ROUND TABLE
UNESCO HEADQUARTERS, 21 JUNE 2011

DEMOCRACY
AND RENEWAL IN THE ARAB WORLD

UNESCO IN SUPPORT OF TRANSITIONS TO DEMOCRACY

ROADMAP
UNESCO 21 JUNE 2011

Road Map
Democracy and Renewal in the Arab World
UNESCO supports the transitions to democracy

Document drawn up in preparation for the high-level round table
held by UNESCO on 21 June 2011

« Today, the peoples of the Mediterranean Sea teach us all again a lesson of courage and a lesson of humanity for the 21st century […] Democracy and freedom of expression need education and literacy, which allow each of us to get informed, to express our ideas, and to find a job »

Extract from the opening speech by Ms Irina Bokova
Director-General of UNESCO

Table of contents

PROLOGUE

I. Introduction
The Arab Spring: a new page in the history of democracy
Democratic transitions around the world: other times, other places
The responses of the international community to the Arab Spring

II. A road map as reference
The relevance of a road map for democracy in the Arab world
UNESCO: an international cooperation platform for support in solidarity

III. Women and young people: forces driving the Arab renewal
Women's rights: the other much-needed revolution
Arab youth: the key player

IV. Basic conditions for achieving the democratic ideal
1. Ethics and founding institutions
Institutional conditions
Institutions that buttress the democratic process
Transitional justice, reconciliation and renewed confidence:
the makings of a new blueprint for society

2. Democratic governance and social transformations
Conditions of a societal nature
Governance: foundations and regulations
Religion and politics

3. Education, culture and human rights
Conditions relating to citizenship
Human rights: democratic values
Forging and strengthening a culture of democracy

4. Development and social justice: an essential interaction
Economic conditions
The imperatives of solidarity
The prerequisites for development

5. Participation in democracy and communication technologies
Conditions relating to the public sphere
An active civil society
Communication technologies: potential and challenges

V. Summary of debates
The acceleration of history and the implementation of law
Universality and singularity
The grammar of emancipation

29.07.2011

VI.   Main challenges
The temptation to imitate
Avoiding violence
Stimulating international solidarity
Reinstating the State and restoring justice
Building a strong civil society
Educating citizens and defending human rights
Separating State and religion
Strengthening the role of women and young people
Enhancing quality education
Reflecting on the issue of identity

VII. Lines of action in support of democracy in the Arab world
- for analysis
- concerning citizenship
- with an economic impact
- with a social and cultural impact
- to foster the commitment of young men and women as citizens
- concerning women

ANNEX

PROLOGUE

STANDARD-SETTING FRAMEWORK ON DEMOCRACY — SOME REFERENCE TEXTS

Considering the text of the Charter of the United Nations: "We the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, … to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person … and for these ends to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours",

Recalling the Preamble to the Constitution of UNESCO adopted on 16 November 1945, which declares that peace must be founded "upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind", and that "the great and terrible war which has now ended was a war made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of dignity, equality and mutual respect of men, and by the propagation, in their place, through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races",

Recalling also the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which proclaims that: "… it is essential if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law" (Preamble); that "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion" (Art. 18); "of opinion and expression" (Art. 19); and that education "shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups" (Art. 26),

Bearing in mind the internationally agreed standard-setting instruments, notably:

- the Universal Declaration of Human Rights
- the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
- the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
- the Arab Charter on Human Rights
- the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action adopted by the World Conference on Human Rights
- the Universal Declaration on Democracy adopted by the Inter-Parliamentary Union
- the Copenhagen Declaration and the Programme of Action adopted by the World Summit for Social Development
- the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions
- the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance
- the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief
- the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities
- the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
- the Convention on the Rights of the Child
- the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
- the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

29.07.2011

" Democracy is a universal value,
based on the freely expressed will of people
to determine their own political, economic, social and cultural
systems,
and their full participation in all aspects of their lives".

2005 World Summit Outcome
General Assembly of the United Nations

I.   INTRODUCTION
The Arab Spring: a new page in the history of democracy

The first few weeks of 2011 saw a historic change in the Arab world. The uprisings of the Arab populations spread from Tunisia to Egypt, then sparked a movement in the entire region calling for freedom and release from the authoritarian yoke. Another page has thus been added to the history of democracy, dedicated to the peoples' aspirations to take control of their collective destiny. The new prospects offered by the recent changes in Egypt and Tunisia, resulting from a popular uprising, clearly have unique characteristics. Any major and life-changing event must be welcomed for its sheer novelty.

Recent events have marked a historic turning point for democracy, not only through substantial changes in the political apparatus, but also through the very process that led to the shake up, particularly the very new and fundamental role played by young people as the protagonists of change, the vital role played by the level of education of the populations concerned, their access to new information and communication technologies and, not least, particularly in Tunisia from where these movements spread, the status of women.

In the light of changes taking place in the Arab world today, UNESCO is committed to mobilizing in order to support the democratic aspirations of the region's peoples, to meet the new political, social, cultural and educational challenges resulting from current and future social transformations. The real driving forces behind the popular pro-democracy uprisings, the heart of the nation that sparked the Arab revolutions, have been at the core of UNESCO's priorities and action for several decades. Their impact on the democratic aspirations of peoples, and particularly of young people, whose involvement in the Organization's programmes has always been paramount, is a striking demonstration of the relevance of the struggle for the imperatives of education, training and awareness-raising waged by the Organization for decades.

At each of the key historic moments that have marked modern history over the past 65 years, UNESCO has always stood ready to support the evolution of societies and the aspirations of peoples. Its Constitution upholds the democratic ideals of justice, freedom, equality and solidarity, and considers these principles to be the prerequisites of peace. Indeed, the Preamble to the Constitution directly links "the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men" to the "great and terrible war". At a time when the popular desire for freedom, democracy and dignity is shaking the foundations of regimes, and the demand for rights and fundamental freedoms are making headlines worldwide, the international community must fully grasp the scope of recent events.

This multidimensional phenomenon demonstrates that our societies are in a permanent state of flux, so we need to constantly reflect upon and analyse the

prospects of our collective future. It has also become blindingly obvious that democracy is a social and political system with a very special dynamic, whose ideal form is never fully achieved. As this calls into question the functioning of all societies, UNESCO is well placed to seize this historic opportunity to support these movements toward freedom and the rule of law.

Modern history has been marked by numerous experiences of transitions to democracy, most notably in Europe, Latin America and Africa. Despite the specificities of each of these transitions, which have their own histories, successes, failures and sometimes limits, they constitute frames of reference that might prove useful in analysing the new dynamics in the Arab world through an exchange of experiences and tried and tested practices. Such an exchange is all the more interesting when it focuses on the philosophical approach, consisting of identifying not only "what should be done", but also and indeed most importantly "what should not be done". Moreover, the same dynamic of dialogue has particular meaning within the Arab region, where the word "experience" is also found in the plural. It is therefore UNESCO's role, in view of its watchwords of universality and international cooperation, to be the forum for debate in a spirit of open-mindedness and mutual enrichment.

Democratic transitions around the world: other times, other places
Democratic transition is a political process characterized by the gradual transition from one system of government to another, deemed fit to carry out the democratic principles. Two characteristics are noteworthy on this issue. First, any democratic transition always takes place in a given geopolitical framework, without which its full meaning cannot be considered and grasped. Second, such a change, at first sight political and institutional, goes far beyond the formal context and involves radical changes in terms of societal, cultural and economic transformations.

In this regard it is worth offering a historic overview to outline the contours and issues of a number of democratic transitions that have occurred in the past, at other times and in other places. In doing so, it is important to note that history is not linear and predictable, and that events that have taken place in the Arab region do not fit into any model or pre-established pattern. Comparisons can be misleading.

In the twentieth century, most countries in Latin America had authoritarian and dictatorial regimes, of a patriarchal or military nature, and were subject to numerous *coups d'état* and violations of the rule of law. The democratic transition that occurred in the 1980s has often been cited as a success, especially in terms of democratic culture. Indeed, the political transition of countries in the region managed to establish for the long term the true meaning of *citizenship*, laying the foundations for strong political participation, fair and free elections and the opening up of the political class. Finally, the establishment of democracy has enabled the broad social inclusion of the population in political life, that is to say the gradual political involvement of disadvantaged and marginalized social classes, as well as indigenous populations.

In Central and Eastern Europe, the lengthy transition process that followed the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 saw several countries move not only from one political system to another but also from one political culture to another. This transition also triggered a new redistribution of power and influence in geopolitical terms. From the collapse of a bloc to the formation of a new regional entity, a whole set of factors, including issues of national and regional identity, political symbols, and a change of economic model and of geopolitical position, have had a direct and lasting impact on the populations concerned.

The experience of African countries in terms of democratic transition also holds great interest since the institutionalization of multiparty politics has sparked a new dynamic.

The wind of democratization on the continent has ushered in a new era of political liberalization bringing an end to some authoritarian regimes, including those based on racial discrimination. The abolition of apartheid was, in this respect, a fundamental step.

All of these experiences, each in its own way, show that any transition period inspires much hope and promise at the same time as causing discomfort and anxiety. They are fresh reminders that democratic transition must be seen as the starting point for the actual process of democratization.

The responses of the international community
At the 2005 World Summit, the United Nations created the United Nations Democracy Fund (UNDEF). Its main purpose is to promote democracy, notably through the funding of projects that build and strengthen democratic institutions, promote human rights and ensure the participation of all in the democratic process. At present, 30 Member States contribute to UNDEF on a voluntary basis. Several sets of activities benefit from the allocation of grants from the fund, in particular those related to strengthening democratic dialogue and supporting the constitutional process; strengthening civil society; civic education, voter registration and the strengthening of political parties; citizen access to information; human rights and fundamental freedoms, and transparency and integrity.

The international community has mobilized to support the democratic processes in Tunisia and Egypt, not only economically and financially, but also in the exchange of experience and cooperation.

From an economic and financial standpoint, the G8 meeting in June 2011 launched the Deauville Partnership, whereby the G8 countries undertook to assist the Arab countries in their transition to free and democratic societies. In particular it was stressed that countries that have embarked on a transition to democracy would be the first concerned by the aid programmes that the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development will implement. These countries will therefore be considered key to the future of the entire region. In this context, Tunisia and Egypt are the first countries to have engaged in this transition and to have joined the Deauville Partnership. The multilateral development banks are ready to mobilize more than $20 billion, including €3.5 billion from the European Investment Bank to support Egypt and Tunisia, by 2013.

The key initiatives announced include the establishment by the European Union in June 2011 of a working group for the Southern Mediterranean, bringing together experts from the European External Action Service (EEAS), the European Commission, the European Investment Bank (EIB), the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), and other international financial institutions. The working group will serve as the focal point for assistance to the North African countries undergoing a political transformation process.

With regard to cooperation and the exchange of experiences, key initiatives include the series of recommendations made by the Inter-Parliamentary Union on the role of women and the importance of parity in the electoral process in Tunisia, in order to encourage the country to increase the representation of women in the future Constituent Assembly that will be responsible for drafting the country's future constitution and building the new democracy.

Of further note is the initiative of Bulgaria, which organized the Sofia Platform, held on 5 and 6 May 2011, with the aim of proposing a pool of ideas, knowledge and experiences that could be relevant for the Middle Eastern countries undergoing democratic transition. The Platform brought together non-governmental organizations,

journalists, policy-makers and experts to enable the dynamic of exchange and sharing. Although the historical and cultural contexts and the political realities and traditions of today's Arab world and the Central and Eastern Europe of the 1990s differ, and do not call for comparison, the Sofia Platform endeavoured to highlight the lessons learned from the transitions in Central and Eastern Europe, in terms of both success and failure.

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) held a high-level meeting on "Multi-Stakeholder Dialogue on Putting Anti-corruption Commitments into Practice: Transparency, Participation and Rule of Law", in Morocco in June 2011, bringing together senior officials from the entire Arab region and representatives of business and civil society, who discussed ways to address corruption more effectively. The Multi-stakeholder Dialogue was an opportunity to raise awareness in the Arab region of the importance of ratifying and implementing the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCC), and to encourage countries to join the OECD Anti-Bribery Convention] and other international standards.

II. A ROAD MAP AS REFERENCE

The relevance of a road map for democracy in the Arab world
UNESCO's action on democracy is founded on a premise inspired by its Constitution which refers to a democratic "ideal", an ideal conceived as an aspiration rather than a strict application of established procedures, an ideal that manifests itself in a variety of forms, unlike an imperative, which would be unilateral and uniform.

As an ideal, democracy aims primarily to preserve and promote individual dignity and fundamental rights, to guarantee social justice, to foster the economic and social development of the community as a whole, to strengthen social cohesion and national order, and to engender a climate conducive to international peace. As a way of managing the affairs of the City, democracy also has the unique virtue of establishing a political system capable of self-correction.

The era of a transition to a fairer and more inclusive society founded on the rule of law points to this very desire exhibited by the people to achieve the democratic ideal. However, this means that there are a multiplicity of paths to attain it, and it is these plural, complex paths that call for a fresh look, enlightened debate and informed analysis, all in an approach based on participation and openness. In this context, every effort must be made to avoid giving in to the temptation to simplify this complexity, so it is important to consider the many issues at stake, whose complexity requires detached analysis in order to be able to take the right course of action. Many questions arise from these social, economic, political, institutional, technological, and even ethical and philosophical phenomena. An in-depth understanding of these dimensions is of vital importance, as it is the prerequisite for appropriate action.

UNESCO's mission is to create and optimize the best possible conditions for the *democratic* ideal to blossom. In light of its mandate that states that "it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed" and enjoins it to work for peace "founded [...] upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind", UNESCO has already taken the initiative to ensure the Organization's active participation, in the short and medium term, through a series of wide-ranging initiatives in its various fields of competence, with a view to making an urgent contribution to supporting the transformation processes underway in the countries in question. Nevertheless, longer-term action is vital in order to anchor and sustain all the action undertaken.

It is precisely this dimension of sustainability and substantive reflection that constitutes the framework of the road map for democracy in the Arab world. It identifies the ideas that are the driving force behind this phenomenon and that could pave the way for concerted action by all the protagonists, whether national, regional or international, to support the dawn of democracy and above all to help it to take root in the Arab world.

The courses of action and guidelines related to the issue of democracy in the Arab world therefore make up the substance of this road map whose purpose is to tackle the threefold challenges of founding, restoring and preserving democracies, with an approach based on anticipation and foresight. They focus on the learning and knowledge dimension, as well as on the dimension linked to the prerequisite conditions to ensure the achievement of the democratic ideal.

In this context, the round table held by UNESCO on 21 June 2011 at the Organization's Headquarters on "Democracy and Renewal in the Arab World" provided a forum for the diverse voices of Arab society to be heard and initiated a truly interactive and dynamic debate, involving both the youth voice and analyses from international experts, as well as other countries' experiences of transition to democracy, with emphasis on the range and diversity of viewpoints. The aim was to prioritize multidisciplinarity and to capitalize on the lessons learned from other experiences in order to understand and decipher the social and political upheavals and succeed in blazing a trail for democracy.

UNESCO: an international cooperation platform for support in solidarity

The inventory of UNESCO's actions on democracy brings to the fore countless initiatives, activities and resources – irrespective of region – all designed to meet the specific needs inherent in attaining democracy. Thus, in the wake of the transformations precipitated by the fall of the Berlin Wall, UNESCO's action has been marked by some pivotal moments, notably through the 1994 Programme for Central and Eastern European Development (PROCEED) which brought together a series of the Organization's initiatives to support the new regional order and instigate further debate about democracy in the world. In addition, much work has been done on the association between democracy and culture, punctuated by such large-scale projects as the International Forum on Culture and Democracy held in Prague in 1991, which facilitated the first encounter of countries in transition to democracy of the East with those of the South, and the international seminar "Reinventing Democracy: Cultural Diversity and Social Cohesion", held in 1997. Finally, the project on "A New Policy for the Next Century" (DEMOS), which began in Latin America in 1995 and continued in Africa, has set up "laboratories" of political and social analysis by and for the countries involved in democratic movements. In 1995, a survey on *Philosophy and Democracy in the World* was carried out in 66 countries under the direction of Roger-Pol Droit, which showed that teaching philosophy went hand in hand with the advent of democracy. In 2003, UNESCO's Executive Board considered an integrated strategy for an international programme on democracy (document 167 EX/9), addressing three main lines of action: (i) fostering comparative analytical research; (ii) organizing international dialogues on the future of democracy, and (iii) supporting democracy in post-conflict societies. In this context, the International Centre for Human Sciences at Byblos (Lebanon) has undertaken empirical research on democracy and culture, as well as a number of case studies on democracy in post-conflict societies. In addition, many of the Organization's partners working in the field of democracy, including UNESCO Chairs, regularly contribute to scientific and academic studies on this issue. In parallel, many educational tools, reference books, publications, case studies and

information kits have been produced on human rights education, freedom of expression, press freedom, and other topics relating to democracy.

Although the recent events in the Arab world have raised great hopes for renewal, the actual conditions under which the various protagonists will attempt to set up democratic institutions and a culture of democracy still require a determined effort to pinpoint all the challenges and needs as well as the obstacles to be overcome. In this context, as a platform for international cooperation and in line with its mandate to promote a culture of peace – in which democracy is one of the keystones – UNESCO is committed to support transitions to democracy in the spirit of its Constitution which appeals to the international community for *intellectual and moral solidarity*.

UNESCO has therefore capitalized on its considerable achievements in terms of promoting democracy and its offshoots. Nevertheless, activities to promote and support democracy must always be enlightened and in tune with newly emerging issues. Indeed, behind the intransience of the concept of democracy significant changes are taking place. Democratic processes follow no fixed model; their features and depths are shaped by the societies concerned, their individual histories, their strengths and limitations. This degree of complexity means continuous adaptation within the analytical approach.

III. WOMEN AND YOUNG PEOPLE: FORCES DRIVING THE ARAB RENEWAL

Women's rights: the other much-needed revolution

It is essential that serious attention is paid to the role of women, an issue which is, moreover, of crucial importance in the Arab world. UNESCO is convinced that women must be at the heart of discussions on the new order emerging in Arab societies today, not only because of the key role that they have played in the struggle for freedom and against inequalities, but also because of their primary role in shaping a new kind of citizenship based on equal rights – the only guarantee of a viable and sustainable democracy.

The question of women in the Arab world in itself represents a multifaceted issue covering matters of identity, modernity, tradition and the cultural imagination. The predominant image of the woman as victim, passive, and veiled, who reacts to events rather than actively participating in them, contributes to turning women in the region into impersonal subjects of community stereotypes feeding cultural prejudices. In fact, Arab societies are undergoing a process of immense and irreversible upheaval in which women have a crucial role to play and are at the forefront of the battle of ideas. Over the past half century, intense urbanization and the increasingly female workforce in all Arab countries have propelled women en masse into the heart of the public arena.

Despite women's equality under international law, it is true, however, that many women in the Arab region face major obstacles which prevent them from developing their skills and using them in the same way as men. In public life, cultural, legal, social, economic and political factors prevent women from enjoying the same access as men to education, health care, professional opportunities, civil rights and political representation. In private life, traditional educational codes, discriminatory provisions under family law and the personal status code perpetuate inequalities and subordination.

In 2002, the first UNDP Arab Human Development Report listed the lack of independence for women among the three main factors holding Arab countries back

from regaining the heights of world rankings for dialogue, education and culture. Today, measured against the transitions to democracy in the region, the undeniable need to give Arab women the chance to prosper has become a primordial condition for the successful attainment of democracy in the Arab world. The empowerment and full, unhindered participation of women as citizens will be a strength for all Arab countries, enabling them to become more prosperous and influential and to move towards greater human development.

Here it is important to mention the legal progress that has made Tunisian women a true exception in the Arab world. This exception is reflected in a highly advanced personal status code enacted in 1956 which enshrined equality between men and women, abolished polygamy, legalized divorce and abortion, banned repudiation and repealed forced marriage. It is in this same sprit of openness about women's rights that a decision was taken recently by the Independent High Authority for Elections in Tunisia on parity of candidacies and a strict alternation between candidacies by women and men on lists presented by parties.

Arab youth: the key player
One of the unique characteristics of this landmark moment in the Arab world is the radically new, central role adopted by youth as a true driving force for change.

This situation was characterized by the mass participation and active involvement of young people in the balance of power. The source of the revolution was educated, highly trained and globalized youth sidelined in a social and political system saturated with corruption, demagogy and nepotism. The uprisings in the Arab region have therefore been led by the social protagonists themselves, organized and united to a more or less spontaneous degree. In this context, Arab countries in transition can count on considerable and good quality human potential in possession of a solid knowledge and learning base and awareness of the common good. The changes underway in the Arab world have resulted in an increased awareness of and recognition for the need to harness the creativity, vision and viewpoints specific to youth for the current and future development of our societies.

What has clearly come to the fore is the extent to which the current generation is faced with growing social divides and countless challenges: young people, perhaps more than any other social group, face the uncertainties and risks generated by the process of economic and cultural globalization. Even though young people are better educated than they used to be in some parts of the world, they face a growing lack of security on the job market. Those who are fortunate enough to be educated have to study for ever longer periods of time because employment opportunities are becoming more and more scarce, salaries are falling and there is less job security, which in turn pushes back the age at which young people become financially independent of their parents. Those who are not fortunate enough to be able to pursue their studies, or who choose to drop out of the education system at an early age, face the problem of marginalization from the community which often has severe consequences for them.

Youth are therefore a specific social category bearing the heavy burden of risk and uncertainty. The difficulties faced by young people in terms of their socio-economic, political and cultural integration in an increasingly unstable world are central to an important debate at the national and international levels. It is therefore vital that the youth who are committed to the path of democracy and have become a key political player in Arab countries undergoing transitions to democracy be fully included in the official and institutional channels of future political life. As the then Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, recalled at the World Conference of Ministers Responsible for Youth in Lisbon in 1998, "A society that cuts itself off from its youth severs its lifeline".

IV. BASIC CONDITIONS FOR ACHIEVING THE DEMOCRATIC IDEAL

The major issues raised by the new circumstances prevailing in the Arab world call for thought to be given first of all or once again to the basic conditions that must exist if the "democratic ideal" is to be achieved. Those conditions, consubstantial with the advent of democracy, are multifarious, exist at several levels, involve various time scales and must be considered interconnectedly and interdependently.

1. Ethics and founding institutions
Institutional conditions

Institutional conditions linked to electoral procedures, the separation of powers, mechanisms for assured democratic representation, the establishment of transparent institutions accountable to the people and in-built anticorruption mechanisms will be central to the overall transition process. Such conditions must be in place very soon, for they have a bearing on practical procedures and arrangements specific to the establishment of political institutions, and they embody the response to the people's stated expectations and claims.

Institutions that buttress the democratic process

A democratic system rests on a judicious structure with smoothly functioning institutions, on the existence of a body of norms and rules and on the will of the people freely expressed by society in its entirety, fully aware of its rights and responsibilities. The role of democratic institutions is to resolve tensions and maintain the balance struck among such competing aspirations as diversity and uniformity, the individual and the group, in order to strengthen social cohesion and solidarity.

Founded on the right of each person to participate in public affairs, democracy implies representative institutions at all levels and the principle of observance of the separation of the powers of the executive, the legislature and the judiciary, each of which exerts checks and balances over the others, thus ensuring their individual independence.

The operation of bodies that exercise executive and legislative powers must rest on free and fair elections held regularly to permit the expression of the people's will and political change. Such elections must be based on equal universal suffrage and a secret ballot so that all voters may select their representatives on an equal, open and transparent footing that fosters political competition. Civil and political rights, in particular the right to vote and to be elected, the right to freedom of expression and assembly, the right of access to information and the right to form political parties and to engage in political activities are therefore crucially important. The organization, activities, financial management, funding and ethics of parties must be duly and impartially regulated in order to ensure that democratic processes are fair.

The legislative power exercised by a parliament representative of all components of society is crucial to ensuring that the democratic culture is sustainably established. Parliament is the pivotal institution of democracy, embodies the will of the people, carries their hope that democracy will genuinely meet their needs and contributes to resolving the most pressing problems that people face in their daily lives. It plays a key role, too, in tempering the various electoral interests, acts as a counterbalance to the executive, and discharges the functions of monitoring and administering the national budget. Operationally, it must involve citizens and local associations in decision- and policy-making.

Owing to the new democratic order in the Arab world, parliaments will be required to gear their action and their role up to meet democratic requirements. Parliamentary

development is thus a trusty tool that can be used as the strategic starting point for the promotion of democratic governance during and after a transitional period. As with other emerging parliaments, Arab parliaments have been beset by a shortage of skills and face, in particular, a dearth of resources, a lack of autonomy and some asymmetry of powers in relation to the executive. Future efforts must therefore be focused on providing parliaments with the requisite skills, resources and independence so that they may accomplish their tasks effectively.

Similarly, the existence of a judiciary, governed by independent, impartial and effective checks and balances that ensure the rule of law is another basic condition required for genuine democracy. If these institutions and checks and balances are to be fully successful in ensuring that rules are observed, in improving procedures to ensure fairness and in redressing injustice, then everyone must be assured of access, on a strictly equal footing, to administrative and judicial remedies and of compliance by State bodies and by each member of society with administrative and judicial decisions.

Transitional justice, reconciliation and renewed confidence: the makings of a new blueprint for society

Questions relating to the people's trust in their political institutions and to reconciliation are of paramount importance to the building of a lasting democracy. How can the link between a society and its State be strengthened? How can trust be rebuilt within a society? Does an authority's conformity with a constitutional and legal system suffice as a basis for establishing its legitimacy and as a means of winning the trust and support of citizens?

Action to remedy the democratic deficit primarily entails remedying the fragmentation and lack of credibility of the social contract, lack of trust in institutions and the split between governments and citizens. The prism of ethics thus seems to be crucial to an understanding of all reflection geared to ensuring that institutions are not sources of arbitrary power.

Although the philosophical and legal outlines, and machinery, of transitional justice are still under discussion, it is now a widely known concept and is deemed an enabling tool for the change – the transition – from an authoritarian system in which there is no rule of law to a democratic system in which human rights are observed. The concurrent goals of transitional justice are to restore victims' dignity, build trust among antagonistic groups and foster institutional changes necessary for the development of new relations within the population. This process is vital if the rule of law is to take root and if practices of total or partial impunity are to be prevented from becoming commonplace.

Transitional justice also seeks to reform the institutional system by restoring the primacy of law and by ensuring that judicial institutions function smoothly for the future, while combating impunity for crimes committed during the earlier period.

2. Democratic governance and social transformations
Conditions of a societal nature

At the same time, conditions of a societal nature will have a profound impact on the transition process. An examination will need to be made of the origins and resources of the social movements which have emerged in the Arab region, in particular in relation to the matter of the legitimacy of power and very nature of the authority against which the people rose up and directed their demands. It is therefore the notion of political culture that needs to be questioned and re-established. Where do the real sources of power legitimacy lie? How do they interact? How can the plurality

of other systems of norms (local, customary, religious and historical frames of reference) used in our societies be taken into account? How can so doing influence the State? How should the State deal with and respond to rapid social transformations?

Governance: foundations and regulations

The notion of public governance goes beyond that of government. It is a democratic, flexible and responsive decision-making model. It presupposes a distribution of power and refers to a form of power that is shared between multiple bodies and players which have to make decisions together. It therefore fits into a pluralist vision of the power of the State, taking account of the multiplicity of power centres in modern (or emerging) States, particularly under the influence of decentralization, globalization and their new characteristic forms.

Economic globalization has given rise to this notion which gives a new lease of life to the public arena, prioritizing plural but legitimate political, economic and social regulation through democratic processes. Governance allows for processes of social negotiation to deal with the most complex issues of society.

It is a system linking government and governed; a public action paradigm which takes account of social aspirations, public order and the common good, and regulates the anarchic proliferation of elusive, "non-institutionalizable" partners of contemporary social life.

With the abolition of distance and mediation, communication makes interaction between individuals easier and more immediate in a society. Thanks to these new conditions, more protagonists can participate in the decision-making process governed by a democratic system which ensures the reliability of these new processes.

Religion and politics

The intertwining of religion and politics is the subject of much debate and reflection, and today compels us to question the relationship between religious logic and democratic construction, especially in the Arab region, where the issue of religion and politics plays a major role, as it is a key aspect of the social transformations taking place in the region.

In a changing world, religion is sometimes required to overcome the shortcomings of politics, notably when facing persistent social and economic inequalities. Religion, seen as the bearer of justice and solidarity, thus offers other social or spiritual dynamics. From the perspective of the study of social change, the observation of religion and its relationship with the political sphere is a key measure of the evolution of the political culture and imagination of a people. Such observation is particularly relevant in the Arab world, where the religious and political equation is still the subject of public debate, in political as well as academic and geostrategic terms.

We should thus recall that the democratic State, whether neutral, secular or linked to a religion, is based on the principle of protecting freedom of conscience, freedom to practice a faith and religious pluralism, allowing them to find a balanced place in society.

Conversely, religion, owing to its moral and ethical commitment, the values it upholds and its cultural expression, must be one of the important components of life in the City.

3. Education, culture and human rights
Conditions relating to citizenship

Human rights: democratic values
Freedom, respect for human rights and free, transparent elections that are based on universal suffrage and held regularly are the very principles of democracy. Democracy, in turn, is a natural environment for the protection and fulfilment of human rights. These values are embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and developed in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which enshrines a whole series of political rights and civil liberties that underpin a true democracy.

A democratic deficit and weak institutions are two of the biggest obstacles to the full enjoyment of human rights. Hence, democracies in transition or emerging from a conflict, are presented with considerable scope for action in the area of human rights, such as the need to confront the past in order to restore public confidence, and peace and the rule of law. Transitional justice is also essential for countries during the pivotal phase of reconstruction in order to combat impunity, and is a key factor in forging new values in society. This approach can yield, in particular, procedures for seeking out the truth, mechanisms for addressing the issue of accountability, judicial transparency and restitution programmes. It is also an approach that requires institutional reform.

In this respect, the social and cultural dimensions of democratization in the Arab world must be a particular focus of attention, since it is an in-depth understanding of the specific context and history of this part of the world, far more than any formal and institutional procedures at a general level, that will allow democratic practices to become firmly embedded. This effort of understanding provides a framework for reflection that will allow the questions of identity and of cultural and religious reference points and diversity to be explored more thoroughly. In the process, it is vital to be mindful of the terms of the 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, that "Cultural diversity can be protected and promoted only if human rights and fundamental freedoms, such as freedom of expression, information and communication, as well as the ability of individuals to choose cultural expressions, are guaranteed. No one may invoke the provisions of this Convention in order to infringe human rights and fundamental freedoms as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or guaranteed by international law, or to limit the scope thereof".

Forging and strengthening a culture of democracy
Conditions relating to citizenship depend on the characteristics of a culture of democracy, which has always existed in Arab regions, thanks to a spiritual and intellectual heritage imbued with a keen sense of democratic values and principles, yet tied, at the same time, to the constant experience of the fight against oppression. The conditions relating to citizenship entail an education in citizenship, which gives priority to critical reflection, the careful and methodical preparation of young people for an active involvement in political decision-making, a prominent role for women and their direct involvement in the exercise of political power and in the management of public affairs, the training of responsible elites attuned to the social changes that are taking place, as well as the inclusion of the Arab diaspora, which was motivated, in part, by a social and political commitment.

In the area of education, the democracy issue can be broken down into a number of themes and interests, which should perhaps be revived in the light of the regional developments in the Arab world. Accordingly, themes relating to education for peace,

human rights, citizenship, democracy, the fight against discrimination and minority rights, and so on, are all possible spheres of action. It is not just children and young people who will benefit from this formal and informal education, but also those actors who have already played and/or are likely to play a key role in the successful transition to democracy, such as young opinion leaders and police officers. For the state of democracy to endure, there must be a climate and culture of democracy constantly nurtured and enriched by education in the widest sense of the term, including, in particular, civic education and instruction in responsible citizenship.

In addition, it is equally important to examine the normative and political implications of multiculturalism for the functioning of democratic regimes. Cultural pluralism is inseparable from a democratic context, the latter being conducive to cultural exchanges and the development of the creative skills that enable public life to flourish. In times of profound political and social change, culture has a major part to play in the task of raising awareness of human rights and democracy through intercultural dialogue, both nationally and at the regional level. Culture regulates public life and is the basis of trust between citizens and public institutions. Seen from this perspective, culture is a factor that is closely bound up with good governance and democracy.

However, although cultural diversity is a potential source of cultural enrichment and social cohesion, it can also become a source of tension and conflict. Only the creation of a durable democratic environment can guarantee cultural diversity in a spirit of unity, allowing different value systems, traditions and lifestyles the necessary freedom to coexist in an atmosphere of harmony and conviviality. The right to participate in cultural life is one of the achievements of plural, democratic societies. What is meant here by the right to participate goes beyond the opportunity to access the heritage, together with various cultural products, creations, knowledge, beliefs and worldviews, and is to be understood as a co-creation and shaping of cultural life. Although cultural rights focus attention on minorities, indigenous peoples and other vulnerable parties in society, their scope should not be limited to protecting the rights of a particular group. In plural societies, where citizens have several identities, cultural rights also include the freedom to re-invent oneself and to transcend established models.

4. Development and social justice: an essential interaction
Economic conditions

The idea that socio-economic development is a prerequisite for democracy has been called into question. For example, Amartya Sen argues that it is misguided to ask whether a country is "ready for democracy", for what really happens is that countries "*get* ready thanks to democracy". Genuinely sustainable development therefore depends on democracy.

The imperatives of solidarity
One of the factors inspiring revolutionary movements in Arab societies is social justice, which is ever present like a musical refrain. An aspiration to share in the fruits of economic growth and the demand for social equity in the distribution of wealth are often seen as the impetus for progress towards a fair society.

Justice in general and social justice in particular are essential ingredients of reconstruction of the social tissue for countries in a post-conflict situation. Promoting social justice contributes to social stability and offers citizens a means of participating in the decision-making process and in development. It is also the only way of dismantling past divisions and giving all sectors of the population fresh hope of a better life. For social justice is not only a matter of political, legal and human rights but also of social and economic rights.

Social justice is an ethical imperative, based on fairness, solidarity and responsibility. In fact, equality of opportunity, a spirit of solidarity in defence of the common good, and the respect of human rights are vital if the productive potential of nations and peoples is to be unlocked. The economic, social and political measures taken in support of social justice are all declarations of commitment that give meaning to the universal values of human dignity, freedom and equality for all. The quest for social justice is therefore essential, since it encourages growth in the name of fairness and minimizes the risk of social unrest.

The prerequisites for development
Economic conditions are fundamental to the extent that it is the collapse of socio-economic structures that has been partly to blame for the social violence behind the popular uprisings in the Arab world. Democratic processes can only thrive in a favourable economic environment; this is why society must, in its general development effort, apply itself in particular to meeting the basic economic needs of the underprivileged sections of society, thereby ensuring they are fully integrated in the democratic process.

For the Arab world, then, the fundamental problem is this: can one really hope to build a democracy on the basis of zero, indeed even negative, economic growth? To this must be added the sense of injustice and negation of equality of opportunity felt by young people and shared by a large section of the rural and urban population, which has undermined the foundations that gave Arab society its unity. The high unemployment rate among young graduates, corruption that has become systemic, a world of business dominated by nepotism, the lack of fair mechanisms for distributing the nation's wealth, and so on, have all been direct causes of popular discontent. Examples from history of how modern democracies have been established can provide useful clarification of the challenges facing the Arab world today and on the prerequisites for development.

5.   Participation in democracy and communication technologies
Conditions relating to the public sphere

An active civil society
It is vital to create the right conditions for a public space that is open and plural, one most likely to produce an independent-minded civil society that is active and fully engaged in the political process. The creation of such a space incorporates the fundamental conditions of democracy, those that guarantee the free expression of ideas, vibrant communities, structured political dialogue and professional and responsible media.

The degree to which the revolutionary movements have mobilized Arab youth has shown the real strengths of the societies affected by these changes. This unique phenomenon is actually laying the foundations for a strong and inclusive civil society, a vital factor in the realization of democratic ideals. Revolutionary movements represent a passionate appeal by citizens for the creation, in the long term, of a public space that encourages freedom of expression for every member of society.

Although an active civil society is a vital ingredient of democracy, the ability and determination of individuals to participate in the democratic process and to choose the way they are governed does not automatically follow. It is therefore necessary to create the conditions in which these rights will be effectively and consciously exercised, at the same time eliminating the obstacles that constrain or prevent the exercise of such rights.

Communication technologies: potential and challenges
A democratic public space must therefore go hand in hand with the existence of public opinions. The revolutions that are rocking Arab societies today bear the stamp of the digital age and cyber-mobilization. This is something new, and offers many opportunities but raises just as many questions. Where information and communication technologies and democracy meet, therefore, a field of study is opened up both in terms of the resources available for promoting democracy and in terms of what is produced in the way of public and government information. Indeed, the problem of transparency and of free access to public data brings into sharp focus the question of the State's responsibility towards its citizens.

The process of transition now under way must reckon with this new technical and societal phenomenon, if it is to secure popular support, including the support of young people. Also, freedom of expression calls for some serious thinking on how it can be protected over the long term.

V.   SUMMARY OF DEBATES

The acceleration of history and the internationalization of law
The combined effect of the acceleration of history and the internationalization of human rights is reflected in the Arab uprisings: on the one hand, globalization makes the world increasingly interconnected; on the other, the significant progress of human rights and their gradual integration into positive law in the different countries concerned provide the historical context for the uprisings we are witnessing. Societies throughout the world are more and more open. All of them have access – albeit to varying degrees – to the communication media that have helped to trigger these uprisings by means of the facility they provide for the rapid development of networks. Communication technologies (Twitter, Facebook, emails, cyber-activists and so on) have "shaped" the Arab uprisings without, however, causing them. They have enabled each individual to consider him or herself as an agent of change and to extend the action in public places such as "Tahrir" Square in Egypt, whose name, "liberation", was particularly appropriate under the circumstances. This liberation was achieved amid clamour, commotion and lightning sparks – which must now give way to the rule of law.

The rights claims involved in these uprisings concern many issues, which seem difficult to place in any order of priority: combating the corruption which affects all State bodies and all public services and generates justifiable exasperation; promoting the recognition of human dignity and of civic, social and political rights; the recognition of religious diversity and the secularization of political institutions.

Universality and singularity
Comparing without equating: this method of analysis was advocated by the participants. The Arab uprisings may be compared to those movements which, in the 1990s, put an end to the dictatorships in Eastern Europe. However, this comparison has its limits: whereas Western Europe supported the uprisings in Eastern European societies, it seems hesitant in the face of the Arab uprisings. It is even sealing its borders at a time when thousands of people are fleeing dictatorships and have no other choice but to emigrate to neighbouring countries – from Libya to Tunisia for example - which are themselves poor or in political transition. Expressions of solidarity with refugees have been in short supply.

Some have also stressed the major role played by young people and women. It must be recognized that young people and women do experience blatant discrimination. In

the case of young people, the determining factor is the undermining of the qualifications of the élites: many young people have been trained, obtained a baccalaureate and undergone four or five years of academic study, only to find themselves unemployed or in casual employment below their level of qualification. At the same time, gender equality is the sign of a fair and stable society. In this respect, it should be emphasized that gender equality is enshrined in the Tunisian Constitution. Some participants preferred to speak of a new generation rather than of youth: the generation currently striving for human rights is not necessarily young (often consisting of teachers in their fifties) but is filled with the hope characteristic of youth. Fear has given way to hope and people have learnt that they could protect each other in times of crisis. Arab societies have shown themselves to be living societies in the face of moribund States exhausted by the routine and inertia of a dictatorial regime imposed on them for decades.

Others emphasized that the similarities between the Arab countries currently in revolt should not obscure their differences: the Arab Spring is thus a pluralistic movement on which no single model may be imposed from outside. This diversity is strengthened by forms of artistic expression.

The grammar of emancipation
Clearly, nothing is more therapeutic than facing reality: it is important to stay the course, to clarify projects and goals and to recognize that the risk of disillusionment is part of the process of change, hence the need to be mindful of the time imperative. Three overlapping phases are involved: human time, historical time and communication time. In this connection, the challenge remains to combine urgency and persistence in the longer term – the urgent need being the provision of substantial financial assistance to the rebelling peoples in order that they may aspire to join the ranks of emerging countries. Frustration may also maintain a significant level of violence. This is accompanied by ever increasing access to information. Beyond a change of regime, democracy requires an independent justice system and poverty reduction. It is not limited to elections. It requires the establishment of the rule of law, with the separation of powers and guaranteed fundamental rights.

Invisible deprivation, the growth of social injustice and walls of selfishness are so many factors of instability and rebellion. A number of participants noted that while there is sometimes a formal written framework of freedoms and rights, an effective mechanism is lacking. In order to conceal the democratic deficit, the former Tunisian regime even advocated for women's rights but their declarations were not followed up by granting effective power to women. How can the transition from formal concept to reality be achieved? Only a democratic process in which competing ideas can be freely compared may define standards conducive to the freedom of peoples. In the present circumstances, it is more appropriate to speak of a transition to democracy than of democracy itself, since those who govern are not yet chosen by those they govern. In the absence of legitimate authority, and in times of transition, there only are de facto authorities which cannot long be maintained and whose legitimacy is based solely on the end goal of their action (for instance, the Tunisian High Authority for the Achievement of the Revolution Objectives. It is also worth pointing out that no one is in a position to predict the possible and probable developments. The future is often shaped by uncertainties and influenced by certainties for those who keep a watchful eye.

Many participants noted that these uprisings marked the end of misconceptions about the Arab world – which, according to those who held them, offered only a choice between dictatorship and Islamist rule. No, the Arab world is not resistant to change. No, it is not compelled to flounder between a rock and a hard place. No, it is not

trapped in an ineluctable form of cultural determinism. No, the uprisings have not taken the form of a war between religious extremists or different faiths. Need we recall that in relatively recent times (nineteenth and early twentieth century), the Arab world – in particular Egypt and Tunisia – experienced the *Nahda*, a form of renaissance that asserted, sometimes with tangible success, the right to education and the right to women's emancipation?

VI. MAIN CHALLENGES

As it was so rightly put in the title of the UNESCO round table, it is essential to support the transition to democracy in the Arab world, while appreciating its specificities. Given the context, it is important to bear in mind that the force of the transition will hinge upon the strength of dissent: as long as there is social and political protest, that will be the measure of history in the making.

The ongoing democratic transitions are taking place in a specific regional context. The Arab world is today divided into three zones. There is the zone in North Africa, where we may hope for change (the case of Libya notwithstanding); another in which change will come about, no doubt, by other yardsticks and standards; and a zone at the geographical centre of the Arab world, the Middle East, which is fraught with turmoil and uncertainty. These transitions in the Arab world are thus taking place in a region that is traversed by conflict. This is perhaps one of the particular features of this Arab spring: it is happening to the south of the Mediterranean and in the vicinity of the Gulf, and we cannot ignore the Israeli-Palestinian or Arab-Israeli problem that will affect, in one way or another, the future of these transitions. It is therefore important to support these transitions in regional and international arenas.

However, the upheaval which has occurred should not be thought of as a rupture or hiatus. While that is true to some extent – we are witnessing a break with an established political tradition, should we not consider this Arab spring in a much longer historical perspective? For what we are dealing with is the history of a civilization that some believed to be dead, fossilizing it under the guise of an "Arab exception" and stereotypes about Islam, when in fact it was the States and not the societies that were defunct. The societies were well and truly alive: the fact that they have burst onto the stage of history is proof of this. In other words, this history must be seen in a much more slowly changing context and over a much longer period, that is, the coming of age of societies that have attained a level of consciousness such that they have forced States to yield. These are the societies that are shaping their own history today.

The round table organized by UNESCO provides an opportunity to identify the main challenges that the countries in the Arab world undergoing democratic transitions will have to face in the months and years ahead.

The temptation to imitate
In the history of the Arab world resources may be found which should enable it to draw for its renewal on the rich past of the Arab countries themselves. For example, sources such as *The Nature of Despotism* by Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakibi criticized the domination of the Ottoman Empire. Works by Rifa'a al-Tahtawi on Egypt and by Amin al-Rihani should also be re-read. This is vital during a period of transition, for we know that the temptation during transitions is to take pattern: the Arab societies currently undergoing change will be tempted to seek elsewhere what they already have in their cultural holdings. We must be aware that what we are now witnessing is an ongoing

story that rests upon the same way of thinking: the same story which is developing and changing shape.

In this context, the models to be used should not be imported from elsewhere.

Avoiding violence

It will be essential to show that the story unfolding today is the story of freedom. To understand it, one has to look back at the conditions of oppression, so that never again will such oppression exist. Violence is not only an instrument of oppression in a society; it also mirrors a society. A society that functions by violence is one that has drilled its citizens to obey and submit.

There are also lessons to be learned from the mechanisms of violence about what must be avoided at all costs in the future so that there is no risk of a return to oppression.

Stimulating international solidarity

A successful transition is one in which there must be a place for solidarity. This is true even if the revolution, as well as the transition, is impatient. Discussions have underscored the need for inventing new forms of solidarity, and among the areas identified were health, the economy, and corruption, which is indicative of all the old mechanisms of oppression. This reminds us that a political transition must be accompanied by another transition in which progress informed by a sense of solidarity and the criteria for human development are taken into account.

In so doing, it is essential to observe the stages of transition, build institutions, establish forms of cooperation and abandon violence: these are the major checks and balances in any transition.

In such a context, it is important to determine which institutions and which major institutional and international donor agencies can assist during these transitions. Arab societies must know that they are not alone, and that the transition has the support of United Nations agencies, major donors, the World Bank, and so on. It may be pointed out in this connection that the G8 summit in Deauville launched the Deauville Partnership for freedom and democracy, the aim of which is precisely to assist the transition process.

It is therefore vital that we plan our action within the overall context of existing institutions.

Reinstating the State and restoring justice

The State was seen as a central element. It has been said over and over that the Arab revolutions were liberal revolutions led by young people demanding freedom and the destructuring of the State. In fact, the protests were social and economic, and the State is being called upon once more to play a fundamental role in assisting and building a modern society. There are three pre-requisites to this.

The first is the establishment of institutions subject to the rule of law. The discussions have shown the extent to which the institutions were an extension of individuals, who sometimes took over the role of those institutions. Such one-person institutions are dictators. In such a context, there could be no institutionalization of social or political affairs since everything depended on the whim of the prince.

It is therefore vital to re-establish institutions and the rule of law.

The second condition is the restoration of justice. Until now, justice has been arbitrary and politically driven – to put it simply, it was not independent. The task will be

extremely long and arduous. Many societies in transition, even now, continue to fight for an independent judiciary, for it is fundamental and a guarantee of citizenship and citizens' rights.

Lastly, the fight against corruption is of capital importance. There is a general consensus that corruption is really what undermines institutions, especially when they are not truly institutions of law. Corruption is not exclusive to countries of the South or Arab societies; it may also exist in other societies, including those in countries of the North. The fight for a State governed by the rule of law is thus the key to break out of authoritarianism.

Building a strong civil society

In essence, the existence of civil society represents the ability of an individual to express him or herself outwit the supervision of the State. This raises the question of the creation of a public domain that is beyond the control of government.

First of all, individuals must have the right to come together and to form associations. It is well known that this right was denied during authoritarian rule. While it is true that there were NGOs, no one knew who had established them. Today, the opportunity exists to establish a real right to associate and this must be done, particularly for NGOs, which have not only a great capacity to mobilize, but also to inform. If there were NGOs that could convey the real situation in a number of Arab countries, we would have much more accurate information on countries that do not now allow access to the media.

This leads naturally to the second inseparable component for the formation of civil society: the media. We have seen the importance of a code of ethics, preparation and training for journalists. In this respect, it was remarkable to discern the distress of journalists who had been in the habit of passing on the slogans of the authorities and who were suddenly afraid of this unexpected freedom because they did not know what to say. Forming free and independent media will be of the utmost importance in the education and training programme that will have to be set up in the new Arab world. In other words, where there is civil society, there must be a capacity to join forces and question the authorities. This is a fundamental challenge.

Educating citizens and defending human rights

Citizen education and the establishment of a new citizenship are essential in the longer term. Citizens' political participation and their capacity to come together, take action and become protagonists are necessary for the creation of an inclusive society.

Citizenship always goes hand in hand with human rights. It is important to guarantee these rights, to provide human rights education, and to ensure that human rights are made the cornerstone of the civil societies of the future. On the question of whether human rights exist in a sovereign nation, or an international context which supports them, we may say that in a democratic country, there is no contradiction between statements from outside on the domestic human rights situation, and the enjoyment and enforcement of human rights within the country. All States adhere to at least two major developments, enshrined in major instruments: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the International Covenants of 1966. When a State adheres to these Covenants, it incorporates principles of international law in its domestic legislation. It is through this approach that human rights as such become a safeguard within societies and civil societies.

Separating State and religion

Constructing citizenship also means– and this is perhaps the most difficult point – applying the distinction between the civil, civic and religious domains. This issue does not concern solely religion as such, but also the capacity to build a State that is not founded on religion. In other words, the challenge is to find foundations that can guarantee religious diversity without making religion the cornerstone of the State.

There is no single, simple answer to this question. Perhaps part of the answer may be found in two distinctions. Sufficient distinction has not been made between the process of secularization and the process of secularism. Secularization relates to ideas. A society is more or less secular depending on whether its mores, customs, habits and ideas are more or less – or, rather less – inspired by religion. Thus, a society becomes secular when religion no longer dictates the behaviours, attitudes, leanings and ideas of individuals. Secularism is institutional. The term is applied when there is a separation of institutions. Once that is established, there may be any number of models. Of course, the example of France comes to mind, but there is also the model of Turkey. That country provides an example of a civil society that is religious and votes for a party deeply rooted in faith; yet, when that party gains power it does not impose religion on institutions, maintaining the separation between religion and politics.

This distinction enables us to underline the main pitfalls to be avoided. Social protest cannot be articulated in religious terms, because using religion to answer a social question will not provide a social solution to a social problem, but turn it into a religious issue. Secondly, it is important to ensure that communities coexist in such a way that religion can never be used as a deciding factor in regulating power or in government. This may apply more to societies in the region of the *Mashriq* than in the *Maghreb*. In the former, political communitarianism can be used as a powerful social instrument: religions no longer focus on matters of faith, but on matters of State.

Strengthening the role of women and young people

The issue of women is central to the Arab world. Progress and equality will be effectively achieved through women and it seems important to advance the discussion by taking a stance on this issue. The full participation of women in politics in countries in transition will be crucial to the effective establishment of democracy in social customs and institutions. All initiatives promoting gender equality and parity should also be fully supported by national authorities and by regional and international stakeholders.

Young people have no doubt been one of the main driving forces of socio-political change in the Arab world. Their longing for greater freedom and social justice is the factor that has accelerated history. It will be extremely important not to dampen their fervour. In addition, the issue of youth should be addressed from an intergenerational perspective. While it is essential to adopt measures aimed at young people in coming months, a sustained dialogue among generations is also required in order to prevent creating rifts that may fuel upheaval and social unrest among people.

Enhancing quality education

Education consists of transmitting ideas, models and information; it also lies in providing training and developing habits. Making gender equality a way of life cannot be achieved only through texts but also through education. From an educational point of view, this mental transformation requires support, with a view to introducing a genuine debate – and a culture of debate – on respect and equality. UNESCO, which has extensive experience in this area, is fully competent to support an educational movement in the broadest sense of the term.

Reflecting on the issue of identity

One of the major issues that will also arise in the Arab world, and for which UNESCO has competence, is the issue of identity. Is our identity Muslim, Arab, national or community-based? There is an educational principle that consists of displaying the highest common denominator among citizens, thus leaving individual identities to the private sphere, so that the most inclusive identity is citizen identity. Prioritizing identities is another education and development issue.

This endeavour should include opinion-forming. In an Arab world which, on account of its authoritative regimes, has long been confined to a culture of servitude and acceptance, significant freedom of speech, thought, assessment, criticism and judgement will be crucial. A restored ability to judge will be truly central to citizenship. This alone will ensure that Arab societies bring freedom and autonomy to their citizens, enabling them to become involved – and to play a full and effective part – in their history.

VII. LINES OF ACTION IN SUPPORT OF DEMOCRACY IN THE ARAB WORLD

The lines of action pinpointed during the discussions enable us to identify the basic conditions that would ensure the fulfillment of the democratic ideal in the countries of the Arab world engaged in the process of democratic transition. They may be adopted by the different stakeholders involved in supporting the democratic transition and give rise to cooperation between the various national, regional and international institutions.

The role of education as a key element in supporting democratic transition today and sustainable democracy tomorrow needs to be stressed. Education is also a continuous and creative process which helps develop capacities of expression for the improvement and advancement of civic, democratic and responsible societies.

Proposals for analysis

Under this heading the intention is to encourage empirical and prospective research in order to obtain an analytical and critical understanding of the social transformations occurring in the countries undergoing democratic transitions in the Arab world.

➤ *Possible lines of action*

- Promote university exchange programmes for students in the region, and with other regions of the world, making use in particular of the UNESCO UNITWIN networks;

- Setting up by funding sources of a programme of study grants encouraging young researchers to undertake studies in the area of democracy and its consequences, with emphasis on the civic and political involvement of young people;

- Promote dialogue between academics, decision-makers in public life and NGOs present in the countries undergoing a transition to democracy;

- Promote studies on the influence and role of the new information and communication technologies (ICTs) in political and citizen participation.

Proposals concerning citizenship

In this context, a multidimensional approach is proposed with a view to the positive exercise of citizenship, the adoption of democratic values and principles and civic engagement under the rule of law.

➢ *Possible lines of action*

- Provide schools and educational institutions with resources and teaching aids on democracy and human rights;

- Analyse basic education curricula with regard to education for citizenship and human rights;

- Develop training modules on citizenship education for different professions such as teachers, parliamentarians, local elected officials, the media, police, etc.;

- Provide training of trainers in citizenship education with a view to establishing a critical mass for the implanting of democratic culture;

- Set up MOST summer universities on the role of the social sciences in building a knowledge-based democracy, in order to improve the training of young people (men and women) in regard to the following topics: democratic governance, its foundations and regulations; conditions of a societal nature and relating to development and social justice; citizenship education and democratic culture. University exchanges will be organized in the region and with other regions of the world, in association with government agencies and political decision-makers in the region. The aim would be to develop opportunities for training, discussion and proposals for action among young Arab researchers and those from other regions, in addition to established human and social science researchers and professionals working in government positions and social movements;

- Develop numeric and digital applications in order to make training modules available on citizenship education, media education and information for citizens, particularly young people, about the universal values of freedom of expression and information: in partnership with the major telephone operators.

Proposals with an economic impact

The actions to be undertaken in this area aim at promoting social inclusion and restoring social justice, facilitating youth employment and readjusting the distribution of wealth.

➢ *Possible lines of action*

- Promote vocational training courses in different fields in order to improve training in new skills in line with market requirements;

- Help to establish structures providing support to young graduates seeking employment;

- Organize training sessions and campaigns to raise awareness of the evils of corruption, with emphasis on the importance of the universal right to information in order to ensure administrative transparency.

Proposals with a social and cultural impact
This line of action aims at establishing a stable public sphere in the longer term providing for free expression by all members of society. Such a public sphere must be based on the formation and perpetuation of an active civil society.

   ➢ *Possible lines of action*

- Provide training to professional societies for the formulation of independent codes of ethics;

- Encourage the formation of independent cultural and artistic associations;

- Ensure the conditions necessary to safeguard academic freedom and freedom of opinion;

- Promote professional conditions conducive to the operation of a free and independent press;

- Build up the capacities of independent local and community media;

- Create the conditions for a free, pluralist, professional and independent press.

Proposals to foster the commitment of young men and women as citizens
In this connection the aim is to develop activities for young people as beneficiaries and principal stakeholders in their societies. These actions will also take account of the intergenerational dimension. The ultimate objective is to harness the high-quality human and social potential represented by young people in the Arab countries in transition. This will mean reinforcing the solid base of knowledge and skills of young people and their awareness of the common good, and entail support for their democratic aspirations.

   ➢ *Possible lines of action*

Strengthening democracy through young people (Think tank)

- Support reflection and research by young people on the opportunities and challenges associated with the democratic transition and the role of young people as a force in society;

- Produce appropriate teaching aids for the purpose of teaching young people to understand democratic institutional mechanisms;

- Build the capacities of young people by means of well-focused training courses to assist in the establishment of a democratic culture;

- Organize intergenerational dialogues within civil society on political, economic and social issues of mutual interest;

- Support non-formal education initiatives, particularly when conducted by young people, aimed at making young people more aware of the role of culture and the arts.

- Encourage the inclusion of citizenship education in the educational system at every level.

Political and civic participation

- Strengthen synergies and cooperation between young people, political decision-makers and social and economic stakeholders with regard to the development and implementation of youth policies and programmes;

- Build up the skills of young people for participation in decision-making and support the establishment of representative and inclusive youth bodies;

- Increase the participation of young people in existing and future regional and international fora in order to promote exchanges of multicultural experience.

Supporting young people's initiatives in social innovation and creativity

- Encourage existing or new youth associations to initiate innovative social projects with and for young people;

- Develop training modules in order to instil in young people, particularly those who are disadvantaged or from rural areas, a culture of enterprise, innovation and creativity with a view to smoother integration in the world of work.

Media and NICTS

- Increase the involvement of young people in local and national media in order to develop their abilities to produce and disseminate information about current social, political and economic events and to think about the use of the new information and communication technologies;

- Help to set up a digital campaign to raise young people's awareness of the transition to democracy, using the tools which digital technology can provide.

Proposals concerning women
The role of women in socio-political change in the Arab world has been decisive and the period of democratic transition requires specific action to bolster and ensure the effective exercise of women's rights and to promote equality between men and women.

➢ *Possible lines of action*

- Support and encourage all initiatives aimed at promoting parity between men and women in decision-making processes: needs analysis, exchanges of best practices, awareness-raising campaigns, capacity building in civil society, establishment of international prizes rewarding outstanding achievements in that field, etc.;

- Promote and evaluate the participation of disadvantaged girls in consultation and decision-making mechanisms;

- Support all action aimed at ensuring the necessary conditions for the effective application of women's rights, including the right to education, in accordance with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. Advocacy must be undertaken at national level in order to ensure full and complete application of the Convention;

- Encourage equality between men and women in the formulation of social, economic and cultural policies;

- Increase women's participation in regional and international fora.

- Support women's education through the mobilization of literacy centres and non-formal education.

Annex

List of speakers

Haila AL-MEKAIMI (Kuwait) is Professor in Political Science and Head of the Euro-Gulf Research Unit at the College of Social Sciences, Kuwait University. She obtained her PhD from Boston College. Ms Al-Mekaimi is a columnist for the newspapers Al-Sharq Al Awsat and Al-Nahar. She has carried out extensive research on issues concerning Islamic groups, democracy and Euro-Gulf relations.

Rana AL-SABBAGH (Jordan) is Executive Director of Arab Reporters for Investigative Journalism (ARIJ). She is the Jordan correspondent for The Times (of London), regular columnist for the London-based Arabic newspaper Al-Hayat and for Jordan's daily Al Arab Al-Yawm, as well as consultant and trainer for the Thomson-Reuter Foundation. During her career, Ms Al-Sabbagh was also Chief Editor of the Jordan Times, served as correspondent for Reuters International News Agency and helped establish Jordan's newest newspaper, Al-Ghad.

Robert BADINTER (France) is a French Senator, lawyer, academic, essayist and politician. Former President of the French Constitutional Council and Minister of Justice, he achieved the abolition of death penalty in France in September 1981. On the international scene, Robert Badinter participated in the elaboration of the new constitutions of Eastern European countries after the fall of the Berlin Wall. He chaired the Arbitration Commission on the former Yugoslavia, created by the European Union between 1991 and 1996. He is President of the OSCE Court of Conciliation and Arbitration.

Amal BASHA (Yemen), Chairperson of the Arab Sisters' Forum for Human Rights since 2001, holds a Master's degree in Gender and Development from the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, UK. She has been consultant for the International Committee of the Red Cross in Yemen, coordinator of the project "Protect the Rights of Prisoners" in Yemen, and director of a national programme of the United Nations Development Programme in Sana'a. She has been active in the areas of development, human rights law and women's rights.

Dominique BAUDIS (France) is President of the *Institut du monde arabe* (Arab World Institute) and Member of the European Parliament. He graduated from the Institute of Political Studies in Paris and is a journalist and politician. From 2001 to 2008, he held the position of President of the French Supreme Audiovisual Council and since 2010 has chaired the advertising professional regulation authority. Former Mayor of Toulouse and MP, Dominique Baudis has been approached to become Human Rights Defender.

Abdelbasset BEN HASSEN is President of the Arab Institute of Human Rights (AIHR) and member of the High Authority for the Achievement of the Revolution Objectives, Political Reform and Democratic Transition in Tunisia. He was the main organizer of the conference "Addressing the Past, Building the Future" held in Tunis in April 2011, dealing in particular with the issue of transitional justice. Between 2005 and 2011, he served as Director of the Human Rights in the Arab Region Programme of the Ford Foundation.

Mahmoud Ben Habib BEN ROMDHANE (Tunisia) is consultant for United Nations institutions, University Professor in Economics and former President of Amnesty International, firstly for Tunisia and then worldwide. He has written or co-written around 15 publications, the most recent of which is *Tunisie. Etat, économie et société* (Tunisia: State, Economy and Society), Publisud, Paris, and Sud Editions, Tunis. He is a leading member of the Ettajdid Movement (opposition political party during the deposed regime).

MODERATOR: Ali BENMAKHLOUF (Morocco) is a specialist in Arab philosophy and the philosophy of logic, professor at the University of Nice-Sophia Antipolis and senior philosophy fellow. He is currently President of the Advisory Ethics Committee of the *Institut de recherche pour le développement* (French Development Research Institute) and a member of the French Advisory Ethics Committee. His most recent publications include: *L'identité, une fable philosophique* (Identity, a Philosophical Fable), PUF, 2011; *Montaigne*, Belles Lettres, 2008; *Le vocabulaire d'Averroès* (The Vocabulary of Averroès), Ellipses, 2007; *Al Fārābī, philosopher à Bagdad au Xe siècle* (Al-Farabi, Philosophizing in Baghdad in the Xth Century), Seuil, 2007 and *Bertrand Russell*, Belles lettres, 2004.

MODERATOR: Pascal BONIFACE (France) is Director of the French International and Strategic Relations Institute (IRIS) and lecturer at the Institute of European Studies at Paris 8 University. He is also in charge of *La revue internationale et stratégique* (International and Strategic Review) and *L'Année stratégique* (Strategic Year). He has written or edited around 40 books on international relations, nuclear and disarmament issues, the balance of power between nations, French foreign policy, and the impact of sport on international relations. He is a columnist for the weekly Moroccan newspaper *Actuel*, and the daily newspapers *La Croix* (France), *La Vanguardia* (Spain), and *Al-Ittihad* (United Arab Emirates).

Alya CHÉRIF CHAMMARI (Tunisia) is a lawyer at the Tunisian Supreme Court and the International Criminal Court. She is a human rights activist, campaigning specifically for women's rights. She is founding member of the regional NGO "Collectif 95 Maghreb Égalité", and has been its Executive Director since 2009. In her capacity as an independent national figure, she is also a member of the High Authority for the Achievement of the Revolution Objectives, Political Reform and Democratic Transition. She has written the following publications: *Femme et loi en Tunisie* (Women and Law in Tunisia); *Droits des femmes dans le mariage* (Married Women's Rights); *Citoyennes maghrébines pour exercer vos droits* (How Maghrebi Women Can Exercise their Rights), and other collective publications.

Mohamed Larbi CHOUIKHA (Tunisia) is Professor of Communication and a contributor to the journal *Année du Maghreb* (Maghreb Year). He is a member of the National Authority for Information and Communication Reform.

Aly ELSAMMAN (Egypt) is an international journalist, writer and lawyer. He was formerly international information advisor to Anwar al-Sadat, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt. He is President of the International Union for Jewish-Muslim-Christian Dialogue and Peace Education, Secretary-General of the Association for Economic Information "Europe-Egypt" and President of Nokia Siemens Networks for Egypt.

Nader A. FERGANY (Egypt) is Director of the Almishkat Centre for Research, Egypt (www.almishkat.org). Founding Lead author, Arab Human Development Report, 2002-2005, UNDP and AFESD, he obtained his B.Sc. from the Faculty of Economics and Political Science, Cairo University and his Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina in the USA.

Anders B. JOHNSSON was elected Secretary General of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) in 1998 for an initial four-year mandate and has been re-elected three times. Prior to joining the IPU in 1991, he worked for more than 15 years in the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) where he held senior positions in Honduras, Pakistan, Sudan and Viet Nam, as well as at Headquarters as Senior Legal Adviser to the High Commissioner. He has devoted his professional life to international cooperation and multilateral diplomacy, and is an expert in international law and politics, democracy, human rights, gender equality issues and parliamentary diplomacy.

Chérif KHAZNADAR (France) is currently President of the *Maison des cultures du monde* (World Cultures Institute) in Paris and is a poet, novelist and theatre director. He won the UNESCO Sharjah Prize for Arab Culture in 2010 in recognition of his work to promote dialogue, in particular between Arab and other cultures. He founded the "Festival de l'imaginaire" – an intercultural, interdisciplinary event devoted exclusively to intercultural dialogue.

Latifa LAKHDAR (Tunisia) is lecturer at the History Department, Faculty of Human and Social Sciences, Tunis University. She has written several books about Islamic orthodoxy faced with the challenges of modernity, focusing in particular on gender and Islamic orthodoxy. She is an activist in the Tunisian democratic movement and is currently Vice-President of the High Authority for the Achievement of the Revolution Objectives, Political Reform and Democratic Transition.

Reem MAGED (Egypt) is a television journalist. Since 2008, she has been presenter of the programme "Baladna bel masry" on OnTV, a private television channel. Between 2007 and 2008, she was producer and presenter of two series of documentaries for Al Jazeera news and children. From 1995 to 2007: journalist at Nile TV International, an Egyptian state television channel.

Joseph MAÏLA (France), former University Rector; he is currently Director of the Forecasting Directorate at the French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs. He is also Professor of Political Sociology and International Relations, specializing in the Middle East, Islam and sociology of conflict. He has founded the *Institut de Formation à la Médiation et à la Négociation* – **FOMENE** (Institute of Training in Mediation and Negotiation) in Paris.

Said SADEK (Egypt) is a Professor of Political Sociology and Political Communication, a political analyst and specialist on Middle Eastern affairs. Member of the Arab Association of Political Science, he has also been representative of the Finnish Institute in the Middle East since 2002. Said Sadek has taken active part in interreligious dialogue in Egypt.

Antony TODOROV (Bulgaria) graduated with a degree in international relations in 1983. He obtained doctorates in contemporary history in 1988 and in political science in 2009. He has been Professor of Political Science at the New Bulgarian University in Sofia since 1991. He has produced several research publications and is advisor to the President of the Republic.

Leonardo VALDÉS ZURITA (Mexico) holds a Ph.D. in Social Sciences (specialization Sociology) from the Center of Sociological Studies of *El Colegio de México*. He was full-time Professor at the Department of Sociology of Iztapalapa Autonomous Metropolitan University; Executive Director of the Electoral Organization at the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE), where he was member of the Commission of Experts for the Mexicans Voting Abroad Programme; Electoral Councilor of the Electoral Institute of Mexico City; President of the Directive Board of the Mexican Association for Electoral Studies. He was appointed President Councilor of the IFE by a majority vote in the Chamber of Deputies in 2008.