



**YOUTH**
PARLIAMENT
PAKISTAN



M I D - T E R M R E P O R T

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And Transparency

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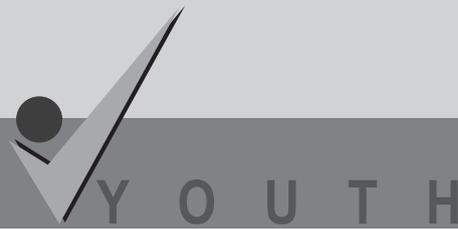


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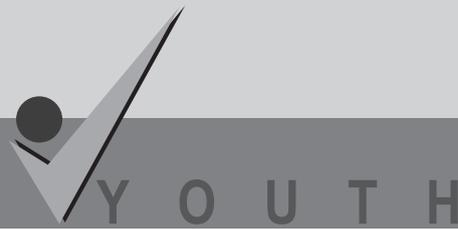


Foreword

PILDAT launched the project of the first ever Youth Parliament Pakistan, as a way to inculcate democratic culture in Pakistani Youth and to facilitate free but structured expression of their views. The Youth Parliament is also seen as a key towards achieving the objective of support for democracy and growth and sustenance of democratic institutions in Pakistan. PILDAT felt it important to engage the Pakistani Youth in healthy discourse and expose them to democratic traditions and culture so that they may be groomed as a civilised, tolerant and peaceful citizens.

This mid-term report presents details on the background, objectives, launching and the highlights of the three parliamentary sittings of the Youth Parliament Pakistan. PILDAT, as the secretariat of Youth Parliament looks forward to building upon this learning process through the valuable contribution of the Youth Parliament Members and other supporters so as to make its future sessions more useful.

The Youth Parliament Pakistan project received cooperation of the Ministry of Youth Affairs, Pakistan while the project is supported by the Global Opportunities Fund of the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Germany.



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Acknowledgements

PILDAT wishes to thank the Patron of Youth Parliament, Honourable Senator Mohammedmian Soomro, Chairman Senate of Pakistan, the panel of Speakers, Youth Parliament Steering Committee and Party Advisors for their support and cooperation in initiating and sustaining the project. We would also like to thank the Members of Youth Parliament for their time and contribution to the discourse at the parliamentary sittings.

PILDAT also wishes to acknowledge the support extended by the Ministry of Youth Affairs, the British High Commission, Islamabad and the Pakistan Office of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung FES for the Youth Parliament project. PILDAT also offers its thanks and appreciation to the officials of the Senate Secretariat for extending their full cooperation in making the Youth Parliament project a success.

Secretariat of the Youth Parliament Pakistan
Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development And Transparency - PILDAT

Islamabad
July 2007



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Background of Youth Parliament

In Pakistan today it is increasingly being felt that an open and informed debate on issues facing the society should be promoted in order to strengthen its democratic institutions and inculcating democratic culture in the society. Extremist tendencies and lack of tolerance for others' beliefs and views need to be discouraged and the rule of law needs to be strengthened. The society ought to develop tools, mechanisms and systems which can facilitate the exposure of democratic system to its citizens from an early stage. The young students these days have no platform to learn democratic practices and traditions and political parties generally are seen to have weak internal democracy with no effective mechanism to allow young entrants to a party to freely voice their opinions within the party structures. Youth in Pakistan which comprises nearly 30 per cent of the population, therefore, appears to be disillusioned with the political system of the country and its participation is much less in the electoral process in the country than it should be. It is estimated that Youth is among the least represented among an already low turn-out at the general elections.



It is in this backdrop that the Youth Parliament Pakistan came into being in January 2007 with the objective of engaging the Pakistani youth in healthy discourse and inculcating in them the values and culture of democracy as central to effective governance in any society. The concept of Youth Parliament emerged as a way for young people to “learn by doing” through taking part in Youth Parliament. Whereas on the one hand PILDAT felt that practice on the benches of a mock Parliament can be useful in deciding how to become a more active citizen, either inside or outside formal politics; it also saw this as a means to foster youth's involvement in the democratic and political process.



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Members' Handbook

A Members' Handbook was prepared and distributed to all the Members of Youth Parliament or MYPs. This Handbook is designed to assist members of the Youth Parliament and carries details of every aspect of the process starting from the rationale behind establishing Youth Parliament to the details of functions and responsibilities of selected members in Youth Parliament. Like other Parliaments, the members of Youth Parliament are to carry out functions such as debate on important issues, legislation, oversight of the executive and representing the views of their 'constituents'.

The Manual draws heavily from PILDAT's earlier project of running Parliamentary Internship Programmes of Youth as well as the Youth Parliament Operational Kit developed by the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA).

Rules of Procedures and Conduct of Business in the Youth Parliament

The Youth Parliament Rules of Procedure are specially drafted learning from the National Assembly of Pakistan Rules and from other Youth Parliaments around the World.





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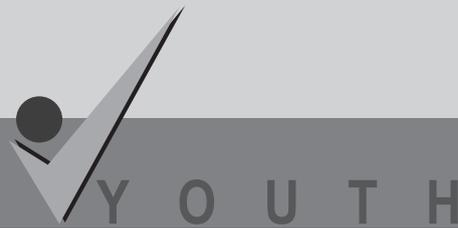
Panel of Speakers

The Youth Parliament sittings are chaired by one of the former Speakers or Deputy Speakers of the National Assembly of Pakistan. Mr. Wazir Ahmed Jogezi, the former Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly chaired the first session of the Youth Parliament from January 28 to February 1, 2007 while the Second and Third Sessions of the Youth Parliament from March 01 to 05, 2007 and May 09 to May 13, 2007 were chaired by the former Speakers of the National Assembly, Mr. Gohar Ayub Khan and Mr. Illahi Bakhsh Soomro respectively. Invited Speakers for the fourth and fifth sessions include Mr. Syed Fakhr Imam, the former speaker of the National Assembly of Pakistan and Dr. Noor Jehan Panezai, the former Deputy Speaker of the Senate of Pakistan.

Party Advisors

Two party advisers each were selected to advise each party on its functions as a parliamentary party including how to decide party's position on bills, motions, resolutions, etc and to elect its leaders. Dr. Donya Aziz, MNA and Mr. Abdul Qadir, FES, served as advisers to the Blue Party while Rai Azizullah, MNA and Mr. Talib Hussain Sial, Ministry of Youth Affairs were advisers to the Green Party. After session one, Ms. Tehmina Dasti, MNA joined as Co-Advisor to the Green Party along with Mr. Rai Azizullah.





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The Orientation Session

On the first day of session one on January 24, 2007, the youth MPs were given detailed briefing on their roles and responsibilities as members in the light of Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business of Youth Parliament Pakistan. Mr. Wazir Ahmed Jomezai, Former Deputy Speaker, National Assembly of Pakistan, who served as the Speaker at the first session of the Youth Parliament, also guided members on various procedures of Youth Parliament.

Following parliamentary practices, two mock parties were created with their distinct party planks and manifestoes: the Green Party and the Blue Party with the members hailing from diverse political backgrounds and affiliations. The MYPs were asked to join either of the two mock parties ahead of the first session. The Blue Party emerged as the Majority Party bagging 36 (60%) seats while the Green Party became the minority party winning 24 (40%) seats. The orientation session included separate party caucusing in which both parties elected their leaders and office bearers.

The Launching of Youth Parliament

Senator Mohammedmian Soomro, Chairman Senate as the patron of the Youth Parliament Pakistan inaugurated the Youth Parliament on January 25, 2007 at Islamabad. Inaugurating the Youth Parliament, Mr. Mohammedmian Soomro said that Youth Parliament Pakistan is a unique project and a welcome step to engage youth in Pakistan in positive political activities and he was proud to be the Patron of Youth Parliament. He emphasised on the importance of background research and preparation for MYPs for their work in Youth Parliament and advised MYPs to be brief and concise in their speeches. He stated that the outcome of debates at these sessions would be beneficial in





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shaping the future of the country.

Senator. S. M. Zafar, Chairman Youth Parliament Steering Committee, was of the view that the Youth Parliament would set a precedence in parliamentary performance that the national Parliament may want to emulate. Mr. Wazir Ahmed Jogezeai, Former Deputy Speaker National Assembly and Speaker for First Session of Youth Parliament said that Youth Parliament will provide the youth with an opportunity for political and leadership grooming. Mr. Ahmed Bilal Mehboob Executive Director PILDAT spoke on the rationale and objectives of the Youth Parliament. Members of Youth Parliament Steering Committee were also present on the occasion.

Parliamentary Sessions

The First-ever Youth Parliament of Pakistan held three of its planned five sessions from January 24 to January 28, 2007; from March 01 to March 05, 2007; and from May 09 to May 13, 2007 at Islamabad. These sessions presented the MYPs a chance to experience life in the parliamentary spotlight and at the same time show how the next generation would approach parliamentary politics in Pakistan. It also provided a platform for the youth to face the pressure of adversarial politics and discuss issues of concern to young people in Pakistan.

During the three sessions the Youth Parliament took up a number of resolutions, calling attention notices and questions deliberating upon important national





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issues of concern to youth and to strengthening of parliamentary democracy in the country. The MYPs moved a total of 25 resolutions over the three sessions held between January to May 2007 of which 21 resolutions were passed unanimously by the House whereas four resolutions were moved on to be taken up at the next session of the Youth Parliament expected to be convened in September 2007. These resolutions strongly condemned terrorist activities in the country, the deteriorating law & order situation and security situation in the country, especially in FATA and called for effective Government measures to stop the spread of obscenity and vulgarity spread by the internet and the media. They also urged the Government to take effective and necessary steps to ensure that all buildings in Pakistan are made accessible to physically-challenged, cater to the need of special education by providing more educational opportunities to such individuals, and preserve the natural resources and national environment in Pakistan, review the disbursement system of zakat in the country, the Government's mishandling of the Chief Justice of Pakistan-CJP, disappearance of large number of people in the country, the actions of the Lal Masjid functionaries and the poor performance of the Pakistan cricket team at the world Cup in the Caribbean. A lively debate ensued on these issues from both sides of the aisle.

The six calling attention notices drew attention of the House to matters of urgent public importance regarding pollution of river water and the non availability of clean drinking water in various regions of Pakistan, protests by rape victims and the state of poverty and unemployment among youth in Balochistan.

During the question period in the third session the MYPs queried the number of major projects being undertaken for youth in the country and their allocation level and the amount of funds allocated for the Prime Minister's hepatitis control programme and system of utilization of these funds.

A total of 5 motions were tabled for discussing the topics of state of Youth and input into the Government's Youth Policy, Issues related to Federalism and Provincial Autonomy, The State of Democracy, The State of Education and Youth's role in Nation Building.

The various sittings witnessed active participation of all MYPs in the debate with the opposition and government benches engaged in presenting their case vociferously. Highlights of the sittings of the three sessions are presented below:



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Session 1

Following the inaugural session, the first formal sitting of Youth Parliament was held on January 25, 2007 in which Members of Youth Parliament were administered oath by the Speaker. The Youth Parliament also elected its Prime Minister and Mr. *Basil Nabi Malik*, belonging to the Blue Party, commanded the confidence of the House as the Youth Prime Minister securing 32 votes as opposed to 23 votes by Ms. *Mariam Raza Zaidi* who was elected as the Leader of the Opposition, Youth Parliament while Ms. *Mehvish Muneera Ismail* with 35 votes was elected as the Deputy Speaker of Youth Parliament.

The MYPs including the newly elected Prime Minister and Deputy Speaker were administered Oath of their offices by the Speaker, Mr. Wazir Ahmed Jozgazi.

The Youth Prime Minister also announced his cabinet which was administered oath by the Speaker Youth Parliament and a shadow cabinet was also announced by the Leader of the Opposition both with the following six portfolios:

- i. Foreign Affairs & Defence
- ii. Law, Parliamentary Affairs and Human Rights
- iii. Culture, Sports and Youth Affairs
- iv. Education, Health and Environment
- v. Finance, Planning and Economic Affairs
- vi. Information

Earlier in the day, the Youth Prime Minister Basil Nabi Malik also received a vote of confidence from the House.

The Youth Minister for Law, Parliamentary Affairs and Human Rights moved the motion to elect





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members for the 6 Parliamentary Standing Committees after which the members of these committees were elected.

At the first session the House discussed the State of Youth in Pakistan and the role which the Youth Parliament should play. A number of MPs felt that the most crucial issues faced by the youth of Pakistan were unemployment and extremism. This they opined makes youth into a “ticking time bomb” for Pakistan which can erupt any time into very undesirable situation for the country and its future. They suggested the use of strategies of micro-finance and small and medium enterprise development to address this issue. The Youth Parliament demanded of the Government of Pakistan to seek Youth Parliament's debate and input on the draft Youth Policy lying with the federal cabinet for its approval. The Youth Parliament welcomed the offer by the Federal Minister for Youth Affairs Ms. Sumaira Malik that the Ministry would seek Youth Parliament's debate and input on the draft Youth Policy before it is approved. Ms. Malik made the offer a day earlier while addressing the delegation of

Session 2

The second session held from March 01 to 05, 2007 held six sittings. Former Speaker, National Assembly of Pakistan, Mr. Gohar Ayub Khan presided over the session while Dr. Ishrat Hussain Chairman National Commission on Governance Reforms and former Governor State Bank of Pakistan addressed the members of Youth Parliament as a Guest Speaker at the first sitting on the significance of their role in national politics and stressed that the future is in their hands.

The House discussed the Draft Youth Policy of Pakistan to offer proposals to further improve it and



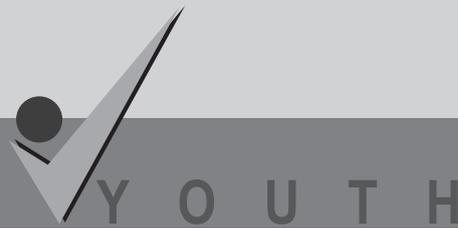


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also discussed the issue of Federalism and Provincial Autonomy to offer proposals to address the current challenges to Federalism and demands for increased quantum of Provincial Autonomy and contribute to the resolution of these issues. Outlining the key features of the policy the Youth Minister for Youth Affairs said that the policy will focus on introduction of a National Service Program for youth in which youth specializing in any given field would be recruited and sent to serve in the underdeveloped areas; representation from all provinces, especially Balochistan and Northern Areas in all government departments and offices ; provision of credit facilities to youth; opening of centres for talented youth in all major cities in the country; introduction of compulsory and free primary education to all; and ensuring that Madrassas do not incorporate sectarian and biased teachings into young minds.

Presenting their views on the Draft Youth Policy of the Government, Members from the opposition benches proposed revisions in a number of areas stressing that investing in education of youth is the utmost priority. Identifying gaps in the youth policy the opposition benches noted that it does not mention any effective steps for youth empowerment, current ban on student unions, provisions for community services or on the development of rural underprivileged youth which consists of 64% of the total youth population. As industry in Pakistan required skilled labour it was necessary to emphasis skill development of youth so that they can not only self employ themselves but can also play a role as employment generators. Other members emphasized the need for including focus on reducing gender inequalities, priority to education and on the implementation of youth policy. The session provided the MYPs with the opportunity to contribute to the youth policy and make recommendations on provincial autonomy to be submitted to the government for consideration.

Discussion on the issue of Federalism and Provincial Autonomy to offer proposals to address the current challenges to Federalism and demands for increased quantum of Provincial Autonomy and contribute to the resolution of these issues urged the Government to give more autonomy to the provinces according to the principle of “Strong province-Strong Federation”. The house witnessed a lively debate from both sides of the aisle on increasing the actual quantum of power and resources to



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the provinces. They stressed the need for an active role to be played by the Council of Common Interests (CCI) as imperative for the resolution of disputes between the federation and the provinces. The treasury benches supported the increase in number of provinces as a solution for increasing autonomy to the provinces while the opposition was of the view that this would not in fact bring about the desired results. Both sides highlighted that the many problems being faced by Pakistan today were due to the conflicts between the federation and the provinces and resolution of these issues was imperative for strengthening democracy in the country. The MYPs also held an interactive session with the Speaker on "How to be a Good Parliamentarian". The MYPs also elected the Chairs of the six standing Committees notified in session one in January, 2007.

Session 3

The third session held from May 09-13, 2007 held five sittings. The Prime Minister after the adjournment of session two accepted the resignations of his six-member cabinet and announced a new cabinet at the commencement of the third session. On a motion to discuss the State of Democracy in Pakistan and the way forward, members stated that if the tenure of military and civil governments in Pakistan from 1947 to 1988 were to be analysed, it can be easily stated that the country was trapped in a vicious circle of army and civilian rule. From 1988 to 1999 four elections took place but democracy never got strengthened, corruption culture became all powerful with some military personnel emerging as the most powerful





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manipulators in politics. They opined that the main reason behind the failure of democracy was the law of rule instead of the rule of law. Discussion on role of Islam in the democratic process saw Pakistan not as Islamic and democratic but rather Islamic through a democratic process. Suggestions were made to include this statement in the charter of democracy prepared by the Pakistani political leadership.

Heated debates noted that despite the fact that Pakistan is turning 60 this year, it has little to celebrate as it has failed to establish a workable model of democracy. Main reasons are lack of respect and obedience to the Constitution. The improper manner in which the Chief Justice of Pakistan-CJP was made non-functional, the civil liberties of the CJP and his supporters were violated and the fact that he was being charged for misuse of authority without holding other members of the assembly and those favoured by the men in uniform, accountable for the same are a few illustrations of the lack of democracy in Pakistan. There is still hope only if the concerned individuals responsible for the judicial and political crisis are dealt with strictly and if the executive apologizes to the CJP for disrespecting the office of the CJP.





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Guest Speakers

The Youth Parliament has the tradition of inviting distinguished persons as guest speakers during each session. The guest speakers are invited to address the members on different themes coinciding with the subjects to be debated in the Youth Parliament. The basic idea of the address by the Guest Speaker is to motivate youth to play a constructive role in nation-building. Mr. Mohammedmian Soomro, Chairman Senate of Pakistan and Dr. Ishrat Hussain Chairman National Commission for Governance Reforms were the Guest Speakers at the inaugural and second sessions respectively while Senator Mian Raza Rabbani, Leader of the Opposition in the Senate of Pakistan addressed the members of Youth Parliament on the state of democracy and the way forward and Mr. Javed Hasan Aly, former Task Leader, New Education Policy Review shared his views on the state of education at the third session.

Visits and Events

The members of the Youth Parliament visited the Senate of Pakistan during its first session held in January 2007 and witnessed the proceedings of the session and their presence in the Gallery was acknowledged by the Chairman Senate. The third session of Youth Parliament in May 2007 coinciding with the session of the National Assembly provided an opportunity to the MYPs to observe the proceedings of the House and have informal interaction with the National Assembly Secretariat on issues related to the parliamentary practices and procedures.

The MYPs were special guests at a luncheon hosted





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in their honour by Ms. Sumaira Malik, Federal Minister for Women Development and Youth Affairs in January, 2007 at which the MYPs engaged in a healthy interaction with the Honourable Minister on issues related to youth empowerment. Speaking on the occasion she appreciated the establishment of Youth parliament and termed it a great step towards nation building and institutional strengthening. Assuring full support to the Youth Parliament she said that a youth policy is being formulated and will be submitted to the Cabinet for approval soon.

At the second session the MYPs attended a lunch hosted in their honour by Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed, Chairman Senate Foreign Relations Committee at the Senate Banquet Hall who spoke on the importance of developing leadership skills among the youth. The MYPs engaged in a vibrant interaction with the Senator and expressed their views on the youth and foreign policies being pursued by the government.

Standing Committees

Standing Committees corresponding to the six portfolios of the cabinet members were formed and the members and chairs were elected to these committees. The six committees held their meetings at session two and session three and reviewed the business referred to them by the House for finalisation. The Committee on Law, Parliamentary Affairs and Human Rights is reviewing the policy on Provincial Autonomy, the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence is putting together the Foreign Policy, the Standing Committee on Finance, Planning and Economic Affairs is working on putting final touches to the National Finance Commission Award whereas the Education Policy,





Information Policy and Youth Policy are being finalised by their respective Committees.

Business Advisory Committee

The Speaker in consultation with the Leader of the House and Leader of Opposition nominated the Business Advisory Committee-BAC consisting of nine members including the Youth Prime Minister, Leader of the Opposition, General Secretaries and party whips of the two parties in the House, the Secretary of the Youth Parliament and the Speaker who shall be Chairman of the Committee. The BAC takes up matters related to the conduct of business in the House such as time allocated for the discussion on various motions; the proposed time table, the different hours at which the various stages of the Bill or other business shall be completed; topics for debate; calendar of sessions; and other functions as may be assigned to it by the Speaker from time to time.

Visitors and Media Galleries

The Youth Parliament has a Visitors' Gallery and a Media Gallery in line with the parliamentary practices. Visitors to the Gallery have included youth having an interest in joining future Youth Parliament sessions as well as civil society, corporate and donor representatives.





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Future Sessions of Youth Parliament

The fourth and fifth sessions of the Youth Parliament are scheduled for September 5 to 9 and November 7 to 11, 2007 respectively. The fourth session seeks to debate the topics of Pakistan's Foreign Policy, Budget & Budget Process and Free and Fair Elections in Pakistan. In the fifth session the Youth Parliament is likely to take up the subjects of 'Law and Order', 'Rule of Law', 'Vision for Pakistan' and 'Energy Issues'.

Secretariat of Youth Parliament

PILDAT conceived the idea, facilitated the formation and now serves as the project implementer and acts as the secretariat of the first ever Youth Parliament Pakistan.



List of Youth Parliament Office Bearers

Following is a list of office bearers of Youth Parliament Pakistan:



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List of Youth Parliament Office Bearers

Following is a list of office bearers of Youth Parliament Pakistan:

No.	Name	Position
1	Basil Nabi Malik, Mr. (YP50-SINDH03)	Youth Prime Minister
2	Mariam Raza Zaidi, Ms. (YP07-ICT02)	Youth Leader of the Opposition
3	Mehvish Muneera Ismaeel, Ms. (YP54-Sindh07)	Youth Deputy Speaker
4	Zaka Zahid Shafiq, Mr. (YP60-SINDH13)	Youth Minister of Foreign Affairs and Defence
5	Syed Ali Raza, Mr. (YP44-PUNJAB26)	Youth Minister of Law, Parliamentary Affairs and Human Rights
6	Shahzad Zaheer, Mr. (YP10-ICT05)	Youth Minister of Finance, Planning, and Economic Affairs
7	Nida Khan, Ms. (YP14-NWFP03)	Youth Minister of Information
8	Aatika Nagrah, Ms. (YP06-ICT01)	Youth Minister of Education, Health and Environment
9	Riaz Hussain Wassan, Mr. (YP57-SINDH10)	Youth Minister of Culture, Sports and Youth Affairs
10	Ashir Azeem, Mr. (YP22-PUNJAB04)	Blue Party Whip
11	Hamad Khan Marri, Mr. (YP53-SINDH06)	General Secretary Blue Party
12	Ajmal Shah Din, Mr. (YP20-Punjab02)	Shadow Minister of Information
13	Rafi Ullah Khan, Mr. (YP16-NWFP05)	Youth Shadow Minister of Education, Health and Environment



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List of Youth Parliament Office Bearers

Following is a list of office bearers of Youth Parliament Pakistan:

No.	Name	Position
14	Saif Ullah Khan, Mr. (YP42-Punjab24)	Youth Shadow Minister of Finance, Planning and Economic Affairs
15	Saira Soomro, Ms. (YP58-Sindh11)	Youth Shadow Minister of Law, Parliamentary Affairs and Human Rights
16	Sidra Tariq, Ms. (YP17-NWFP06)	Shadow Minister of Culture, Sports and Youth Affairs
17	Jawdat Bilal, Mr. (YP29-Punjab11)	Shadow Minister of Foreign Affairs & Defence
18	Abdul Ghaffar, Mr. (YP19-PUNJAB01)	Green Party Whip
19	Khwajaq Zeeshan Mujtaba (YP31Punjab 13)	Chair Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs & Defence
20	Muhammad Imran Khan (YP35Punjab17)	Chair Standing Committee on Education, Health and Environment
21	Qaiser Mahmood Gondal (YP40Punjab22)	Chair Standing Committee on Finance, Planning and Economic Affairs
22	Syed Ali (YP11NA01)	Chair Standing Committee on Law, Parliamentary Affairs and Human Rights
23	Akhtar Muhammad shah (YP49Sindh02)	Chair Standing Committee on Culture, Sports and Youth Affairs
24	Qurat ul AinMarri (YP56Sindh09)	Chair Standing Committee on Information



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About PILDAT

Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development And Transparency - PILDAT an indigenous, independent and non partisan research and training institution committed to strengthening democracy and democratic institutions in Pakistan.

PILDAT is a dedicated organization working towards legislative and democratic strengthening while it leads a non-partisan political research initiative to make crucial political issues part of the political and public discourse in the country. Where on the one hand, PILDAT focuses on legislative capability building and strengthening of elected legislatures, it has recently launched an initiative of the first-ever Youth Parliament of Pakistan to inculcate the culture and values of democracy in youth as well as to prepare them for future leadership roles. Through its annual State of the Democracy report, PILDAT carries an in depth yet concise review of democratic developments of the country. On the legislative transparency front, PILDAT carries out a performance review of the Parliament and Provincial Assemblies.

Major programmes of PILDAT include *Political Research Programme, Public Legislative Forums, Legislative Strengthening Programme, Political Parties Programme, and Programme of Dialogues for Broader Consensus*. PILDAT also facilitates the formulation of issue-based caucuses across-party lines in the legislature some of which include the Young Parliamentarians' Forum (YPF), the Parliamentary Consultative Group on Women's Issues (PCGWI), and Parliamentary Group on Inter-Faith Relations, etc. PILDAT also facilitates non-Parliamentary groups of leading intellectuals and thinkers for dialogue on issues such as Civil Military Relations, Free and Fair elections & Electoral Process, Youth and Politics, and Dialogue between the Muslim world and the West, etc.