Volker PERTHES, Chairman and Director of Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP)

Let me take that to the other panellists because I think that talking about regional order is very important since you are talking about global governance. This is regional governance and the question of whether the region is able to set rules and implement them together, whether on the economic, political or security fronts.

I would like to turn now to Prince Turki. Beyond the reach of its own country, Saudi Arabia has been trying to manage succession, as it were, or transformation in Yemen and it has also been very active with other Gulf countries on the Arab League having a very clear and tough stance on Syria. Syria is probably more important to us in Europe and the West than Yemen. Perhaps it should not be, but the fact is that we care more for Syria, and what is happening there seems to be particularly dreadful. What can the Arab world and the Arab states do and what can and should outsiders do about Syria?

HRH Prince Turki al-FAISAL, Chairman of King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies

Let me just start by referring to your introduction of me. You mentioned that I was Ambassador in the US and UK; you did not mention that I served my country proudly in Ireland as well. I just thought that I would rectify that. We talked about internal developments and I mentioned what Saudi Arabia faced in the number of challenges of development in the Kingdom, whether that is the representation of people in Government or the eradication of poverty or illiteracy and so on and so forth. As I said, economic, political and social reform is an imperative in the Kingdom and not a choice.

However, around us, the world is not sitting back and letting us simply turn to alternate developments. I agree with Amr Moussa and Ed Djerejian that Palestine occupies a large part of our concerns and I have been saying over the years that if you dissect an Arab or Muslim's body to the smallest composition of the smallest cell in its body, you will find the word 'Palestine' engraved there. I think that that is how much effect it has in terms of the psyche and conduct of Arabs and Muslims in general. Finding a solution for that will of course go a long way to remove the feeling of injustice, resentment and other such issues from minds of not only Arabs but Muslims in general.

Our neighbours are equally active, whether it is Iran or Turkey. I think that our Foreign Minister expressed very eloquently the difference between the activities of both. He described our Turkish neighbours’ contribution to the Arab world as coming in a very transparent and friendly way and in a manner that seeks the betterment of the peoples of the Arab world. Whereas the approach of our Iranian neighbours has been to encourage either revolution, plotting or other such negative activities, and we have to take those into consideration, not just as a Kingdom but as the Arab world.

When you talk about the approach of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States to Yemen, for example, it has been one of trying to find accommodation and a release for the tension and fighting that is going on there through a very prescribed and definitive programme of action that starts with the removal of the President and then the succession of the Vice President and a new Government composed of Opposition and Government parties, with a timetable for elections and so on. The Kingdom and the Gulf states were at the forefront of countries that called for Arab League action against the present situation in Syria and King Abdullah has described what is happening there as a killing machine. That has to stop. With Libya, as Amr Moussa mentioned, the Arab League took the decision to go to the Security Council and the Gulf Cooperation Council Countries (GCC) was also at the forefront of the countries calling for that.
However, all of that does not absolve us from trying to describe or ascribe to Syria a means of getting out of its present situation. The killing has to stop, but how do you do that? I do not know if you saw the President's interview during the last couple of days on American television, but you have a President who simply denies that anything wrong is happening there and he described his responsibility as having nothing to do with the killing and so on. Such leadership of a people who are being killed on the streets is unacceptable and change will inevitably come to that leadership. However, whether it will be a change with more bloodshed or, we hope, with less bloodshed, unfortunately I do not have a formula in my pocket for that. Nevertheless, I think that this is where the Arab League is heading. It is not going to sit back and allow the continued massacre of the Syrian people. Sanctions have been imposed and I think that more measures will be undertaken in the near future. I am not privy to what those measures are but I can imagine several scenarios for where the Arab League can go. There is a growing consensus in the world community, even among countries that have expressed reservations in the past about widening the circle of responsibility on Syria, such as Russia and China, and I think that as the killing continues they will definitely come along with the rest of us and see that the leadership in Syria has to give up and, we hope, give up in a less bloody way than is now being contemplated.

There are other such situations and I am really convinced, as Amr Moussa said, that the change in the activity of the Arab League is no longer one that will be forestalled, put back or pushed back by any consequences in the Arab world. It has taken very bold and courageous decisions, based on human rights values, and I think that that is an important qualitative edge to these brave political decisions that the Arab League has taken.

All other Arab countries must therefore beware if they do not conduct themselves in the way that they should towards their people. The Arab League will be there to come in and, we hope, help the people overcome whatever oppression they may be suffering.

All of these things are therefore taking place in our community and, as others have mentioned, as regards having help from Europe or the United States, frankly I think that Europe and the United States need to put their houses in order before they can come and say ‘Let us help you’. It is not that we do not need support from others, but it is going to sound disingenuous for countries that cannot even make a decision on how to rescue their own members, whether it is financial or otherwise, to come and rescue us. I think that that is another point where Europe and the Arab world will have to engage in discussion about how we can go forward and complement each other. I think that Europe’s own issues with Islamophobia, as President Gül mentioned, and considerations on immigration are something for Europeans to overcome. However, it reflects on us and reflects on the individual Arab or neighbour of Europe who looks upon these matters becoming mainstream in European politics rather than exceptions. These are things that have to be fixed for the immediate neighbours of the Arab world to become helpful.