

FRIDE

FUNDACIÓN
PARA LAS RELACIONES INTERNACIONALES
Y EL DIÁLOGO EXTERIOR

Newsletter • June 2003

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Diego Hidalgo and Ana Palacio

As part of its mandate to promote international understanding through dialogue and discussion, the Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior (FRIDE), along with the Fundación José Ortega y Gasset (www.ortegaygasset.edu), convoked the Conference *Iraq: the day after* (May 12, 2003), to examine the implications of the recently concluded war. The conference brought together an array of political leaders, experts, and academics to Toledo, Spain, a city famed for its history of tolerance and pluralism.

This newsletter contains a summary of the three roundtable discussions that comprised the day's events, an article from former Israeli Foreign Minister Shlomo Ben-Ami, who participated in the Conference, and a complete list of the gathering's attendees. If you would like to find out more about the conference or about FRIDE, please visit our website: (www.fride.org).

IRAQ: THE DAY AFTER

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LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT



Just weeks after the war's conclusion, the threat of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction as the main argument justifying the military action has fallen out of favor. Instead, some of those defending the use of force to oust Saddam Hussein's regime now cite the war's positive results.

According to this point of view, thanks to the military campaign, Iraqis will be able to take their first steps towards creating a democracy, Israelis and Palestinians are closer than ever to resolving their differences, the Middle East will be more stable, and the world is rid of a tyrant.

Said differently, according to the White House and many political analysts, several weeks of military operations have been more effective at stabilizing one of the most volatile regions in the world than years of peace negotiations.

My response to those who believe that military force is the most effective instrument to promote peace and liberty is to point out a lesson learned from the recent campaigns in Afghanistan and Iraq: lasting peace and liberty can only be achieved through dialogue.

Dialogue was the key word for the conference, Iraq: The Day After, that we had the pleasure of organizing with the Fundación Ortega y Gasset. The invaluable support of the regional government of Castilla-La Mancha, the City Council of Toledo, the University of Castilla-La Mancha, the Caja of Castilla-La Mancha, and the Fundación Tres Culturas del Mediterráneo all helped to make the Conference a great success. Those of us who had the opportunity to attend and participate in the fascinating discussion -including those with seemingly irreconcilable ideological differences- can attest that dialogue always has the capacity to be fruitful.

This conviction in the necessity and utility of dialogue motivated the creation of FRIDE, a think tank that has driven various initiatives aimed at achieving practical results, including: the Club of Madrid, which counts among its members more than forty ex Heads of State and Government, and whose assistance was vital to the Conference; the University of the Middle East, which will bring together experts and students from the Middle East and Northern Africa for the second consecutive year this summer in Toledo; and, the Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution in Toledo, a joint effort with the Fundación José Ortega y Gasset, that we hope will become a permanent institution helping to achieve global peace. All these organizations work in the spirit of putting a tile in the mosaic required to better this world.

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Diego Hidalgo

PROGRAM

Venue: Paraninfo at the University of Castilla-La Mancha (Toledo)

Date: May 12th, 2003

Inaugural Speech

Ana Palacio
Foreign Affairs Minister of Spain



Paraninfo at the University of Castilla-La Mancha in Toledo.

First Session

The Impact of the Iraqi Crisis on International Institutions: UN, EU, NATO

Moderator:

Hugh Thomas
Historian and writer

Panelists:

Gustavo de Arístegui
Foreign Affairs Representative for the Popular Party in the Spanish Parliament

Enrique Barón
Former President and Member of the European Parliament

Robin Cook
Former Foreign Affairs Minister of the United Kingdom

Hubert Védrine
Former Foreign Affairs Minister of France

Second Session

The Impact of the Iraqi Crisis on the Middle East

Moderator:

Bernardino León
President of the Fundación Tres Culturas

Panelists:

Efraïm Halevy
Former Director of the Mossad and Head of the Israeli National Security Council

Aharon Klieman
Professor of International Relations at Tel Aviv University

Abdel Monem Said Aly
Director of *Al-Ahram* Centre for Political and Strategic Studies in Cairo

Mohammed Shtayyeh
Managing Director of the Palestinian Economic Council for Development and Reconstruction (PECDAR)

Presentation by:

Oumama Aouad-Lahrech
Professor at Mohammed V University in Rabat

Third Session

The Road Map and the Palestinian-Israeli Peace Process

Moderator:

Manuel Marín
Vice President of the European Commission. Foreign Affairs Representative for the Socialist Party in the Spanish Parliament

Panelists:

Shlomo Ben-Ami
Former Foreign Affairs Minister of Israel

Osama El-Baz
Political Advisor to the Egyptian President

Imad Falouji
Member of the Palestinian Legislative Council and Former Minister of Communications of the Palestinian National Authority

Message from:

Amre Moussa
Secretary-General of the Arab League

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Messages from Prince El Hassan bin Talal and Amre Moussa

Messages sent by Prince El Hassan bin Talal of Jordan and Amre Moussa, Secretary General of the Arab League, can be found at www.fride.org.

THE ROAD AHEAD: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE WAKE OF THE WAR IN IRAQ

Jon Shifrin

ONE MONTH AFTER U.S. FORCES ENTERED Baghdad and deposed Saddam Hussein's regime, the Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior (FRIDE) and the Fundación José Ortega y Gasset convoked a conference entitled *Iraq: The Day After* to discuss the regional and international repercussions of the war. The propitious timing of the gathering was noted by many of the participants, including Spanish Foreign Affairs Minister Ana Palacio. "This initiative by these two foundations is of momentous importance," she said in a speech preceding a series of roundtable discussions, "because these are times where reflection is absolutely necessary." The significance of the Conference's location did not go unnoticed either.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Toledo, the city of "three cultures", was renowned for its tolerance. Christian, Muslim, and Jewish communities lived side by side in relative harmony, which allowed Toledo to flourish intellectually and culturally. Many of the Conference's participants alluded to the city's history and stressed the need to replicate its famed pluralism in the Middle East today. But timing and location alone do not ensure a conference's success. Lively and informative discussion requires the participation of individuals with diverse points of view. With this in mind, the Conference's hosts brought together an eclectic group comprised of political leaders, scholars and experts in order to better understand the implications of the war.

Opening Statement

In addition to praising the timeliness of the Conference as well as the appropriateness of holding the gathering in Toledo, Minister of Foreign Affairs Ana Palacio described the importance of strong international institutions at time when unprecedented threats like terrorism and the

proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) confront the global community. The Foreign Affairs Minister recounted that following World War II it was clear that banning war would be insufficient. Instead, ensuring peace and security depended on creating international institutions that shared

"ISLAM AND DEMOCRACY ARE NOT INCOMPATIBLE"

Ana Palacio

common interests and values. What was true then is true now, she pointed out, and cited the United Nations, specifically, the U.N. Security Council, as having a crucial role in ensuring peace and security in the twenty-first century.

Minister Palacio also stressed the importance of maintaining strong transatlantic ties and criticised those promoting the creation of a E.U. strategic counterweight to the U.S. The

challenges facing us, she said, requires a strong partnership. And what are those challenges? Aside from the threat of the proliferation of WMD, the Minister alluded to the lack of democracy in the Middle East as a threat to global peace and security. While she emphasised that the lack of a democratic tradition represents an obstacle to establishing representative government in the region, it is not an insurmountable one: "Islam and Democracy are not incompatible." In the more immediate future, she added, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict demands a resolution, as every aspect of international relations is influenced by it.

Session One: The Impact of the Iraqi Crisis on International Institutions: UN, NATO, EU

The first session, moderated by historian and writer, Hugh Thomas, examined the impact of the Iraqi crisis on international institutions like the United Nations, NATO, as well as on U.S.



Participants in the first session (from left to right): Enrique Barón, Hubert Védrine, Hugh Thomas, Robin Cook and Gustavo de Aristegui.

- E.U. relations. The panel included Foreign Affairs Representative for the Popular Party in the Spanish Parliament, Gustavo de Aristegui, former President and current member of the European Parliament, Enrique Barón, and former British and French Foreign Ministers, Robin Cook and Hubert Védrine.

Despite their various political persuasions, all four panelists agreed on the need to increase the permanent membership of the United Nation's Security Council. Mr. Védrine added that the conditions when permanent Council members can invoke their veto power

argued against creating a European counterweight to the U.S. and instead urged strengthening the trans-atlantic alliance.

Session Two: The Impact of the Iraqi Crisis on the Middle East

Bernardino León, President of the Fundación Tres Culturas del Mediterráneo, moderated the second session examining the impact of the war on the Middle East and how it will shape the balance of power in the region. The session's panel

presence in Afghanistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Iraq and other states guarantees that it will play a dominant role in the region's affairs, and both expressed hope that a comprehensive peace agreement between the Palestinians and Israelis could be signed in the wake of the conflict. The panel's two other experts expressed more positive appraisals of the region's post-war political and strategic configuration.

Mr. Halevy noted that many of the dire predictions about the war's effects, such as the incitement of the "Arab masses", the destabilization of

COOK AND VÉDRINE CALLED FOR A RETURN TO A MULTI-POLAR INTERNATIONAL ORDER

should be clarified, and he said that the U.N. Charter should be amended so as to eliminate the notion of protectorates. The panel also found common ground on the desirability of enhanced European integration and on the importance of forging a common European foreign policy. However, differences of opinion did crop up.

The panel differed sharply on the implications of the war on E.U. – U.S. relations as well as on the ability to build international consensus in the wake of the conflict. Mr. Barón criticized his own government's support of the war and Mr. Cook expressed his concern that international organizations like the United Nations are being damaged by unilateral actions and disregard for international law: "There is a paradox in international affairs at the present time: we live in an era of globalization, and yet at the very time when economic trends, the movement of peoples, the integration of our political concerns call out for global governance, we are actually undermining the one major institution of global governance [the United Nations]." In order to arrest this trend, both Mr. Cook and Mr. Védrine called for a return to a multi-polar international order to balance what the former French Foreign Minister termed U.S. "hyper-power." Mr. de Aristegui took issue with this proposition. He



Participants in the second session (from left to right): Abdel Monem Said Aly, Mohammed Shtayyeh, Bernardino León, Efraim Halevy and Aharon Klieman.

included Efraim Halevy, former Director of the Mossad and Chairman of the Israel's National Security Council, Aharon Klieman, Professor of International Relations at Tel Aviv University, Abdel Monem Said Aly, Director of the Al-Ahram Centre for Political and Strategic Studies in Cairo, and Mohammed Ibrahim Shtayyeh, Director of the Palestinian Council for Development and Reconstruction.

Mr. Said Aly and Mr. Shtayyeh stressed that the fluid situation in the Middle East precludes reaching many firm conclusions about the region's future. Nevertheless, they agreed that the U.S.'s military

moderate Arab states, and an increase in terrorist incidents failed to materialize, indicating that more optimistic scenarios regarding the often-volatile Middle East are possible. Mr. Klieman echoed Mr. Halevy's positive analysis, though with some caveats. He painted a picture of a peaceful and prosperous Middle East but stressed that this vision could only be realized when the counterproductive mindset that has riddled the region for years is overcome: "Still consuming us [residents of the Middle East] are the politics of victimization, the politics of resentment, and the politics of blame."

Mr. Klieman's appeal for "Middle Easterners" to move beyond their atavistic tendencies received a warm round of applause.

Session Three: The Road Map and the Palestinian-Israeli Peace Process

Osama El-Baz, Political Advisor to Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, Imad Falouji, Member of the Palestinian Legislative Council, and Shlomo Ben-Ami, former Israeli Foreign Minister, sat on the third and final panel. Moderated by Manuel Marín, former E.U. Commission Vice-President, the session examined the implications of the war on the Middle East peace process. As with earlier sessions, the participants agreed on much. The three concurred that the Middle East peace plan known as the *road map*, designed by the so-called

principles. "What Arafat and Rabin called the peace of the brave," Ben-Ami said, "will perhaps become the peace of the exhausted." Mr. Ben-Ami also added that agreeing to a series of generalized principles, such as those contained in the

for a strong U.N. role in Iraq, which he claimed would provide the necessary international legitimacy to the task of rebuilding the country. He went on to express his conviction that the Middle East must develop its political and



Participants in the third session (from left to right): Osama El-Baz, Imad Falouji, Manuel Marín and Shlomo Ben-Ami.

**“THE PEACE
OF THE BRAVE
WILL PERHAPS
BECOME
THE PEACE
OF THE EXHAUSTED”**
Shlomo Ben-Ami

Quartet, or United Nations, Russia, E.U., and U.S., is a positive development. They all expressed hope that concerted efforts by the international community will bring an end to the seemingly intractable conflict, and all lauded the Palestinian's unconditional acceptance of the plan. The panel also agreed that peace in the region is contingent upon finding a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Mr. Falouji went further, suggesting that global peace and stability "go through Israel."

Shlomo Ben-Ami offered his own critique of the peace process. The former Israeli Foreign Minister's assessment, though generally hopeful, was tempered with a degree of scepticism. He pointed out that since it has been more than a decade since the secret peace talks in Oslo were initiated and two years since the second Intifada broke out, the two parties may be inclined to reach an agreement out of fatigue rather than high-minded

road map, is one matter; agreeing to specific concessions is quite another. To support his conclusion he pointed out that many of the principles in the Quartet's plan have been agreed to by Israelis and Palestinians for years. The formidable challenge ahead, is to translate those principles into action.

economic infrastructure in the wake of the war: "Business as usual in past decades, in the past century, cannot and should not be the order of the day in the first decade of the twenty-first century. We need a change." But this change will only be possible, he added, when peace and stability prevail in the region.

Closing the Conference

Following the final roundtable discussion, Diego Hidalgo announced the creation of the Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution in Toledo. A joint initiative by FRIDE and the Fundación José Ortega y Gasset, the center will specialize in researching and helping to resolve conflicts in Latin America, North Africa, and the Middle East—regions with which Spain has geographical, linguistic, and historical ties. FRIDE and the Fundación José Ortega y Gasset hope to have the center up and running in the near future, which, Mr. Hidalgo pointed out, would allow the climate of mutual understanding demonstrated by the participants of *Iraq: The Day After* to be continued long after the conclusion of the Conference.

Iraq: The Day After came to a close with a recorded message from Amre Moussa, Secretary General of the Arab League. Mr. Moussa began by calling

**“A UNIQUE
OPPORTUNITY
TO REMAKE
THE MIDDLE EAST
LIES AHEAD”**

Amre Moussa

Mr. Moussa concluded on a hopeful note by pointing out that a unique opportunity to remake the Middle East lies ahead. With a dedication to dialogue and mutual respect, he said, this opportunity for change can be exploited.

REFLECTIONS ABOUT THE CONFERENCE IRAQ: THE DAY AFTER

Shlomo Ben-Ami



SINCE ITS INCEPTION, IT WAS CLEAR THAT the crisis in Iraq would become a landmark event in international relations. The unilateral philosophy of the Bush administration and its belief that American power can be used as a prime instrument to remodel the world in the image of the United States -an attitude reflected in America's rejection of the Kyoto Protocol, the International Criminal Court, and other multilateral agreements- transformed Iraq into a platform from which the United States could attempt to reshape the Middle East and consolidate its economic and strategic interests in the region.

The novelty of United States' ambitions in Iraq does not just reside in the political deceptions used to justify the war, but in Washington's surprising disinterest in the international order and the rules governing state behavior that were established at the end of the Cold War.

The crossroads that the global community faces as a result of the crisis in Iraq was analysed during the Conference *Iraq: The Day After* organized by FRIDE and the Fundación José Ortega y Gasset (Toledo, Spain, May 12, 2003), though discussion was not limited to the consequences of the war. Discussion also included ideas and proposals regarding the future of three fundamental pillars: international institutions, the Arab and Muslim Middle East, and the Palestinian question.

It is true that the war severely tested key institutions in the international system like the United Nations and the Security Council, NATO, and the European Union. However, as was noted during the conference, these institutions need to be reformed in order to maintain their relevance in a world where it is not only necessary to balance and moderate America's hegemony, but is also vital to incorporate emerging powers -India, Brazil, and the European Union- in order to construct a more unified and just international order.

In this context, the European Union will not be able to continue to avoid the challenge of articulating a common foreign policy as well as developing a significant military capability. Also, NATO ought to be reformed if it hopes to be capable of responding to new challenges that threaten peace and security. Its structures and capacity to deploy forces were developed in a different era and are therefore outdated.

Trying to create a counterweight to the United States would only open a new phase of the Cold War, this time in the bosom of the West. Instead, it makes more sense to reinforce the trans-Atlantic alliance while at the same time improve the capacity to act collectively in order to defend the international order.

The Iraqi crisis also demonstrated the necessity of reforming the United

**“AN ARCHITECTURE
FOR REGIONAL
PEACE AND SECURITY
DOES NOT EXIST
WITHOUT
A SOLUTION
TO THE
PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI
CONFLICT”**

Shlomo Ben-Ami

Nation's Security Council. Given its political cohesion, the European Union ought to have a clear voice in this forum and one commensurate with its global influence, while countries like Brazil should also be represented in the body.

We ought to admit that the worst fears that preceded the war -those that talked about the possible disintegration of moderate Arab regimes and the portents of social and political disaster in the region- did not come to pass. And while it is possible that the unfortunate effects of the war will linger in the

consciousness of the masses, for now the Middle East and the Arab world have generally endured the blow. Moreover, their leaders appear even more disposed than ever to work for the restoration of regional peace and stability.

This order inevitably depends on finding a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. An architecture for regional peace and security does not exist without a solution to it.

During the conference in Toledo, the opinion was expressed that the destabilizing and disastrous consequences resulting from wars in the Middle East notwithstanding, they have also served as bloody precursors for possible peace accords. Were it not for the Yom Kippur War, it is possible that a peace agreement between Israel and Egypt would not have been signed, and it is clear that the first Gulf War made it possible to convoke the Madrid Peace Conference, initiate the Oslo peace accords, and to conclude a peace accord between Israel and Jordan.

While acknowledging that the recent war in Iraq follows in the same logic -as demonstrated by the road map's " forward momentum, and recent summits in Sharm El Sheik and Aqaba- it is fair to suggest, as some did during the conference in Toledo, that the Israeli-Palestinian peace process requires something more.

Sooner or later it will be necessary to put on the table not just a general text, like the road map, but also concrete proposals regarding the conflict's central issues, such as Jerusalem, borders, refugees, and settlements. It may be advisable to establish an international mechanism (there is talk of an international mandate) to accompany the transition to an independent and democratic Palestinian state and to ensure that Israel completes its obligations.

PHOTO ALBUM



Antonio Garrigues Walker, Diego Hidalgo, Antonio Álvarez-Couceiro, José Manuel Romero and Ana Palacio.



José Manuel Molina, the Mayor of Toledo, and Nabil Maarouf, Representative of the Palestinian National Authority in Spain



Diego Hidalgo and José María Barreda, Vice-President of the Castilla-La Mancha Regional Government.



Group photo



Imad Falouji and Manuel Marín.



Gustavo de Arístegui and Antonio Álvarez-Couceiro.



Robin Cook, Imad Falouji and Mohammed Shtayyeh



Hubert Védrine and Hugh Thomas

NEWS



Working Group Democracy and Diversity

On June 19, 2003, the fifth and final meeting of the working group *Democracy and Diversity* took place. The group, coordinated by Fernando Vallespín, analysed the main challenges that democracies face as a result of their increasing diversity. Matters like pluralism, immigration, and tolerance were the focus of the working group's discussions. Their conclusions will be published in the fall of 2003.

New Publication

Towards a New Era in Development Aid: Building Effective Institutional Infrastructure in LDCs (2 vols.)

Comissioned by FRIDE, the DFC study (www.thedfcgroup.com), provides a detailed analysis of the evolution of development aid over the past 50 years, an in-depth case study of eight specific countries, and it proposes a framework for using the lessons of the past to create a better future.



If you would like further information about FRIDE's activities and publications, contact us at fride@fride.org



Moises Naím

The Political Crisis in Venezuela

As part of its Democracy Forum 2003, FRIDE invited Moisés Naím, the Editor and Publisher of *Foreign Policy* magazine and former Venezuelan Minister of Commerce and Industry, to discuss the political crisis in his country with a distinguished group of journalists, academics, and political leaders.

During the session, Mr. Naím and the participants explored issues like: President Hugo Chavez and the movement he leads, the polarization in Venezuela, the country's foreign policy -specially vis-à-vis Cuba, Colombia, and the United States- and the potential for political change in the near future, which, according to the participants, is highly unlikely.



UME

The University of the Middle East Project (UME) was created in 1997 by a Palestinian scholar, Hala Taweel, and an Israeli doctor, Ron Rubin, to promote dialogue, regional cooperation and development, critical thinking and open enquiry in the Middle East. UME's objective is to champion academic excellence among its students, all of whom live in the region and receive full scholarships provided by UME, and to create a system of interconnected academic centers throughout the MENA region focussing on these vital principles. Since its inception, more than 200 Arab and Israeli leaders have taken part in UME's masters-level institutes in Boston (US), Casablanca, Rabat (Morocco), and Toledo (Spain). In 2003, UME's Board of Directors approved the creation of the Fundación Centro de Educación Superior en Oriente Medio in Spain, to promote UME's activities in Europe. With the support of the University of Castille in Toledo (UCLM), UME will celebrate its second annual Institute in Governance, Public Policy and Civil Society, and for the first time in Toledo, Spain, the Institute in Sustainable Development Policy. For further information, please visit our website at: www.ume.org