmopolitan city in the world. I spoke at the Wolf Institute at Cambridge University the other day among others to policemen. Why? because I believe in peace in all its dimensions, nuclear peace within my own family which is not always an achievement, inter-communal peace. And to my surprise when I went to visit the site of the Olympic Games I discovered 60.000 Tabliri Muslims. So they said, how shall we establish the site of the Olympic Games? I said, by first remembering that cosmopolitan as a friend from Latin America from the Academie de la Latinité once said to me, cosmopolitan is not convivial. What do we need, he said, the leading policemen? I said, what you need is crèches for children, what you need is to get over the segregational mentality of the early 1950s, no blacks allowed, what you need is to deliver a communal spirit and in that context to create heroes for athletes from the Third World which is my first world to recognize that the Olympic Games is about the prowess of humanity and the achievement of our common humanity.

When we extol the sole primacy of human agency in directing the course of human affairs we risk discounting the prophetic and determinative role of geo-spatial data in pre-ordaining political events. The thesis of Robert D. Kaplan's exposé on geography is that geography limits and dictates. So I would like to thank Gertraud Auer and Ambassador Georg Lennkh for their invitation to me today because in speaking of Bruno Kreisky, of Olof Palme, of Willy Brandt we speak of those towering figures in the post-war era who recognized the importance of the other. Today unfortunately we are more egocentric and less compassionate.

So when we look at the world of yesterday, the world of trade I wanted to refer to the crisis ellipse, to say to you that this ellipse, if I push it a little further, is actually the so called arc of Islam. I personally am tired of the references to the West and the rest, Islam and the West because after all Islam is in the West. And once again I want to say that when I went to Auschwitz to visit and to place the Mesusah on the door of the synagogue I was asked, why are you doing this. I was moderator for seven years of the World Conference for Religions and Peace. I had to speak in terms of enhancing universalism and promoting respect for others to nine faith groups. It would not have been possible for me as a Muslim to say that Auschwitz resulted in the deepening of Judeo-Christian values without saying that those values are my values. I will never forget the rabbi of Sarajewo during the fighting in Mostar and Sarajewo saying in front of his Muslim and Christian colleagues, and I thank the Catholic Church for having made so many supportive statements for the Muslim Bosnians, if you regard the children of Abraham as two mosaic then I would suggest to you that we adopt the statement of the Noahite creed. Noah created an ark for the salvation of humanity. Can we create an ark for the salvation of our common humanity?

While geography tells us that there are limits history tells us that with courageous and innovative thinking these limits can be stretched. Bruno Kreisky understood that idealism and realism must be blended. Indeed, the acceptance of the dictates and limits of geography appeared to be the next bastion of realism. Maps then

provide the spatial understanding of current and future trends and remind us all of the distinction between artificial national jurisdictions, arbitrary drawn boundaries drawn by human hands and designs, and the more bona fide natural jurisdictions, boundaries of eco systems, cultural groups, and diasporas. When Al Gore received the United Nations environment prize in Singapore I was one of the minor beneficiaries. We were six of us. But Al Gore has a better publicity machine than I have. He received it for global warming. I believe I received it for human warning.

Turning to the maps again you will notice in this map the oil, gas reserves and production of the Arab Gulf states and Iran: 60% of the world's reserves and 30% production. My friends in international energy agencies tell me that there is no alternative to oil in the ellipse which extends from the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus all the way down to Hormuz. And this I find very difficult to accept. Of course the countries as Aserbeijan, Kasachstan, Usbekistan, Turkmenistan represent the huge total of world exports. The question is how the world's main strategic oil route chokepoints are also in the region: The Straits of Hormuz and the Bable Mendip, the Gate of Tears, at the south of the Red Sea, and of course up the map the Straits of Malacca. A geostrategic anomaly is that these chokepoints and this oil is largely located in what is described as the arc of crises and the arc of Islam.

I would like in this context to suggest to you that when President Obama addresses the Muslim peoples - and I think he was very careful in his choice of words as he always is -, not the Muslim governments on the 4th of June in Cairo he has to make people aware of the fact that if there is a grand design for oil then there should be also a grand design for humanity. Bable Mendip, the oil flow of 3.3 million barrels a day, oil source of the Arab and Gulf states. Primary destination: Europe and the United States. The Japanese diet were asked in 1988, as remote as Japan appears to us geographically, we to them are not the Middle East, we are the Middle West. We are West Asia. I suppose Spain would be the Far West. But I also believe in the encuentro de las ideas. We have the camino de la paz, the pilgrimages to Compostela, to Lourdes, and most recently to Jerusalem by His Holiness Pope Benedict XVI whom I had the pleasure and privilege of meeting as Kardinal Ratzinger in 1993. He presented me with a copy of the catechism. And after many meetings he asked me, "what do you think of the content". What a question to be asked by a prince of the church? After all I am only a layman and I can't apologize for being born a Prince. Nobody is perfect. But after I gained his trust I suggested that in the catechism there is a dialogue of conviction, and of compassion, and of love between humans and their creator. But between humans and humans, the creations, there is only a dialogue of ugliness and of hatred. I would like to suggest to you boldly that the hatred industry is winning. The Straits of Hormuz, the oil flow is 16.5 million barrels a day, the oil sources of the Arab Gulf states and Iran. The Japanese diet in their wisdom in 1988 said, it is impossible to protect oil in situ. You have to talk about oil all the way down the energy ellipse from the Caucasus to the Straits of Hormuz in the context of the hinterland. What is important is not the pipelines. What is important is the people who live next to those pipelines. As for the Straits of Malacca, the oil flow is 15 million barrels a day, the oil source of the Arab Gulf states, Iran, and West Africa, the primary destination are all Asia-Pacific consumers including Japan and China.

So the concept of the securitization of China presenting in 1996 by a group of American authors by land today seems to be in question. This concept has now been replaced by the long war, a CSIS paper, which speaks of the importance of sea power. As you know we have three forms of violators of international humanitarian law of trained killers, hijackers in the air, terrorists and insurgents on the ground, and now we are told the revival of pirates at sea. The virtual plan for the extension of sea power includes the establishment of virtual sea bases in the context of the Indian Ocean, the China Sea, including countries as far away as Australia, countries that participated in the coalition of the willing.

I have come here to suggest that the time has come to speak of a coalition of the caring. The West Asian region is a systemic misnomer. There is no such thing as a West Asian-North Africa region anymore than there was a Middle East-North Africa region. I begged my late brother, King Hussein, before we went to the Casablanca Conference of Middle East-North Africa, please let us not go to exchange business cards and talk about projects. Let us talk about the context into which we put the text. And the text in the context of a Westphalian Treaty is more relevant today than at any time before. The text in the context of a Helsinki process with clusters of priority issues ranging from basic and current security through economic and social issues is essential if we are to speak of sharing of global commons. Our seas have yet to be dislodged as the main conduit for the movement of approximately 90% of global commerce and 60% of world's oil. But I want to add that the strategic importance of the Indian Ocean is only said to augment as the world's demand

for oil proliferates. Within the next 25 years global energy needs are expected to rise by 40% with half of this increase emanating from the mounting energy demands of India and China. In the quest for energy security the Indian Ocean will be the point at which global vulnerabilities play out for the future. And I want to point out that in terms of these needs the mushrooming of oil pipelines continues to be a serious reality.

Let me take the subject of security. If a tragedy occurs such as Chernobyl it is man-made. If a malevolent act -and I was the first to criticize the bombing of the Twin Towers as a Muslim and as moderator of the World Conference for Religions and Peace - where hundreds of Muslims were killed, it is regarded as a security violation. In terms of preventative diplomacy at MENA in Casablanca we asked for 35 billion dollars of investment comprehensively from Morocco to Turkey, inclusively, a decade of investment in infrastructure, clean drinking water, clean energy. The answer of the then Commissioner, and I'm not being judgmental, I'm just stating a fact, was influenced by the Copenhagen shopping list, promoted by the Oslo Accords, the Jordanian-Israeli Accords, and indeed they were also promoted by the hope of the resumption of the Syrian-Israeli talks. So Austria was interested in tourism, Germany was interested in light industry, and so forth. So it was all project oriented. The answer of Manolo Marin to this concept of encouraging the will to stay in the Mediterranean was, first come, first serve. There was no question of creating a concept group to go away for a few months and develop a concept of how to stabilize the movement of persons who are drowning today in the Mediterranean. There was no concept until homeland security after 9/11 used that same mystical figure, 35 billion dollars to keep people out. So much so lacking in cultural sensitivity that a Bishop from the Holy Land was stopped only a few months ago at an American airport and asked by the homeland security official, when were you converted. He said, over 2.000 years ago, when were you converted?

If we look at these world transit chokepoints we see the Turkish Straights. Turkey is a growing regional superpower, an oil flow of 2.4 million barrels a day, the oil source the Caspian Sea region. The Suez Canal Sumet pipeline, oil flow 4.5 billion barrels a day, the oil source the Arab Gulf states and Asia, primary destination Europe and USA. And so it continues. Even in Darfur where I had the privilege of working with leprosy in 1986, we are told that if the situation is stabilized in Darfur then oil can flow from the Red Sea directly to Kameroun, from the Red Sea to the Atlantic or possibly from the Red Sea to Libya, to the Mediterranean. So when we met in the context of the Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission chaired by Hans Blix in Cairo, an Israeli friend in the audience said, we can never have comprehensive peace with the Arabs because of Iran. I said what an original idea. Anything that happens to Israel means that we will be destroyed at exactly the same moment. You have patriot missiles, you have the support of powerful friends, you have new gas mask, we don't even have old gas masks. So we will expire even through a dirty bomb using not nuclear, chemical, or radiological weapons, maybe by Anthrax which will blow in a westerly direction and kill us all. But we will die secure in the knowledge that the world's oil supplies are being maintained. You will forgive my cynicism but that is only a fraction of what you feel in terms of the despair in the streets in our part of the world today.

I continue with the MENA oil-gas pipelines, Baku-Tbilisi-Jehan oil pipeline, Iraq-Turkey oil pipeline, Iraq-Syria oil pipeline, Iraq-strategic oil pipeline, Sumet oil pipeline, trans-Arabian oil pipeline currently closed between Saudi Arabia and Jordan or through Jordan, Iraqi oil pipeline through Saudi Arabia closed. We Arabs don't need enemies.-East-West oil pipeline, South Caucasus gas pipeline, Iran-Turkey gas pipeline, and South Pars-North Field gas.

But I'm not as concerned with pipelines as I am with good governance. We are now facing a crisis that exceeds the rigid parameters assigned to us by the now discredited dichotomy of government and market, better known as the public and private: Globalization and universalization. When I officially declared the West Asia-North Africa Forum open last month in Amman, it is a forum supported by Euro-Atlantic, Japanese, and Chinese participation for West Asian peoples exclusive of nobody. The Israeli ambassador attended the opening. And the representative of the Syrian news agency said, why do you have to do it, you're not in public office? I said yes, I am a non-governmental organism, an NGO, and I wanted to do simply because I am not in public office. And when Martti Ahtisaari stood up and said, I think it is time that Israel considered speaking to everyone in this region, he made the point I wanted to make directly to the emissary of Israel. I reminded the participants that we are not delegates of countries but delegates of the third sphere, that ad hominem space that challenges the public-private dichotomy and frees us from the constraints of thinking purely in terms of national citizenship. If you look at this you would be aware of the importance of what we called for at the Arab Summit Conference in Kuwait the other day, the end of casino capitalism and rentierism in favor of an investment in productivity. I am a member of the Legal

Empowerment of the Poor, a commission which presented the report prefaced by Gordon Brown whom we knew before he became Prime Minister, by Madeleine Albright, and by a host of international participants who focused essentially on the question of poverty. We spoke of endangered civilization. 6.000 languages died according to Unesco in their report last year. We spoke of transition of economies from service oriented economies and real estate economies to a participation of the West Asia-North Africa region in the world market. We do not produce a single original product in this whole region.

70% of educators in American universities are not American born. The percentage of Arabs in ratio to population is larger than Chinese or Indian. They produce thousands of patents. But we have no way of establishing a knowledge base of these achievements of our Arabs abroad. As for Arabs in the region, if you want to patent in the United States it costs you 30.000 dollars, if you want to patent in Europe it costs you 20.000 dollars. So despite the fact that we are members of free trade associations, Partnership for Peace, Partnership for the Mediterranean, even major non-Nato ally all of this does not amount to much. Nothing changes. Unilateral and bilateral politics are more important than global commons.

Technology foresight: . I have been trying very hard to promote the concept of desert-tec., solar energy. My Moroccan colleague at the meeting said to me well, the north is water rich, the south is solar rich. I remember the late Turgut Ozal saying, what we need is an aménagement de territoire, human resources, economic resources, and natural resources, to look at the capacity of what we used to call the third tile crescent. Today unfortunately nationalism has taken the place of thinking of global commons. As you will recall Aldous Huxley spoke of nationalism in terms of a common hatred for your neighbor and a common misunderstanding of history. Indeed the dysfunctional and co-dependent relationship between the public and private sector has left our environment and our cultural spaces under brutal assault. I have with me a Jordanian member of the board of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature. If you look at the destruction of the movement of armies with thousands of tanks and military vehicles through the deserts of our region you will recognize how it has been ravaged. I have the privilege of working with autochthonous peoples, indigenous peoples, of working for a human concept of a new archive, a racial equality index in the context of the High Commission for Human Rights. But where do you begin? Where a pregnant woman has to walk in the burning sunshine for hours to deliver a baby and yet within a few kilometers all the modern facilities exist for major advances in medical science. The beauty of the proposal of Paul Volcker for a Middle East Development Bank in 1996 was the word asymmetric, to look at the investment in human beings. We talk about education for the environment, education for life, education for skills. What about education for citizenship and stake holding? When will we become partners in this universe or this planet? President Köhler said in March, and President Köhler has been a friend for many years, we must plan the future of our planet. I had to ask what did he mean by we and what did he mean by our. I believe that we can move from a zero-sum game to a win-win alternative.

Why should we choose between the mass unemployment and social collapse offered by the public sector and the environmental collapse and intolerable inequality attended under the private sector regime? Why should we limit our collective engagement to the private and public spheres alone when this restricts our use of the material, environmental, genetic, social, cultural, and intellectual? Why is it that our region is deprived of a knowledge base? The Open Society Archive which started in Munich in the days of the Iron Wall has now moved to Budapest. At the Central European University on a safe server you can find out what has happened to your loved ones, provided you have no personal grudge. Every day we wake up in the morning to see new stories of dead Arabs, and I want to remind you that Arab is not synonymous with Muslim. We have 15 churches of the eastern communion. And I have written on this subject in German. We have ethnicities that would astound you in their cultural differences. Why do we not begin to recognize the importance of promoting in the words of the North African sage, Ashad, what is universal and respecting difference? We have no knowledge even of the loved ones we are loosing every day. Either through BBC or CNN we have pictures of horror; Jazeera of course does its best to keep us on our toes. But the basic question is when will we through the world of virtual reality be able to make such a conversation available through the networking of an international media peace corps?

.....Strategies for dealing with security aspects of energy. In 1990 we in Jordan were punished because we did not join the coalition of the willing. That punishment included the end of our hope of a solar panel city in Azrak in Jordan. That project went to Spain and succeeded in Almaria. In March 2009 President Obama and UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon "called for 2009 to be the year of climate change." The year is twelve months. But they stressed the importance of a comprehensive successor pact to the Kyoto Protocol at

December's UN Climate Change Conference in Copenhagen. I would like to point out the anomaly that none of the fifteen countries involved in preparatory meetings for the Copenhagen Conference are from our region. No Arab states, no Israel, no Iran, no Turkey, they were simply not represented. Is it a question of a lack of invitation? Is it a question of a lack of willingness? I do not know. All I know is that the outcome is that we will continue to talk at each other not to each other.

I believe in inter-regional meetings and intra-regional meetings. I call for an EU- ME water and energy community for the human environment. A community which makes people not capable or wealthy enough to pay for energy provided by national grids or transnational grids, but to have their own sources of cheap energy and water. I call for the creation of a social cohesion fund, possibly based in the words of Paul Volcker in that asymmetric, regional, sustainable development bank. And in that I would like to say that the time has come where in Malaysia a group of us have been able to finally realize the creation of a Zakad Foundation, a LMS, Ladies and Gentlemen, not a RMS. One trillion dollars was spent over the last decade on weapons. 1% of that would be enough to start a social cohesion fund. I come here to call for a regional cooperative model. We hear of Ecosoc, the Economic and Social Council. But in our region with our Esqa, our Arab League, our organization of Islamic Conference, we do not have regular meetings every quarter, every three months where drops of technicians, economists, and policy makers, civil society witnesses, public hearings to present to the policy makers and articulate the thoughts of the general public. Part of the reason for this has been 9/11. Security, Ladies and Gentlemen, is the order of the day. And that means the insecurity of the moral majority because they are not allowed to convene, to talk, to engage in dialogue. Dialogue is not even allowed in universities unless it is within the purview of the university compound. And in this way, through sins of omission we are inviting greater populist recruitment of our young. I want to remind you that in 2050 there will be 55 million unemployed Arabs, an army of hatred and frustration. Preventive security, a win-win situation, regional institution of water management, and social cohesion should be our regional listening ear to the words of President Obama. I think that the days of mutual apologies have come and gone. In 1992 I participated in a process of Sefarad: Apologies from Catholics to Jews in Toledo; Of Seville 1992, apologies from Catholics to Muslims. And yet we met in Carmona, in southern Spain, and spoke of the importance of creating a concept for a future road.

We hear of the Silk Road, the Spice Road, and the Road of Pilgrimage as I mentioned earlier. What about a camino de las ideas? When will be bridge the longest distance in the world between our minds and our hearts? That is the wakeup call that tried to make here this evening. And forgive me if I have overextended myself or offended anyone in the audience. My intentions are only to speak of the importance of consensus and value added to popular participation with a clearly defined mission. Thank you, Ladies and Gentlemen.

### **Georg Lennkh**

Your Royal Highness, first of all let me thank you on behalf of all of us and on behalf of the Bruno Kreisky Forum for International Dialogue for the very wise and moving words that you have given us. You have spoken about the crisis ellipse that spanned a wide part of the world. The span of the subjects you touched was even wider. It will not be easy now to sum up anything and I will refrain from this. You started out with something we are all familiar with, with the energy fixation and fascination, particular oil and gas. And you then fanned out into important questions of environment, of information, of water, and particularly of global governance, of how to re-organize ourselves in order to better handle burning problems of our world. The figure that you gave last was a very impressive one, 55 million unemployed Arabs. I have a lot to deal with Africa. 80% youth unemployment in many West African countries, this is perhaps the comparable figure. We all have discovered that this is now a problem for all of us. Of course you have mentioned that the security fixation of our societies since 9/11 has brought us into a mode of fortress Europe. We have to get away from that and reach over this wall in our minds.

I would propose that we start the question and answer period right away.

### **Question**

Freda Meissner-Blau. You Royal Highness, thanks a lot, a great deal for your words concerning climate change and the excessive dangers we all know about. Would you have an idea in whose interest it is to impeach development and exploitation of this enormous quantity of solar energies in your country and around your country?

### **Question**

I am the honorary consul from Eritrea. I would like first to appreciate His Excellency for your excellent speech. My question goes to both of you. What is the secret behind that Africa cannot realize its own vision to promote democracy and justice and to abolish hunger, war, HIV/Aids. Why is the international community not able to behave properly while Africa is bleeding of exploitation and millions of African children live in poverty and suffer or die of hunger? Thank you.

### **Question**

Walther Lichem. Thank you very much, Your Royal Highness. I understood your presentation as having focused on the pipeline between human beings, the relational quality, and the societal deficits that we are facing, no vision without values. I have informed you about the Societal Development Initiative. Would you consider this initiative and the possible creation of a global commission on societal development as a possible response to these challenges which you have underlined? Thank you.

### **El Hassan Bin Talal**

I would like to suggest to all three questioners that the world clearly needs some new ways of thinking about old problems. In terms of the Global Commission for Social Development I would like to say that we have had many international commissions over the last 30 years. The Brundtland Commission on the Environment for example. And I always joke with my Norwegian friends because they spoke about the environment of Amazonia, but they somehow omitted to mention the 40 million people living under the trees. The International Commission for Economy, the Brandt Commission, the Independent Commission on Humanitarian Issues which I had the privilege of co-chairing with Aga Khan which had from this country Minister Lanc, Simone Veil, Okita, Robert McNamara after his experiences in Vietnam and his mindset change. So what I would suggest is that we need more than commissions that present recommendations to the community of states. What we need is more than dialogues across the huge social fissures that exist in the world today. We need each region to answer the questionnaire on regional and global commons which I hope can be a process that can start in earnest in no later than 2012. That is to say, the representation of the third sphere which is ad hominem representation of governments, private sector, and civil society in promoting economic and social dialogue not in plenaries in New York and in Geneva alone, but specifically dedicated to intra-regional conversations. The time has come to recognize the importance of the work done so far in the Organization of African Unity, the Arab League, the Sahel countries.

But I think what is more important than all of this is to engage in a systemic representation of priorities as seen by people, power influencing policy makers. I believe that the old colonial system is always blamed for divide and rule. But today it appears to me that corporate social responsibility in some instances I have to respect is well intended and well directed. But if corporate global social responsibility is only a public relations exercise then we will only be interested in a crisis so long as it is in front of our television screens. In landing in Bangkok during the Myanmar tragedy I asked the Jordanian pilot, do you think that this storm will hit Thailand? And he said no, not according to our satellite information. I knew that the American admirals were speaking to the Burmese generals about the possibility of bringing supplies closer to the coast of Myanmar. The minute the press said Americans landing on the coast of Myanmar, it became politically unacceptable. So I think that the question of the future of Africa is not going to be determined by mineral exploitation or agricultural wealth alone. It can only be determined in a win-win situation where there is something in it for both sides of the equation. No country can go it alone. The cessation of the Cold War despite fervent hopes did not result in stable peaceful relations between countries. In terms of Africa, let me remind you of Sudan, Somalia, Nigeria, Liberia, Ghana, Ruanda, and the list continues. These are referred to politely by international strategists as low intensity wars. Is the destabilization of the post-colonial order of independent "states" going to mean more international technicians, more international expertise, and finally a new nuisance civilisatrice for those who cannot find employment in the north to move for possibilities of employment in the south? If this is done peacefully, in cooperation and partnership, then I think we are building a new world. If it is not then it is a repeat of what we heard in the true story of Vasco da Gama and the Jain king.

As for the first point, who are the beneficiaries of solar power, photovoltaic cells, one terawatt of electricity on two square kilometers as opposed to 15 terawatt on tens of squares kilometers which is basically what the world needs, I can't even begin to count the zeros after a terawatt. But I want to say that the beneficiaries will obviously be the transit countries from the Gulf across North Africa and into Europe. Of course, if I was in negotiating mode I would say, we give solar power to you in Europe, give us your water in exchange. And maybe that is not so far from the truth; but I do believe that available information by satellite on water

resources and water management should be made more clear to people. The eight Nile rivers, Nile basin countries have a need by 2050 of the capacity of five healthy Nile rivers, not one depleted Nile. The continued undisciplined urban sprawl is using drinking water, municipal and industrial water at a rate where rural communities are being totally ignored and marginalized at all our peril. So the beneficiaries are new technologies, a less costly way of life, and the beneficiaries if partnership can be discussed with full representation from the region including Israel. Israel I want to say is a country that benefits from many special relationships. I don't know if I mentioned earlier in this audience, Shimon Peres once made the usual Israeli lament to me. He said, we are surrounded by enemies. I said to him, you think you have a problem, we are surrounded by friends. So this idea of Israel a part of an extended European-Atlantic relationship, Israel developing scientific progress of satellite technology, and India, and China, Israel a little bit everywhere, shows the outreach of Israel. But I think that if we want to talk as Shimon Peres has done of Israel bringing innovative technologies to the region it should be through the creation of foundations to study renewables, possibly in Europe, maybe this is your niche, where researchers from the whole region come to study. Whether they meet socially or they don't meet socially is not my affair. I studied Hebrew at university and I remember the embarrassment when I saw Palestinian citizens of Israel, mistrusted by the Arabs on the one side and mistrusted by the Israelis on the other. So it is not a question of public relations. It's a question of building a quantitative investment in people everywhere and a quantum leap into the future, the future of our young people. We won't be there to see it. But maybe we can sow the seeds for it through science and technology.

### **Question**

I am Arno Tausch from Innsbruck University. I would be rather optimistic in terms of the economic basics underpinning your optimistic scenario. I did a map with the Economist predictions for the 80 or 90 countries for which the Economist provides data, the Economist prediction of economic growth until the year 2013 and the current account balances etc. And the surprising thing is that the economic dynamics of the world return to the Indian Ocean area, especially the eastern part of the Indian Ocean involving India, Indonesia, etc. We are always talking about the issue of who has predicted the current crisis. I say André Gunter Frank predicted this crisis, this great American-German economist who died some years ago, and who in his last major book Re-Orient predicted the shifting of the economic power of the world again towards the Indian Ocean region. So that would be a very optimistic scenario. And talking about 50 million Arab unemployed in the year 2050 I really would not like to know how many Europeans will be unemployed by that time.

### **Question**

Heinz Lober, I have since some time assumed a function at the Club of Rome-European Support Center based in Vienna, and from that angle we are very proud to have His Royal Highness as a former President of the International Club of Rome. Your Royal Highness, I hope you will not find my question too theoretical. You come from a geographic area where democracy in the western style is not the rule of the day, there are many absolutist countries. And then on the other hand, on a political level internationally the Western countries, if you still permit that expression, are sometimes very eager to promote the spread of democracy. Your Royal Highness, you have made it clear this morning and now also tonight that now is the time to act on some very important questions of climate change, energy security. And you also referred to NGOs role in influencing policy makers and the civic societies. I wonder whether you would find it's still a priority to come to grips with whether democracy is a thing to spread around the world or whether with the agenda which you addressed today it wouldn't make that much difference if really democracy is promoted or if when you talk about influencing policy makers some absolutist countries can be even influenced a bit quicker.

### **Question**

My name is Raivo Järvi, I'm from Estonian Parliament. As we say in Estonia I would like to fill up the ball. What we are facing right now, electricity, solar batteries, and the oil companies. Actually we all know that hydrogen engines are ready for production, in the US, in Europe, in Germany, and we know it's all blocked by the enormous oil companies like Mobile Exxon etc. Probably I sound a little bit cynical, but isn't it so that this economical recession might be in a way a salvation if we face two scenarios which are the solutions, the devastating end or endless devastation? Maybe this is the way out.

### **El Hassan Bin Talal**

I would like to thank you for referring to Frank's prediction of the return to the Indian Ocean, but there is a rather less pleasant prediction of moving towards the Indian Ocean. I think it was called "Drang nach Osten". Part of our region, the oil producing part, used to be an extension of the British-India Office. I noticed that of

the three emissaries of the United States to our region, Ambassador Mitchell to the Palestine-Israeli crisis, Dennis Ross to the South-East Asian region, that South-East Asia was actually a coinage formed by Indira Gandhi. Of course the third envoy Richard Holbrooke to Afghanistan, Pakistan, and I am interested by the American comments on the importance of transit routes through Afghanistan and Pakistan. Transit means going somewhere, to China; I believe that the German minister of transport has in his office a detailed map of the movement of trains carrying goods from East Asia, from Singapore to the Black Sea. So I want to agree with you on the one side in terms of the recognition of two non-Security Council members of the BRIC countries, Brazil, Russia, India, China that is Brazil and India. But as I have asked both my Brazilian friends and my Indian friends, if and when you become members of the Security Council what are you going to do to change our world, what is the agenda? We no longer have non-alignment which was, of course, espoused by India, the Bandung Conference. So I think what is important is to ask ourselves whether there can be a continuum of intra-regional good relations between ASEAN, SAC, South Asia regional cooperation, and West Asia. And for that matter whether the concept of Nabucco and others can actually develop into a common wealth of shared interests.

I would like to say that on the question of Europeans unemployed I am not qualified to comment, not least of all on birth rates. But you have one distinction in Europe. We have always been told that you Arabs, you Africans are better in the bed room than in the board room. So I assume that we will benefit from your managerial capabilities.

And I would like to answer the question on democracy by saying that the concept of governance is not new. It is as old as human civilization. Simply put, governance means the process of decision making and the process by which decisions are implemented or not implemented. According to a paper in front of me by our South-East-Asian friends good governance has eight major characteristics, participatory consensus, consensus oriented participatory accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable, and inclusive, and follows the rule of law. I believe that to be a definition of democracy. When you said Western style democracy I did not realize that democracy was a question of style. But I would like to suggest that national, provincial government decision makers, appointed local decision makers, formal business decision makers represent the urban elite. We have to break out of this elite and in addition to that lessen the influence of the Mafias. I remember the western expression, so and so, in reference to a head of state of a particular country, which fit that description, "he may be a son of a bitch, but he is our son of a bitch". I ask you is it not time for Europeans to start talking about democracy between states and not only democracy within states. Is it not time that democracy recognizes the importance of the urban middle classes who are uninformed, uninterested, disorganized, but have the greatest potential to bring about change. Is it not time that we engaged in open conversations with them and with the urban poor who suffer the most, are exploited but beginning to get organized. If their being organized in the context of the rule of law is up to us, there are others who are prepared to organize them. But if we take the initiative in the name of good governance to strengthen, and activate, and give space to them then we will empower them.

As for the economic recession and solutions which my Estonian friend referred to as being off the wall, a question which he puts from the Baltic region I would like to say again that peace makers from the Baltic region have done so much in terms of blue helmets. Now the time has come possibly to look at continuing your tradition in developing academies for training relief workers, for training United Nations, what has been described as blue overalls, not necessarily blue helmets, an international non-denominational peace corps. But I think that in terms of the endless devastation to which you refer I would like to suggest once again that good governance is not going to be realized over night. We need equity and inclusiveness, effectiveness and efficiency, and we need to learn from countries who achieved. Finland, your neighbor, is the biggest achiever in international education anywhere. You start two years after us in your formal education and you finish two years after us. You start by teaching children by anecdote and by parables. And you present the finest results in humanities and in sciences. I believe this is a niche that should be exported to our region where quantitative education is contributing to the ranks of the unemployed and human devastation.

### **Question**

My name is Lukas Löschner, I'm a graduate student in international affairs and political science at Vienna University. I would like to hear your opinion about the recent report of the Union for the Mediterranean in particular regarding the goal of creating a zone of prosperity and bringing the peoples of the Mediterranean shores closer together. How do you feel this Union goes in line also with the European neighborhood policy

which is based on bilateral cooperation? Also how do you judge the successes or the failures of the Barcelona process?

### **Question**

I'm from the Austro-Arab Chamber of Commerce: A question concerning Dow Jones values. If we watched in the past the values of Dow Jones going down and having also some crises and wars in mind, well, somebody will get the feeling there is a linkage between both of them. We have now the beginning of a huge crisis, economical and financial crisis, worldwide. Do you see any linkage to oncoming crises or wars, for example Sudan, the war in Darfur?

### **Question**

Your Highness, the words that you said tonight reminded me of the words of other great personalities, of Giorgio Lapira and of Gandhi, Gandhi who placed man at the center of his thoughts. Do you think that an agreement between religious leaders could help solve the longstanding problem that exists in the Middle East? Do you think that if Israel, Palestine were somewhere else and not where they are at the center of trafficking, at the center of oil related interests, would peace be possible?

### **El Hassan Bin Talal**

I would like to thank our young student participant for referring to youth in the context of the different initiatives taken in the Mediterranean region, the Barcelona Initiative, the Euro-Med Initiative, the Agadir Initiative, and other initiatives, not least of all the Alliance for Civilizations. I do not agree with civilizations in the plural. In the words of Prof. Merce Amaliza from Romania there is one world civilization with tens of thousands of cultures. As for Alliance for Civilization, the word alliance also carries with it other interpretations. But I think what is important in terms of youth is teaching by analogy. And this is why I think that channels have to be opened in networking youth conversations. The other day I heard a young Bedouin from the north-east arid zone of Jordan talking to a farmer in Albuquerque, New Mexico, about sheep rearing. If the political commentator were there he would have talked about an American imperialist talking to an Arab terrorist. In fact, these two farmers were talking about how to improve the quality of sheep. In terms of organizing the relationship of student exchanges I have also already mentioned the Erasmus Program and the Bologna Program of Accreditation which I believe should come to our region.

In terms of labor compensation there is a proposal there in the International Labor Organization which I had the privilege of making in the 1970s. Tailor-make the students you want to send to Europe or the workers you want to send to Europe according to the specifications of supply and demand and then create a social safety cushion for them if they want to return. In Holland we were asked as eastern Arab countries to comment on the presence of Moroccans in Holland. When we looked closely we found three groups of Berber from the Atlas Mountains. None of these three groups spoke the same dialect as the other. None of them spoke Arabic and none of them certainly spoke Flemish or Walloon. So I said, how did these people come here, your problem is basically one of communication. And therefore I think that the concept of international labor compensation is essential if we are to regulate the free movement of goods, capital, and labor. There has to be comprehension preceding understanding. And in that context I think that we are not doing enough simply through embassies to regulate the free movement of students and of labor. I think that embassies tend to select, if they are fortunate enough to have cultural attachés or scientific attachés, particular students for particular reasons that they don't come back. There are more Christians from Jerusalem in Sydney, Australia, today than there are left in Jerusalem. There are more Kurds now moving to Scandinavian countries than any other region. Is this a kindness, is it a necessity and for whom? These are the questions. The success or failure of existing programs depends on whether we can begin to give human dignity a central place. "Policies where people matter". Not petro politics, not arms politics, but anthro-politics.

And lastly the Arab-Israeli conflict and the possibility of inter-religious dialogue succeeding: I have been involved for over thirty years in conversations between the adherences of faiths. I have attended conferences in Asisi, at St. Aegidio, in Canterbury, in Sao Paulo, I have been to Indonesia, everywhere people say to me, can you help us in reconciliation talks. In fact we had six conferences of Iraqi religious leaders. Two bishops thanked me. They said, if only for the fact that in thirty years though we live ten kilometers from each other we have never been allowed to talk to each other. And therefore I say that the noble art of conversation and the noble art of listening have atrophied. I personally believe that moral authority should be above politics, moral authority in Jerusalem should be based on the revival of scholarship. I went to pay tribute to the

memory of Father Michele Pigirillo, a Franciscan monk, who worked for decades on restoring the mosaics of Mount Nebo. And this was in Arezzo the other day. He was studying with the Franciscan school at the time I was studying with the Ecole Publique. So we had some tribal conflict because I was studying with the Dominicans and he was studying with the Franciscans. But my point is that in the management of holy space this conversation has to be simulated time and again, whether it is on the site or anywhere in the world. The second point is that in the six conversations that we asked for the return to Iraq of the financial billions of the former regime, frozen in banks outside Iraq, to be invested in the rebuilding of schools, and hospitals, and hospices, and altruistic foundations, the recommendations were made to governments. We never got an answer. The frozen assets of the Shah were returned to the Islamic Republic of Iran. The frozen assets of Iraq still remain frozen. So I ask myself how can we build religious institutions if that is the objective to prove that religion is not just a question of education, of ritual, but also a question of putting our deeds where our words are. And this is why I think that dealing with the question of heterogeneity is so important. You refer to the world of Islam. We are heterogeneous. We don't refer to Christendom as being homogeneous because we recognize that Christians come from different schools. So my appeal to you is to recognize that values, ethics, and morals are very important to each family of man and even to secular people. But what is important is when you come to the table we need an analytical dictionary of standards. Where do you stand on civil liberties, on the sanctity of human life without equivocation and without ambiguity.

As for the last question on ulterior motives over what is happening in Darfur I am not qualified to answer. And if I did answer I'd probably make myself even more controversial, and I can afford to do without that at least. So I thank you all for your kind attention. And please, any of you who would wish to continue the conversation over the ether I am very interested in promoting not the entertainment sphere or the terror sphere but the cogito sphere, the ability to think together. Remember le chemin des idées. Thank you.